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THE PHILOSOPHY, COMMONLY CALLED, THE MORALS

WRITTEN

By the Learned Philosopher

PLUTARCH

OF

CHAERONEA.

Translated out of Greek into English, and conferred with the Latine Translations and the French,

By *PHILEMON HOLLAND*,
Doctor of PHYSICK.

Whereunto are annexed the Summaries necessary to be read before every TREATISE.

Newly Revised and Corrected.

LONDON,
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TO THE

Most High and Mighty Prince,

IAMES,

By the Grace of God,

KING

OF

ENGLAND, SCOTLAND, FRANCE and *IRELAND*, Defender of the FAITH, &c.

IN *this generall joy of affectionate and loyall subjects, testified by their frequent confluence from all parts, longing for nothing so much as the full fruition of that beautifull Star, which lately upon the shutting in of evening with us after our long Summers day, immediately by his radiant beames maintained still a twilight from the North, and within some few houres appeared bright shining above our Horizon, suffering neither the dark night and confused* Chaos *of* Anarchy *to overspred and subvert, nor the turbulent tempests and bloudy broyles of factious sidings to trouble and pervert our State: I also, for my part could not stay behind, but in testimony of semblable love and allegeance shew my self; and withall, most humbly present unto your Highnesse,* This Philosophy of PLUTARCH: *which being first naturally bred in* Greece; *then,*

tranſplanted in Italy, France, *and other regions of the continent; after ſundry Nativities, if I may ſo ſpeak, reſerved (not without ſome divine providence) unto theſe dayes, is now in this our Iſland newly come to light; ready both to congratulate your Majeſties firſt entry upon the inheritance of theſe Kingdomes, & bleſſed alſo to enjoy the benefit of that happy* Horoſcope *and fortunate* Aſcendent, *under which it was born; even the favourable aſpect of your gracious intendence: by vertue whereof, it may not only be marked to long life, feeble otherwiſe of it ſelf, but alſo yeeld pleaſure with profit to the Engliſh Nation.*

Vouchſafe therefore, my dear Lord and dread Soveraign, to accept that now at my hands, whole and entire, which in part Trajanus *the beſt Roman Emperour that ever was, received ſometime from the firſt Authour and Stock-father himſelf: Protect the ſame in Engliſh habit, whom in French attire* Amiot *Dedicated to the late moſt Chriſtian King: and deign unto her noble ſeſs favour and grace, than her younger Siſter, to wit, the Hiſtory or Parallele Lives, hath already obtained: which being tranſporred out of* France *into* England *by that worthy Knight Sir* Thomas North *our Countrey-man, was Patronized by our late Soveraign Lady of famous memory* Elizabeth. *And the rather, for that conſidering the prerogative of birth-right, and the ſame accompanyed with more variety and depth of knowledge, I may be bold to pronounce as much in her commendation, as the Poet wrote of* Jupiter *in compariſon of his brother* Neptune:

Homer. Iliad. o.

ἦ μὰν ἀμφίσσω ὁμὸν γένος ἠδὲ τοκῆε,
ἀλλ' ἅτερ ἐμπάζευ γάρον, καὶ πολλὸν ἀνέν.

Theſe regards, albeit they were ſufficient motives in themſelves to induce me, for to attempt none other Patronage than the Name of my Liege Lord ſo gracious; nor to ſubmit my labours to the cenſure of any perſon, before a King ſo judicious: yet was I more animated to enterpriſe the ſame, by the former experience that I had of a Princes benignity in that behalf: what time as I conſecrated my Engliſh Tranſlation of the Roman Hiſtory written by Titus Livius, *unto the immortall memory of the ſaid Noble and renowned Queen. Now, ſeeing that with her Realms and Dominions, the beſt parts and gifts that were in her, be likewiſe hæreditarily deſcended upon your royall perſon, and the ſame multiplied in greater meaſure, proportionable to the dignity of ſex, the addition of ſcepters and diademes, and the weighty charge of ſo puiſſant and populous and Empire; it were in me a groſſe abſurdity, if not meer impiety, to make any doubt of that excellent vertue of all others, whereby Princes come neereſt unto the Nature of God, whoſe Majeſty here upon earth they repreſent. To ſay nothing, how the world hath taken knowledge already, as well by your vertuous life and politick regiment hitherto, as alſo by the prudent and religious deſignments, delivered in thoſe ſage and learned Compoſitions of your Highneſs penning, That your bleſſed intention is to hold on the ſame courſe ſtill, not onely* ἁπλῶς, *a point that the Indian Potentate* Porus *required of* Alexander *the Great: but alſo* φιλοσόφως; *the ſingular note that our preſent Authour ſet upon all the actions of the ſaid mighty Monarch;* ἐν τούτῳ δὲ πᾶσιν ἦν.

Plutarch D. fortu. vel Virtut. Alexandri. Orat. 1.

Since then both theſe attributes concurre in your Noble Perſon, juſt cauſe have we, in all devout thankefulneſs to acknowledge the goodneſs of the Almighty, who from

from heaven above hath ſent us ſo wiſe a Prince, under whoſe Reign we (if ever any Nation under the Sun) may aſſuredly expect that felicity and happineſs, which the divine Philoſopher Plato *ſo much recommendeth: and in due reverence unto your Majeſty, with one heart and voice, both ſing and Jay:* Dialo. 5. De rep.

Hic ames dici Pater atq; Princeps:
Serus in cælum redeas, tuoq;
Lætus interſis populo, *Britannum*
Prime Monarcha. Horat. 1. Carm. od. 2.

Your Majeſties moſt humble
and obedient Subject,

Philémon Holland.

A CATALOGUE

A

CATALOGUE

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THE

OF THE NURTURE AND EDUCATION OF CHILDREN.

The Summary.

THE very title of this Treatise discovereth sufficiently the intention of the Author, and whosoever he was that reduced these Morals and mixt workes of his into one entire Volume, was well advised, and had great reason to range this present Discourse in the first and formost place: For unlesse our minds be framed unto vertue from our infancy, impossible it is that we should performe any worthy act so long as we live. Now, albeit Plutarch (as a meer Pagan) hath both in this book, and also in others ensuing, where he treateth of vertues and vices, left out the chiefe and principall thing, to wit, The Law of God and his Truth, (wherein he was altogether ignorant) yet nevertheless, these excellent precepts by him delivered like raies which proceed from the light of nature remaining still in the spirit and soul of man, as well to leave sinners inexcusable, as to shew how happy they be, who are guided by the heavenly light of holy Scripture; are able to commence action against those, who make profession in word how they embrace the true and soveraigne Good, but in deed and effect do annihilate, as much as lieth in them, the power and efficacy thereof.

Moreover, in this Treatise he proveth first of all, That the generation of Infants ought in no wise to be defamed with the blot either of Adultery or Drunkennesse: Then, he entreth into a discourse of their Education: and after he hath shewed, that Nature, Reason, and Usage ought to concur in their instruction, he teacheth how and by whom they (would be nurtured, brought up and taught, where he reproveth sharply the sloath, ignorance and avarice of some Fathers. And the better to declare the excellency of these benefits, namely, good instruction, knowledge and vertue, which the study of Philosophy doth promise and teach, he compareth the same with all the greatest goods of the world: and so consequently setteth down what vices especially they are to shun and avoid, who would be capable of sincere and true literature.

But before he proceedeth further, he describeth and limiteth how far forth children well borne and of good parentage should be urged and forced by compulsion; deciphering briefly the praises of morall Philosophy: and concluding withall, That the man is blessed, who is both helpfull to his neighbour as it becommeth, and also good unto himselfe. All these points above rehearsed, when he hath enriched and embellished with similitudes, examples, apophthegmes, and such like ornaments, he propounderh divers rules pertinent to the institution of young children: which done, he passeth from tender childhood to youthfull age, shewing what government there ought to be of young men: far from whom, he banisheth and chaseth flatterers especially: and for a finall conclusion discourseth of the kind behaviour of Fathers, and the good example that they are to give unto their Children.

A THE

The Education of Children.

FOrasmuch as we are to consider what may be said as touching the Education of children free borne and descended from gentle bloud, how and by what discipline they may become honest and vertuous, we shall perhaps treat hereof the better, if we begin at their very generation and nativity. First and formost therefore, I would advise those who desire to be the fathers of such children, as may live another day in honour and reputation among men, not to match themselves and meddle with light women, common Courtizans I mean, or private Concubines. For a reproach this is that followeth a man all the daies of his life, and a shamefull staine which by no meanes can be fetched out, if haply he be not come of a good father or good mother: neither is there any one thing that presenteth it selfe more readily unto his adversaries, and sooner is in their mouth when they are disposed to check, taunt and revile, than to twit him with such parentage. In which regard, wisely said the Poet *Euripides*:

When as the ground is not well laid
At first, for our nativity;
With parents faults, men will upbraid
Both us and our posterity.

A goodly treasure then have they who are well and honestly borne, when in the confidence and assurance thereof they may be bold to beare their heads aloft, and speake their minds frankly whersoever they come: and verily they of all others are to make the greatest account of this blessing, who wish to have faire issue of their bodies lawfully begotten. Certain, a thing it is that ordinarily daunteth and casteth down the heart of man, when he is privy to the baseness of his birth, and knoweth some defect, blemish, and imperfection by his parents. Most truly therefore, and to the purpose right fitly spake the same Poet:

The privity to fathers vice
Or mothers fault reproachable,
Will him debase, who otherwise
Is haughty, stout and commendable.

Whereas contrariwise, they that are known to be the children of noble and worthy parents, beare themselves highly, and are full of stomack and generosity. In which conceit and lofty spirit it is reported, that *Diophantus* the son of *Themistocles*, was wont to say, and that in the hearing of many, That whatsoever pleased him, the same also the people of *Athens* thought well of: for, that which I would have done, quoth he, my mother likewise saith Yea unto it: what my mother mind standeth to, *Themistocles* my father will not gainsay it: and look what likes *Themistocles*, the *Athenians* all are will contented therewith. Where by the way, the magnanimity, and brave mind of the *Lacedemonians* is highly to be praised, who condemned their King *Archidamus* in a great fine of money, for that he could find in his heart to espouse a wife of little stature, alleadging therewith a good reason: Because, say they, his meaning is to get, not a breed of Kings, but Dwarf-kings, or divers Kings, to reigne over us.

Well, upon this first advertisement concerning children, there dependeth another, which they who wrote before us of the like argument, forgat not to set down; and what is that? namely, That they who for procreation of children will come neare unto women, ought to meddle with them either upon empty stomacks, and before they have drunke any wine at all, or at least wise, after they have taken their wine in measure, and soberly: for such will prove commonly winebibbers and drunkards who were engendred when their fathers were drunken: according to that which *Diogenes* said upon a time unto a youth whom he saw beside himselfe, and far overseene with drinke; my lad, quoth he, thy father gat thee when he was drunke. And thus much may suffice for the generation of children.

As touching their nurture and education, whereof now I am to discourse: That which we are wont generally to say of all Arts and Sciences, the same we may be bold to pronounce of vertue, to wit, that to the accomplishment thereof, and to make a man perfectly vertuous, three things ought to concur, Nature, Reason, and Usage. By Reason, I understand doctrine and precepts: by usage exercise and practice. The first beginnings we have from Nature; progresse and proceeding come by teaching and instruction: exercise and practise is performed by diligence: And all three together bring forth the height of perfection. If any one of these faile, it cannot otherwise be, but that vertue also should have her defect and be maimed: For Nature without learning is blind: Doctrine wanting the gift of nature is defective; and exercise void of the other twaine, imperfect. And verily it fareth in this case much like as in Husbandry and tillage of the earth. For first and formost requisite it is, that the ground be good: Secondly, that the Husbandman be skilfull: and in the third place, that the seed be cleane and well chosen. Semblably, Nature resembleth the soile: the Master who teacheth, representeth the labouring Husbandman; and last of all, the rules

rules, precepts, admonitions, and examples are compared to the seed. All these good means (I dare with confidence avouch) met together, and inspired their power into the minds of these worthy personages, who throughout the world are so renowned, *Pythagoras* I meane, *Socrates*, *Plato*, and all the rest who have attained to a memorable name and immortall glory. Blessed then is that man and entirely beloved of the gods, whose hap it is by their favour and grace to be furnished with all three. Now if any one be of this opinion, that those who are not endued with the gift of naturall wit, and yet have the helps of true instruction and diligent exercise to the attaining of vertue, cannot by this meanes recover and repaire the foresaid defect: Know he, that he is much deceived, and to say more truly, quite out of the way: for as idlenesse and negligence doth marre and corrupt the goodnesse of nature: so, the industry and diligence of good erudition supplieth the defect, and correcteth the default thereof. Idle and sloathfull persons (we see) are not able to compasse the things that be easie: whereas contrariwise by study and travell, the greatest difficulties are atchieved. Moreover, of what efficacy, and execution, diligence and labour is, a man may easily know by sundry effects that are daily observed. For we do evidently perceive that drops of water falling upon the hard rock do eate the same hollow: Iron and brass we see to weare and consume only by continuall handling: The fellies in Chariot wheels, which by labour are bended and curbed, will not returne and be reduced againe, do what you can, to their former streightnesse: Like as it is impossible by any advice to set straight the crooked staves that Stage-players go withall. And evident it is, that whatsoever against nature is by force and labour changed and redressed becommeth much better and more sure than those things that continue in their own kind. But, are these the things only wherein appeareth the power of study and diligence? No verily. For there are an infinite number of other experiments, which prove the same most clearely. Is there a peece of ground naturally good? Let it lie neglected, it becommeth wild and barren: Yea, and the more rich and fertile that it is of it selfe, the more waste and fruitlesse it proveth for want of tillage and husbandry. Contrariwise, you shall see another plot hard, rough, and more stony than it should be: which if they be well handled and broken while they are colts, will not prove gentle in the end, and suffer themselves easily to be mounted and manned? Contrariwise, let them remaine untamed in their youth, strong-headed, stiffe-necked and unruly wil they be alwaies after, and never fit for service. And why should we marvell at these and such like matters, considering that many of the most savage and cruell beasts that be, are made gentle and familiar, yea, and brought to hand by labour and paines taken about them? Well said therefore that *Thessalian*, whosoever he was, who being demanded, which *Thessalians* of all others were most dull and sostest of spirit, Answered thus, Even they that have given over warfare. But what need we to stand longer upon this point? For certaine it is, that our manners and conditions are qualities imprinted in us by tract and continuance of time: and whosoever saith: that * Morall vertues are gotten by custome, in my conceit speaketh not amisse, but to very great purpose. And therefore with one example and no more produced by *Lycurgus* as touching this mater, I will knit up and conclude my discourse thereof. *Lycurgus*, him I meane who established the Laws of the *Lacedemonians* took two whelps of one litter, and comming both from the same sire and damme: Those he caused to be nourished and brought up diversly, and unlike one to the other: that as the one proved a greedy and ravenous cur, and full of shrewd turnes: so the other was given to hunting, and minded nothing but to quest and follow the game. Now upon a certaine day afterwards, when the *Lacedemonians* were met together in a frequent Assembly, he spake unto them in this manner, My Masters, Citizens of *Lacedamon*, Of what importance to engender vertue in the heart of man, custome, nurture, discipline and education is, I will presently shew unto you by an evident demonstration: and with that he brought forth in the sight of them all those two whelps, and set directly before them a great platter of sops in broth, and therewith let loose also a live hare: but behold, one of them followed immediately after the hare, but the other ran straight to slap in the platter aforesaid. The *Lacedemonians* wist not what to make of this, nor to what purpose he shewed unto them these two dogs before said untill he brake out into this speech. These two dogs (quoth he) had one damme, and the same sire but being bred and brought up diversly, see how the one is become a greedigut, and the other a kind hound. And thus much may serve as touching custome and diversity of education.

It were meet now in the next place to treat of the feeding and nourishing of Infants newly borne. I hold it therefore convenient that mothers reare their babes, and suckle them with their own breasts: For feed them they will with greater affection, with more care and diligence, as loving them inwardly, and (as the Proverbe saith) from their tender nailes, whereas milch nurses

* *Gnesi melius, φύσεως ἀρετὰς διδακτὰς δὲ τὰς λόγῳ.*

ſes and foſter-mothers carry not ſo kind a heart unto their nurſelings, but rather a fained and counterfeit affection, as being mercenary and loving them indeed for hire only and reward. Furthermore, even nature her ſelfe is ſufficient to prove, that mothers ought to ſuckle and nouriſh thoſe whom they have borne and brought into the world: For to this end hath ſhe given to every living creature that bringeth forth young the food of milke: and in great wiſdome the divine providence hath furniſhed a woman with two teats for this purpoſe, that if happily ſhe ſhould be delivered of two twins at once, ſhe might likewiſe have two fountaines of milke to yeeld nouriſhment for them both. Moreover, by this meanes more kind and loving they will be unto their children: and verily not without great reaſon: For this fellowſhip in feeding together is a bond that knitteth, or rather a wreſt that ſtraineth and ſtretcheth benevolence to the utmoſt. The experience whereof we may ſee even in the very brute and wilde beaſts, which hardly are parted from their company, with whom they have been nouriſhed, but ſtill they lowe and mowe after them. Mothers therefore (as I have ſaid) ought eſpecially to endeavour ard do their beſt for to be nurſes of their own children, if it be poſſible. But in caſe they cannot, by reaſon either of ſome bodily infirmity and indiſpoſition that way, (for ſo it may fall out) or that they have a deſire, and do make haſte to be with child againe, and to have more children: then a carefull eye and good regard would be had not to entertaine thoſe for nurſes and governeſſes that come next to hand, but to make choiſe of the very beſt and moſt honeſt that they can come by, and namely, for faire conditions and good behaviour, to chooſe Greekiſh women before any other. For like as the members and limbs of little Infants, ſo ſoon as ever they be borne, are of neceſſity to be formed and faſhioned, that afterwards they may grow ſtraight and not crooked: even ſo, at the very firſt their hearts and manners ought to be framed and ſet in order: For this firſt age of childhood is moiſt and ſoft, apt to receive any impreſſion: whiles the heart is tender every leſſon may be ſoon inſtilled into it, and quickly will take hold, whereas hard things are not ſo eaſie to be wrought and made ſoft. And as Signets or Seales wil quickly ſet a print upon ſoft wax; ſo the tender hearts of young children take readily the impreſſion of whatſoever is taught them. In which regard, *Plato*, that heavenly and divine Philoſopher, ſeemeth unto me to have given a wiſe admonition for nurſes, when he warned them not to tell fooliſh tales, nor to uſe vain ſpeeches inconſiderately in the hearing of young infants, for feare leſt at the firſt their minds might apprehend folly and conceive corrupt opinions. Semblably the Poet *Phocylides* ſeemeth to deliver ſage counſell in this behalfe, when he ſaith:

A child of young and tender age
Ought to be taught things good and ſage.

Neither is this precept in any wiſe to be forgotten or paſſed by, That other children alſo who are either to attend upon them whiles they be nurſed and brought up, or to beare them company and be fed together with them, be choſen ſuch as above all things are well mannered, and of good conditions: Then, that they ſpeake the Greeke tongue naturally, and pronounce the ſame moſt plainly and diſtinctly, for feare, leſt if they ſort with ſuch ſectes as either in language are barbarous, or in behaviour lewd and ungracious, they catch infection from them, and be ſtained with their vices. For ſuch old ſawes and Proverbs as theſe are not ſo rife without good reaſon, *If thou converſe and cohabite with a lame cripple, thou wilt ſoon learne to limpe and halt thy ſelfe.*

Now when children be grown to that age, wherein they are to be committed unto the charge of Tutors, Schoolemaſters and governours: then parents ought to have an eſpeciall care of their ſtate, namely, under whom they ſet them to be trained up: leſt for want of good providence and fore-ſight they betray them into the hands of ſome vile ſlaves, baſe barbarians, vain and light-headed perſons. For moſt abſurd and ridiculous is the practice of many men in this point: who if they have any ſervants more vertuous or better diſpoſed than others, ſome of them they appoint to husbandry and tillage of their ground; others they make Maſters of their ſhips. They employ them (I ſay) either in Merchandiſe to be their Factors, or as Stewards of their houſe to receive and pay all; or elſe to be banquers, and ſo they truſt them with the exchanging and turning of their monies. But if they meet with one ſlave among the reſt that uſeth to be cupſhotten, given to gluttony and belly cheare, or otherwiſe is untoward for any good ſervice, him they ſet over their children to bring them up: Whereas indeed a governour over youth ſhould be well given, and of a right good nature himſelfe, ſuch a one as *Phœnix* was, who had the breeding and education of *Achilles*. The principall point therefore and moſt important of all that hitherto hath been alledged is this, That choice men be ſought out for to be teachers and maſters of our children; who live in good name and without Challenge, whoſe carriage and behaviour is blameleſſe; and who for their knowledge and experience of the world are the beſt that may be found. For ſurely the ſource and root of all goodneſs and honeſty is the good education and training up of our children in their tender age. And like as good husbandmen and gardeners are wont to pitch props and ſtakes cloſe unto their young plants, to ſtay them up and keep them ſtraight: even ſo diſcreet and wiſe teachers plant good precepts and wholſome inſtructions round about their young Schollars, to the end that thereby their manners may bud forth commendably, and be framed to the rule of vertue. But contrariwiſe you ſhall have ſome fathers now adaies, that deſerve no better than to be ſpit at in their very faces; who either upon ignorance, or for want of

of experience, before any triall made of thoſe Maſters, who are to have the conduct and charge of their children, commit them hand over head to the tuition of lewd perſons, and ſuch as beare ſhew and make profeſſion of that which they are not. Neither were this abſurdity altogether ſo groſſe and ridiculous, if ſo be they faulted herein of meere ſimplicity and default of foreknowledge. But here is the height of their folly and errour, that themſelves knowing otherwhiles the inſufficiency, yea, and the naughtineſſe of ſome ſuch Maſters, better than they doe who advertiſe them thereof; yet for all that they commit their children unto them, partly being overcome by the flattery of claw-backs, and partly willing to gratifie ſome friends upon their kind and earneſt entreaty. Wherein they do much like for all the world to him, who lying very ſick in body, for to content and ſatisfie a friend, leaveth an expert and learned Phyſitian who was able to cure him, and entertaineth another blind leech, who for want of skill and experience quickly killeth him: or elſe unto one who being at ſea, forgoeth an excellent Pilot whom he knoweth to be very skilfull, and for the love of a friend maketh choice of another that is moſt inſufficient. O *Jupiter*, and all the gods in heaven! Is it poſſible that a man, bearing the name of a father, ſhould make more account of a friends requeſt, than of the good education of his own children? Which conſidered, had not that ancient Philoſopher *Crates* (thinke you) juſt occaſion to ſay often times, that if poſſibly he might, he would willingly mount to the higheſt place of the City, and there cry out aloud in this manner: What meane you my Maſters, and whether run you headlong, carking and caring all that ever you can to gather goods and rake riches together as you do: whiles in the meane time you make little or no reckoning at all of your children, unto whom you are to leave all your wealth? To which exclamation of his I may adde thus much moreover and ſay, That ſuch fathers are like unto him that hath great regard of his ſhooe, but taketh no heed unto his foot. And verily, a man ſhall ſee many of theſe fathers, who upon a covetous mind, and a cold affection toward their own children, are grown to this paſſe, that for to ſpare their purſe, and eaſe themſelves of charge, chooſe men of no worth to teach them: which is as much as to ſeeke a good market where they may buy ignorance cheapeſt. Certes *Ariſtippus* ſaid very well to this purpoſe, when upon a time he prettily mocked ſuch a father who had neither wit nor underſtanding, and gybed pleaſantly with him in this manner: For when he demanded of him how much he would take for the training up and teaching of his ſon? He anſwered, An hundred Crowns: A hundred Crowns! quoth the father: by *Hercules* I ſweare, you aske too much out of the way; For with a hundred crowns I could buy a good ſlave. True quoth *Ariſtippus* againe, Lay out this hundred crowns ſo, you may have twaine, your ſon for one, and him whom you buy for the other. And is not this a folly of all follies, that nurſes ſhould uſe their yong infants to take meat and feed themſelves with the right hand, yea, and rebuke them if happily they put forth their left: and not to forecaſt and give order that they may learne civility, and heare ſage and wholſome inſtructions? But what befalleth afterwards to theſe good fathers, when they have firſt nurſed their children badly, and then taught them as lewdly? Mary I will tell you. When theſe children of theirs are grown to mans eſtate, and will not abide to heare of living orderly, and as it becommeth honeſt men: but contrariwiſe fall headlong into outragious courſes, and give themſelves wholly to ſenſuality and ſervile pleaſures: Then ſuch fathers all repent for their negligence paſt, in taking no better order for their education: but all too late, conſidering no good enſueth thereupon: but contrariwiſe, the lewd pranks which they commit daily augment their griefe of heart and cauſe them to languiſh in ſorrow. For ſome of them they ſee to keep company with flatterers, paraſites, and ſmell-feaſts, the lewdeſt, baſeſt, and moſt curſed wretches of all other, who ſerve for nothing but to corrupt, ſpoile, and marre youth: Others, to captivate and ſpend themſelves upon harlots, queanes, and common ſtrumpets, proud and ſumptuous in expence; the entertainment of whom is infinitely coſtly. Many of them conſume all in delicate fare, and feeding a dainty and fine tooth: Many of them fall to dice, and with mumming and masking hazard all they have. And divers of them againe entangle themſelves in other vices more hardy and adventurous, courting faire dames, and making love to other mens wives: for which purpoſe they walke diſguiſed in the night, like the frantick Prieſts of *Bacchus*, to commit adulteries, buying ſometimes one only nights pleaſure with the price of their life; Whereas if ſuch as theſe had converſed before with any Philoſopher, they would never have taken ſuch waies as this, and given themſelves to like vanities: but rather they would have turned over a new leafe, and learned a leſſon of *Diogenes*, who in words not very civill and ſeemly, howbeit to the point not untruly, gave this counſell, and ſaid, Go thy waies to the Stews (I adviſe thee) and enter into ſome Brothel houſe, where thou maiſt know how the pleaſure that coſteth little or nothing differeth not from that which is bought full dearely.

To knit up therefore all in one ſum I will conclude, and this my concluſion ought of right to be eſteemed for an oracle, rather than a ſimple counſell and admonition; That the beginning, midſt, and end of all theſe matters lieth only in a vertuous nurture and holy education, which I avouch are the very meanes that be operative and powerfull for the attaining both of vertue and true happineſſe. As for all other things which we count good in this world are in compariſon hereof, mortall, tranſitory, ſmall, and not worth the ſeeking after with ſuch care and ſtudy. Nobility I confeſſe to be a goodly thing, but it is the gift of our Anceſtors. Riches, who doubteth that they be gay and precious matters? Howbeit, lying in the power of fortune only, who taketh the

same many times from those that possesse them, and giveth them away to such as never look for them. Moreover, much wealth is the very marke wherat they shoot who are common cut-purses, privy and domesticall theeves, Sycophants, and promoters, and that which is most, the wickedest persons in the world oftentimes meet therewith. Glory and honour are things venerable, how beit uncertaine and mutable. Beauty is lovely, and very much desired, but it continueth a small while. Health is worth much, and yet you see how soon it changeth. Strength of body who wisheth not? But quickly it is decayed and gone, either by sicknesse or yeares: insomuch, as whosoever vaunteth and beareth himselfe in his able body, is greatly deceived, and commeth far short of his reckoning. For what is mans force, compared with that of other beasts, I meane, Elephants, Bulls, and Lions? It is learning and knowledge only which in us is divine, heavenly and immortall. For in mans nature two parts there are to be considered of all other most principall, to wit, understanding, and speech. And of these, understanding is as it were the Master that commandeth: Speech, the servant that obeyeth. Now the foresaid understanding is not exposed to the injury of fortune: no slanders raised by Sycophants can take it away: Sicknesse hath no power to corrupt and destroy it: neither doth it decay or perish by old age: For it is the only thing that being in yeares waxeth young and fresh. Length of time, which doth diminish and impaire all things else, addeth still more knowledge to our understanding, the elder that we are. The violence of war, which in manner of a streame casteth down and carrieth all away with it, is not able to make havock and spoyle of knowledge and learning: that only is not in danger thereof. And in my conceit, *Stilpo* the Megarian Philosopher gave a most worthy and memorable answer unto King *Demetrius*, who having forced, sacked, and raised the City of *Megara* to the very foundation, demanded of him what losses he sustained in that generall sacking? None at all (quoth he) For war can make no spoile of vertue. To which answer of his, accordeth and soundeth well the Apophthegme of *Socrates*, who (as I take it) being asked of *Gorgias*, what opinion he had of the great King and Monarch of the Persians in those dayes, whether he deemed him happy or no? I wot not (quoth he) how he is furnished with vertue and learning: as if he judged that true felicity consisted in these two things, and not in the transitory gifts of fortune.

But as my counsell and advice unto parents is, to hold nothing in the world more deere and precious, than to traine up their children in good letters, and vertuous manners: so I say againe, that they ought to have an eye unto that literature and institution which is sound, pure and uncorrupt: furthermore, to sequester and withdraw their children, as far as possibly they can, from the vanity and foolish desire to be seen and heard in the frequent and publike assemblies of the people. For commonly we find, that to please a multitude, is to displease the wiser sort. And that I speake truth herein, *Euripides* giveth good testimony in these verses:

No filed tongue I have, nor eloquence,
To speake in place of frequent audience:
Among my feeres and those in number few,
I love to give advice, and make no shew:
For, those whose speech doth please a multitude,
With learned men are foolish thought and rude.

For mine own part, I observe those men who endeavour to speake to the appetite and pleasure of the base and vulgar sort, that ordinarily they become loose and dissolute persons, abandoned to all seminality. And verily not without great apparance of reason: For if to gratifie and content others, they have no regard of honesty: more likelihood there is a great deale, that for to do a pleasure to themselves, and feed their own humour and appetite, they will forget all honour and devoir: yea, and sooner give the reines to their own delights, than follow the streight rules of temperance and sobriety.

But now, what good thing is there moreover that we are to teach our children? and whereto should we advise them for to give their minds? A goodly matter no doubt it is to do nothing rashly, nor to speake a word unadvisedly: But (as the old Proverbe saith) whatsoever is faire and goodly, the same also is hard and difficult. As for these orations which be ma de *extempore*, and without premeditation, they go away with great facility, and are very rash and full of vanity: And such commonly as so speake know not well either where to begin or when to make an end. Also, over and above other absurdities and faults which they commit, who are accustomed in this wise to parle at a venture, and to let their tongue run at randome, know not how to keep any meane or measure of speech, but fall into a marvellous superfluity and excesse of words: Whereas on the contrary side, when a man thinketh before hand what he shou'd say, he will never overshoot him so far as to passe beyond the bounds of temperate and proportionable language. *Pericles*, as we have been given to understand, being oftentimes called upon and importuned by the people, and that expreslly by name, for to deliver his opinion as touching a matter in question, would not so much as rise from his place, but excused himselfe, and said, I am not provided to speake. Semblably *Demosthenes*, one who greatly affected the said *Pericles*, and followed his steps in policy and managing of State-affaires, being called by the Athenians to sit in counsell with them and requested to give his advice in certaine points, refused and made the same answer, saying, I have not yet thought upon it, neither am I prepared. But peradventure some man will say, this

this is an headlesse tale and a devised report received by tradition from hand to hand, and not grounded upon any certaine testimony. Listen then what he saith himselfe in that oration which he made against *Midias*, wherein he setteth evidently before our eyes, the profit that commeth by premeditation: For in one place thereof, these be his words: "My Masters of *Athens*, I confesse plainly, and cannot deny or dissemble, that I have taken as much paines in composing of this oration as possibly I could: For an idle wretch I had been, if having suffered, and suffering still such indignities as these, I would not consider and study before-hand what I had to say in reason concerning these matters. Neither alledge I this, as one who condemned altogether the promptitude and readinesse of the tongue, and the gift of utterance *ex tempore*, but the ordinary custome and exercise thereof in every small matter, and of no great importance. For other whiles it is tolerable; provided alwaies that we use it so as we would take a purging medicine. And to speake more plainly, my meaning is, that I would not have young men before they be grown to mans age, for to speake ought without good advise and consideration. But after they be well grounded, and have gathered sufficient root which may yeeld pithy speech, then if occasion be offered, and that they be called unto it, I think it convenient they should be allowed to speake freely. For even as they who have been fettered a long time, and worne irons on their feet, when they are loosed from their gyves, cannot go well at the first; because they have continued such a while with clogs at their heeles, but even and anon are ready to tripand stumble: so it fareth with those that of long time have been tongue-tied (as it were) and restrained of their liberty of speech: For if happily there be presented some matter, wherein they are to speake on a sudden, they will retaine still the same manner and forme of thin and speake no otherwise than they did before with premeditation. Mary, to suffer young boyes to make rubitany, and inconsiderate orations, is the next way to bring them to vaine babling, and causeth them to utter many words altogether impertinent to the matter. It is reported, that upon a time a vaine and foolish painter came to *Apelles*, and shewed him a picture, saying withall, This image I drew thus and thus soon. I wot well (quoth *Apelles*) as the first sight: although thou saidst never a word that it was quickly painted and in haste: and I marvell at nothing that thou hast not painted many more such in the same time. But to returne againe to my former discourse which I began withall, as touching speech, like as I would give counsell to beware of glorious and brave words, and to avoid that manner of haughty voice which becometh tragedies, and is used on Theaters: So I advise and admonish againe to flye as much that kind of language which is too small and over-lowly: For that, the one which is so loud and aloft, exceedeth civility: and the other that is as much beneath, bewrayeth overmuch sheefulnesse. Moreover, as the body ought not only to be sound and in health, but also in good plight and well-liking: so our speech should be not only cleare from sicknesse, as it were, and malady, but also strong and able: For that a thing shall be sound and safe only we do but barely praise: whereas that which is hardy and adventurous we admire and wonder at. That which I have said, as touching the tongue and speech, the same opinion I have of the heart and the disposition thereof. For I would not have a youth to be over-bold and audacious: neither do I like of him if he be too timorous and fearefull: For as the one turneth in the end to presumption and impudency: so the other into servile cowardise. But he holdeth all the mastery and conning, as well in this as in all things else, namely, to cut even in the midst, and to hold the golden meane. And since I am entred thus far into the discourse as touching the literature and erudition of youth, before I proceed any further I will deliver mine opinion thereof generally in these termes: Namely, That to be able to speake of one thing and no more, is first and formost in my conceit no small signe of ignorance. Then, I suppose that the exercise and practice thereof soon bringeth satiety. And againe, I hold it impossible to continue ever more in the same: For so to be ever in one song breedeth tediousnesse, and soon a man is weary of it: whereas variety is alwaies delectable both in this, and also in all other objects as well of the eye as the eare. And therefore it behoveth that a child well descended and free borne be not suffered to want either the sight or the hearing of all those Arts and liberall Sciences which are linked, as it were, and comprehended within one circle, and thereupon called *Encyclii*, i.e. Circular. These would I have him to run through every one superficially for a taste only of them all: forasmuch as to attaine unto the perfection thereof were impossible. After so, as his chiefe and principall study be employed in Philosophy: which opinion of mine I may very well confirme by a proper similitude. For all one it is as if a man would say, a commendable thing it were to faile along the coasts, and see many a City: but expedient and profitable to make abode and dwell in the best: and much like to that pleasant and pretty conceited speech of *Bias* the Philosopher, who said, That even as the lovers and wooers of Lady *Penelope*, when they could not enjoy the Mistris her selfe, went in hand with her waiting maidens, and companied with them: so, as many as are not able to attaine unto Philosophy, spend and consume themselves in the study of other Arts which in comparison of it are nothing worth. And therefore we ought to make this account, that Philosophy is the principall head (as it were) of all other learning and knowledge whatsoever. True it is, that for the maintenance and preservation of the body men have devised two Arts, to wit, Physicke, and bodily exercise: of which twaine, the one procureth health; the other addeth thereto a good habitude and strong constitution: but for the infirmities and maladies of the soule, there is no other physick but only Philosophy: For by the meanes of it, and

together

together with it, we may know what is good, what is bad, what is honeſt and diſhoneſt, what is juſt, and generally what to chooſe, and what to refuſe, how we ought to beare our ſelves towards the gods, and towards our parents, what our demeanour ſhould be with our elders, what regard we are to have of laws, what our carriage muſt be to ſtrangers, to ſuperiours: how we are to converſe with our friends, in what ſort we ought to demeane our ſelves towards our children and wives, and finally, what behaviour it beſeemeth us to ſhew unto our ſervants and familie: Forasmuch as our duty is to worſhip and adore the gods, to honour our parents, to reverence our ancients, to obey the laws, to give place unto our ſuperiours and betters, to love our friends, to uſe our wives chaſtely and with moderation: to be kind and affectionate to our children, and not to be outragious with our ſervants, nor to tyrannize over them. But the principall and chiefe of all is this, not to ſhew our ſelves over joyous and merry in proſperity, nor yet exceeding heavy and ſad in adverſity: not in pleaſures and delight diſſolute, nor in anger furious, and tranſported, or rather tranſformed, into brutiſh beaſts by choler. And theſe I eſteem to be the ſoveraigne fruits that are to be gathered and gotten by Philoſophy. For to carry a generous and noble heart in proſperity is the part of a brave minded man: to live without envy and malice is the ſigne of a good and tractable nature: to overcome pleaſures by the guidance of reaſon is the act of wiſe and ſage men: and to bridle and reſtraine choler is a maſtery that every one cannot skill of: But the height of perfection in my judgement thoſe only attaine unto, who are able to joyne and intermingle the politick government of weale publike with the profeſſion and ſtudy of Philoſophy: For by this meanes (I ſuppoſe) they may enjoy two of the beſt things in the world, to wit, the profit of the Common weale by managing State-affaires: and their own good, living ſo as they do in tranquillity and repoſe of mind, by the means of Philoſophy. For whereas there be among men three ſorts of life, namely, Active, Contemplative, and Voluptuous: this laſt named, being diſſolute, looſe, and thrall to pleaſures, is brutiſh, beaſtly, baſe, and vile: The contemplative wanting the active is unprofitable; and the active, not participating with the ſpeculation of Philoſophy, committeth many abſurd enormities, and wanteth ornaments to grace and beautifie it. In which regard men muſt endeavour and aſſay as much as lieth in them both to deale in government of the State, and alſo to give their minds to the ſtudy of Philoſophy, ſo far forth as they have time, and publike affaires will permit. Thus governed in times paſt noble *Pericles*: Thus ruled *Archytas* the *Tarentine*: Thus *Dion* the *Syracuſian*, and *Epaminondas* of *Thebes* ſwayed the State: where they lived; and both of them, as well the one as the other, converſed familiarly with *Plato*. As touching the inſtitution of children in good literature, needleſſe (I ſuppoſe) it is to write any more. This only will I adde unto the reſt that hath been ſaid, which I ſuppoſe to be expedient or rather neceſſary: namely, that they make no ſmall account of the workes and books of the ancient Sages and Philoſophers, but diligently collect and gather them together: ſo as they do it after the manner of good husbandmen: For as they do make proviſion of ſuch tooles as pertaine to Agriculture and husbandry, not only to keep them in their poſſeſſion but alſo to uſe them accordingly: ſo this reckoning ought to be made, that the inſtruments and furniture of knowledge and learning be good books if they be read and peruſed: For from thence as from a fountaine they may be ſure to maintaine the ſame.

And here we are not to forget the diligence that is to be imployed in the bodily exerciſe of children: but to remember that they be ſent into the Schooles of thoſe Maſters who make profeſſion of ſuch feats, there to be trained and exerciſed ſufficiently, as well for the ſtreight and decent growth, as for the ability and ſtrength of their bodies: For the faſt knitting and ſtrong complexion of the body in children is a good foundation to make them another day decent and perſonable old men. And like as in time of a calme and faire ſeaſon, they that are at ſea ought to make proviſion of neceſſary meanes to withſtand ſoule weather and a tempeſt: even ſo, very meet it is, that tender age be furniſhed with temperance, ſobriety, and continency, and even betimes reſerve and lay up ſuch voyage-proviſion for the better ſuſtenance of old age. Howbeit in ſuch order ought this labour and travell of children to be diſpenſed, that their bodies be not exhauſt and dried up, and ſo by that meanes they themſelves be over-wearied, and made either unmeet, or unwilling, to follow their book afreſh, and take their learning: For as *Plato* ſaid very well, Sleep and laſſitude be enemies to learning. But why do I ſtand hereupon ſo much, being in compariſon ſo ſmall a matter?

Proceed I will therefore and make haſte to that which is of greateſt importance, and paſſeth all the reſt that hath been ſaid before: For this I ſay, that youth ought to be trained to military feats, namely, in launcing darts and javelins, in drawing a bow and ſhooting arrows, in chaſing alſo and hunting wild beaſts. Forasmuch as all the goods of thoſe who are vanquiſhed in fight be expoſed as a prey and booty to the conquerours: neither are they fit for warfare, and to beare armes, whoſe bodies having been daintily brought up in the ſhade, and within houſe, are corpulent, and of a ſoft and delicate conſtitution.

The leane akddry, the raw bone ſouldier fierce,
Who train'd hath been in armes and warlike toyle,
In field whicle rankes of enemies will pierce,
And in the liſts all his concurrents foyle.

But what may ſome men ſay unto me? Sir, you have made promiſe to give us examples and precepts,

precepts, concerning the education of all children free borne, and of honeſt parentage: and now, me thinkes, you neglect the education of commoners and poore mens children, and deliver no inſtructions but ſuch as are for gentlemen, and be ſutable to the rich and wealthy only. To which objection it is no hard matter to make anſwer. For mine owne part, my deſire eſpecially is, that this inſtruction of mine might ſerve all: but in caſe there be ſome, who for want of meanes cannot make that uſe and profit, which I could wiſh, let them lay the weight upon fortune, and not blame him who hath given them his advice and counſell in theſe points. And yet for poore men thus much will I ſay, Let them endeavour and ſtraine themſelves to the utmoſt of their power to bring up their children in the beſt manner: and if they cannot reach unto that, yet muſt they aime thereat, and come as neare as their ability will give them leave.

I have been willing to inſert theſe points by the way into this preſent argument, and to charge my diſcourſe over and above therewith, that I might proſecute other precepts remaining behind, which concerne the education of young men. Thus much therefore I ſay moreover, that children muſt be trained and brought to their duty in all lenity, by faire words, gentle exhortations, and mild remonſtrance, and in no wiſe (pardie) by ſtripes and blows: For this courſe of ſwinging and beating ſeemeth meet for bondſlaves, rather than perſons of free condition. And to ſay a truth, by this meanes they become dull and ſenſeleſſe, nay, they have all ſtudy and labour afterwards in hatred and horrour: partly for the ſmart and paine which they abide by ſuch correction, and in part by the continuely and reproach that they ſuſtaine thereby. Praiſe and diſpraiſe be fit better and more profitable to children free borne, than all the whips, rods, and boxes in the world: the one for to drive them forwards to well-doing, the other to draw them back from doing ill: but both the one and the other are to be uſed in alternative courſe. One while they would be commended; another while blamed and rebuked: and namely, if at any time they be too jocund and inſolent they ought to be ſnibbed a little and taken down. yea, and put to ſome light ſhame: but ſoon after railed up againe by giving them their due praiſes. And herein we muſt imitate good nurſes, who when they have ſet their infants a crying give them the breaſt for to ſtill them againe. Howbeit, a meaſure would be kept, and great heed taken that they be not too highly commended, for feare leſt they grow proud and preſume overmuch of themſelves: For when they be praiſed exceedingly they waxe careleſſe, diſſolute, and enervate: neither will they be willing afterwards to take more paines. Moreover, I have known certaine fathers, who through exceſſive love of their children have hated them afterwards. But what is my meaning by this ſpeech? Surely I will declare my mind, and make my words plaine anon by an evident example and demonſtration. Some fathers (I ſay) there be, who upon a hot and haſtie deſire to have their children come ſoon forward, and to be the formoſt in every thing, put them to immoderate travell and exceſſive paines: in ſuch ſort, that they either ſinke under the weight of the burden, and ſo fall into grievous maladies, or elſe finding themſelves thus ſurcharged and overladen, they are not willing to learne that which is taught them. And it fareth with them as it doth with young herbs and plants in a garden, which ſo long as they be watered moderately, are nouriſhed and thrive very well: but if they be over-much drenched with water, they take harme thereby and are drowned: Even ſo we muſt allow unto children a breathing time between their continuall labours: conſidering and making this account, That all the life of man is divided into labour and reſt: and for this cauſe Nature hath ſo ordained, that as there is a time to be awake, ſo we find a time alſo to ſleep. One while there is war, and another while peace: It is not alwaies winter and foule weather, but ſummer likewiſe and a faire ſeaſon. There be appointed not only worke-daies to toyle in, but alſo feſtivall holidaies to ſolace and diſport our ſelves. In ſumme, reſt and repoſe is (as it were) the ſauce unto our travell. And this we may obſerve as well in ſenſeleſſe and liveleſſe things, as in living and ſenſible creatures. For we unbend our bowes, and let ſlack the ſtrings of Lutes, Harpes, and ſuch muſicall inſtruments, to the end that we may bend and ſtretch the ſame againe. And in one word, as the body is preſerved and maintained by repletion and evacuation ſucceſſively: ſo the mind likewiſe by repoſe and travell in their turnes.

Furthermore, there be other fathers worthy of rebuke and blame, who after they have once betaken their children to Maſters, Tutors, and Governours, never deigne afterwards themſelves, either to ſee or heare them, whereby they might know how they learne: wherein they do faile very much in their duty. For they ought in proper perſon to make triall how they profit, they ſhould ever and anon (after ſome few daies paſſed between) ſee into their progreſſe and proceeding, and not to repoſe their hope and reſt altogether upon the diſcretion and diſpoſition of a mercenary Maſter. And verily this careſull regard of the fathers, will worke alſo greater diligence in the Maſters themſelves, ſeeing that by this meanes they are called eſtſoones, as it were, to account and examined how much they plie their ſchollars, and how they profit under their hands. To this purpoſe may be well applyed a pretty word ſpoken ſometimes by a wiſe eſtugry of a ſtable Nothing (quoth he) ſeedeth the ſteed ſo fat as doth the Maſters eye.

But above all things the memory of children ought daily to be exerciſed: for that it is, as a man would ſay, the Treaſury and Storehouſe of all learning. Which was the cauſe that the ancient Poets have feigned, That Lady *Mnemoſine*, that is to ſay, *Memory*, was the mother of the Muſes: Whereby they would ſeeme under an ænigmaticall and darke ſpeech to give us to underſtand, that nothing availeth ſo much either to breed, or to feed and nouriſh learning, as Memory.

And

And therefore great diligence would be used in the exercise thereof every way: whether the children be by nature good of remembrance and retentive: or otherwise of a fickle memory and given to oblivion. For the gift of nature in the one by exercise we shall confirme and augment; and the imperfection or default in the other, by diligence supply and correct: in such sort, that as they shall become better than others; so these shall proove better than themselves. For very wisely to this purpose said the Poet *Hesiodus*:

If little still to little thou do adde,
A heape at length and mickle will be had.

Over and besides, I would not have fathers to be ignorant of another point also, as touching this memorative part and faculty of the mind: namely, that it serveth much not only to get learning and literature, but also is a meanes that carrieth not the least stroke in worldly affaires: For the remembrance of matters past furnisheth men with examples sufficient to guide and direct them in their consultations of future things.

Furthermore, this care would be had of young children, that they be kept from filthy and unseemly speeches: For words (as *Democritus* saith) are the shadows of deeds. Trained also they must be to be courteous, affable, and fair spoken, as well in entertainment of talk with every one, as in saluting and greeting whomsoever they meet: for there is nothing in the world so odious as to be coy and surly of speech; to make it strange and to disdaine for to speake with men. Againe, young students shall make themselves more lovely and amiable to those with whom they converse, in case they be not so opinative and stiffe, that they will not relent nor give place one jot in disputations, if they have once taken a pitch against others. For a commendable and goodly matter it is for a man to know, not only how to overcome, but also to suffer himselfe otherwhiles to be overcome: especially in such things wherein the victory bringeth hurt and damage. For verily such a conquest may well and truly be called, according to the common Proverbe, A Cadmian victory, that is to say, which turneth to the detriment and losse of the winner. In confirmation whereof I may well alledge the testimony of the wise Poet *Euripides*, who in one of his Tragedies hath these verses:

When one of twaine, that argue and dispute,
Growes into heat of words and will not rest:
I hold him much the wiser who is mute
And staies his tongue, that he do not contest.

Now come I to other points wherein youth is to be instructed, and those of no lesse importance, nay, rather I may be bold to say, of greater consequence than all those whereof I have discoursed hitherto: And what be they? Namely, that young men be not riotous, and given to superfluity of expence: That they hold their tongue: That they master their anger: And finally, That they keep their hands pure and cleane. But let us consider these precepts particularly, what each of them in severall doth import? and more easily may they be understood, if we illustrate the same by lively examples. To begin then first with the last: There have been known great personages, who being once permitted to put forth their hands for to take bribes and money unjustly, lost all the honour which they had won the rest of their life time: As for example, * *Gylippus* the *Lacedæmonian*, who having once opened those bags or coffers of money by turning their bottomes upwards, and taken forth what pleased him, was shamefully banished out of *Sparta*, and lived obscurely in exile. As touching the gift of bridling choler, and not to be angry at all, it is a singular vertue, and perfect wise men they are indeed who can so do: Such as *Socrates* was, who being greatly abused by an insolent, audacious, and graceless yourh, that spared him not, but had spurned and kicked him with his heeles, seeing those about him to be very angry and out of patience, stamping and faring as though they would run after the party, to be avenged of such an indignity; Hovv novv my Masters, (quoth he) what if an asse had flung out, and given me a rap vvith his heeles, vvould you have had me to have yerked out and kicked him again? Hovvbeit, this ungracious impevvent not cleare avvay vvith impunity: for being rated for his insolence and levvd demeanour and reproached by every man vvith the termes of Winsing asse, Kicking colt, and such like nick-names, he fell into such a fit of melancholie, that he strangled himselfe in a halter. Also vvhen *Aristophanes* the Poet exhibited the Comedie called *Clouds*, vvherein he let flie and discharged upon *Socrates* all manner of slanders and contumelies that he could devise, insomuch as one of them vvho vvere present at the very time vvhen he railed thus licentiouslie, demanded of him, and said, Art thou not netled, O *Socrates*, to heare and see thy selfe thus blasphemed and noted in publike place? Not a vvhit (quoth he againe) for vvell I vvot, that I am in a Theatre, vvhere I make sport and am laughed at, no othervvise than at some great feast: and glad I am that I can make the audience so merrie. The like for all the vvorld is reported of *Archytas*, the *Tarentine*, and *Plato*: the one being returned home from the vvar, vvherein he vvas L. General, found his land forlet, neglected and untilled; vvhereupon he sent for his Bailife of husbandrie, vvho had the charge thereof: and vvhen he vvas come before him, Were I not exceeding angrie (quoth he) I vvould make thee feele my fingers, and give thee thy desert. And *Plato* being upon a time displeased vvith a servant of his, vvho had a licorous tooth, and had done some ungracious pranke, called unto him *Speusippus* his sisters son, and said, Go your vvaies, take me this knave aside, and svvinge him vvell: for I my selfe am verie angrie. But some men perhaps vvill

* *Vide Plutarch.*
Vide Lysand.

will say unto me, These be hard matters to do and imitate. True it is, I wot well; howbeit, endeavour we must and strive with our selves what we can, according to the example of these worthy men, to cut off somewhat of our impatience, and to curb our exceſſive anger: for we may not look to be equall and comparable in any respect to them, either in experience and skill or in vertue. Howbeit, let us nevertheleſſe, like the Priests and Torch-bearers (if I may so say) of the gods, ordained to give light, and shew unto men the reliques of their wisdome and learning, no lesse than if they were very gods, assay to follow them, and tread in their steps, endeavouring as much as lieth in us, to be furnished with their examples for our better instruction. As for the rule and government of the tongue (for of it, according to my promise, I am to discourse) if there be any man, who think eth it to be no great mastery, but a small and frivolous matter, he is very wide and far out of the right way. For a point it is of great wisdome, to know in time and place to keep silence, and far better by many degrees than any speech vvhatsoever. And for this cause (I suppose) it vvas, that our Ancestors in times past instituted those precise ceremonies of sacred mysteries, to the end that being used to hold our peace by that meanes, vve might transfer that feare which we learned in the service of the gods, to the fidelity and secrecy which we are to observe in mens affaires; and verily never was there man that repented for holding his tongue, but many a one hath often beshrewed himselfe for speaking. Againe, that word which a man hath held in at one time he may easily utter at another well enough; but a word once passed out of the mouth, he cannot possibly recall it againe. I remember that I have heard of an infinite number of men, who by occasion of an intemperate tongue of their own have fallen headlong into exceeding great calamities, among whom I will select one or two by way of example, to illustrate the theame that I have in hand, and overpasse the rest. *Ptolomæus* King of *Ægypt*, him I meane who was surnamed *Philadelphus*, espoused his own sister *Arsinoe*, and married her: at what time one *Sotades* came unto him and said, You put your aglet, Sir, thorough the oylet that is not made for it: For this one word he was cast into prition, where he remained a long time in misery, and rotted in the end, suffering condigne punishment due for his lavish tongue and foolish words: and for that he thought to make other men laugh, himselfe wept for it a long time after. The like, and in a manner the same, both did and suffer another, named *Theocritus* the Sophister, save that the punishment which he abid was much more grievous. For when King *Alexander* the Great had by his letters missive given commandement that the Greeks should provide Robes of purple against his returne, because upon his comming home he minded to celebrate a solemne sacrifice unto the gods, in token of thanksgiving, for that he had atchieved a victory over the Barbarians: by reason of which commandement the States and Cities of *Greece* were enjoyned to contribute money by the poll. Then this *Theocritus*, I have ever to this day (quoth he) doubted what *Homer* meant by this word Purple death: but now I know full well that this is the purple death which he speaketh of. By which words he incurred the high displeasure of King *Alexander*, and made him his heavy friend ever after. The same *Theocritus* another time procured to himselfe the deadly hatred of *Antigonus* King of the Macedonians, by reproaching him in way of mockerie with his deformity and defect, for that he had but one eye. For the King having advanced *Eutropion* his Master Cook to a place of high calling and command, thought him a meet man to be sent unto *Theocritus*, as well to give account unto him, as also to take account of him reciprocally. *Eutropion* gave him to understand so much from the King, and about this businesse repaired often unto him. In the end, I know well (quoth *Theocritus*) thou wilt never have done untill thou have made a dish of meat of me, and serve me up raw to the table before this Cyclops to be eaten: twirting the King with his one eye. and *Eutropion* with his cookery. But *Eutropion* came upon him againe presently, and said, Thou shalt be then without a head first, For I will make thee pay for thy prating and fooliſh tongue, and with that he went immediately to the King, and reported what he had said, who made no more adoe but sent his writ and caused his head to be smitten off.

Over and besides all these precepts before rehearsed, children ought to be inured from their very infancy in one thing which is most holy and beseeming religious education, and that is, to speake the truth: For surely, lying is a base and servile vice, detestable and hatefull among all men, and not pardonable so much as to meane slaves, such as have little or no good in them. Now as touching all that which I have delivered and advised hitherto, which concerneth the honest behaviour modesty and temperance of young children. I have delivered the same frankely, resolutely, and making no doubt thereof. Mary, for one point which now I am to touch and handle, I am not so well resolved, but much distracted in my mind hanging to and fro, as it were, in æquall ballance, and know not which way to encline, whether to the one side or to another: Insomuch as I am in great perplexity and feare: neither wote I whether I were better to go forward and utter it, or to turne back and hold my peace. And yet I will take heart, and boldly declare what it is. The question to be debated is this, Whether we ought to permit those that love young boyes, to converse with them and haunt their company, or contrariwise, keep them away and debar them that they neither come neare nor have any speech with them: For when I behold and consider the austere nature and severity of some fathers, who for fear that their sons should be abused, will in no wise abide that those who love them should in any sort keep company, or talke with them, but thinke it intollerable, I am affraid either to bring up such an order, or to approve and maintaine

maintaine the same. But when on the other side I propound before mine eyes the examples of *Socrates*, *Plato*, *Xenophon*, *Æschines*, *Cebes*, and all the sute and sort of those worthy men in times past, who allowed the manner of loving young boyes, and by that meanes brought such youths to learne good sciences, to skill of government and State-matters, and to frame their manners to the rule and square of vertue, I am turned quite and altogether of another mind, yea, and inclined wholly to imitate and follow those great personages, who have the testimony of the Poet *Euripides* on their side, saying in one place after this manner,

All loves do not the flesh grosly respect:
One love there is which doth the soule affect,
With justice beautified and equity,
With innocence likewise and chastity.

Neither ought we to surpasse one saying of *Plato*, which he delivereth between mirth and good earnest in this wise, Good reason it is, quoth he, that they who have done worthy service and atchieved great prowesse and victory in a battell, be privileged to kill whom it pleaseth them among their captives. And for those who desire nothing but the beauty and fresh floure of the body, mine opinion is they should be put back and kept away: but such in one word as love the beauty of the mind are to be chosen and admitted unto them. Also I hold, that such kind love is to be avoided and forbidden, which they practice in *Thebes* and *Elis*, as also that which in *Candy* they call Ravishment: but that which is used in *Athens* and *Lacedæmon*, we ought to receive and allow, even in young and faire boyes. Howbeit concerning this matter every man may for me opine what he thinketh good, and do as he seeth cause and can find in his heart.

Moreover, having sufficiently treated of the good nurture and modest behaviour of children, I purpose to proceed unto the age of young men: but first I will speake my mind briefly once for all as touching one point. For many a time I have complained of those who have brought up divers ill customes, and this above the rest, namely, to provide for their children whiles they be very young and little, masters, teachers, and governours: but after they are grown once to some yeares, they give them head, and suffer them to be carried away with the violent heat of youth: whereas contrariwise it were meet and needfull, to have a more carefull eye unto them, and to hold a streighter hand over them at that time, than during their infancy and childhood. For who knoweth not, that the faults of young children are but small, light and easie to be amended, as for example, some shrewdnesse and little disobedience to their tutors and governours, or happily some negligence and default in not giving eare to their teachers, and not doing as their Masters appoint them: But contrariwise the offences that yonkers commit are many times outragious and hainous, as gormandise and surfetting, robbing of their fathers, dice play in maskes and mummeries, excesse in feasting, banquering, quaffing and carousing, wanton love of young maidens, adulteries committed upon married wives, and thereby the overthrow of houses, and confusion of families. In regard of which enormities it behoveth parents to represse and bridle their wild and untamed affections with great care and vigilance: For this flower of age having no forcast of thrift, but set altogether upon spending, and given to delights and pleasures winneth and flingeth out like a skittish and frampold horse, in such sort that it had need of a sharpe bit and short curb: And therefore they that endeavour not by all good meanes forcibly to hold in and restraine this age, but give young men liberty and suffer them to do after their own mind, plunge themere they be aware into a licentious course of life and all manner of wickednesse. Wherefore good and wise fathers ought in this age especially to be vigilant and watchfull over their sons, they ought, I say, to keep them down and inure them to wisdome and vertue, by teaching by threatning, by intreaty and prayers, by advice and remonstrances, by perswasion and counsell, by faire promises, by setting before their eyes the examples of some who being abandoned to their pleasures and all sensuality have fallen headlong into great calamities, and wofull miseries: and contrariwise, of others who by mastering their lusts, and conquering their delights, have won honour and glorious renowne. For surely these be the two Elements and foundations of vertue, Hope of reward and feare of punishment: For, as hope inciteth and setteth them forward to enterprise the best and most commendable acts, so feare plucketh them back, that they dare not enter upon lewd and wicked pranks. In summe, Fathers ought with great care to divert their children from frequenting ill company, for otherwise they shall be sure to catch infection and carry away the contagion of their lewdnesse. This is that *Pythagoras* expresly forbiddeth in his Ænigmaticall precepts under covert and darke words, which because they are of no small efficacy to the attaining of vertue, I will briefly set down by the way, and open their meaning. Taste not (quoth he) of the blacke tailed fishes, *Melanuri*, which is as much to say, as, Keep not company with infamous persons, and such as for their naughty life are noted (as it were) with a blacke coale. Passe not over a ballance. That is, we ought to make the greatest account of equity and justice, and in no case to transgresse the same. Sit not upon the *measure *Chœnix*, That is to say, we are to fly sloath and idlenesse, that we may forecast to make provision of things necessary to this life. Give not every man thy right hand, which is all one with this, Make no contracts and bargaines indifferently with all persons. Weare not a ring streight upon thy finger, i.e. Live in freedome and at liberty; neither intangle and clog thy life with troubles as with gyves. Dig not nor rake into the fire with a sword: whereby he giveth us a caveat, not to provoke farther a man that

* *Chœnix* contained two sextars, or after some a sextar and half, which was *dimidium quotidianum*. Vide Cat. Rhod. lib. 16 cap. 7. & Antiquitates.

that is angry, for that is not meet and expedient: but rather to give place unto those that are in heat of choller. Eate not thy heart, that is to say, offend not thine own soule, nor hurt and consume it with pensive cares. Abstaine from beanes, i.e. Intermeddle not with the affaires of State and government: for that in old time men were wont to passe their voyces by beanes, and so proceeded to the election of Magistrates. Put not viands in a chamber-pot: whereby he signifieth, that we should not commit good and civill words to a wicked mind; because speech is the nutriment of the understanding, which becommeth polluted by the lewdnesse of men. Returne not back from the limits and confines when thou comme'st unto them, that is to say, If we perceive death approaching, and that we are come to the uttermost bounds of our life, we ought to beare our death patiently, and not bedis courged thereat.

But now it is time to return again to my matter which I proposed before in the beginning, namely, as I have already said, we are to withdraw our children from the society and companie of lewd persons, and flatterers especiallie: for that which many a time and often I have said to divers and sundry fathers, I will now repeat once againe, namely, That there is not a more mischievous and pestilent kind of men, or who do greater hurt to youth, and sooner overthrow them, than these flatterers, who are the undoing both of fathers and sons, causing the old age of the one, and the youth of the other, wretched and miserable, presenting with their lewd and wicked counsels an inevitable bait, to wit, Pleasure, wherewith they are sure to be caught. Fathers exhort their sons that be wealthy to sobriety; and these incite them to drunkennels. Fathers give them counsell to live chaste and continent; these provoke them to lust and loosenesse of life. Fathers bid them to save, spare, and be thrifty; these will them to spend, scatter, and be wasters. Fathers advise their children to labour and travell; these flatterers give them counsell to play or sit still and do nothing. What? all our life, say they, is no more but a moment and minute of time, to speake of: we must live therefore, and enjoy our own, whiles we have it: we must not live beside our selves, and languish. What need you regard and care for the menaces of a father, an old doting foole carrying death in his face, and having one foot in the grave, we shall see him one of these daies turne up his heels, and then will we soon have him forth, and carry him aloft bravely to his grave. You shall have one of these come, and bring unto a youth some common harlot out of the stinking stewes, having borne him in hand before, that she is some brave dame and citizens wife, for to furnish whom, he must rob his father, there is no remedy. Thus fathers, good men, in one houre are bereaved and spoyled of that which they had saved many a yeare for the maintenance of their old age. To be short, a wretched and cursed generation they be; hypocrites, pretending friendship, but they cannot skill of plaine dealing and franke speech. Rich men they claw, sooth up and flatter: the poore they contemne and despise. It seemeth they have learned the Art of singing to the Harpe, for to seduce young men: for when their young masters, who maintaine and feed them, begin to laugh, then they set up by and by a loud laughter, then they yawn and shew all their teeth; counterfeit crankes, fained and supposed men; bastard members of mankind and this life; who compose themselves, and live to the will and pleasure of rich men: and notwithstanding their fortune is to be free borne and of franke condition, yet they choose voluntarily to be slaves: who thinke they have great injury done unto them if they may not live in all fulnesse and superfluitie, to be kept delicately, and do nothing that good is. And therefore all fathers that have any care of their childrens good education and well-doing, ought of necessity to chase and drive away from them these graceiesse imps, and shameiesse beasts: they shall do well also to keep from them such schoole-fellows as be unhappy and given to do shrewd turnes: for such as they are enough to corrupt and marre the best natures in the world.

All these rules and lessons which hitherto I have delivered, do concerne honesty, vertue and profit: but those that now remaine behind, pertaine rather to humanity, and are more agreeable to mans nature. For in no case would I have fathers to be very hard, sharp, and rigorous to their children: but I could rather wish and desire that they winke at some faults of a young man, yea, and pardon the same when they espy them, remembring that they themselves were sometimes young. For like as Physitians mingling and tempering otherwhiles some sweet juyce or liquor with bitter drugs and medicines, have devised that pleasure and delight should be the meanes and way to do their patients good: Even so, fathers ought to delay their eager reprehensions and cutting rebukes with kindnesse and clemency: one while letting the bridle loose and giving head a little to the youthfull desires of their children: another while againe reining them short, and holding them in as hard: but above all, with patience gently to beare with their faults. But if so be fathers cannot otherwise do, but be soone angry; then they must as soone have done and be quickly pacified. For I had rather that a father should be hasty with his children, so he be appeased anon, than slow to anger, and as hard to be pleased again. For when a father is so hard-hearted, that he will not be reconciled but carrieth still in mind the offence that is done, it is a great signe that he hateth his children. And I hold it good that fathers sometime take not knowledge of their childrens faults, and in this case make some use of hard hearing and dimme sight, which old age bringeth ordinarily along with it, as if by reason of these infirmities they neither saw somewhat when they see well enough, nor heard that which they heare plainely. We beare with the faults of friends; what strange matter is it then to tolerate the imperfections of our own children? Many a time when our servants have over-drunke themselves, and surfeited

therewith, we search not too narrowly into them, nor rebuke them sharpely: therefore keep thy son one while short, be franke another while, and give him money to spend freely. Thou hast been highly offended, and angry with him once, pardon him another time for it. Hath he practised secretly with any one of thy household servants, and beguiled thee? Dissemble the matter and bridle thine ire. Hath he been at one of thy farmes, met with a good yoke of oxen and made money thereof? Commeth he in the morning to do his duty and bid thee good morrow, belching soure, and smelling strongly of wine, which the day before he drunke at the taverne with companions like himself? Seem to know nothing. Senteth he of sweet perfumes, & costly pomanders? Hold thy peace and say nothing. These are the means to tame and break a wild and coltish youth. True it is, that such as naturally be subject to wantonnesse or carnall lust, and will not be reclaimed from it, nor give eare to those that rebuke them, ought to have wives of their own, and to be yoked in marriage: for surely this is the best and surest meanes to bridle those affections, and to keep them in order. And when fathers are resolved upon this point, what wives are they to seeke for them? Surely those, that are neither in bloud much more noble, nor in state far wealthier than they: For an old saying it is and a wise, Take a wife according to thy selfe. As for those that wed women far higher in degree, or much wealthier than themselves, I cannot say they be husbands unto their wives, but rather slaves unto their wives goods.

I have yet a few short lessons to annexe unto those above rehearsed, which when I have set down, I will conclude, and knit up these precepts of mine. Above all things fathers are to take heed, that they neither commit any grosse fault, nor remit any one part of their own duty: to the end they may be as lively examples to their own children; who looking into their life as into a cleare mirrour, may by the precedents by them given, forbeare to do or speake any thing that is unseemly and dishoneſt: For such fathers who reprove their children for those parts which they play themselves, see not how under the name of their children they condemne their own selves. But surely, all those generally who are ill livers, have not the heart to rebuke so much as their own servants; much lesse dare they find fault with their children. And that which is worst of all, in living ill themselves, they teach and counsell their servants and children to do the same: For looke where old folke be shameleſſe, there must young people of necessity be most graceleſſe and impudent. Endeavour therefore we ought for the reformation of our children, to do our selves all that our duty requireth: and herein to imitate that noble Lady *Eurydice*, who being a Sclavonian born, and most barbarous, yet for the instruction of her own children she took paines to learne good letters when she was well ſtept in yeares. And how kind a mother she was to her children, this Epigram which she her selfe made and dedicated to the Muses, doth sufficiently testifie and declare:

This Cupid *here of honeſt love a true Memoriall is,*
Which whilom Dame Eurydice *of* Hierapolis
To Muses nine did dedicate: whereby in soule and mind
Conceiv'd she was in latter daies, and brought forth fruit in kind.
For when her children were well grown; good ancient Lady she,
And carefull mother took the paines to learne the A.B.C.
And in good letters did so far proceed, that in the end
She taught them those sage lessons all, which they might comprehend.

But now to conclude this Treatise, To be able to observe and keep all these precepts and rules together which I have before set down, is a thing happily that I may wish for, rather than give advise and exhort unto. Howbeit, to affect and follow the greater part of them, although it require a rare felicity and singular diligence; yet it is a thing that man by nature is capable of, and may attaine unto.

How a Young Man ought to heare Poets, and how he may take profit by reading Poems.

The Summary.

FOrasmuch as young Students are ordinarily allured as with a bait by reading of Poets, in such sort, as willingly they employ their time therein, considering that Poesie hath I wot not what Sympathy with the first heats of this age: therefore by good right this present discourse is placed next unto the former. And albeit, to speake properly, it pertaineth unto those only who read ancient Poets, as well Greeke as Latine, to take heed and beware how they take an impression of dangerous opinions, in regard either of religion or manners: yet a man may comprehend likewise under it all other profane authors, out of which a mind that is not corrupt may gather profit, so they be handled wisely, and used with discretion. To which effect Plutarch *delivereth in this treatise good precepts: And after he hath shewed generally,*

generally, that in Poesie there is delight and danger withall: he refuteth briefly those who flatly condemne it: Then, as he proceedeth to advertise that this ground and foundation is to be laid, namely, that Poets are liers; he describeth what their fictions be, how they ought to be considered, and what the scope and marke is whereat Poesie doth aime and shoot: Afterwards he adviseth to weigh and ponder well the intention of Poets, unto which they addresse and accommodate their verses: to beware of their repugnances and contradictions: and to the end that we be not so soone damnified by any dangerous points which they deliver one after another, to oppose against them the opinions and counsels of other persons of better marke. Which done, he addeth moreover and saith, That the sentences intermingled here and there in Poets, do reply sufficiently against the evill doctrine that they may seeme to teach elsewhere: also, in taking heed to the diverse significations of words to be rid and freed from great encumbrances and difficulties: discoursing moreover how a man may make use of their descriptions of vices and vertues: also, of the words and deeds of those personages whom they bring in: searching unto the reasons and causes of such speeches and discourses: thereout to draw in the end a deeper sense and higher meaning, reaching even to Morall Philosophy, and the gentle framing of the mind unto the love of vertue. And for that there be some hard and difficult places, which like unto forked waies, may leave the minds of the Readers doubtfull and in suspense: he sheweth that it is an easie matter to apply the same well, and that withall, a man may reforme those sentences ill placed, and accommodate them to many things. And in conclusion, framing this discourse to his principall intention, he treateth how the praises and dispraises which Poets attribute unto persons are to be considered: and that we ought to confirme all that which we find good in such authors by testimony taken out of Philosophy, the only scope whereunto young men must tend in reading of Poets.

Reading and hearing of Poems and Poets.

THat which the Poet *Philoxenus* said of flesh, that the sweeteſt is that which is least flesh: of fish likewise that the most savorie is that which is least fish, let us, O *Marcus Sedatus*, leave to be decided and judged by those, who, as *Cato* said, had their pallats more quick and sensible than their hearts. But, that young men take more pleasure in those Philosophicall discourses, which savour least of Philosophy, and seeme rather spoken in mirth than in earneſt, and are more vwilling to give eare thereto, and suffer themselves more easily to be led and directed thereby, is a thing to us notorious and evident. For vve see that in reading not only *Æsops* fables, and the fictions of Poets, but also the book of *Heraclides*, entituled *Abaris*, and that of *Ariston*, named *Lycas*; vwherein the opinions of Philosophers, as touching the soule, are mingled vwith tales and feigned narrations devised for pleasure, they be ravished, as one would say, with great contentment and delight. And therefore such youths ought not only to keep their bodies sober and temperate in the pleatures of meat and drinke, but also much more to accustome their minds to a moderate delight in those things vvhich they heare and read, using the same temperately as a pleasant and delectable sauce, to give a better and more savoury taste to that which is healthful, vvholsome and profitable therein. For neither those gates that be shut in a City do guard the same and secure it for being forced and vvon, if there be but one standing open to receive and let in the enemies: nor the temperance and continency in the pleasures of other senses preserve a young man for being corrupted and perverted, if for vvant of forecaſt and heed-taking he give himselfe to the pleasure only of the eare. But for that the hearing approacheth nearer to the proper seat of reason and understanding (vvhich is the braine) so much the more hurt it doth unto him that receiveth delectation thereby, if it be neglected, and not better heed taken thereto. Novv forasmuch happily, as it is neither possible nor profitable to restraine from the reading and hearing of Poems, such young men as are of the age either of my son *Soclarus*, or of your *Cleander*, let us, I pray you, have a carefull eye unto them, as standing more in need of a guide novv to direct them in their readings, than they did in times past to stay and dade them vvhen they learned to go. This is the reason, that me thought in duty I vvas bound to send unto you in vvriting, that vvhich not long since I discoursed of by mouth, as touching the vvritings of Poets: to the end that you may read it your selfe, and if you find that the reasons therein delivered be of no lesse vertue and efficacy than the stones called Amethysts, which some take before and hang about their necks, to keep them from drunkennesse as they sit at banquets, drinking wine merrily; you may impart and communicate the same to your son *Cleander*, to preoccupate and prevent his nature, which being not dull and heavy in any thing, but every way quick, lively and pregnant, is more apt and easie to be lead by such allurements.

In Polypes head there is to be had,
One thing that good is, and another as bad,

for that the flesh thereof is pleasant and savoury enough in taste to him that feedeth thereupon: but (as they say) it causeth troublesome dreames in the sleep, and imprinteth in the fantasie strange and monstrous visions. Semblably, there is in Poesie much delectation and pleasure, enough to entertaine and feed the understanding and spirit of a young man: yet nevertheleſſe, he shall meet with that there which will trouble and carry away his mind into errours, if his hearing be not well guided and conducted by sage direction. For very well and fitly it may be said not only of the land of *Ægypt*, but also of Poetry;

Mixed drugs plenty, as well good as bad,
Med'cines and poysons are there, to be had,

which it bringeth forth and yeeldeth to as many as converse therein. Likewise:

Therein sweet love and wantonnesse,
with dalliance you shall find;
And sugered words, which do beguile
the best and wisest mind.

For that which is so deceitfull and dangerous therein, toucheth not at all those that be witlesse sots, fooles, and grosse of conceit. Like as *Simonides* answered upon a time to one, who demanded of him, Why he did not beguile and circumvent the Thessalians as well as all other Greeks; Because, quoth he, they are too sottish for me to deale withall, and so rude, that I cannot skill of deceiving them. *Gorgias* also the Leontine was wont to say of a Tragedy, That it was a kind of deceit, whereby he that deceived became more just than he who deceived not; and he that was deceived wiser than another who was not deceived. What is then to be done? Shall we constraine our youth to go aboord into the Brigantine or Barke of *Epicurus*, to saile away and flie from Poetry, by plastring and stopping their eares with hard and strong waxe, as *Ulysses* sometimes served those of *Ithaca*? Or rather by environing and defending their judgement with some discourse of true reason, as with a defensative band about it, to keep and guard them, that they be not carried away with the allurements of pleasure unto that which might hurt them: Shall we reforme and preserve them?

For sure, Lycurgus, *though he was*
The valiant son of stout Dryas,

shewed himselfe not wise nor well in his wits, when he went throughout his whole Realme, and caused all the vines to be cut down and destroyed, because he saw many of his subjects troubled in their braines, and drunken with wine: whereas he should rather have brought the nymphs (which are the spring waters) neerer, and keep in order that foolish, furious, and outragious god *Bacchus*, as *Plato* saith, with another goddesse that was wise and sober. For the mingling of water with wine delayeth and taketh away the hurtfull force thereof: but killeth not withall the wholsome vertue that it hath: Even so we ought not to cut off, nor abolish Poetry, which is a part and member of the Muses and good literature: But when as the strange fables and Theatricall fictions therein, by reason of the exceeding pleasure and singular delight that they yeeld in reading them, do spread and swell unmeasurably, ready to enter forcibly into our conceit so far as to imprint therein some corrupt opinions: then let us beware, put forth our hands before us, keep them back and stay their course. But where there is a Grace and Muse met together, that is to say, delight conjoyned with some knowledge and learning: where, I say, the attractive pleasure and sweetnesse of speech is not without some fruit, nor void of utility, there let us bring in withall the reason of Philosophy, and make a good medly of pleasure and profit together. For as the herb Mandragoras growing neere unto a Vine doth by infusion transmit her medicinable vertue into the wine that commeth of it, and procureth in them that drinke afterwards thereof, a more mild desire and inclination to sleep soundly: Even so, a Poem receiving reasons and arguments out of Philosophy, and intermingling the same with fables and fictions, maketh the learning and knowledge therein contained to be right amiable unto young men, and soon to be conceived. Which being so, they that would be learned and Philosophers indeed, ought not to reject and condemne the works of Poetry, but rather search for Philosophy in the writings of Poets: or rather therein to practice Philosophy, by using to seeke profit in pleasure, and to love the same: otherwise, if they can find no goodnesse therein, to be displeased and discontented, and to fall out therewith. And truly, this is the very beginning of knowledge and learning: for according to the Poet *Sophocles*,

Lay well thy ground, whatever thou intend:
For a good beginning makes an happy end.

First and formost therefore, the young man whom we would induct and traine to the reading of Poesie, ought to have nothing in his heart so well imprinted, nor so ready at hand, as this common saying,

Poets all to say a sooth
Are Liars stout, and speake untruth.

And verily as Poets sometimes lye willully, so otherwhiles they do it against their wils: willfully and of purpose, for that being desirous to tickle and please the eares, a thing which most Readers desire and seek after, they thinke that simple and plaine verity is more austere for that purpose then leasing: For truth recounting a thing as it was done, keepeth to it still, and albeit the issue and the end thereof happily be unpleasant, yet nevertheless she goeth not aside but reporteth it outright: whereas a tale or lye devised for delight, quickly divereth out of the way, and soon turneth from a thing which grieveth, unto that which is more delightsome. For there is no song in rime and metre, no trope or figurative speech, no lofty stile, no metaphor so fitly borrowed, no harmony, no composition of words, how smoothly soever they run, that carrieth the like grace and is either so attractive or retentive, as a fabulous narration well couched, artificially enterlaced, and aptly delivered. But as in a picture drawn to the life, the colour is more effectu-

all

all to move and affect our sense, then the simple purtrayng and first draught, by reason of a certaine resemblance it hath to the personage of man or woman, which deceiveth our judgement: Even so, in Poems, a lie intermingled with some probability and likelihood of a truth doth excite and stir more, yea, and please better by far, than all the art and study that a man is able to employ either in composing excellent verses, or enditing any polished prose, without enterlarding fables and fictions Poeticall. Whereupon it came to passe, that *Socrates*, who all his life time made great profession to be a defender and maintainer of the truth, being minded upon a time to take in hand Poetry, by occasion of certaine dreames and visions appearing unto him in his sleep: in the enterprise whereof finding himselfe to have no aptnesse nor grace at all in devising lies, did into verse certaine fables of *Æsope*, supposing verily there could be no Poesie where there were no lies. Many sacrifices we know to have been celebrated without piping and dancing. But never was there known any Poetry but it was grounded upon some vaine fables and loud leasing. The verses of *Empedocles* and *Parmenides*, the book of *Nicander*, entituled *Theriaca*, where he treateth of the biting and stinging of venemous serpents, and of their remedies. The morall sentences of *Theognis* are writings which borrow of Poetry their loftinesse of stile and measure of syllables, to beare them up mounted on high to avoid the base foot-pace (as it were) of prose. When as we read therefore in Poeticall compositions, any strange & absurd thing as touching the gods, demy-gods, or vertue, spoken by some worthy personage of great renowme, he that beleeveth such a speech, and receiveth it as an undoubted truth, wandereth in errour, and is corrupted in opinion: but he that ever and anon remembreth and setteth before his eyes the charmes and illusions that Poetry ordinarily useth in the invention of lying fables, and can eftsoones blesse himselfe, and say thus thereto,

O quaint device, O slie and crafty gin,
More changeable than spotted Ounces skin:
Why jestest thou and yet thy brows dost knit?
Deceiving me, yet seem'st to teach me wit.

He, I say, shall never take harme, nor admit into his understanding any evill impression, but reprehend and reprove himselfe when he feareth *Neptune*, and standeth in dread, lest he shake, cleave, and open the earth, and so discover hell: he will rebuke also himselfe when he is offended and angry with *Apollo*, for the principall * man of all the Greekes, of whom *Thetis* complaineth thus in the Poet *Æschylus*, as touching *Achilles* her son. * *Achilles.*

Himselfe did sing and say all good of me:
Himselfe also at wedding present was:
Yet for all this, himselfe and none but he,
Hath slaine and done to death my son, alas.

He will likewise represse the teares of *Achilles* now departed, and of *Agamemnon* being in hell, who in their desire to revive, and for the love of this life, stretch forth their impotent and feeble hands. And if it chance at any time that he be troubled with passions, and surprised with their enchantments and sorcery, he will not stick nor feare to say thus unto himselfe,

Make haste and speed, without delay,
Recover soone the light of day;
Beare well in mind what thou seest here;
And all report to thy bed-feere.

Homer spake this in mirth and pleasantly, fitting indeed the discourse, wherein he describeth hell as being in regard of the fiction a tale fit for the eares of women and none else: These be the fables that Poets do feigne voluntarily. But more in number there are which they neither devise nor counterfeit, but as they are perswaded and do beleeve themselves, so they would beare us in hand, and infect us with the same untruths, as namely, when *Homer* writeth thus of *Jupiter*,

Two lots then of long sleeping death, he did in ballance put,
One for Achilles *hardy knight, and one for* Hector *stout:*
But when he pois'd it just in midst, behold, sir Hectors *death*
Weigh'd downward unto hell beneath: Then Phœbus *stopt his breath.*

To this fiction *Æschylus* the Poet hath aptly fitted one entire Tragedy, which he intituled *Psychostasia*, that is to say, the weighing of Soule, or Ghosts in ballance. Wherein he deviseth to stand at these scales of *Jupiter*, *Thetis* of the one side, and *Aurora* of the other, praying each of them for their sons as they fight. But there is not a man who seeth not clearly, that this is but a made tale and meere fable devised by *Homer*, either to content and delight the Reader, or to bring him into some great admiration and astonishment. Likewise in this place:

'Tis Jupiter *that moveth war:*
He is the cause that men do jar.

As also this of another Poet:

When God above some house will overthrow,
He makes debate 'twixt mortall men below.

These and such like speeches are delivered by Poets, according to the very conceit and beliefe which they have, whereby the errour and ignorance which themselves are in as touching the nature of the gods they derive and communicate unto us. Semblably, the strange wonders and

marvels of Hell; The descriptions by them made which they depaint unto us by fearefull and terrible termes, representing unto us the fantasticall apprehensions and imaginations of burning and flaming rivers, of hideous places and horrible torments: there are not many men but wot well enough that therein be tales and lies good store: no otherwise than in meats and viands, you shall find mixed otherwhiles hurtfull poyson, or medicinable drugs. For neither *Homer* nor *Pindarus*, nor *Sophocles*, have written thus of Hell, beleeving certainly that there were any such things there:

From whence the dormant rivers dead
of black and shady night,
Cast up huge mists and clouds full darke,
that over-whelme the light:
Likewise,
The Ocean coast they sailed still along,
Fast by the clifts of Leucas rock among.
As also,
Here boyling waves of gulfe so deep do swell,
Where lies the way and downfall into hell.

And as many of them as bewailed and lamented for death as a most pitious and wofull thing, or feared want of sepulture as a miserable and wretched case, uttered their plaints and griefes in these and such like words:

For sake me not unburied so,
Nor unbewailed when you go,
Semblably.
And then the soule from body flew,
and as to hell she went,
She did her death, her losse of strength
and youthfull yeares lament.
Likewise,
Do not me kill before my time,
for why? to see this light
Is sweet: force me not under earth,
where nothing is but night.

These are the voices, I say, of passionate persons, captivate before to errour and false opinions. And therefore they touch us more nearely, and trouble us so much the rather, when they find us likewise possessed of such passions and feebleness of spirit, from whence they proceed. In which regard we ought to be prepared betimes, and provided alwaies before hand to encounter and withstand such illusions, having this sentence readily ever more resounding in our eares, as it were, from a trunke or pipe, That Poetry is fabulous, and maketh small reckoning of truth. As for the truth indeed of these things, it is exceeding hard to be conceived and comprehended even by those who travell in no other businesse, but to search out the knowledge and understanding of the thing, as they themselves do confesse. And for this purpose these verses of *Empedocles* would be alwaies ready at hand, who saith that the depth of such things as these

No eye of man is able to perceive:
No care to heare, nor spirit to conceive.

Like as these also of *Xenophanes*.

Never was man, nor ever will be,
Able to sound the verity
Of those things which of God I write,
Or of the world I do endite.

And I assure you, The very words of *Socrates* in *Plato* imply no lesse, who protesteth and bindeth it with an oath, that he cannot attaine to the knowledge of these matters. And this will be a good motive to induce young men to give lesse credit unto Poets, as touching their certaine knowledge in these points, wherein they perceive the Philosophers themselves so doubtfull and perplexed, yea, and therewith so much troubled.

Also the better shall we stay the mind of a young man and cause him to be more wary, if at his first entrance into the reading of Poets, we describe Poetry unto him: giving him to understand that it is an art of Imitation, and a science correspondent every way to the feat of painting: and not only must he be acquainted with the hearing of that vulgar speech so common in every mans mouth, that Poesie is a speaking picture, and picture a dumbe Poesie: but also we ought to teach him, that when we behold a Lizard or an Ape well painted, or the face of *Thersites* lively drawn, we take pleasure therein, and praise the same wonderfully; not for any beauty in the one or in the other, but because they are so naturally counterfeited. For that which is foule of it selfe and ill-favoured in its own nature, cannot be made faire and seemly: but the skill of resembling a thing well, be the same faire, or be it foule, is alwaies commended: whereas contrariwise, he that takes in hand to purtray an ill-favoured body, and makes thereof a faire and beautifull image, shall exhibite a sight neither seemly nor decent. Some painters you shall have to delight in painting

ting of strange, foolish, and absurd actions: as for example, *Timomachus* represented in a table the picture of *Medea*, killing her own children: *Theon* painted *Orestes* murthering his own mother: *Parrhasius* described with his pensill the counterfeit rage and madnesse of *Ulysses*, and *Cherephanes* purtrayed the wanton dalliance and dealing of men and women together unseemely. With which arguments, and such like, a young man is to be made acquainted, that he may learn thereby how the thing it selfe is not praise-worthy, whereof he seeth the expresse resemblance, but the art and cunning of the workman who could so artificially draw the same to the life. Semblably, forasmuch as Poesie representeth many times, by way of imitation, filthy actions, lewd affections, and vicious manners: it is the part of a young man to know thus much, That the thing which is admired therein and found to be singular, he ought not either to receive as true, or prove as good, but to praise it so far forth only as it is befitting the person, or appropriate to the subject matter. For like as when we heare the grunting of a swine, the creaking of a cart wheele, or pulley, the whistling noise of the wind, or the roaring of the sea, we take no pleasure therein, but are troubled and discontented: but contrariwise, if a merry fellow or jeaster can pretily counterfeit the same, as one *Parmeno* could grunt like a swine, and *Theodorus* creake like the said wheeles, we are delighted therewith. Also, as we shun a diseased person, and a Lazar full of filthy ulcers, as an unpleasant and hideous spectacle to behold: but when we look upon *Philoctetes* purtrayed by *Aristophon*; and Queen *Jocasta* by *Silanian*: namely, how they be described to pine away, and ready to yeeld up the Ghost, we receive no small contentment thereby: even so a young man when he shall read what the ridiculous jester *Thersites*, or the amorous and wanton spoyler of maiden, *Sisyphus*, or the beastly baud *Petrochus*, is brought in by Poets to say or do; let him be advertised and instructed to praise the art and sufficiency of the Poet, who knew how to paint the same so lively and naturally: but withall to blame, reject, and detest the acts and conditions which are thus represented. For there is a great difference between resembling a thing well, and a thing that is simply good: for when I say well, I meane aptly, decently, and properly: and so acts filthy and dishonest, are fit and beseeming for lewd and unhonest persons. For the shooes of that lame creeple *Demonides*, which he prayed to God might serve his feet that had stollen them from him, were in themselves misshapen and ill-favoured: howbeit, proper and fit for him: As for this speech,

If laws of right and equity
In any case may broken be,
What man alive would not begin
To do all wrong, a Crown to win?
And this:
Put on thy face, I thee advise,
Of him that is just and right wise:
But see no deeds thou do forelet,
Whereby thou maist some profit get.
Also:
Unlesse I may my talent gaine
As cleare as gift, I am in paine.
Likewise:
How shall I live or take repose,
In case this talent I do lose?
Nay, sleep I will and feare no hell,
Nor torments there, but thinke all well,
What wrong I do, what plots I set,
My silver talent for to get.

Wicked words they be all, and most false; howbeit, beseeming such as *Eteocles* and *Ixion* were; and becomming well an old Usurer. If therefore we would advertise young men, that Poets write thus, not as if they praised and allowed such speeches, but as they knowv full vvell that they be levvd and naughty, so they do attribute them unto as wicked and godlesse persons, they should never take harme by any evill impressions from Poets: but contrariwise, the prejudicate opinion insinuated first, of such and such a man, will presently breed a suspition both of word and deed to be bad, as spoken and done by a bad and vicious person. Such an example is that of *Paris* in *Homer*, who flying out of the battell, went presently to bed to faire *Helena*. For seeing that the Poet reporteth of no man else, but only of this unchaste adulterous *Paris*, that he lay with his wife in the day-time: it is an evident proofe that he reputed and judged such incontinency to be reproachfull, and therefore made report thereof to his blame and shame both. In these cases also it would be well considered, whether the Poet himselfe do not give some plaine demonstrations implying thus much, that he misliketh such speeches, and is offended therewith, as *Menander* did in the Prologue of that Comedy, which he intituled *Thais*.

O lady Muse now help me to endite
Of this so bold and unshamefaced queane,
Yet beautifull: who also hath a sprite
Per swasive, and with words can carry cleane

The

The wrongs that ſhe unto her lovers all
Doth offer; whom ſhe ſhutteth out of dores,
And yet for gifts ſhe ſtill of them doth call,
And picks their purſe, which is the caſt of whores:
She none doth love, and yet ſhe ſemblance makes
That ayre ſhe will, poore heart, for all their ſakes.

And verily in this kind *Homer*, among all other Poets, doth excell, and uſeth ſuch advertiſements with beſt diſcretion: for it is ordinary with him both to premiſe ſome reprehenſion and blame of evill ſpeeches, and alſo to recommend the good. And for an inſtance hereof, in this wiſe he giveth commendation of a good ſpeech,

And then anon, this ſpeech right commendable
He ſpake, which was both ſweet and profitable.

Againe,

Approaching then, he ſtood unto him neare,
And ſtaied him ſoone with words that gentle were.

Semblably on the other ſide reproving bad and lewd ſpeeches, he in a manner doth proteſt that he himſelfe miſliketh of them, and therewith denounceth likewiſe, and doth intimate unto the readers thus much in effect, That they ſhould make no uſe thereof, nor take regard, otherwiſe than of wicked things and dangerous examples: as namely, when he purpoſed to deſcribe the rude and groſſe termes that *Agamemnon* gave unto the Prieſt of *Apollo*, when he abuſed him unreverently, he premiſed this before;

This nothing pleaſed Atreus *ſon, K.* Agamemnon *hight;*
But him he badly did intreat, and uſe with all deſpight.

By this word Badly, he meaneth rudely, proudly, diſdainfully, without regard of duty or decency. As for *Achilles*, he attributeth unto him theſe raſh and outragious ſpeeches,

Thou drunken ſot and dogs-face that thou art,
Thou courage haſt, no more then fearefull Hart.

But he inferred withall his own judgement as touching thoſe words in this manner,

Achilles *then for* Peleus *ſon, ſtill boyling in his blood,*
Gave Agamemnon *words again unſeemly and not good.*

For it is not like that any thing could be well and decently ſpoken proceeding from ſuch anger and bitter choler. He obſerveth the ſame not in words only, but alſo in deeds. For thus he ſaith,

No ſooner had he ſpoke the word, but preſently he meant
To worthy Hector *much diſgrace, whoſe body up he hent,*
He ſtript and ſpoiled it full ſoon, and then hard by the bed
Of ſir Patroclus *he ſt laid, and groveling there it ſpred.*

He uſeth alſo fitly to the purpoſe pretty reprehenſions after things be done, delivering his own ſentence, as it were, by way of a voice given, touching that which was either done or ſaid a little before: As for example, after the narration of the adultery between *Mars* and *Venus*, he reporteth that the gods ſpake in this ſort:

Lewd Acts do never better ſpeed; Lo how the ſlow and lame
Can overtake him who for ſtrength and ſwiftneſſe hath the name!

And in another place, upon the audacious preſumption and proud vaunting of *Hector*, thus he ſaith,

Theſe words he ſpake in bravery and ſwelling pride of heart,
But Lady Juno *was diſpleas'd, and tooke them in ill part.*

Likewiſe as touching the arrow that *Pandarus* ſhot,

No ſooner Pallas *ſaid the word, but fooliſh minded man,*
He was perſwaded, and therewith ſtreight waies to ſhoot began.

And theſe be the ſententious ſpeeches, and opinions of Poets, by them expreſly uttered, which any man may ſoon find and eaſily diſcerne, if he will but take heed and give regard unto them. But yet over and beſides theſe teſtimonies, they furniſh us alſo with other inſtructions by their own deeds. For thus it is reported of *Euripides*, that when upon a time ſome reviled *Ixion*, and reproached him by the termes of Godleſſe, Wicked, and Accurſed: he anſwered, True indeed, quoth he, and therefore I would not ſuffer him to be brought from the Stage, before I had ſet him faſt upon the wheele, and broken both his armes and legs. True it is, that this kind of Doctrine in *Homer* is after a ſort mute and not delivered in plaine and expreſſe termes: but if a man will conſider more nearly, even thoſe fables and fictions in him, which are moſt blamed and found fault withall, there may be found therein a profitable inſtruction, and covert ſpeculation: And yet ſome there be who wreſt and writh forcibly the ſaid fables another way by their Allegories, (for ſo they call in theſe daies thoſe ſpeeches wherein one thing is ſpoken and another meant, whereas in times paſt they were termed *Hyporea*. for the hidden meaning couched under them) whereby they would make us believe that the fiction as touching the adultery of *Mars* & *Venus* ſignifieth thus much, that when the Planet of *Mars* is in conjunction with that of *Venus* in ſome Horoſcopes and Nativities. ſuch perſons then borne ſhall be enclined to adulteries: but if the Sun do then ariſe, paſſe, and overtake them, then ſuch adulteries are in danger to be diſcovered and

diſcovered and the parties to be taken in the very act. Now as touching *Juno*, how ſhe embelliſheth and adorneth her ſelfe before *Jupiter*, as alſo the fiction and ſorcery about the needle-worke girdle and Tiſſue which ſhe borrowed of *Venus*, they would have it to ſignifie a certaine purging and clearing of the aire, as it approacheth neare to the fire: as if the Poet himſelfe gave not the interpretation and expoſition of ſuch doubts: For in the tale of the adultery of *Venus*, he meaneth nothing elſe, but to teach them that gave eare thereto, how wanton muſicke, laſcivious ſongs, and ſpeeches grounded upon evill arguments, and containing naughty matters, corrupt our manners, induce us to a luxurious, looſe, and effeminate life, and cauſe men to be ſubject unto pleaſures, delights, ſenſuality, and luſt, and given over to the love of women: as alſo,

To change eſtſoons their beds of coſtly price,
Their rich array, hot baines, and each device.

And therefore the ſame *Homer* bringeth in *Ulyſſes*, commanding the Muſician, who ſung to the Harpe, in this wiſe,

Digreſſe, good ſir, from ſuch lewd ſongs, and ballads vaine as theſe,
Sing rather of the Trojan horſe: you ſhall us therein pleaſe:

Giving us thereby a good inſtruction, that Minſtrels, Muſicians, and Poets ſhould receive the matter and argument of their compoſitions from wiſe men, ſober, ſage, and vertuous. And as touching that fable of *Juno*, he ſhewed how the love, favour, and acquaintance which women win of men by charmes, ſorceries, and enchantments with fraud and deceit, is a thing not only tranſitory and of ſmall continuance, unſure, and whereof a man hath ſoon enough, and is quickly weary, but alſo that which many times turneth to hatred, anger, and enmity, ſo ſoon as the preſent pleaſure is once paſt: For thus threatneth *Jupiter*, and ſaith,

Thou ſhalt then know that wanton love and dalliance in bed,
Whereby thou erſt haſt me deceived, ſhall ſerve thee in ſmall ſted.

For the ſhew and repreſentation of wicked deeds, if there be propounded withall the ſhame and loſſe which befalleth unto them that have committed the ſame, doth no hurt at all, but rather much good unto the hearers. As for Philoſophers verily, they uſe examples taken out of hiſtories, to admoniſh and inſtruct the readers, even by ſuch things as be at hand, and either are or have been really ſo: but Poets do indeed the ſame, and in effect, howbeit they deviſe and invent matter of their own heads, they feigne fables, I ſay, fitting their purpoſe. Certes, like as *Melanthius* ſaid, between bord and good earneſt, that the City of *Athens* ſtood upright on foot, and was preſerved by meanes of the diviſion, diſcord, and trouble which was among Oratours and Politicians; for that all the Citizens leaned not altogether to a ſide, nor bare levelly upon one and the ſame wall, and ſo by reaſon of the variance which reigned among the States men, there was evermore ſome one counterpoiſe or other, weighing even againſt that which endamaged the common-weale: even ſo the contradictions that are found in the writings of Poets, which draw the aſſent and beliefe of the readers reciprocally to and fro, and leave matters ambiguous and doubtfull, are a cauſe that they be not of ſo great moment and weight, as to endamage or endanger much. When as therefore we meet with ſuch repugnant places among them, which being laid neare together do imply evident contrarieties, we ought to encline to the ſafer ſide and favour the better part. As namely in theſe verſes,

The Gods in many things, my ſon,
Have men deceived and them undone.

But contrariwiſe, what ſaith the ſon againe?

Sir, that's ſoon ſaid: mens faults t' excuſe,
Nothing more ready, than Gods t' accuſe.

Likewiſe in one place:

In ſtore of gold thou ſhouldſt have joy:
And count all knowledge but a toy.

But elſewhere:

Abſurd it is in goods to ſtow,
And no good thing beſides to know.

Moreover when we read:

How then? ſhould I for Gods cauſe die?

We muſt be ready with this,

What elſe? for love of God I judge
We ought no ſervice for to grudge.

Theſe and ſuch like diverſities of doubtfull ſentences, are ſoon aſſoyled and diſſolved, in caſe, as I have before ſaid, we direct the judgement of young men to adhere unto the better part. But ſay, we light upon ſome wicked and ungodly ſpeech, without any anſwer adjoyned thereto for to refell the ſame preſently: what then is to be done? Surely we muſt confute it by oppoſing contrary ſentences of the ſame author in other places: neither are we to be angry or offended with the Poet in this caſe; but rather thinke they be words either merrily ſpoken, or only to repreſent the nature of ſome perſon, and with him only to be diſpleaſed. Moreover, againſt theſe fictions in *Homer*, when he reporteth how the gods fall together by the eares, and throw one another down: or that they be wounded in ſome battell by the hands of mortall men: alſo that they be

at variance and debate: you may if you will by and by oppose that which he himselfe speaketh in another place, and so beat him with his own rod: saying thus unto him,

You know sir, if you list, iwis
To tell us better tales than this.

And verily you both utter better words, and thinke of better matters otherwise in these places:

The Gods in heaven do live at ease:
They know no trouble nor disease.

Also:

Whereas the Gods in blisse and joy
Do ever live without annoy.

Likewise:

The Gods themselves are void of care:
Sadnesse and sorrow mens lots they are.

For these are the true and safe conceptions which we ought to have as touching the Gods: And for all other fabulous fictions and attributes given unto them, they have been devised only to give contentment to the readers, or to move their affections. In like case whereas *Euripides* saith:

Gods over men, having power and mastery,
Abuse and deceive them with wiles and sophistry.

It were not amisse to alledge and infer that which he writeth better and more truly in another place:

If Gods do harme, or what doth not beseeme,
No Gods in truth we are them for to deeme.

Also when *Pindarus* speaketh very bitterly and eagerly in one place, tending altogether to revenge:

All meanes and plots we may addresse,
To worke and compasse our foes distresse.

We may come upon him againe and answer thus: But you good Sir elsewhere affirme, That

The joy we gaine by fraud and treachery,
Turnes in the end to woe and misery.

Moreover, when we heare *Sophocles* in this song:

Lucre alwaies full pleasant is and sweet,
Although it come by false meanes and unmeet,

Reply we ought and say thus: We have heard you sing in another tune:

Deceitfull lies and false language,
Bring forth no fruit that will beare age.

Furthermore, to encounter these speeches which are delivered as touching riches:

Pow'rfull is riches to win forts steepe and high,
As well as places most plaine and accessible,
Whereas those pleasures which ready be and nigh
To hold and enjoy, far more is impossible.
And why? a tongue that smooth and filed is,
Will cause a man foule and unpersonable,
Of no regard, whose parts be all amisse
Faire for to seeme, full wise and commendable.

The Reader may alledge many opposite sentences of *Sophocles*, and these among the rest:

I see no cause, but men in poverty,
May be advanc'd to place of dignity.

Also:

A man is not the worse for his poverty,
In case he hath both wisdome and honesty.

Likewise:

What joy, what grace can come of worldly pelfe,
If first by shifts a man to it attaine:
And then with restlesse cares torment himselfe,
And take bad courses the same to maintaine?

And *Menander* verily in one place hath highly praised and extolled sensuall lust and concupiscence, whereby he set them forward who are of an hot nature, and of themselves prone to voluptuousnesse, namely, in these and such like amatorious words:

What creatures soever do live and see
The sun light joy, that common treasure,
Are all, have been, and ever shall be
Subject and thrall to fleshly pleasure.

Howbeit, in another the same Poet hath turned us about and forcibly drawn us unto honesty, repressing and bridling the insolent fury of a loose and luxurious life, saying in this wise:

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A filthy life, thou pleasant for the while,
With shame at last, doth all delights defile.

These sayings are in some sort contrary to the former, but far better and more profitable every way. And therefore the setting together and consideration of such contradictory sentences will bring forth one of these two effects: for either it will draw young men to the better way, or at least wise derogate the credit of the worse.

But if peradventure it come to passe that the Poets themselves do not solve and salve those strange and absurd sayings, which they seem to set abroad: it were not amisse to oppose against them the contrary sentences of other famous authors: and when we have weighed and compared them in ballance, to make proofe thereby which are the better. As for example, if happily *Alexis* the Poet hath prevailed with some by these verses of his:

If men be wise, above all they will chuse
By all meanes their pleasures to compasse and use.
Whereof there be three most pow'rfull and rife,
Which wholly possesse and accomplish our life,
To eate, to drinke, to follow venery:
As for the rest, I hold accessary.

We must call to mind and remember, that the sage *Socrates* was of another opinion and spake the contrary: for he was wont to say, that the wicked lived for to eate and drinke; but the vertuous did both eate and drinke to live. Semblably, to meet with this verse of the Poet who ever it was that wrote thus:

To make thy part good with a person lewd,
Fight with like lewdnesse, and be thou as shrewd.

Bidding us in some sort to accommodate and frame our selves like to the lewd and wicked: we may be ready with that notable Apophthegme of *Diogenes*, who being asked how a man might be revenged best of his enemy, answered thus, If (quoth he) thou shew thy selfe a good and honest man. The wisdome also of the said *Diogenes* we must set against the Poet *Sophocles*, who troubled the minds and consciences of many thousands with distrust and despaire, by writing these verses as touching the religion and confraternity in the Mysteries of *Ceres*:

How happy men, and thrice happy are they
Whose fortune it is, the secrets to see
Of Mysteries so sacred: and streight-way
Down into hell, for to descend with glee:
For they alone in blisse shall live for ay:
The rest in bale, must suffer paine alway.

How now, quoth *Diogenes*, when he heard such verses read: Saiest thou so indeed? And shall *Patœcian* the notorious theefe be in better state after this life when he is once departed, only because he was entred and professed in the orders of this confraternity, than good *Epimenondas*? As for *Timotheus*, when upon a time in the audience of a full Theatre, he chanted a Poem which he had compiled in the honour of *Diana*, wherein he stiled her with the Attributes and Epithets of *Menas*, *Thyas*, *Phœbas*, and *Lyssas*, which signifie Furious, Enraged, Possessed, and starke Mad: *Cinnesias* presently cried aloud unto him, I would thou hadst a daughter of thine own with such qualities. The like elegant answer *Bion* is reported to have made unto *Theognis*, For when *Theognis* came out with these verses,

A man held down with poverty
Can nothing do or say:
For why? his tongue wants liberty,
And somewhat dith it stay.

Bion hearing them, How commeth it then to passe, quoth he, that thou thy selfe being but a beggar keepest such a prating as thou dost, and with thy vaine babling and garrulity troublest our eares?

Moreover, we must not in any wise omit and let passe the occasions which are ministred out of the words and sentences either adjoyning, or intermingled with those speeches, for to reforme and correct the same: But like as Physitians are of opinion, that notwithstanding the greene Flies *Cantharides* be of themselves venemous and a deadly poyson; yet their wings and feet are helpfull and wholsome: yea, and of vertue to frustrate and kill the malice of the said flies: even so in the Poems and writings of Poets, if there be one Noune or Verbe hanging to a sentence that we feare will do harme, which Noune or Verbe may in some sort weaken the said hurtfull force, we are to take hold thereof, and to stand upon the signification of such words more at large, as some do in these verses,

This honour due to wretched men we keep,
Our haire to cut, and over them to weep.

As also in these,

We men, alas most miserable, live
In paine and griefe, this lot the gods do give.

For the Poet doth not simply affirme that the gods have predestinate all men simply to live in

woe

woe and sorrow, but this he speaketh of foolish and wilesse folke, who being ordinarily lewd and naught, and therefore miserable and wretched for their wickednesse, he is wont to call δυσμόρους and ἀϊζυγους.

Another way there is besides, to turn the doubtfull and suspected sentences in poeticall writings to the better sense, which otherwise might be construed in the worse part: namely, by interpreting words to the signification wherein they are usually taken: wherein it were better to exercise a young man, than in the interpretations of obscure termes, which we call Glosses. And verily a point this is favouring of great learning, and full besides of delectation: as for example, To know how the word ῥηγεδανὴ in Poets signifieth, is as much to say, as ill death, or a bad end; for that the Macedonians use to call death δανὸς. Likewise the *Æolians* do terme victory which is atchieved by long suffering, continuall perseverance and abiding, καμμονὴ. Also, among the *Dryopians*, those be named ποσεὶ, who with other are called *Dæmones*, i.e. Saints or Heavenly wights. Furthermore it is not only expedient, but necessary also, if we would receive good, and not harme, by the reading of Poets; to know certainly, how and in what signification they take the proper names of gods; as also the appellative words of good and evill things. Likewise what they meane by the vocables ψυχὴ, i.e. the soule; or μοῖρα, i.e. fatall destinie. Namely, whether these termes be taken by them in one sense, or have many significations? The same is to be said of many other words besides: for example sake, this Noune δῖκος sometimes signifieth an ædifice or dwelling house, as when *Homer* saith,

δῖκον ἐς ὑψόροφον, *To the house built with an high roofe.*

Otherwhiles it betokeneth goods and substance: as in this peece of a verse,

ἐδίεταί μοι δῖκος. *My house is eaten*, i.e. *My goods are wasted and consumed.*

Also this word βίοτος is taken in one place for life; as namely in these verses;

ἀμενήνωσεν δὲ οἱ αἰχμὴν
κυανοχαίτα ποσειδάων βιότοιο μερίσας.
God Neptune *with his haire so blacke,*
envying him long life,
Despightfully his daies cut short,
and ended all the strife.

But in another for goods and riches: to wit,

βίοτον δὲ οἱ ἄλλοι ἔδουσι. *Mean while do others spend my goods.*

Semblably the Verbe ἀλύειν, you shall find put for to fret, be discontented and ill apayed: as the Poet writeth thus;

Ὡς ἔφαθ' ἡδ' ἀλύουσ' ἀπεβήσατο, τέρπετο
δ' ἀνδρῶν.
Which said she seemed male-content,
And wounded so, away she went.

And yet it is used sometime for to joy and vaunt: as namely in the same Poet;

ἦ ἀλύεις ὅτι τ' ἴδον ἐνίκησας τὸν ἀλείτλιον.
And do you brag and boast so much indeed,
Poore Irus *that you beate in beggers weed.*

In like sort the verbe θοάζειν, signifieth either to move or stir with great violence: as in *Euripides*. Κῆτος θοάζον ἐξ ἀτλαντικῆς ἁλὸς.
A whale out o'th' Atlanticke sea, we might descry from land
Most forcibly to swim, and then to shut himselfe on land.

Or to sit down and take repose: as for example, when *Sophocles* saith thus,

τίνας πόδ' εἵδρας τάσδε μοι θοάζετε,
ἱκτηρίοις κλάδοισιν ἐξεστεμμένοι.
My friends, what meane you in this wise so strangely for to sit,
With branches dight about your heads, which suppliants do befit?

Moreover it is very pretty and commendable, when a man meeteth with words of divers acception; to make use thereof accordingly, and to accommodate them to the present occasions and subject matters: like as the Grammarians teach us to do in vocables that admit sundry senses; as for example,

τῦ ὀλίγῳ αἰνεῖν, μεγάλη δ' ἐνεφορτία ἁλῶς.
You may well praise a little barke or barge,
But see with wares a mighty hulke you charge.

Here the Verbe αἰνεῖν, signifieth ἐπαινεῖν. i.e. to praise: and yer now in this place (to praise) is as much to say, as to refuse and reject: Like as in our common and daily speech we use to say, καλῶς ἔχει. i.e. 'Tis well: or when we bid χαίρειν. i.e. Farewell it: meaning by these termes that we like not of a thing or will none of it nor accept thereof. And hereupon it is that some say, *Proserpina* is called ἐπαινὴ, which is as much to say as a goddesse blamed and to be found fault with. This difference then, & distinction in the significations of words is principally to be observed in matters that be more serious and of greater consequence, to wit, in the names of gods. To begin therefore with them let us advertise and teach young men, that Poets in using the names of gods, sometimes meane thereby their very nature and essence: otherwhiles they attribute the homonymy

nymy of the same names, to the powers and vertues which the gods do give, and whereof they be the authors. And here there presenteth himselfe unto me the Poet *Archilochus*, when in his prayer he saith thus;

Κλῦθι ἄναξ ἥφαιστε, &c.
O Vulcan *king be gracious unto me,*
And heare my prayers, thus kneeling on my knee
Devoutly: Grant, I say, this my requeste,
As thou art wont, to whom thou lovest best.

It is very cleare and evident that he doth invocate the god *Vulcan* himselfe, and calleth him by his proper name. But when he bewaileth his sisters husband, who perished and was drowned in the sea, by which accident he want his due sepulture, he saith; that he could have borne this calamity and misfortune the better,

If that his head and lovely limbs
In pure white cloaths iclad,
As doth beseeme a faire dead corps,
Vulcan *consumed had.*

By which word *Vulcan*, he meaneth fire, and not the god himselfe. Againe, when *Euripides* in his oath useth these words,

By Jove *I sweare, and bloody* Mars *him by,*
Woo beare great sway among the stars in sky.

Certaine it is that he speaketh of the very gods *Jupiter* and *Mars*: But when *Sophocles* saith:

Full blind is Mars *faire Dames (I say) and nothing he doth see,*
But like wild bore he havock makes, and workes all misery.

You must understand that he speaketh of war: Like as in these verses of *Homer*:

Whose bloud along Scamanders streame so deeply died in red,
That black againe it is therewith, now Trenchant Mars *hath shed.*

It is meant the edge of the sword and other weapons made of brasse and steele: which being so, and considering that there be many other words of double and divers significations, we ought to learne and beare in mind, that the very names of Διὸς and Ζωὸς, which signifie *Jupiter*, in one place they attribute to the god himselfe, in another to Fortune, and oftentimes to Destiny and Fatall necessity. For when they say,

Ζεῦ πάτερ ἰδηθεν μεδέων.
O Jupiter *who from Ida hill*
Dost reigne as King and worke thy will.

Also:

Ω Ζεῦ τὶς ἄνευ φησὶ σου σοφώτερος.
O Jupiter *who dare avow*
That he can wiser be than thou.

Plaine it is that they meane nothing else but the god *Jupiter* himselfe. But when they give the Denomination, Διὸς, to the causes whereupon all things depend, and do say in this wise:

And many a stout and valiant knight who fought in pitched field,
Before due time there lost their lives and vitall breath did yeeld.
Διὸς δ' ἐτελείετο βουλὴ.
i.e. *This was the will of mighty* Jove,
Who wrought all this from heaven above:

Surely we must understand by *Jove* fatall destiny: For we must not imagine that the Poet thinketh God to devise and practice any evill against men: but he giveth us to understand by the way as touching the Fatall necessity of all humane affaires, that Cities, Armies, and Generall Captaines are predestined to fortunate successe and victory over their enemies, if they be wise and governe their affections well. But contrariwise, if they be passionate and fall into errours and misdemeanours, growing to quarrels and debates one against another, as these did of whom the Poet spake, it cannot be avoided but they shall commit many outrages, breed troubles and confusion, and at the last come to an unhappy end:

For by Fatall necessity,
And Destiny inevitable:
Bad counsels of iniquity
Bring forth fruits therto answerable.

Now whereas the Poet *Hesiodus* bringeth in *Prometheus*, perswading his brother *Epimetheus*
To take no gifts in any wise
Which Jupiter *from heaven hath sent:*
But them alwaies for to despise
And send them back as discontent.

He useth the name of *Jupiter* for the puissance of Fortune: for by the gifts of that god, he meaneth the goods of Fortune, to wit, Riches, Marriages, States, and Dignities, and generally all outward blessings: the possession whereof is unprofitable unto those that know not how to use them well. Esteeming therefore no better of *Epimetheus* than of a lewd and foolish fellow, he

suppoſeth that he ought to take heed, and beware of proſperity, whereby he was like to receive hurt and loſs: yea, and to come unto a miſchiefe in the end. Semblably, when the ſame Poet ſaith:

Reproach no man while that yon live
With poverty which gods do give.

He underſtandeth hereby the gift of the gods, a thing meer caſuall and comming by Fortune: implying thus much, that thoſe men are not to be blamed and accuſed, who by ſome misfortune are become poore: but rather, that poverty proceeding by occaſion of ſloath, idleneſſe, eaſe, delicate wantonneſſe, waſtefull and fooliſh expences, is ſhame-worthy and reproachable. For Poets and others being not acquainted with the word Fortune, which as yet was not in uſe, and knowing full well, that the power of this variable and inconſtant cauſe, ranging diſorderly as it did without any certaine purpoſe and determinate end, was mighty, and could not poſſibly be avoided by any humane wit, reaſon and policy, they expreſſed the ſame by the names of the gods: much like as we in our dayly ſpeech and ordinary language, are wont commonly to give unto divers actions and affaires, to the conditions, natures, and manners of ſundry perſons, to ſpeeches and orations; yea, and (beleeve me) to men themſelves, the termes of Heavenly and Divine. Well, a very good and expedient meane this is whereby we are to reforme and correct many ſentences and verſes, which ſeeme at the firſt ſight to carry with them any abſurdity and incongruity, as touching *Jupiter*: as namely theſe,

Two tuns within the entry ſtand
Of Jove *his houſe with lots both full:*
One hath ſucceſſe and winning hand,
The other loſſes ſorrowfull.
Alſo:
As judge aloft ſat Jupiter *without regard of oath*
Or covenant: and ſhewed ſignes of miſchiefe to them both.
Likewiſe:
And then began the miſchiefes all of Greeks and Trojans both,
For Jupiter *his pleaſure wrought, and with each ſide was wroth.*

All this we muſt interpret either of Fatall deſtiny or of Fortune, potent cauſes both, which neither are comprehenſible within our underſtanding, nor yet evitable within the compaſſe of our power. But where we read of any thing attributed unto *Jupiter*, which is conformable to reaſon, hath ſemblance of truth, and is beſeeming his perſon, there we are to thinke that the ſaid name ſignifieth the god himſelfe: as for example,

Sir Hector *then advanc'd himſelfe, and all the ranks beſide*
Of Greeks did brave, expecting who his challenge would abide.
Only the ſon of Telamon, Ajax *that worthy knight,*
He did avoid: for Jupiter *unto him had a ſpight.*
Alſo:
Such great affaires of mortall men
Are manag'd aye by Jupiter:
But ſmaller matters now and then
To petty-gods he doth refer.

Furthermore, we ought to have a diligent eye to other words, which may be turned and transferred to many things, and are taken in divers ſenſes by Poets. Of which ſort is the name of Αρετὴ, *i.e.* Vertue. For by reaſon that vertue not only cauſeth men to be wiſe, prudent, juſt, and honeſt both in word and deed: but alſo purchaſeth ordinarily unto them honour, glory, authority, and reputation in the world: therefore they give the name of Vertue unto renowne, power, and might: like as the Olive fruit, they call by the name ἐλαία, *i.e.* Olive tree, and the Beech-maſt they terme alſo φηγὸς as well as the Beech tree. Our young man then, as he readeth in a Poet,

The gods before vertue have ſet
Labour, travell, and painfull ſwet.
Or thus,
The Greeks by vertue then down bare
Their ſquadron thick and battell ſquare.
Likewiſe,
If die we muſt, moſt glorious is death;
For vertue when we ſpend our vitall breath,

preſently ought to conceive thus much, That all is ſpoken of the beſt, moſt excellent, and divineſt habitude in us, which we underſtand to be the very rectitude and rule of reaſon and judgement, the height and perfection of our reaſonable humane nature, yea, and the diſpoſition of the ſoule, accordant with it ſelfe. But when he readeth againe theſe other verſes there,

Vertue im men Jove *cauſeth for to grow*
And fade: by him it doth both ebbe and flow.
As alſo,
Where worldly wealth and riches are,
Vertue and fame follow not far.

let

let him not by and by ſet him down, and by occaſion of theſe words have the rich in wonderfull great admiration, as if they could anon buy vertue for money, and with their wealth have it at command: let him not thinke, I ſay, that it lieth in the power of Fortune, either to augment, or to diminiſh vertue: but rather deeme thus, and make this conſtruction, that the Poet under the name vertue, ſignifieth Worſhip, Authority, Power, Proſperity, or ſome ſuch matter. For ſo the word κακότης is ſometimes taken by them in the native and proper ſignification, for a naughty and wicked diſpoſition of the mind, as when *Heſiodus* writeth thus,

Of wickedneſſe a man may evermore
Have ſoyſon great and plenteous ſtore.

But otherwhiles it is uſed for ſome other evill calamity or inſortunity, as by *Homer*,

Men quickly age and waxen old,
Κακότητι, with hunger and cold, &c.

And much were he deceived, who ſhould perſwade himſelfe that Poets take beatitude and bleſſednеſſe, which in Greeke is called εὐδαιμονία, ſo preciſely as Philoſophers do: who underſtand thereby, an abſolute habitude, and entire poſſeſſion of all good things, or rather an accompliſhed perfection of this life, holding on a proſperous courſe according to nature: for many times Poets abuſe this word, calling a man bleſſed and happy, who is rich in worldly goods; and giving the terme of felicity and happineſſe unto great power, fame, and renowne. As for *Homer*, he uſeth verily theſe termes aright and properly in this verſe,

Although much wealth I do hold and enjoy,
Yet in my heart I take no bleſſed joy.

So doth *Menander*, when he writeth thus,

Of goods I have, and money great ſtore,
And all men call me rich therefore:
But yet how rich ſoever I ſeeme,
Happy and bleſt none doth me deeme.

Euripides maketh great diſorder and confuſion when he writeth in this ſort;

I would not have that bleſſed life
Wherein I find much paine and griefe.
Alſo in another place:
Why doſt thou honour tyranny,
Happy injuſtice and villany?

Unleſſe a man, as I ſaid before, take theſe termes as ſpoken metaphorically, or by the figure κατ' ἔμφασιν, *i.e.* the abuſion of them, otherwiſe than in their proper ſenſe. And thus much may ſerve as touching this point.

Now for this that remaineth behind, young men would be put in remembrance and admoniſhed not once, but oftentimes, that Poeſie, having for her proper ſubject an argument to be expreſſed by imitation; howſoever ſhe uſeth the ornaments and beautifull furniture of figurative ſpeeches, in ſetting out and deſcribing thoſe matters and actions which are preſented unto her, yet nevertheleſſe ſhe doth not forgo the reſemblance and likelihood of truth. For that imitation indeed delighteth the Reader ſo long only as it carrieth ſome ſhew of probability. And therefore that imitation which ſeemeth not altogether to ſquare and depart from the rule of verity, doth expreſſe the ſignes of vertues and vices both at once, entermingled one with another in actions. Such is the Poem and compoſition written by *Homer*, which reſteth not in the ſtrange opinions and paradoxes of the Stoicks, who hold, That neither any evill at all can ſort with vertue, ne yet one jot of goodneſſe with vice: but he hath bidden farewell to ſuch preciſe poſitions; namely, That a fooliſh and lewd perſon, in all his actions, when and whereſoever, doth offend and ſin: and ſemblably, the wiſe and vertuous man, at all times, and in all places, cannot chuſe but do every thing well. Theſe are the principles which the Stoicks ſchooles reſound withall. Howbeit, in the affaires of this world, and in our dayly life and converſation, as *Euripides* ſaith,

It cannot be in every point,
That good and bad ſhould be diſjoynt:
But in all actions we dayly ſee,
One with another medled will be.

But the art of Poetry, ſetting apart the truth indeed, uſeth moſt of all variety and ſundry formes of phraſes. For the divers imitations are they that give to fables that vertue to move affections and paſſions in the readers: theſe are they that worke ſtrange events in them, even contrary to their opinion and expectation: upon which enſueth the greateſt wonder and aſtonishment, wherein lieth the chiefe grace, and from whence proceedeth the moſt delight and pleaſure; whereas, contrariwiſe, that which is ſimple and uniforme, is not patheticall, nor hath in it any fiction. Hereupon it is that Poets bring not in the ſame perſons alwaies winners, alwaies happy and doing well: and that which more is, when they feigne that the gods themſelves meddle in mens affaires, they deſcribe them not without their paſſions, nor yet exempt from errours and faults, for feare leſt that part of their Poeſie which ſtirreth up the affection, and holdeth in ſuſpenſe and admiration the minds of men, ſhould become idle and dull, for want of ſome danger

and adversary as it were to excite and quicken it: which being so, let us bring a young man to the reading of Poets workes, not foreſtalled and poſſeſſed before with ſuch an opinion as touching thoſe great and magnificall names of ancient worthies, as if they had been wiſe and juſt men, or vertuous Princes in the higheſt degree of perfection, & as a man would ſay, the very Canon rule, and patterne of all vertue, uprightneſſe, and integrity: Otherwiſe he ſhould receive great damage thereby, in caſe, I ſay, he were of this mind to approve and have in admiration all that they did or ſaid as ſingular; and to be offended at nothing that he heareth from them: neither would he allow of him, who blameth and findeth fault with them when they either do or ſay ſuch things as theſe.

O father Jove, *O* Phœbus *bright*, *O* Pallas *maiden pure*:
That you would all bring this about, and make us twaine ſecure,
That not one Troian might eſcape, nor Greeke remaine alive
But we two Knights: That we (I ſay) and none but we b'live
May win the honour of this war, and only reap the joy
Of victory, to raze the walls and ſtately tow'rs of Troy.

Alſo,

I heard the voice moſt pittious of Priams *daughter bright*,
Caſſandra *faire, a virgin chaſte: whom me for to deſpight*,
My wife dame Clytemneſtra *ſlew by cruell trechery*,
Becauſe of ru ſhe jealous was for ſin of lechery.

Likewiſe,

With concubine of Father mine ſhe counſel'd me to lie,
The old mans curſe that I might have: perſwaded, ſo did I.

And in another place,

O Jupiter, *whom men do father call*,
Thou art a God moſt miſchievous of all.

Let not a young man in any wiſe be accuſtomed to praiſe ſuch ſpeeches: neither let him ſeeke any colourable pretences to cloake and excuſe wicked and infamous acts: he muſt not be ſtudious and cunning in ſuch inventions, to ſhew therein his ſubtilty and promptneſſe of wit. But rather he is to thinke thus, that Poeſie is the very imitation of manners, conditions, and lives, yea, and of men, ſuch as are not altogether perfect, pure, and irreprehenſible, but in whom paſſions, falſe opinions, and ignorance beare ſome ſway, yet ſo, as many times by the dexterity and goodneſſe of nature they be reformed and diſpoſed to better waies. When a young man then is thus prepared, and his underſtanding ſo framed, that when things are well done and ſaid, his heart is moved and affected therewith as by ſome heavenly inſtinct: and contrariwiſe, not well pleaſed with lewd words or deeds, but highly offended thereat, certes, ſuch inſtruction of his judgement will be a meanes that he ſhall both heare and read any Poems without hurt and danger. But he that admitteth all, and applieth himſelfe ſo, that he embraceth every thing, he, I ſay, that commeth with a judgement devoted and enthralled to thoſe magnificent and heroick names, like unto thoſe diſciples who counterfeited to be crump-ſhouldred, & bunch-backt like their Maſter *Plato*, or would needs ſtut, ſtammer, and maſſle as *Ariſtotle* did: ſurely ſuch a one will take no great heed, but ſoone apprehend and entertaine many evill things. Moreover, this young beginner of ours ought not to be affected after a timorous and ſuperſtitious manner, as they are who being in a temple, feare and dread every thing, and are ready to worſhip and adore whatſoever they ſee or heare: but boldly and confidently to pronounce and ſay, as occaſion ſerveth, This is ill done, or not decently ſpoken: no leſſe than to give his acclamation and conſent to that which is well and ſeemely either ſaid or done. As for example, *Achilles* ſeeing the ſouldiers how they fell ſick daily in the Campe, and not well appaid that the war was thus drawn out in length, eſpecially to the hinderance of his own honour, being a martiall man, of great proweſſe and renowne in the field, aſſembled a Councell of war, and called the Greekes together. But, (as he was a man otherwiſe well ſeen in the skill of Phyſick) perceiving by the ninth day paſt, (which commonly is criticall, and doth determine of maladies one way or other by courſe of nature) that it was no ordinary diſeaſe, nor proceeding from uſuall cauſes, ſtood up to make a ſpeech, not framing himſelfe to pleaſe and gratifie the common people, but to give counſell unto the King himſelfe in this manner:

I thinke we muſt when all is done, O Agamemnon *Liege*,
Returne againe without effect to Greece, and leave our Siege.

This was well and wiſely ſaid: theſe were modeſt and temperate words becomming his perſon: But when the Prophet or ſoothſaier ſaid, that he feared much the wrath and indignation of the mightieſt man and ſoveraign Commander of all the Greeks, he anſwered then never a wiſe or ſober word; for having ſworne a great oath, that no man ſhould be ſo hardy as to lay hand on the ſaid prophet ſo long as he remained alive, he added moreover and ſaid full unſeemely,

No, If th ou ſhouldſt both meane and name
King Agamemnon, *I vow the ſame.*

Shewing plainly by theſe words what little account he made of his Prince, and how he contemned ſoveraigne authority: nay, he over-paſſed himſelfe more yet, and proceeded farther in heat of choler,

choler, to lay hand upon his ſword, yea, and to draw it forth, with a full purpoſe to kill the King: which was done of him neither well for his own honour, nor wiſely for the good of the State. But repenting himſelfe immediately,

Into the ſcabbard then anon he puts his doughty ſword:
Minerva *gave him that advice, and he obey'd her word.*

Herein againe he did well and honeſtly: for having not the power to extinguiſh and queench his choler quite, yet he delayed it well and repreſſed it, yea, and brought it under the obeyſance of reaſon, before it brake out into an exceſſive outrage, which hath been remedileſſe. Semblably *Agamemnon* himſelfe, for that which he did and ſaid in the aſſembly of Councell, he was worthy to be ſcorned and laughed at. But in the matter concerning the Damoſell *Chryſeis*, he ſhewed more gravity and princely Majeſty, than in like caſe *Achilles* did: for he, when the faire *Briſeis* was taken from him and led away:

Sat weeping in great agony,
Retir'd apart from company.

But *Agamemnon* himſelfe in perſon conducting her as far as to the ſhip, delivering up and ſending away to her own father, the woman whom a little before he ſaid that he loved more dearely than his own eſpouſed wife, did nothing unfitting himſelfe or like a paſſionate lover. Againe, *Phœnix* being curſed by his father, and betaken to all the helliſh fiends for lying with his concubine, breaketh out into theſe words,

I minded once with ſword of mine my fathers blood to ſhed:
But that ſome god my rage repreſt, and put this in my head:
How men would cry much ſhame on me, and namely Græcians all
With one voice me a parricide or Father-killer call.

Which verſes in *Homer*, *Ariſtarchus* was afraid to let ſtand, and therefore daſhed them out. But verily, they ſerve in that place fitly for the purpoſe, namely, when *Phœnix* inſtructeth *Achilles*, what a violent paſſion anger is, and how there is no outrage but men will dare and do in the heat of choler, when they will not be guided with reaſon, or directed by the counſell of thoſe that would appeaſe them. For he bringeth in *Meleager* alſo, who was angry with his Citizens, howbeit afterwards pacified: In which example, as he wiſely blameth and reproveth ſuch paſſions: ſo he praiſeth and commendeth as a good and expedient thing, not to be led and carried away therewith, but to reſiſt and conquer them, and to take up betime and repent. True it is, that hitherto in theſe places already cited, there is a manifeſt difference to be obſerved: but where there is ſome obſcurity as touching the true ſenſe and meaning of a ſentence, we muſt teach a young man to ſtay himſelfe there and pauſe upon the point, that he may be able to diſtinguiſh in this manner: If *Nauſicaa* upon the firſt ſight of *Ulyſſes*, a meere ſtranger, falling into the ſame paſſion of love with him, as *Calypſo* did, and ſeeking nothing but wanton pleaſure, as one living daintily, and being now ripe and ready for marriage, utter fooliſhly theſe and ſuch like words, and that before her waiting-maids:

O that it were my hap ſo brave
A Knight to wed who hath my heart!
O that he would with me vouchſafe
For to remaine and not depart!

Her boldneſſe and incontinency is to be reproved: but if by his ſpeech and talke ſhe perceived that he was a man of wit and wiſe behaviour & thereupon wiſhed in her heart to be his wedded wife, and to dwell with him rather than with one of her own country, who could skill of nothing elſe but to dance, or be a marriner, I cannot blame her, but thinke her praiſe-worthy. In like caſe, if when *Penelope* deviſeth and talketh curteouſly with her wooers, who ſued unto her for marriage, and thereupon they court here againe and beſtow upon her gay cloaths, rich jewels, and other goodly ornaments fit for a Lady, *Ulyſſes* her husband rejoyces

That ſhe was well content to take
Their gifts, and did to them love make,
As though ſhe would be kind againe,
And yet her ſhewi were all but vaine.

If, I ſay, he joyed, in that his wife received their courteſies and tokens, and ſo made a gaine of them, ſurely he ſurpaſſeth *Poliager* the notorious Bavvd, playing his part in the Comedies, of vvhom there goeth this by-vvord:

Bavvd Poliager *happy man he*,
That keeps at home in houſe a ſhe:
A heavenly goaſte whoſe influence,
Brings in riches with affluence.

But if he did it to have them by that meanes under his hand, vvhiles they upon hopes of obtaining their ſute, little thought of him hovv he watched them a ſhrevvd turne: then his joy and confident aſſurance vvas grounded vvell and upon good reaſon. Semblably in the counting that he made of thoſe goods vvhich the *Phæacians* had landed vvhen they had ſet him on ſhore; and having ſo done, ſpred ſaile and departed back againe: if being thus left ſolitary alone, and finding himſelfe forlorne, he doubted of his eſtate, and vvhat ſhould become of him, and yet his mind vvas ſo ſet upon his goods that he feared,

Leſt part thereof they tooke away,
Whiles that on ſhore aſleep he lay.

His avarice were lamentable, nay, it were abominable, I aſſure you: But if as ſome do thinke and ſay, being not ſure whether he were in the Iſle *Ithaca* or no, he ſuppoſed that the ſafety of his gods and money was a certaine proofe and demonſtration of the *Phæacians* loyalty and fidelity, (for never would they have tranſported him into a ſtrange land but for lucre, nor when they left him and departed would have forborne his goods) he uſed herein no fooliſh argument, and his providence in ſo doing is commendable. Some there be who find fault with this very landing of him upon the ſhore, in caſe the *Phæacians* did it whiles he was aſleep indeed: and they ſay, that it appeareth by a certaine Chronicle or Hiſtory among the *Tuscanes* which they keep by them, that *Ulyſſes* was given by nature to be very drouſie; which was the cauſe that to many he was not affable, and men oftentimes might hardly ſpeake with him. Now if this was no ſleep in very truth, but that being both aſhamed to ſend away the *Phæacians* who had conducted him over ſea, without feaſting them and giving them pretents and rewards for their kindneſſe: and alſo in feare leſt if they were ſeen there ſtill upon the coaſt, whiles he entertained them ſo kindly, himſelf might be diſcovered by his enemies, he uſed this pretence of feigned ſleep to cover and hide the perplexity wherein he was, or to ſhift off this difficulty wherein he ſtood in this caſe, they allow and commend him for it. In giving therefore to young men ſuch adveriſements as theſe, we ſhall never ſuffer them to run on ſtill to the corruption of their manners, but rather imprint in them preſently a fervent zeale and hearty deſire to chuſe better things, namely, if we proceed directly to praiſe this, and to diſpraiſe that. And this would be done eſpecially in Tragedies, thoſe I meane, wherein fine words and affected ſpeeches be oftentimes framed to cloake diſhoneſt and villanous deeds. For that which *Sophocles* ſaith in one place is not alwaies true:

If that it be a naughty deed,
Of it good words cannot proceed.

For even himſelfe is wont many times to palliat wicked conditions, yea, and naughty acts with pleaſant ſpeeches, and familiar apparant reaſons, which carry a probability of ſufficient excuſe. And even ſo playeth *Euripides* his companion, who ſhewed himſelfe upon the ſame ſtage: for ſee you not how he bringeth in *Phædra* to begin with her husband *Theſeus*? Firſt, laying all the blame on him; as if forſooth the wrongs and abuſes that he offered unto her, were the cauſe that ſhe was enamoured upon *Hyppolitus*? The like audacious and bold ſpeech he putteth in *Helenas* mouth againſt queen *Hecuba*, in that Tragedy which is entituled *Troades*, objecting unto her, and ſaying, That ſhe was rather to be puniſhed for bearing ſuch a ſon as *Alexander Paris*, who committed the adultery with her. A young man then ought not to accuſtome himſelfe to think any ſuch inventions as theſe to be pretty, gallant, and witty, ne yet laugh at ſuch ſubtile and fine devices; but to abhorre and deteſt as much, or rather more, wanton and filthy words, than looſe and diſhoneſt deeds.

Moreover, it would be expedient in all ſpeeches to ſearch the cauſe whereupon they do proceed; after the example of *Cato* when he was a little boy: For, do he would whatſoever his Maſter or Tutour bad; but ever and anon he would be inquiſitive and queſtioning with him the reaſon of his commandements. And yet we are not to beleeve and obey Poets, as we ought either Schoole-maſters or Lavv-givers, unleſſe the matter by them propoſed have reaſon for the ground: and grounded then it ſhall be thought upon reaſon, if it be good and honeſt: for if it be wicked, it ought to ſeeme fooliſh and vaine. But many of theſe men there be, who are very ſharp and curious in ſearching and demanding what *Heſiodus* ſhould meane in this verſe,

Whiles men are drinking, do not ſet
The flagon over the wine goblet.

As alſo what ſenſe may be made of theſe verſes in *Homer*:

Another chariot who mounted is,
When from his own he is alight,
Muſt not his ſpeare and javelin miſſe,
But truſt thereto, and therewith fight.

But other ſentences, iwis, of greater importance and danger, they admit ſoone, and give credit thereto, without further enquiry and examination: as for example, at theſe verſes they ſtick not,

The privity to fathers vice,
Or mothers fault reproachable,
Will him debaſe, who otherwiſe,
Is hardy-ſtout, and commendable.

No more than they do at this,

Upon a man, if fortune frowne,
His heart therewith muſt be caſt down.

And yet ſuch ſayings as theſe come neare unto us, and touch the quick, troubling our manner and behaviour in this life, imprinting in us perverſe judgements, baſe and unmanly opinions, unleſſe we acquaint our ſelves to contradict each of them in every point, after this manner. And wherefore ought he to beare an abject mind, who is croſſed with adverſe fortune? Why rather ſhould not he make head againe, and wreſtle with her, bearing himſelfe ſo much the more aloft, and

and never endure to be trodden down and depreſſed by her? What reaſon is there, that my heart ſhould be down, for that my father was vicious and fooliſh, in caſe I be a wiſe and honeſt man my ſelfe? Is there greater cauſe that the ignorance and imperfection of my father ſhould keep me down and diſcourage me, that I dare not looke up, than mine own knowledge and valour make me take heart and put my ſelfe forth? He that will thus encounter, withſtand, and not give way to every ſpeech, turning ſide, as it were, to every puffe of wind, but rather eſteeme that ſentence of *Heraclitus* to be well and truly ſpoken,

A fooliſh and witleſſe man is he,
With every word who ſtricken will be.

Such a one, I ſay, ſhall be able to put by and repell many ſayings of Poets, that are neither true nor profitable. And thus much as touching thoſe obſervations which may ſerve a young mans turne, that he may read and heare Poets ſafe without any danger.

But forasmuch as it falleth out, that as in vines many times the grapes lie hidden among the leaves and branches, and cannot be ſeen by reaſon that they are covered and ſhadowed therewith: ſo alſo in poeticall verſes, under fables and fictions there be covertly couched many profitable and wholſome leſſons, which a young man cannot eaſily by himſelfe, and therefore he miſſeth that commodity and fruit which is to be reaped out thereof. Howbeit, we muſt not ſuffer this, nor let him turne away, and give over: he ought not (I ſay) to wander aſide, but ſtick cloſe and faſt to thoſe matters eſpecially, which lead unto vertue, and make any thing for the framing or reforming of manners. In which regard, I ſhall not do amiſſe, if I treat alſo of this matter briefly; making, as it were, a firſt draught only, and touching ſummarily the principall points; leaving long diſcourſes, by way of narration, confirmation, and a multitude of examples, to thoſe that write of purpoſe for more ſhew and oſtentation. Firſt and formoſt therefore, when a young man knoweth throughly the perſons of men and women, their natures alſo and manners both good and bad, let him then regard and conſider well the ſayings and doings which the Poet doth attribute aptly unto either of them. As for example, *Achilles* ſaith unto *Agamemnon* theſe words, although he ſpeaketh them in choler,

For never ſhall I honor have,
Nor equall recompence to you,
When populous Troy, *that city brave,*
The Greeks ſhall force, as they do vow.

But *Therſites* reviling the ſelfeſame *Agamemnon*, uſeth theſe termes;

Much brazen veſſell thou haſt now in many a goodly tent,
Of captive women eke like choiſe, in beauty excellent,
In thy pavilion: whom we Greeks, as to our Soveraigne
Do give, ſo ſoon as any town by martiall force we gaine.

Againe *Achilles* in another place hath this humble ſpeech,

If Jupiter *will be ſo good, as to fulfill our joy,*
And grant that we one day may win the ſtately City Troy.

But *Therſites* commeth out with this proud word,

Whom either I, or in my ſtead,
Some Greeke ſhall bound as captive lead.

Semblably in another place, when in the review of the armie, *Agamemnon*, paſſing along the bands, rebuked and taunted *Diomedes*, he anſwered not againe, nor gave him one croſſe word:

For why he feared in mad-ſty
The checkes of his dread Majeſty.

But *Sthenelus*, of whom no man made any reckoning, was ſo bold as to reply, and ſay,

Sir Agamemnon, Atreus *Son, forbeare thus for to lye,*
You can, if that you liſt, with me report a truth: for why?
Pronounce I dare, and it avow, we better warriours be
In theſe daies than our fathers were, by many a degree.

The difference which is in theſe perſonages, if it be well marked, will teach a young man thus much: That to be modeſt, temperate, void of pride, and humble, is a moſt civill and excellent vertue: and contrariwiſe it will advertiſe him to take heed of pride and overweening; to beware alſo of boaſting and vaunting much of himſelfe, as a deteſtable vice. And here in this place, expedient it is and unprofitable to obſerve the action of *Agamemnon*: He paſſed by *Sthenelus*, and would not ſtay to ſpeake unto him: As for *Ulyſſes*, who found himſelfe grieved, him he neglected not, but ſhaped him an anſwer: For as *Homer* writeth,

No ſooner he perceived him offended for to be,
But preſently he ſpake again, and thus replied he.

For as it is a baſe and ſervile thing, and not beſeeming the Majeſty of a Prince to anſwer every one, and by way of Apology to juſtifie a thing done or ſaid; ſo to deſpiſe and diſdaine all men, is meere pride and extreme folly. As for *Diomedes*, he did paſſing well to hold his peace during the time of the battell, when he was rebuked and reviled by the King, but after the fight was ended, he ſpake his mind freely and boldly in this wiſe;

You are the firſt of all the Greeks, who in reproachfull wiſe
Have charged me for my fullſe heart, and fearfull cowardiſe.

Good

Good alſo it is, to ſee the difference between a wiſe man indeed and a vaine ſoothſayer, who loved to be ſeen, and to heare himſelfe ſpeak among the multitude. For *Calchas* without all reſpect of chuſing his time and a fit opportunity, baſhed not in publike place, and before all the people to challenge King *Agamemnon*, impvting directly vnto him, and to no other, the cauſe of the peſtilence which reigned in the campe. But *Neſtor*, contrariwiſe, intending to make a motion as touching the reconciliation and pacifying of *Achilles*, and to ſpeake directly vnto that point, becauſe he would not ſeem to blame and accuſe the King in the audience of the people; namely, that he had paſſed himſelfe in choler, and done amiſſe, adviſeth him in this manner, ſaying:

To ſupper bid the ancient peeres: this doth your perſon fit;
And when they are together met, in order as they ſit,
Let them vpine. Heare their counſell, and looke who ſpeaketh beſt;
His counſell take I read, and ſhew thy ſelfe but reſt.

And after ſupper he ſent forth the Embaſſadours accordingly. This was the only way to correct a fault and amend that was amiſſe: whereas the other had been a very injurious accuſation, and a contumelious reproofe to his no ſmall diſgrace. Furthermore, there would be noted and conſidered the diverſity that is in ſundry nations, and that after this manner: The Trojans give the charge in battell to their enemies with great ſhouts, out-cries, and exceeding violence: whereas the Greeks

The onſet give with all ſilence,
To Leaders having reverence.

For Souldiers to dread and feare their captaines and commanders, at what time as they be ready to joyne battell with the enemy, is a ſigne both of valour and alſo of obedience and military Diſcipline. Which is the reaſon that *Plato* would inure us to be afraid of rebukes, reproofes, and filthy acts, more than of any travels and dangers. *Cato* likewiſe was wont to ſay, That he loved thoſe better who bluſhed and looked red, than the pale-faced. As for promiſes, there is a proper worke alſo in them, whereby a man may diſcerne whether they be wiſe or fooliſh. For *Dolon* promiſeth in this manner:

The campe of Greeks I enter will and paſſe on ſtill outright,
Untill to Agamemnons ſhip I come where for to fight.

Contrariwiſe, *Diomedes* promiſeth nothing of himſelfe, only this he ſaith: That he ſhould feare the leſſe, if he were ſent with ſome other to beare him company. Whereby you may ſee that Prudence Diſcretion, and Forecaſt be civill vertues beſeeming the Greeks; but audacious raſhneſſe is naught, and fit for Barbarians. The one therefore we muſt embrace and imitate, the other reject and caſt behind us. Moreover it were a ſpeculation not unprofitable to marke the affections that befell unto the Trojans, and to *Hector* at what time as he was ready to enter into combate and ſingle fight with *Ajax*. *Æſchylus* being upon a time in place to behold the combates at the *Iſthmian* games, it fell out ſo that one of the champions was hurt and wounded in the very face, whereupon the people that looked on ſet up a great cry and ſhouted aloud; See, quoth he, what uſe and exerciſe is! the Beholders cry out, but the man himſelfe that is hurt ſaith never a word. In like manner, when *Homer* the Poet ſaith, that *Ajax* was no ſooner ſeen in his bright compleat harneſs, and armed at all pieces, but the Greeks rejoyced: whereas

The Trojans all for feare did quake, and tremble every joynt,
Hector himſelfe did feele his heart to beat even at this point.

Who would not wonder to ſee this difference? The party himſelfe who was in danger, felt his heart only to leape, as if he had been (I aſſure you) to wreſtle for the beſt game, or to run a race for the prize: but they that ſaw him trembled and ſhaked all their body over, for feare of the peril wherein their Prince was; and for kind affection that they bare unto him. It is worth the noting alſo what odds and difference there is between the moſt reſolute or valiant Captaine, and the greateſt coward: For it is ſaid of *Therſites*, that

Achilles *of all that were in the Hoſt*
And alſo Ulyſſes *he hated moſt.*

Whereas *Ajax* as he alwaies loved *Achilles*, ſo he giveth an honourable teſtimony thereof, when he ſpake unto *Hector* in this wiſe,

In ſingle fight with me alone what worthy knight we have
In Grecian hoſt, thou maiſt not ſee beſides Achilles *brave:*
Achilles *he, the Paragon of Proweſſe whom we count,*
Whoſe Lions heart undaunted yet all others doth ſurmount.

This is a ſingular commendation of *Achilles* particularly: but that which followeth afterwards, is ſpitly ſpoken to the praiſe of all in generall:

Wot well that many of us there be
In Campe that dare and can
Make head, and maintaine fight with thee
In combate man to man.

Marke, how he praiſeth not himſelfe to be the man alone, or the moſt valourous of all other, but is content to be ranged with many more as ſufficient men to make their part good againſt him.

Thus

Thus much may ſerve as touching the diverſity of perſons, unleſſe we will adde this moreover, That of Trojans we read there were many taken priſoners alive by their enemies, but of the Greeks not one: as alſo that divers of them became humble ſuppliants to their enemies, and fell down at their feet; namely, *Adraſtus*, the ſons of *Antimachus* and *Lycaon*: yea, and *Hector* himſelfe beſought *Achilles* to vouchſafe him buriall: whereas, there was not one of them that did the like: As if thus much were implied thereby, that it is the manner of Barbarians in fight, to make ſupplication, to ſubmit, to kneele and lie proſtrate before the enemy: but of Grecians, either to win the victory by maine fight, or to dye for it.

Moreover, like as in paſturage and feeding, the Bee ſetleth upon flowers: the goate ſearcheth after green leaves and brouſeth young buds: the Swine ſeeketh for roots, and other beaſts for the ſeed and fruit; Even ſo in reading Poems, one gathereth the flower of the Hiſtory: another cleaveth to the elegancy of phraſe and furniture of words, as *Ariſtophanes* was wont to ſay of *Euripides*,

His tongue ſo round doth pleaſe my mind,
In ſtile ſo ſmooth, content I find.

Others there be who affect morall ſentences aptly fitted to the reformation of manners. Thoſe therfore with whom now we have to deale, and to whom we direct our ſpeech, we are to admoniſh that it were a ſhame and unworthy thing, if either he who ſetteth his mind upon fables ſhould mark well the witty narrations, and ſingular fine inventions therein: or he that delighteth in eloquence ſhould note deligently the pure and elegant phraſe, the artificiall rhetorick alſo, as he readeth: whiles he, that would ſeeme to affect honour, to ſtudy honeſty, and to take Poets in hand not for delight, pleaſure, and paſtime, but for the inſight of learning, and for the treaſure of knowledge, readeth and heareth careleſſely and without fruits, thoſe ſentences which are penned and delivered by them to the recommendation of fortitude, temperance and juſtice: For as concerning valour and vertue you ſhall find theſe verſes;

What is befalne ſir Diomede,
That we forget to fight?
How is it that our hearts be done?
Where is our Martiall might?
Come neere, ſtand cloſe unto my ſide,
Great ſhame it were for us,
If Hector *now ſhould board our ſhips,*
And force our navy thus.

For to ſee a moſt wiſe and prudent Captaine who was in danger to periſh, and to be overthrown together with the whole army, not to be affraid of death, but to feare reproach and ſhamefull diſgrace, the ſame no doubt will cauſe a young man to be wonderfully affectionate to vertue and proweſſe.

For wiſdome and juſtice theſe verſes ſerve:

Minerva *then took great delight*
To ſee the man wiſe and upright.

Such a ſentence as this will give occaſion to a young ſcholler thus to reaſon and diſcourſe: The Poet here hath deviſed, that the goddeſſe joyed not in a rich man, in one that was faire, well-fauoured and perſonable, or mighty in bodily ſtrength: but in him that was prudent and juſt withall. And in another place where the ſame goddeſſe ſaith, that ſhe will not neglect nor forſake *Ulyſſes* and leave him deſtitute:

For tongue he hath and wit at will:
He is both wiſe and full of ſkill.

The Poet ſheweth plainly; That there is nothing in us but vertue only that is divine and beloved of the gods: if this be true that like will to like, and Naturally every thing delighteth in the Semblable. Now foraſmuch as it ſeemeth to be a great matter and rare perfection, as in truth it is no leſſe, to be able to maſter and bridle anger: certes a greater vertue it is, and a gift more ſingular to prevent and wiſely to forecaſt, that we fall not into choler, nor ſuffer our ſelves to be ſurpriſed therewith: And therefore the readers of Poets ought to be advertiſed in theſe points, not coldly, but in good earneſt: as namely, how *Achilles*, a man by nature nothing meeke, mild and patient, giveth warning unto *Priamus* to be quiet, and not to provoke him, in theſe words:

Take heed old father I thee reed,
How thou my choler move:
I minded am thy ſon to yeeld:
For why? from Jove *above*
A meſſenger hath warn'd me ſo:
Beware gray-beard, I ſay,
Leſt that my tent will not thee ſave,
But forthwith I thee ſlay:
Although in humble wiſe thou come,
With ſuppliants habit dight,
And ſo I do tranſgreſſe Joves *will,*
And breake the laws of right.

Who

Who also after he had washed the corps of *Hector*, and wound it within Funerall cloaths, bestowed the same with his own hands in the chariot, before that *Priamus* his father should see it, so misused as it was,

For feare lest when he saw
His son so mangled and beraid
In griefe of heart, old father he,
Should not himselfe be staid:
But with hot words Achilles *move*
In him to sheath his sword,
Without regard of Jupiter, *his hests,*
His will and word.

For when a man is apt and prone to anger, as being of nature hot, rough and cholericke, to know himselfe so given, and therewith to prevent, decline, and avoid all occasions of ire, and by the guidance of reason to hold off, in such sort, that even, as it were, against his will, he shall not fall into any passionate fits, is a point of great wisdome and singular providence. After the same manner ought he that is given to wine to be armed against drunkennesse: he also that is by nature amorous, should thus withstand wanton love: Like as *Agesilaus*, who would not abide to be kissed of a beautifull young boy comming toward him: and *Cyrus*, who durst not so much as set his eye upon faire *Panthea*. Whereas contrariwise, those that be ill nurtured and badly brought up, seeke all meanes and occasions to kindle and enflame their fooliſh affections, ministring matter thereto, as fewell unto fire: casting themselves headlong, and that wilfully, into those vices, wherennto they are most prone and ready to fall by nature. But *Ulysses* not only brideled and represſed his own choler when he was chafed, but also perceiving by some words of *Telemachus* his son, that he was angry and hatefully bent against lewd persons, he laboured to appease and mitigate his mood: he dealt with him before-hand, willing and commanding him to be quiet, to forbeare and have patience.

My son, if that by word or deed
In mine own house they me abuse,
Bite in thine anger, I thee reed,
See thou indure, and patience use:
Nay, if they draw me by the foot,
And out of doores me drag anon,
Or their sharpe arrows at me shoot,
See all, say nought, what ever is done.

For like as men use not to bridle their horses when they be running in a race, but before they begin their course: even so they that hardly can digest indignities, and upon occasion offered are quickly angry, ought first to be præoccupate with reason: and being thus prepared before-hand, to bring them to the combate.

Over and besides, a young man must not negligently passe over the bare words as he readeth. And yet I speake not this, as though I would have him play upon them, as *Cleanthes* did, who making semblance to interpret and expound words, would otherwhiles cavill and make sport. For where as we read in *Homer*,

Ζεὺς πατὴρ Ἰδηθεν μεδέων, Διὶ δῖα Δωδωναῖε.

He would have us to read these two last words in one, by way of ὑφὴν, thus, Ζεὺς ἀναδωδωναῖος, as if forsooth the aire which by exhalation is elevated, and doth rise from the earth, should therefore be called ἀναδωδωναῖος. *Chrysippus* likewise many times comes in with his bald reasons, without all grace: and this he doth not in jest and meriment, but he would seeme to devise reasons subtilly; and so forceth divers words impertinently: as namely, when he wresteth these words, Εὐρύοπα Κρονίδην, to this sense, as if εὐρύοπα should signifie one that was eager and quick in disputation or argument, surpassing others in force of eloquence. It were better for us to leave these nice subtilties of words and syllables unto Grammarians for to be scanned, and to consider more nearly other observations, which, as they yeeld greater profit, so they carry with them more probability and likelihood of truth: and namely, to pick some good out of these verses;

Most crosse unto my mind it is,
For taught I am prowesse is wis.

Also,

Full well he knew, to every wight
To shew himselfe a curteous knight.

For hereby he declareth evidently, that valour and fortitude is gotten by teaching: as also, he is of opinion, That to be mild, affable and kind to every man, is a gracious vertue, proceeding from science and reason: wherupon he exhorteth us, not to be careleſſe of our selves, but to learne good and honest things, by giving eare unto our teachers: for that cowardise, folly, and perverse incivility, be the defects of learning and are meere ignorance indeed. Here to accordeth very well that which the same Poet *Homer* saith of *Jupiter* and *Neptune*:

Behold, one father both they had,
And countrey one them bred:

But

But Jupiter *was former borne,*
And had the wiser head.

He declareth hereby that wisdome is a most divine and princely quality; wherein he placeth the soveraigne and highest excellency of *Jupiter*, as esteeming all other good parts to accompany that soveraigne and heavenly vertue. We are likewise to acquaint a young man to heare, and that with no heavy and dull eare, but attentively and with a vigilant mind, these other verses;

Right wise he is, and wot you well,
A lie for no good will he tell.

Also,

Antilochus, *reputed aye for wise, you are to blame*
My steeds to hurt, mine honour eke thus for to staine with shame.

Likewise,

You, a worthy knight, to speake so foolishly!
I would have said you had in wit, past all men verily.

These sentences import thus much; That wise men will never speake untruths: neither will they in battell behave themselves as cowards, and use deceit in fight, ne yet charge unjust imputations upon others without reason. Also when the Poet saith, that he through his folly suffered himselfe to be induced and perswaded to break the truce and league, he sheweth plainly, That he thinketh a wise man will in no wise commit unrighteousnesse. The like may of a young man be taught, as touching continency and chastity, especially if he consider well these verses.

K. Prœtus wife, Dame Antea, *him lov'd and wooed soon*
For to embrace her secretly, and lie with her anon:
But never would he yeeld thereto. Bellerophon *was wise,*
And in his heart he never let such thoughts for to arise.

As also these,

Dame Clytemnestra *first was chaste, and wanton tricks rejected*
All while she was by reason led, and wisdomes lore directed.

In these places we see, that the Poet attributeth the cause of continency and pudicity unto wisedome. Furtherward in those exhortations whereby Captaines use to encourage their souldiers to fight, when the Poet eftsoones inferreth these, and such like speeches,

Fye, fie for shame O Lycians,
You are now light of foot,
To run away thus as you do,
Iwis it will not boot.

Also,

A conflict sharpe is toward, Sirs,
Wherefore let every one
Set shame and just revenge in sight,
Else all, I doubt, is gone.

By which words the Poet seemeth to ascribe fortitude unto shamefastnesse and modesty: For that those who are bashfull and ashamed to commit filthinesse, are able likewise not only to overcome voluptuous pleasures: but also to undergo all dangerous adventures. By occasion whereof *Timotheus* also in his Poem entituled *Perse* was moved not unaptly to encourage the Greeks to fight, saying thus:

Have honest shame in reverence,
And honour her, I you advise,
She helpeth Prowesse, and from hence
The victory doth oft arise.

Æschylus also reputeth it a point of wisdome, not to be vaine-glorious, nor desirous to be seen of the multitude, ne yet to be lifted up with the puffes of popular praise, when he describeth *Amphiaraus* in this wise:

He seeketh not to seeme the very best,
But for to be the best in word and deed:
He sowed hath within his worthy brest,
In furrow deep, all good and vertuous seed,
Which yeeld both leafe and fruit in season due,
I meane sage counsell joyn'd with honour true.

For the part it is of a wise man and of good conceit, to stand upon his own bottome, that is to say, to rest in himselfe, and to thinke highly of his own resolutions and courses as the very best. Thus you see how all good things being reduced unto prudence, there is no kind of vertue but it commeth to a man afterwards, and is acquired by learning and discipline.

Moreover, like as Bees have this property by nature, to find and suck the mildest and best honey, out of the sharpest and most eager flowers; yea, and from among the rougheſt and most prickly thornes: even so children and young men, if they be well nurtured and orderly inured in the reading of Poems, will learne after a sort to draw alwaies some wholsome and profitable doctrine or other, even out of those places which move suspition of lewd and absurd sense. At

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the firſt ſight *Agamemnon* may ſeem ſuſpected of avarice and bribery, in that he exempted from warfare that rich * man in regard of the faire mare *Æthra*, which he gave unto him as a gift and gratuity:

* Echepolus

That unto Troy *that ſtately towne,*
He might not with him go
To ſerve in armes: but ſtay at home,
And reſt there far from woe:
Where he might live in ſolace much,
Enjoying all his own:
For Jupiter *in meaſure great*
Had wealth on him beſtowen.

Howbeit, as *Ariſtotle* ſaith, he did very well in preferring a good mare before a man no better than he was: For I aſſure you a coward and hartleſſe man, flowing in abundance of riches, wallowing in pleaſures and delight, and thereby made effeminate, is not in price comparable either to a dog or an aſſe. Semblably, it may ſeeme that *Thetis* did exceeding badly to incite her ſon to pleaſures, and to put him in mind of the fleſhly delights of *Venus*: But even there the continency of *Achilles* is worthy to be conſidered: who notwithſtanding that he had been enamoured of *Briſeis*, and ſaw that ſhe was returned againe unto him, yea, and knew then he had not long to live, but that his end was neare; yet neither made he haſte to enjoy his pleaſures while he might, nor, as many men uſe to do, bewailed the death of his friend, ſitting idlely the while, doing nothing at all, and neglecting the duties of his calling: but as in ſorrow and griefe of heart he forbare his delights and pleatures; ſo in action and conduct of his regiment he ſhewed himſelfe a martiall and valourous man. In like manner *Archilochus* is not commended for this, that being to mourne and lament for the loſſe of his brother in law who married his ſiſter, and was periſhed in the ſea, he would ſeem to conquer his ſorrow with drinking wine and making good cheere: yet nevertheleſſe he alledgeth a cauſe of his doing ſo, which carrieth ſome apparence of reaſon in theſe words:

For neither can my plaints and teares reſtore his life and heale:
Ne yet my mirth and pleaſant ſports will harme him ever a deale.

And if he were of this mind, and had reaſon to thinke, that in following his delights, merriments, paſtimes and bankets, he could not empaire the ſtate of his brother departed: how ſhould our preſent condition be the worſe, and our affaires go backward, by the ſtudy and practice of Philoſophy, by managing the government of publike weales, by frequenting the common hall and Courts of pleas, by going down to the Academy and ſchooles of learning, or by following Agriculture and husbandry?

And therefore the corrections of ſome poeticall verſes by changing certaine words, which practice *Cleanthes* and *Antiſthenes* were wont to uſe, are not amiſſe. For one of them upon a time when the *Athenians* in full-Theatre took offence and made a great ſtirre at this verſe:

Τὸ δ' αἰσχρὸν εἰ μὴ τοῖσι χρωμένοις δοκῇ,
What filthy thing can be that breedeth ſhame?
Unleſſe they think it ſo that uſe the ſame?

Quieted all the trouble preſently by changing it and pronouncing another in this wiſe,

αἰσχρὸν τὸ γ' αἰσχρὸν κἂν δοκῇ κἂν μὴ δοκῇ.
A filthy thing, is foule and filthy ſtill:
Thinke it, or thinke it not, that doth not skill.

As for *Cleanthes* when he read theſe verſes as touching riches:

φίλοις τε δοῦναι σῶμά τ' εἰς νόσου πεσὸν
δαπάναισι σῶσαι,
Among good friends for to beſtow, and ſtend upon your ſelfe
Your ſickly body to preſerve: thus uſe your worldly pelfe.

He altered them in this manner, and wrote thus:

πέφυκε τε δοῦναι σῶμα᾽ εἰς νόσου πεσὸν
δαπάναις ὀλιγοχρημάτοις,
That you may it to harlots give, and pampring much your ſelfe:
A craſie body overthrow, abuſing worldly pelfe.

Semblably *Zeno* reading theſe verſes of *Sophocles*,

ὅστις δ' ἐς αὐλὰς τύραννον εἰσπορεύεται,
κεἰ πρὶν ἐλεύθερος μολών.
Who once to court of Tyrant ſerve, become
His ſlaves anon, though free they thither come.

Turned the ſame, and wrote this againe,

οὐκ ἔστ' ἄνανδρος, ἂν ἐλεύθερος μολῇ.
His ſlave iwis he cannot be,
If he at firſt came thither free.

But you muſt not underſtand that he meaneth here by a free man, one that is timorous, but feareleſſe, magnanimous, and whoſe heart is not eaſie to be daunted. What ſhould hinder us then, but

but that we alſo by ſuch ſuggeſtions and corrections as theſe may reclaime and withdraw young men from the worſe to the better. Whereas therefore we ſhall meet with theſe verſes,

τὸ δ' ἐστὶ τὸ ζηλωτὸν ἀνθρώποις, ὅτῳ
τόξον μεσίμνης· εἰς ὃ βάλλεται πόθος.
The thing that men are for to wiſh and moſt deſire is this,
That when they ſhoot at their delights, the arrow may not miſſe.

Not ſo, but rather thus,

τόξον μεσίμνης εἰς τ' ὄμφρόνον πόθος.
That when they aime at their profit,
The arrow may be ſure to hit.

For to reach into thoſe things which a man ought not to deſire, yea, and to obtaine, and have the ſame is pitifull and lamentable, and in no wiſe to be wiſhed for. Likewiſe, when we read in *Homer* thus,

Thy part of weale and woe thou muſt, O Agamemnon, *have,*
For Atreus *did not thee beget, alwaies to win or ſave.*

We verily are thus to ſay rather,

Thou art to joy, and never for to grieve,
But in a meane eſtate delight to live:
For Athens *did not* Agamemnon *get*
The world at will to have, and find no let.

Againe when we meet with this verſe,

Alas what miſchiefe ſent to men,
Is this from gods above,
That they ſhould ſee what thing is good,
And it not uſe nor love?

Sent from gods above? Nay rather, it is a brutiſh, unreaſonable, yea, a wofull and lamentable thing, that a man ſeeing that which is better, ſhould for all that be carried away and tranſported to the worſe, by reaſon of intemperance, floath, and effeminate ſoftneſſe of the mind.

Alſo, if we light upon this ſentence,

Behaviour 'tis, and good carriage,
That do perſwade, and not language,

Not ſo iwis but manners and words together are perſwaſive: or rather the manners by meanes of ſpeech, like as the horſe is ruled by the bit and bridle, and as the Pilot guideth the ſhip by the rudder or helme. For ſurely vertue is furniſhed with no inſtrument or meanes ſo gracious with men and ſo familiar, as ſpeech is.

Moreover, when you encounter theſe verſes;

For wanton love, how ſtands his mind,
To male more or to female kind?
Anſwer.
Both hands are right, with him, where beauty is;
Neither of twaine to him can come amiſs.

Nay, rather thus he ſhould have anſwered:

Where vertue is ſeated, and continence,
Both hands are like, there is no difference.

And to ſpeake truly, and more plainly, in equall ballance poyſed he is indeed, inclining neither the one way nor the other: Whereas contrariwiſe, he that with pleaſure and beauty ſwayeth to and fro, is altogether left-handed, inconſtant, and incontinent.

Read you at any time this verſe?

φόβος τὰ θεῖα τοῖσι σώφροσι βροτῶν.
Religion true, and right godlineſſe
Make wiſe men fearfull alwaies, more or leſſe.

In no wiſe admit thereof, but ſay thus:

Θάρσος τὰ θεῖα τοῖσι σώφροσι βροτῶν,
Religion true, and right godlineſſe,
Make wiſe men bold, and hardy more or leſſe.

For in truth, feare and deſpaire, by the meanes of religion, ariſeth in the hearts of none but of fooles, unthankfull and ſenſeleſſe perſons, who have in ſuſpition and do dread that divine power which is the firſt cauſe of all good things, as hurtfull unto them. Thus much concerning correction of ſentences.

There is beſides an amplification of that which we read, whereby a ſentence may be ſtretched farther than the bare words import. And thus *Chryſippus* hath rightly taught us how to transfer and apply that which was ſpoken of one only thing, to many of the like kind, and ſo to make a profitable uſe thereof: for after this manner when *Heſiodus* ſaith,

An oxe or cow a man ſhall never loſe,
If neighbour his be not malicious.

He meaneth by oxe or cow his dog likewiſe and aſſe, yea, and all things elſe that may periſh. Semblably, whereas *Euripides* ſaith thus,

A slaue indeed, whom may we justly call?
Euen him, of death who thinketh not at all.

We must understand that he meant and spake, as well of labour, affliction and sickneſſe, as of death. And verily, as physitians finding the vertue and operations of a medicine applied and fitted to one malady, by the knowledge thereof can skill how to accommodate the same to all others of the like nature, and use it accordingly; even so, when we meet with a sentence that is common, and whereof the profit may serve to many purposes, we ought not to oversee and neglect the manifold use thereof, and leave it as appropriate to one only matter: but to handle the same so, that it may be applied to all of like sort: and herein we must inure and exercise young men, to see and know readily this communion, and with a quick conceit to transfer that which they find apt and proper in many, and by examples to be practised and made prompt therein, so as they be able to marke at the first hearing the semblable: To the end that when they come to read in *Menander* this verse,

A happy man we may him call,
Who hath much wealth, and wit withall.

They may very well thinke that in naming wealth, he meant and included Honour, Authority, and Eloquence. Also, that the imputation which *Vlysses* charged upon *Achilles*, sitting idlely in the Island *Scyros*, among the young maidens and damosels, in these words,

Tou sir, whose father was a knight,
The best that ever drew
His sword, of all the Greeks in fight,
And many a captaine slew:
Sit you here carding like a wench,
And spinning wooll on rocks,
Thereby the glorious light to quench
Of your most noble stocke?

May be aptly said unto any loose liver and voluptuous wanton, unto a covetous and wretched miser, unto an idle luske, an untaught or ignorant lozell. As for example, in lieu of this verse in the foresaid imputation,

Ξάνθε τί δείδια πατρὸς ἀμύμονα νεῖκος.
What, what, good sir? are you become a spinster now for need,
Whose father was of all the Greeks a knight of doughtiest deed.

A man may read, and not unfitly, thus:

πίνεις ἀδίκως &c.
Can you carrouse so lustily, and tosse the pot so round,
Whose father knew to shake a speare, and stowtly stand his ground?

Or after this manner,

κυβεύεις ἀδίκως &c.
Your courage serves to hazard all at casting of three dice,
Your fathers heart was tried in war and martiall jeopardies.

Either thus,

δρυγνωτεῖς ἀδίκως &c.
Tou cunning are to play at quailes the game,
Whereas your sire, by prowes won much fame.

Or in this wise,

ναυπλεῖς ἀδίκως &c.
Are you become indeed a Tauernour,
Whose father was a worthy gouernour?

Or lastly thus,

τοκογλυφεῖς ἀδίκως &c.
In hundred tens, you can full well call for at such a day,
Your father tens and hundreds knew to range in battell ray.

And in one word, so well as you are descended there is no goodneſſe nor great thing in you worthy the noble parentage. Moreover, where you happen upon these verses,

What tell you me of Pluto and his chieuance,
For such a god as he with all his puissance
I worship not: since that the lewdeſt wretch
In all the world to wealth may quickly reach.

A man may say as much of glory, of outward beauty, of the rich mantles of a Captaine generall, of a Bishops Mitre, and the sacred coronet of a Priest, which we see the wickedeſt wretches in the world may attaine unto. Againe, whereas the words of another verse import thus much only:

That children gotten of cowardiſe,
Be foule, and those whom men deſpiſe.

The same verily do imply also, that intemperance, Superstition, Envy, and all other vices and maladies of the mind, bring forth no better off-spring. Now whereas *Homer* said excellent well in one place:

Paris

Paris *a coward thou art forsooth,*
For all thy face so faire and smooth.
And in another,
Sir Hector in the prime of age,
With lovely looks and faire visage.

(For by these termes and epithites he sheweth covertly that a man deserveth blame and reproach, who is endued with no better grace and gift than beauty) we may well and fitly apply this reprehension to such like things: namely, to pluck down their peacocks plumes, who vaunt and glorifie themselves for matters of no moment and value: teaching young men thereby, that such praises as these be no better than contumelies and reproaches: As for example, when a man is saluted in this manner: O most excellent for riches, for keeping a bountifull table, for many seruitours: right excellent for singular good teames of draught oxen, caples and mules, for stables of steeds and great horses: yea, or thus moreover to the rest: O surpassing Orator and of wonderfull eloquence: for to speake a truth, a man is to aime at excellency and preference before others in good and honest things, that in the chiefe and principall he may be the highest and formost: as also in great matters the greatest: for the reputation that groweth from inall and base things is dishonourable, illiberable, vile, and of no worth. And verily this example last alledged, putteth us straightwaies in mind, to consider better the reprehensions and praises which offer themselves especially in the Poems of *Homer*: For certes, they give us expresly to understand one notable instruction, to wit, not highly to esteeme the gifts either of body or of fortune. For first and formost (in those titles which they give one to another in reciprocall greetings) when they meet and shake hands, the manner is not to salute by the name of Beautifull, Rich, or Strong, but they use such commendations as these:

Ulysses, *O most noble knight, from* Jupiter *first descended,*
Laertes *son for wisdome, and much wit, yet most commended.*
Also,
O Hector, *son of* Priamus *king,*
Equall to Jove *in wisdome and cunning.*
Likewise,
Achilles *O of* Peleus *the most redoubted sun,*
Chiefe glory of the worthy Greeks, their light and shining sun.
And againe,
Patroclus *O son of* Menætius,
Most lovely in my heart and gracious.

Semblably, when they are disposed to revile and taunt, they twit not one another with any defects and imperfections of the body, but touch them expresly with the vices of the mind, after this manner,

Thou drunken sot, as shameleſſe as the dogs that use to barke
Thou coward base, as heartleſſe as the stags that run in parkes.
And thus,
Thou wrangling Ajax *of Barrotters chiefe,*
Diuising nought but evill and miſchiefe.
Semblably,
Idomeneus *in frappling prompt,*
What meanſt thou thus to prate?
This babling little thee becomes,
Such clattering men do hate.
As also,
O Ajax *fie for shame: how far out of the way*
Speake you, so bold and malapart? you brag too much I say.

To conclude, *Ulysses* revileth not *Therſites* with these termes: Thou halting and lame squire, thou bald-pate, thou coptank, thou that art camell-backt, or crump-shouldered: but rather reproacheth him with his vaine babling and undiscreet language. But rather on the contrary side, the mother of *Vulcan*, when she speaketh unto her son lovingly and in great kindneſſe of heart, beginneth first with his lameneſſe in this manner,

Come hither my son, come to me, come sweet heart,
My poore limping creeple, come crooke-leg'd as thou art.

By this it may appeare plainly that *Homer* deriveth those who thinke it a shame to be halt, blind, or otherwise impotent. He is of opinion that nothing is blame-worthy which is not dishonest: nor any thing dishoneſt and shameſull, which came not by our own selves, but proceeded from fortune. And therefore these two great and singular commodities, they are sure to find, who be exercised in reading and hearing of Poets: the one tending to moderation and modeſty: in that they learne to reproach no man odiously, bitterly, and fooliſhly with his fortune: the other unto magnanimity; for that they be taught themselves to make use of their own fortune: not to be cast down and troubled for any adverſe calamity that may happen; but meekly and patiently to abide the frumps, scoffs, and reproachfull termes that are given them, yea, and the laughters that

 arise

arise thereupon. And verily evermore this sentence of *Philemon* ought to be ready at hand and resound in their eares:

Nothing there is more pleasant and musicall
Then him to abide who doth thee misse-call.

Howbeit, if any of these mockers deserve to be rebuked and taunted againe, vantage would be taken of the vices and imperfections of their mind, and those are to be objected against them; for so *Adrastus* in a tragedy, when *Alcmeon* provoked him with these words,

Alc. *A sister thou hast (I tell thee true)*
Who in husbands blood her hands did embrue.
Adr. *But thou thy selfe, (I must tell plaine)*
Thy mother that bare thee hast cruelly slaine.

For like as they who whip and scourge garments, touch not the body at all: even so they that upbraid a man with infortunity, or reproach him for some default or blemish in his parentage, do like vaine fooles beat those things that are without, but never come neare the quick, nor touch the soule, ne yet any thing which truly deserveth correction, blame, or biting.

Over and beside, as we shewed and taught before, how to impeach and derogate the credit of those lewd sentences and dangerous speeches, which otherwhiles we meet with in Poeticall books, namely, by opposing against the same the good and grave saws of worthy persons, renowned as well for their learning as politick government: even so, if we find any civill, honest, and profitable matter in Poetry, we ought (as it were) to nourish, confirme, and strengthen the same by demonstrations and testimonies Philosophicall: and evermore to remember, that we ascribe the first invention of such sentences to sage Philosophers: For a just, requisite, and commodious thing it is, that their credit should be in that manner fortified and authorized: namely, when the Poems which are pronounced upon the Stage in a theater, or sung to the harp, or taught unto children in schooles, do accord with the sententious counsels of *Pythagoras*, the instructions of *Plato*, and the precepts of *Chilon*: when, I say, the rules of *Bias*, shall tend to the same end and effect as do those lessons that children are to read and learne. And therefore we are to teach and instruct them thus much, not slightly and by the way, but earnestly and of purpose, that these places of Poets,

Faire daughter mine, thou wert not borne
To manage wars and armes so dread:
Mind thou loves sports, and think no scorne
To joyne young folke in marriage bed.
Likewise:
For Jupiter displeasfull is with thee,
If that in fight thou overmatched bee.

Nothing at all differ from this notable sentence, Γνῶθι σεαυτὸν. *i. e.* Know thy selfe: but carry the very same sense and meaning.

Also these verses,

Like fooles, they do not know, iwis,
That halfe than whole much better is.
Likewise,
Evill counsels hurt no man so much,
As him that author is of such.

Are all one in effect with the opinions and discourses of *Plato* in his dialogue *Gorgias*, and in his books of *Commonweale*; to wit, that more dangerous it is to do wrong than to suffer injury; and more damage commeth by giving than by receiving an abuse.

Also to this verse of *Æschylus*,

Be of good cheare: Excessive paine
Cannot endure, nor long remaine:
When wofull bale is at the highest,
Then blessed boot (be sure) is nighest.

We must say, that they be the very same with that divulged sentence so often repeated by *Epicurus*; and so highly admired by his followers; namely, *That as great paines are not durable, so long griefes are tolerable.* And as the former member of this sentence was evidently expressed by *Æschylus*, so the other is a consequent thereof, and implied therein. For if a griefe that is sore and vehement endureth not; surely that which continueth cannot be violent or intolerable.

Semblably this sentence of *Thespis* the Poet in verse,

Thou seest how Jove all other gods
For this doth far excell,
Because that lies he doth abhor,
And pride of heart expell.
He is not wont to laugh and scorne,
To frumpe he doth disdaine:
He only cannot skill of lusts
And pleasures which be vaine.

Is varied by *Plato* in prose, when he saith, that the divine power is seated far from pleasure and paine. As for these verses of *Barchylides*,

We hold it true, and ever will maintaine,
That glory sound and vertue doth endure.
Great wealth and store we take to be vaine,
And may befall to vile men and impure.

As also these of *Euripides* to the like sense;

Sage temperance I hold, we ought
To honour most in heart;
For with good men it doth remaine,
And never will depart.

As also these,

When honour and worldly wealth you have,
To furnish your selves with vertues, take care,
Without her, if riches you get and save,
Though blessed you seeme, unhappy you are.

Containe they not an evident proofe and demonstration of that which the Philosophers teach as touching riches and externall goods; which without vertue profit not those at all who are possessed of them? And verily thus to reduce, and fitly to accommodate the sentences of Poets unto the precepts and principles delivered by Philosophers, will soon dissever Poetry from fables, and pluck from it the masque wherewith it is disguised; it will give, I say, unto them an effectuall power, that being profitably spoken, they may be thought serious and perswasive: yea, and besides, will make an overture and way unto the mind of a young lad, that it may encline the rather to Philosophicall reasons and discourses: namely, when he having gotten some smatch and taste already thereof, and being not void altogether of hearing good things, he shall not come altogether without judgement; replenished only with fooliſh conceits and opinions which he hath evermore heard from his mothers and nurses mouth, yea, and otherwhiles (beleeve me) from his father, tutour, and schoole-master: who will not stick in his hearing to repute for blessed and happy, yea, and with great reverence to give the worship to those who are rich: but as for death, paine, and labour, to stand in feare and horrour thereof: and contrariwise, to make no reckoning and account of vertue, but to despise the same, and thinke it as good as nothing, without earthly riches and authority. Certes, when young men shall come thus rawly and untrained, to heare the decisions, reasons, and arguments of Philosophers, flat contrary to such opinions, they will at first be much astonied, troubled, and disquieted in their minds: and no more able to admit of the same, and to endure such doctrine, than they who having a long time been pent in, and kept in darke, can abide the glittering raies of the Sun-shine: unlesse they were acquainted before by little and little with some false and bastard light, not altogether so lively and cleare as it: And even so, I say, young men must be accustomed before-hand, yea, and from the very first day, to the light of the truth, entermingled somewhat with fables among, that they may the better endure the full light and sight of the cleare truth, without any paine and offence at all. For when they have either heard or read before in Poems these sentences:

Lament we ought for infants at their birth,
Entring a world of cares that they shall have:
Whereas the dead we should with joy and mirth
Accompany, and bring them so to grave.
Also,
Of worldly things we need no more but twaine,
For bread to eat, the earth doth yeeld us graine:
And for to quench our thirst, the river cleere
Affords us drinke, the water faire and sheere,
Likewise,
O tyranny so lov'd, and in request
With barbarous, but hatefull to the rest.
Lastly,
The highest pitch of mans felicity,
To feele the least part of adversity.

Lesse troubled they are and grieved in spirit, when they shall heare in the Philosophers schooles, That we are to make no account of death as a thing touching us: That the Riches of nature are definite and limited: That felicity and soveraigne happinesse of man, lieth not in great sums of money, ne yet in the pride of managing State-affaires, nor in dignities and great authority, but in a quiet life free from paine and sorrow: in moderating all passions, and in a disposition of the mind kept within the compasse of Nature. To conclude, in regard hereof, as also for other reasons before alledged. A young man had need to be well guided and directed in reading of Poets, to the end that he may be sent to the study of Philosophy not foretalled with sinister surmises; but rather sufficiently instructed before and prepared, yea, and made friendly and familiar thereto by the meanes of Poetry.

Of Hearing

The Summary.

By good right, this present discourse was next unto the former twaine. For seeing we are not borne into this world learned; but before we can speake our selves sensibly or any thing to reason, we ought to have heard men who are able to deliver their minds with judgement, to the end, that by their aide and help we may be better framed and fitted to the way of vertue: requisite it is, that after the imbibition of good nurture in childhood, and some liberty and license given to travell in the writings of Poets, according to the rules above declared; young men that are students should advance forward, and mount up into higher schooles. Now, for that in the time when this Author, Plutarch, lived, besides many good bookes, there were a great number of professours in the liberall Sciences, and namely into those Cities, into which Barbarisme crept afterwards: he proposeth and setteth down those precepts now which they are to follow and observe that go to heare publike Lectures, Orations, and Disputations, thereby to know how to behave themselves there; which training haply may reach to all that which we shall heare spoken elsewhere; and is materiall to make us more learned and better mannered. In the first place therefore he sheweth that at what time as we grow to yeares of discretion we should have a feeling of our ignorance, to the end that we may be desirous to learne, and afterwards heare willingly. For to encrease our affection, he toucheth those dangers into which they fall, who will needs be teachers before they be taught themselves: adjoyning hereto those vices and inconveniences which a young man is to take heed of in hearing, and above all others to beware of envy: as also on the other side what he ought to study. Now, for that impossible it is, that teachers should be perfect and fully accomplished in all things, he proceedeth to declare with what mind and spirit we should take knowledge, and consider of their imperfections; giving withall an advertisement how to avoid another extremity, to wit, an excessive admiration of him that speaketh, namely, to leave the principall substance of doctrine: the which will be so much more accepted, in case it be commended and adorned with eloquence. He commeth afterwards to treate of those problemes and questions which may be propounded in companies and meetings: also of the pleasure that we ought to take when we are told the truth: in such sort, that as we are not to envy them for their excellency, who speake any thing to raise and set us aloft: so, on the contrary side we ought to carry with us thither a spirit favourable, gracious, well prepared, hating flattery, loving reprehensions, patient, void of that rusticall bashfulnesse which we see in over-blunt and dull natures, neither presumptuous nor yet discouraged, but keeping a good measure and meane between vaine curiosity and that supine sloath and idlenesse, which is in the most part of those that be hearers. To conclude, he would have him that hath diligently heard a certaine time, and with discretion, to exercise himself in devising and inventing somewhat of his own, in such sort that he may put the same forth, so, as the outward part may discover well what goodnesse there lieth inclosed within.

Of Hearing.

THis little Treatise (my friend *Nicander*) which being gathered and compiled by starts, as my leisure would serve, *As touching the manner of hearing*, I lately put in writing, and send here unto you, To the end that you being delivered now from the subjection of Masters, who were wont to command you, and having put on your virile robe and grown to mans estate, may know how to heare him that giveth you good counsell. For this licentious easement and delivery from all government, which some young men for default of good nurture and education do untruly terme *Liberty*, setteth over them more rough Lords and harder Masters by far than were those teachers, tutors, and governours, under whom they were awed in their childhood. to wit, their own irregular lusts, and unordinate appetites, which now be (as it were) dischained and let loose. For, like as a woman (to use the words of *Herodotus*) no sooner doth off her smock or inner vesture, but therewithall she casteth off all shamefastnesse and modesty; even so, some young men there be, who together with the garments of infancy and childhood lay by all grace, shame, and feare: so that being once divested of that habit and apparel which became them so well, and gave them a modest and sober countenance, they are straightwaies full of stubbornesse and disobedience. As for your selfe, who have oftentimes heard, that *To follow God*, and to obey Reason is all one, you ought to thinke, that the wiser sort, and such as have wit indeed, repute not the passage and change from childhood to mans estate, an absolute deliverance and freedome from commandement and subjection, but an exchange only of the commander: for that their life instead either of a mercenary hireling, or some Master bought with a peece of money, who was wont to governe it in their nonage and minority, taketh then a divine and heavenly guide to conduct it, even Reason: unto which they yeeld themselves obeisant, are to be reputed only free and at liberty. For they alone live as they would, who have

have learned to will that which they should: whereas if our actions and affections both be disordinate and not ruled by reason, the liberty of our free-will is small, slender and feeble, yea, and intermingled for the most part with much repentance. Like as therefore among new Burgovises (who lately are enrolled Free Denizens to enjoy the Franchises and priviledges of some City) they that were meere aliens before, and strangers now come from far and remote parts, find themselves grieved at the first with many things that are done, yea, and complaine thereof: but such as had been inhabitants there sometime before they were made citizens, who partly by education were inured, and partly by custome and conversing, familiarly acquainted with the laws and customes of the place, never thinke much, but can brooke well enough, and undergo with patience all charges and impositions laid upon them; So it behooveth that a young man should a long time have been bred up and (as it were) halfe nursed in Philosophy, accustomed (I say) he ought to have been from the beginning with intermingling all that he learneth or heareth in his tender yeares, with Philosophicall reasons, that being thus made tractable, gentle, and familiar before hand, he might now betake himselfe wholly and in good earnest to Philosophy: which alone is able to array and adorne young men with those robes and ornaments of reason which are man-like indeed, and every way perfect. Moreover, I suppose you will be well pleased and content to give eare unto that which *Theophrastus* hath written of hearing; which of all the five senses given us by nature, presenteth both the most and also the greatest passions unto the mind. For there is no object of the eye, nothing that we taste or touch that causeth such extasies, so violent troubles or sudden frights, as those which enter and pierce into the soule by the meanes of some noises, sounds and voices, incident to our hearing. And albeit this sense lie thus open and exposed to passions, yet is it more fit to admit reason than such affections: for many places therebe and parts of the body that make way and give entrance unto vices to passe unto the soule: but the only handle (as I may so say) wherewith vertue may take hold of young men are their eares: provided alwaies, that they were keept cleane and neat at the first from all flattery, and defended against corrupt and lewd speeches that they touch them not.

Good reason therefore had *Xenocrates* to give order that children should have certaine aurelets or bolsters devised to hang about their eares for their defence, rather than fencers and sword-players: for that these are in danger only to have their eares spoyled with knocks or cuts by weapons: but the other, to have their manners corrupted and marred with naughty speeches. Neither was it any part of *Xenocrates* his meaning, to deprive them altogether of hearing, and to commend deafenesse: but to admonish and exhort them so long to forbeare the hearing of evill words, and to take heed, untill other good sayings, entertained and nourished there, in long continuance of time by Philosophy, had seised the place, and were well setled in that part which is most easie to be moved and perswaded by speech: where being once lodged, they might as good sentinels and guards preserve and defend the same. *Bias* verily, that ancient Sage, being commanded by King *Amasis* to send unto him the best and worst piece of a beast killed for sacrifice, plucked forth the tongue only, and sent it him; giving him thus much thereby to understand, That speech is the cause both of most good, and also of greatest harme. Many there be also, who ordinarily when they kisse little children both touch their eares withall, and also bid them do the like: insinuating thus much covertly, by way of mirth and sport, That they are to love those who profit them and do them good by their eares. For this is certaine and evident, that a young man deprived and debarred of hearing, being able to taste and conceive reason, will not only become barren altogether of fruit, and put not so much as any buds and flowers at all, which may give some hope of vertue: but also contrariwise, will soon turne to vice, and send forth of his corrupt mind many wild and savage shoots, like as a ground neglected and untilled, beareth nothing but briers, brambles, and hurtfull weeds. For the motions and inclinations unto pleasures, and the sinister conceits and suspitions of paines and travels (which are no strangers to us iwis, entring in directly from without forth by themselves, or else let in by evill suggestions, but inbred with us, and the naturall sources of infinite vices and maladies) if a man suffer to run on end with the reines at large, whither by nature they would go, and not cut them off by sage remonstrances, or divert them another way, and thereby reforme the default of nature: surely there were not upon the face of the earth any wild beast but would be more tame and gentle than man. Forasmuch as therefore the sense of hearing bringeth unto young men so great profit, and no lesse perill with it, I suppose it were well done, if a man would eftsoones both devise with himselfe, and also discourse with others, as touching the order and manner of hearing. Forasmuch as we do see most men in this point to offend and erre, in that they exercise themselves in speaking before they were used to heare: supposing that good speech requireth a kind of discipline, meditation, and practice ere it be learned: as for hearing, though men use it without any art, it makes no matter how, yet they may receive profit thereby as they thinke. And verily, albeit at Tennis play they that practice the feat thereof, learne to take the ball as it commeth, and also to strike and send it from them againe, both at once, yet in the use of speech it is otherwise: For to receive it well goeth before the utterance and delivery thereof: like as conception and retention of the seed, doth præcede birth of the infant. It is said, That the egges laid by soules, called wind-egges, as they proceed of imperfect and false conceptions, so they are the rudiments and beginnings of such fruits as never will quicken and have life; even so, The speeches that young men let fall, such I

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meane as neverknew how to heare,nor were wont to receive profit by hearing, are nothing elſe indeed but very wind: and as the Poet ſaith,

Words vaine, obſcure, and fooliſh every one,
Which under clouds ſoone vaniſh and be gone.

Certes if they would powre forth any liquor out of one veſſell into another,they are wont to encline and turne down the mouth of the one, ſo, as the ſaid liquor may paſſe into the receptorie without ſhedding any part thereof, leſt inſtead of an infuſion indeed there be an effuſion only and ſpilling of the ſame: and yet theſe men cannot learne to be attentive and give good eare unto others,to as nothing do eſcape them which is well and profitably delivered. But here is the greateſt folly and moſt ridiculous, that if they meet with one who can relate the order of a feaſt or great dinner, diſcourſe from point to point of a ſolemne ſhew or pompe, tell a tale of ſome dreame, or make report of a quarrell and brablement between him and another, they harken with great ſilence,bid him ſay on,and will miſſe never a circumſtance: Let another man draw them apart,to teach them ſome good and profitable leſſon, to exhort them to their duty, to admoniſh and tell them of a fault, to reprove them wherein they did amiſſe, or to appeaſe their mood when they be incholer,they cannot abide and indure him: for either they will ſet in hand to argue and refute him by arguments, contending and conteſting againſt that which hath been ſaid, (if they be able ſo to do:) or if they find themſelves too weake, they ſlink away, and run thither where they may heare ſome other vaine and fooliſh diſcourſes, deſirous to fill their eares (like naughty and rotten veſſels) with any thing rather than that which is good and neceſſary. They that would keep and order horſes well, teach them to have a good mouth,to reign light,and to obey the bit: even ſo, they that bring up children as they ought, make them obſequent and obeiſant to reaſon, by teaching them to heare much and ſpeake little. For *Spintharus* praiſing *Epaminondas* upon a time gave out thus much of him: That he could hardly meet with another man who knew more than he,and ſpake leſſe. And it is commonly ſaid, that nature her ſelfe hath given to each of us but one tongue and two eares, becauſe we ought to heare more than we ſpeake. Now as ſilence and Taciturnity is every where and at all times a ſingular and ſure ornament of a young man; ſo eſpecially, if when he heareth another man to ſpeake he interrupt and trouble him not, nor bay and barke (as it were) at every word: but although he do not very well like of his ſpeech, yet hath patience and forbeareth, giving him leave to make an end: and when he hath finiſhed his ſpeech, ſetteth not upon him preſently, nor beginneth out of hand to confute him, but ſuffereth him to paſſe awhile, and as *Æſchynes* ſaith, giveth him ſome time to breath and bethink himſelf to ſee; if haply he think it good to adde any more to that which hath been delivered already, or change ſomewhat, or elſe retract and unſay ſomething: Whereas they that by and by cut a man off with contradictions,and neither hear,nor are well heard themſelves, but are ever replying upon other whiles they ſpeake, obſerve no decorum nor grace at all, but ſhew a very undecent and unſeemely behaviour. But he that is accuſtomed to heare patiently,and with a modeſt and ſober countenance, better conceiveth and reteineth the good things uttered, and withall hath more leiſure to marke,obſerve,and diſcerne that which is either unprofitable or falſe: He ſheweth himſelfe beſides to be a lover of the truth,and is not taken for a litigious quareller,a raſh wrangler,or a bitter brawler. And therefore,ſome there be who not unaptly ſay,That we ought no leſſe, but rather more, to void out of the minds of young men that preſumption and fooliſh opinion which they have of their own ſelves, than to rid and exclude the wind and aire out of leather baggs or bladders wherewith they are puſt and blown up, if we meane to inſuſe and put any good thing into them: for otherwiſe,if they be ſtill full of that ſwelling wind of arrogancy and overweening of themſelves,they will never receive and admit any goodneſſe.

Moreover, envy accompanied with a maligne eye and ill will is good in no action whatſoever where it is preſent: but as it is an impediment and hinderance to all honeſt cauſes; ſo it is the worſt counſeller and aſſiſtant that he can have who would be an auditor, making all thoſe things that be profitable and for his benefit to ſeeme odious, unpleaſant, harſh to the eare, and hardly admitted: for that the nature of envious perſons is,to take more pleaſure in any thing elſe than in that which is well ſpoken. And verily,whoſoever repineth and is vexed at the heart to ſee others rich,beautifull or in authority,is only envious: for grieved he is at the welfare of others: but he that taketh diſcontentment in hearing a wiſe and ſententious ſpeech, is offended with the good of his own ſelfe: for, like as the light is a benefit to them that ſee; even ſo is ſpeech unto the hearers,if they will embrace and entertaine the ſame: As for thoſe kinds of envy which ariſe in regard of other things, there be ſome naughty paſſions and vitious conditions of the mind beſides that breed and inger der them: but that manner of envy,which is conceived againſt them that ſpeake excellently well, ſpringeth from a certaine importunate deſire of vaine glory, and unjuſt ambition,which will not ſuffer him that is ſo indiſpoſed to give eare and attend unto the words ſpoken,but troubleth,diſquieteth,and diſtracteth the mind and underſtanding: both to conſider at one inſtant his own ſtate and ſufficiency,whether it be inferiour to the conceit and eloquence of the ſpeaker: and alſo to regard and looke upon the countenance of other hearers, whether they take contentment and are in admiration of him that maketh the ſpeech: yea, and withall, if happily he be praiſed, the ſame mind is wonderfully galled and amazed,angry,and ready to fall out with all that be preſent, in caſe they approve his ſpeech with applauſe. Herewith it letteth

letteth ſlip alſo and rejecteth the matter and good ſayings that were delivered already; for that the remembrance thereof is unſavoury and unpleaſant: and ſtill he is diſquieted and wotteth not what to do,hearing out the reſt with feare and trembling, leſt happily they ſhould be better than the former,never ſo deſirous that the ſpeakers ſhould haſten to an end and have done; as when they diſcourſe and ſpeake beſt. Now when the Sermon is ended, and the auditory diſſolved: what doth this envious ſpirit then? Not ruminate, be you ſure, nor conſider of the reaſons and matter delivered; but he ſtirreth the affections and opinions ſtraightwaies, and gathereth voices (as it were in a ſcrutiny) of the audience. If he meet with any that give out good words to the praiſe of the Preacher, them he avoideth and fleeth from, as if he were in a furious fit of madneſſe: hapneth he upon ſuch as find fault, and be ready to miſconſtrue and pervert the words that were ſpoken to the worſt ſenſe: theſe are they whom he loveth a life,to them he runneth,and with them he ſorteth and keepeth company: But ſay that he findeth none of that diſpoſition,ſo as he cannot wreſt any words to a wrong conſtruction, then he falleth to make compariſons, and to ſet againſt him others younger than he; who of the ſame theame have diſcourſed better, with more plauſible utterance and greater force of eloquence: he never ceaſeth nor giveth over corrupting,miſinterpreting, and diſgracing the whole ſpeech, untill he have made the ſame altogether unprofitable and without any edification at all to his own ſelfe. It behoveth therefore, that he who deſireth to heare, take truce (for the time) with ambition; to the end that he may give eare with patience and mildneſſe unto him that maketh an oration or ſermon, and carry himſelfe no otherwiſe than if he were admitted to ſome ſacred and feſtivall banket, or an invited gueſt to the firſt fruits of a ſolemne ſacrifice; praiſing his eloquence when he hath ſpoken well and ſufficiently to the point in any matter,accepting favourably, and in beſt part, his good will, to deliver and communicate to others ſuch things as he knew, and to perſwade his hearers with thoſe reaſons and motives which had induced and perſwaded himſelfe. Neither muſt our auditors make this reckoning and concluſion, That whatſoever hath been ſingularly well delivered by the ſpeaker, ought to be aſcribed to chance and fortune, as if he had let fall his words at a venture: but impute the ſame to his diligence, labour, and art: yea, and he ought to imitate the ſame with a kind of zeale and admiration. But whereas he hath faulted and done amiſſe, it is the part of an hearer to bend his mind, and conſider well and circumſpectly, what might the cauſe and occaſion be of ſuch errour: For like as (according to *Xenophon*) good houſholders know how to make profit and uſe, as well of their enemies as their friends; even ſo they that be vigilant and attentive hearers take good, not only by them that ſpeake well, but by thoſe alſo that miſſe and faile of their purpoſe: for barren, triviall, and ſtale invention; improper,vaine,and unſignificant words; forced, and fooliſh figures; abrupt, fond,and unſeemly breakings forth with joy to ſome praiſe,and ſuch like impertinences or defects, which often times befall unto them that ſpeake in publike place, are ſooner eſpied by us that are hearers, than obſerved by themſelves who are the ſpeakers. And therefore we are to transfer the inquiſition and correction of any ſuch fault,from them to our ſelves,by examining whether we alſo may not fault likewiſe before we be aware? For there is nothing in the world more eaſie than for a man to blame and reprehend his neighbour: but ſuch a reprehenſion verily is vaine and unprofitable,unleſſe it have a reference to correct and amend the like errours in himſelfe. In which regard every one ought to be ready in this caſe, according to the advertiſement of *Plato*, to ſay unto himſelfe, Am not I alſo ſuch a one? Or, do not I the reſemblable otherwhiles? For even as we ſee our own eyes ſhining within the ball or apple of our neighbours eye, ſo we ought by the forme and manner of other mens orations to take the patterne and repreſentation of our own: to the end that we be not too forward and bold in deſpiſing others,but may more carefully take heed to our ſelves when we likewiſe come to ſpeake. To this purpoſe alſo it would do very well to make a kind of conference and compariſon in this manner; Namely, to retire our ſelves apart when we have heard one make an oration,and to take in handſome points which we thinke had not been well and ſufficiently handled,and then to aſſay either to ſupply that which was defective in ſome, or to correct what was amiſſe in others: or elſe to vary the ſame matter in other words,or at leaſtwiſe to diſcourſe altogether thereof with new reaſons and arguments; like as *Plato* himſelfe did upon the oration of *Lyſias*. For I aſſure you, no hard matter it is, but very eaſie to contradict the oration and reaſon by another pronounced; mary to ſet a better by it,that is a peece of work right hard and difficult. Much like, as when a certaine Lacedemonian heard that *Philip* King of *Macedon* had demoliſhed and razed the City *Olynthus*, Hath he ſo? quoth he. But he is not able to ſet up ſuch another. Now when as we ſhall ſee that in treating of the ſame ſubject and argument, there is no great difference between our own doings and other mens before us, and that we have not far excelled them, we ſhall be reclaimed much from the contempt of others, and quickly repreſſe and ſtay our own preſumptuous pride and ſelfe-love ſeeing it thus checked by this triall and compariſon. And verily, to admire other mens doings, as it is a thing adverſe and oppoſite to deſpiſing, ſo it is a ſign of a milder nature, and more enclined to indifferency and equity. But even herein alſo there would be no leſſe heed taken (if not more) than in the contempt beforeſaid: for as they which are ſo preſumptuous, bold, and given ſo much to diſpraiſe and deſpiſe others, receive leſſe good and ſmaller profit by hearing; ſo the ſimple and harmeleſſe ſort, addicted overmuch to others, and having them in admiration, are more ſubject to take harme and hurt thereby: verifying this ſentence of *Heraclitus*,

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A foolish sot astonied is anone
At all he heares, or seeth done.

As for the praises therefore of him that speaketh, we ought favourably and of course without great affectation to passe them out of our mouths: in giving credit unto their reasons and arguments we are to be more wary and circumspect: and as touching the phrase, utterance, and action of those that exercise to make speeches, we must both see and heare the same with a single heart and a kind affection: As for the utility and truth of those matters which are delivered, we should examine and weigh the same exactly and with more severity of judgement. Thus we who be hearers shall avoid the suspitions of evill will and hatred, and they againe that are speakers shall do us no harme. For oftentimes it falleth out that upon a speciall fansie and good liking unto those that preach unto us, we take lesse heed to our selves, and by our credulity admit and embrace from their lips many false and erronious opinions. The Lacedæmonian rulers and Lords of the Councell of State, upon a time liking well of the good advice and opinion of a person who was an ill liver, caused the same to be delivered openly by another of approved life and good reputation: wherein they did very wisely, and as prudent politicians, to accustome the people for to affect the behaviour and honest carriage of their counsellors, rather than to respect their words only. But in Philosophy it is otherwise: For we must lay aside the reputation of the man who hath in publike place spoken his mind: and examine the matter apart by it selfe: For that, like as in war (we say) there be many false alarmes: so also in an auditory there passe as many vanities: The goodly gray beard and hoary head of the speaker, his solemne gesture and composing of his countenance, his grave eye-brows, his glorious words in behalfe of himselfe: but above all, the acclamations, the applause and clapping of hands, the leaping and shouting of the standers by and those that are present in place, are enough otherwhiles to trouble and astonish the spirits of a young hearer, who is not well acquainted with such matters, and carry him away perforce as it were with a streame: Over and besides, there is in the very stile and speech it selfe a secret power able to beguile and deceive a young novice: namely, if it run round away, smooth, and pleasant, and if withall there be a certaine affected gravity, and artificiall port and loftinesse, to set out and grace the matter. And even as they that play upon the pipe, be it cornet, recorder or fife, fault many times in musicke, and are not perceived by the hearers: so a brave and elegant tongue, a copious and gallant oration, dazeleth the wits of the hearer, so as he cannot judge soundly of the matter in hand. *Melanthus* being demanded upon a time, what he thought of a Tragedy of *Diogenes*: I could not see it (quoth he) for so many words wherewith it was choaked up. But the Orations and declamations for the most part of these Sophisters, who make shew of their eloquence, not only have their sentences covered (as it were) with vailes and curtaines of words, but that which more is, they themselves do dulce their voice by the means of (I wot not what) devised notes, soft sounds, exquisite and musicall accents in their pronunciation, so as they ravish the wits of the hearers, and transport them beside themselves: leading and carrying them which way they list: and thus for a certaine little vaine pleasure that they give, receive againe applause and glory much more vaine: Insomuch, as that befalleth properly unto them which by report *Dionysius* answered upon a time: who seemed to promise unto a famous minstrell for his excellent play in an open Theatre, to reward him with great gifts, gave him in the end just nothing, but said, he had recompensed him sufficiently already: For look (quoth he) how much pleasure I have received from thee by thy song and minstrelsey, so much contentment and joy thou hast had from me by hoping for some great reward. And verily such recompence as this have those Sophisters and great Oratours at their hearers hands: For admired they are so long as they sit in their chaire, and give delight unto their auditory: No sooner is their speech ended, but gone is the pleasure of the one, and the glory of the other. Thus the Auditors spend their time, and the speakers employ their whole life in vaine. For this cause it behoveth a young hearer to sequester and set aside the ranke superfluity of words, and to seeke after the fruit it selfe: and herein not to imitate women that plait and make garlands of flowers, but to follow the Bees: For those women laying for, and choosing faire flowers and odoriferous herbs, twist, plat, and compose them so, as they make thereof a peece of worke (I must needs say) pleasant to the senses: but fruitlesse altogether, and not lasting above one day: whereas the Bees flying oftentimes over and over the meadows full of violets, Roses, and Crowtoes, light at length upon Thyme, an hearbe of a most strong sent, and quick taste, and there settle,

Intending then great paines to take
The yellow honey for to make.

And when they have gathered from them some profitable juyce or liquor to serve their turne, they flye away unto their proper worke and businesse: Semblably ought an auditor who is studious of skill and knowledge, and hath his mind and understanding free from passions, to let passe affected, flourishing, and superfluous words, yea, and such matters also as be fit for the Stage and Theatre, reputing them to be food meet for drone Bees (I meane Sophisters) and nothing good for honey: and rather with diligence and attentive heed to sound the very depth and profound intention of the speaker, for to draw that which is good and profitable: remembring ettsoones, that he is not come thither as to a Theatre, either to see sports and pastimes, or to heare musick and Poeticall fables, but into a schoole and auditory, for to learne how to amend and reforme his life by the rule of

of reason. And therefore he must enter into his own heart and examine himselfe when he is alone, how he was moved and affected with the Lecture or sermon that he heard; consider (I say) and reason he ought with himselfe whether he find any turbulent passions of his mind thereby dulced and appeased; whether any griefe or heavinesse that trouble him be mitigated and asswaged; whether his courage and confidence of heart be more resolute and better confirmed; and in one word, whether he feele any instinct unto vertue and honesty, to be more kindled and enflamed. When we rise out of the Barbars chaire, we thinke it meet presently to consult with a mirrour or looking-glasse; we stroke our head to see whether he hath polled and notted it well: we consider and peruse our beard and every haire whether we have the right cut, and be trimmed as we ought: a shame it were then to depart from a Schoole, or a Lecture, and not immediatly to retire apart and view our mind well, whether it have laid away any foolish thought that troubled it: whether it be eased of superfluous and wandring thoughts that clogged it: and be thereby more lightsome and pleasant. For neither a Baine and Stuphe, as *Ariston* saith, nor a Sermon doth any good, if the one do not scoure the skin, and the other clense the heart.

A young man therefore is to take joy and delight if he have made profit by a Lecture, or be better edified by hearing a sermon. And yet I write not this, as if this pleasure should be the final end that he proposeth to himselfe when he goeth to such a Lecture or Sermon, neither would I have him thinke that he should depart out of the Philosophers schoole with a merry note singing jocundly, or with a fresh and cheerefull countenance: ne yet to use meanes to be perfumed with sweet odours and oyntments, whereas he hath more need of Embrochations, Fomentations, and Cataplasmes: but to take it well and be thankfull, if haply by some sharpe words and cutting speeches, any man hath cleansed and purified his heart full of cloudy mists and palpable darknesse, like as men drive Bee-hives and rid away Bees with smoake. For albeit, he that preacheth unto others ought not to be altogether careless and negligent in his stile, but that it may carry with it some pleasure, delectation and grace, as well as probability and reason: yet a young man when he commeth to heare should not stand so much thereupon, but have least regard thereto, especially at the first: marry afterwards (I will not say) but he may well enough have an eye unto it also. For like as those that drinke, after they have once quenched their thirst, have leisure to peruse the cups and turne them about every way, to view and consider the worke engraven or imprinted upon them: even so, when a young student or auditor is well replenished and furnished with doctrine, after he hath breathed and paused a while, may be permitted to consider farther of the speech, namely, what elegant and copious phrases it hath. As for him, who at the very beginning attendeth not, nor cleaveth unto the matter and substance, but hunteth after the language only, desiring that it should be pure Atticke, fine, and smooth: I can liken such a one to him, who being empoysoned will not drinke any Antidote or counterpoison, unlesse the pot or cup wherein it is be made of Colian earth in *Attica*: or who in the cold of winter will not weare a garment, except it were made of the wooll that came from the Attick sheeps back; but had rather sit still idle doing nothing and stirring not, with some thin mantle and overworne gaberdine cast over him, such as be the orations of *Lysias* his penning. The errours committed in this kind have been the cause why there is found so little wit and understanding, and contrariwise so much tongue and bibble-babble, such vaine chattering about words in young men throughout the Schooles: who never observe the life, the deeds, the carriage and demeanour in State-government of a Philosopher, but give all praise and commendation to his fine termes and elegant words, only setting out his eloquence, action and ready delivery of his oration, but will not in any wise learne or enquire whether the matter so uttered be profitable or unprofitable, necessary or vain and superfluous.

Next to these precepts, how we should heare a Philosopher to discourse at large and with a continued speech, there followeth in good consequence a rule and advertisement as touching short questions and problemes. A man that commeth as a bidden guest unto a great supper, ought to be content with that which is set before him upon the table, and neither to call for any viands else, nor to find fault with those that are present: He also that is invited to a Philosophicall feast or banket (as I may say) of discourses, in case they be matters and questions certaine and chosen long before for to be handled, ought to do nothing else but heare with patience and silence him that speaketh: for they that distract and hale him away to other theames, interposing interrogations and demands, or otherwise move doubts or make oppositions as he speaketh, are troublesome and unportunate hearers, such as be unsociable and accord not with an auditory; who besides that they receive no profit themselves, disturbe both the speaker and the speech also. But in case the party that standeth *ad oppositum*, do of himselfe will and pray his auditors to aske him questions, and to propose what they will: then they ought to propound such demands as be either necessary or profitable. *Ulysses*, verily in *Homer* was mocked by the wooers of his wife, because

He call'd for sheeves of bread to eat,
And not for swords or caudrons neat.

For it was reputed as a sign of magnanimity to demand, as well as to give things of great price and value. Much more then might man deride and laugh at the auditor, who will move unto a Master or Doctor of the Chaire, trifling frivolous, and fruitlesse questions, as otherwhiles some

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of these young men do: who taking pleasure to vaunt themselves, and to shew what great schollars they are in Logick or the Mathematicks, are wont to put forth questions as touching the sections of things indefinite: also, what be latterall motions or diametricall? Unto whom man may very well answer as *Philotimus* the Physitian did unto one that had a suppuration in his chist, and by reason of an inward ulcer of his lungs was in a consumption, who comming to him for counsell, desired that he would give him a medicine for a little whit-flow growing about the root of his naile: but *Philotimus* perceiving by his colour and shortnesse of wind in what case he was; my good friend (quoth he) you have no such need of a cure for your whit-flow, you may hold your peace well enough at this time for any danger there: Even so it may be said unto one of these young men; There is no time now to thinke or dispute upon such questions, but rather by what meanes you may be freed from presumptuous overweening of your selfe, from pride and arrogance, from wanton love and foolish toyes: that you may be setled in a sound state of life, devoid of vanity. Moreover, this young man is to have a good eye and regard unto the sufficiency of the speaker, whether it be by naturall inclination, or gotten by experience and practice, and accordingly to frame and direct his questions in those points wherein he is most excellent: and in no wise to force him who is well read and studied in Morall Philosophy, to answer unto Physicall or Mathematicall questions: or him that is better seen in Naturall Philosophy to draw unto Logick, for to give his judgement of Hypotheticall propositions, and to resolve them: or to undoe the knots and make solution of false Syllogismes, Elenches sophisticall, and such fallacies. For like as one that would go about to cleave wood with a key, or unlock a door with an axe, seemeth not so much to do hurt unto those instruments, as to deprive himselfe of the proper use and commodity as well of the one as the other: Even so, they that require of a Speaker that which he is not apt unto by nature, or wherein he is not well practised, and will not reape, gather, and take that which willingly commeth from him, and wherewith he is able to furnish them, are not only hurt therein, but incur the name and blame of a peevish, froward, and malicious nature. Furthermore, this heed would be taken, not to over-lay him with many questions, nor oftentimes to urge him therewith. For this bewrayeth one, that in some sort loveth to heare himselfe speake, and would be seen: whereas, when another doth propose a question to give attentive eare, and that with mildnesse and patience, is a signe of a studious person, and one that knoweth well how to behave himselfe in company, and can abide that others should learne as well as he: unlesse perhaps some private and particular occurrent do urge the contrary, or some passion do hinder, which had need to be staied and represt, or else some malady and imperfection which requireth remedy. For peradventure as *Heraclitus* saith, it were not good for one to hide and conceale his own ignorance, but to let it appeare and be known, and so to cure it. But say, that some fit of choler, some assault of scrupulous superstition, or some violent quarrell and jar with one houshold and kinsfolke, or some furious passion proceeding from wanton lust,

Which doth the secret heart-strings move,
That erst were never stirr'd with love,

Trouble our understanding, and put it out of tune, we ought not for the avoiding of a reproofe to flie for refuge to other matters, and interrupt the discourse begun, but be desirous to heare of such things, even in open places of exercises: and after the exercise or Lecture done, to take the Philosophers or Readers aside, and conferre with them to be further enformed: not as many do, who are well enough contented to heare Philosophers speake of others, and have them therefore in great admiration: but if it chance that a Philosopher leave other men, and turne his speech to them apart, to tell them freely and boldly what he thinketh, admonishing and putting them in mind of such things as do concerne them, then they are in a chase, then they say, he speakes besides the text, and more than needs. For of this opinion are these men, That weare to heare Philosophers in Schooles for passime, as players of tragedies in a Theatre upon the Stage: As for other matters out of the Schoole, they hold them no better men than themselves: and to say a truth, good reason have they so to deeme of Sophisters, who are no sooner out of their chaires, or come down from off the pulpit, and when their books, and petty introductions are laid out of their hands, but in other serious actions and parts of this life to be discourst of, a man shall find them as raw as other, and nothing better skilled than the vulgar sort. But to come unto those Philosophers indeed, who worthily are so to be called and esteemed, ignorant are such persons above rehearsed, that their words (be they spoken in earnest or in game) their becks, their nods, their countenance, whether it be composed to smiling, or to frowning, but principally their words directed privately to every one apart, be all significant, and carry some fruit commodious to those that with patience will give them leave to speake, and are willing and used to hearken unto them.

As concerning the praises which we are to attribute unto them for their eloquence and well speaking, there would in this duty some wise caution and meane be used: for that in this case neither over-much nor too little is commendable and honest. And verily that schollar, who seemeth not to be moved or touched with any thing that he heareth, is a heavy and unsupportable auditor, full of a secret presumptuous opinion of himselfe, conceited inwardly of his own sufficiency, of an inbred selfe-love and aptnesse to speake much of his own doings, shewing evidently that he thinketh he can speake better than that which hath been delivered: In regard whereof he never

never stirs brow any way decently, he uttereth not a word to testifie that he heareth willingly and with contentment: but by a certaine forced silence, affected gravity, and counterfeit countenance, would purchase and win unto himselfe the reputation of a staied man, of a profound and deep clarke: and is as spary of his praises, as of his purse and money in it, imagining that they bid him losse, who would have him part with any one jot thereof, as if he robbed himselfe of so much as he imparted to another. For many there be who misconster and interpret in ill sense one sentence of *Pythagoras*, when he saith, That he had gotten this fruit by the study of Philosophy, namely, to have nothing in admiration. And these men are of this opinion, that because they are not to admire, praise, and honour others, therefore they must despise and dispraise them, and by the disdaine and contempt of others they thinke themselves to seeme grave and venerable. For reason Philosophicall, although it rejecteth that wonder and admiration which proceedeth of doubt or ignorance, for that she knoweth the cause of every thing, and is able to discourse thereof; yet for all that it condemneth not courtesie, magnanimity, and humanity. For certes unto such as truly and certainly are good, a right great honour it is to honour those that are worthy of honour: also for a man to adorne another is an excellent ornament proceeding from a superabundance (as it were) of glory and honour which is in himselfe, void of all envy and malice. Whereas those that be niggards in praising of another, seeme to be poore and bare themselves that way, and bewray how hungry they be after their own praises. Now on the contrary side, he who without all judgement and discretion at every word and syllable (in a manner) is ready to rise up and give acclamation, offendeth as much another way, being a man of levity and inconstancy, oftentimes displeaseth even them that be the speakers, but alwaies is offensive and troublesome to other assistants about him: causing them to rise up eftsoones and lift up themselves against their wills, drawing them perforce to do as they see him do, and even for very shame and modesty to set up some cries and acclamations with him for company. Now after that he hath reaped no fruit nor edification by the oration that he hath heard, for that he had so troubled and disquieted the auditory by his unseasonable praises, he returneth from thence with one of these three additions to his stile: namely, either a Mocker, a Flatterer, or a Blockhead, who understood not what was said. A Judge, I must needs say, when he sitteth upon the seat of Justice to heare and determine causes, ought to give eare unto both parties without hatred or favour, void of all affection, and respective only to right and equity. But in the auditories where learned men are met together, there is neither law nor oath hindereth us, but that we may heare him with favour and benevolence who doth speak and discourse unto us. And even our ancients in old time were wont to place and set *Mercury* in their temples near unto the Graces, giving us thereby to know that above all things a speech publikely delivered requireth a gracious and friendly audience: for they never thought that the speaker would be such an out-cast, or so far short and unsufficient; but if he were not able either to say somewhat of his own invention praise-worthy, or to report from ancients that which is memorable, or to deliver the subject matter of his speech together with his drift and intention, so as it deserved applause: yet at least wise, his eloquution and disposition of every part might be commendable: for according to the old proverbe,

With Colthrop-thistles rough and keen,
With pricky Rest-harrow,
Close Scions fair and white are seen
With soft wall-flowers to grow.

For if some to shew their wit have taken upon them the praise of vomiting, others of fever, and some iwis of a pot or caudron, and yet have not failed of favour and approbation: how can it otherwise be, but that the oration composed by a grave personage, who in some sort is reputed, or at least wise called a Philosopher, should minister unto benevolent, gracious, and courteous Auditors some respite and opportunity of time for to praise and commend the same? All those that are in the flower and prime of their age, saith *Plato*, one way or other, do affect and move him that is enamoured on them: insomuch as if they be white of colour, he calleth them the children of the gods: if black of hew, he termes them manly and magnanimous: be one hawke-nosed, such he nameth Royall and of a Kingly Race: is he camoise or flat nosed, him he will have to be gentle, pleasant, and gracious: and to conclude, looketh one pale and yellow, then to cover and mollifie in some sort that ill colour, he useth to call him Honey-face: and every one of their defects, he loveth and embraceth as severall beauties: For in love is no lack, and of this nature is it to clasp and cleave to every thing that it can reach or meet withall, in manner of Ivy; much more then will he that is a studious schollar and a diligent hearer, find alwaies one thing or other, for which he may seem worthily to praise any one that mounteth up into the chaire for to declaime or discourse. For even *Plato* himselfe, who in the oration of *Lysias* commended not the invention; and as for the disposition thereof, utterly found fault therewith as disorderly and confused; yet he praised his stile and eloquution, and gave this attribute unto it, that every word was perspicuous and light some, and withall ran round, as if they all had been artificially wrought with the Turners instrument. A man that were so disposed, may seeme in reason to reprove in *Archylochus* the argument and subject matter: in *Parmenides* the composition of his verses: in *Phocylides*, the meane and homely matter: the loquacity of *Euripides*, and the inequality or uneven stile of *Sophocles*: After which sort, you shall have among Orators and Rhetori-

cians, one who cannot expresse the naturall disposition of a man, another who hath no power in resembling passions and affections, and another againe who faileth in grace: and yet each one of them commendable enough for some particular and especiall gift, either to move or to delight. In which regard the hearers also may find sufficient matter and pleasure enough to gratifie and content if they list those that speake and make orations to them. For some of them it sufficeth, although we do not testifie our good liking of them by lively and open voice, to give them a favourable regard of the eye, to shew them a mild and gentle visage, a cheerefull looke, an amiable disposition of the countenance, without any signe of sadnesse and heavinesse. And verily, these things are grown now to be so common and ordinary, that we can afford them even to those who speake but so so, and to no purpose at all; insomuch, as every auditory can skill thereof: But to sit still modestly in his place without any token of disdaine; to beare the body upright, leaning neither one way nor other: to fixe the eye wistly upon him that speaketh: to shew a forward gesture, as if one gave great attention and marked every word seriously; to set and dispose the countenance plaine, pure, and simple, without any signification at all, not only of contempt or discontentment, but also of all other cares and thoughts whatsoever, be evident tokens of approbation, and tend all thereto. For, as in every thing else, beauty and favour is composed and framed (as it were) of many numbers meeting and concurring in one, and all together at the same time, and that by a certaine symmetry, consonance, and harmony: but that which is foule and ill-favoured, is bred immediately by the least thing in the world, that either is wanting, or added and put to absurdly, otherwise than it should; even so we may notably observe in this action of hearing, not only the knitting and bending of the brows, or the heavy cheere of the visage, a crooked aspect and wandring cast of the eye, a writhing away or turning about of the body, an undecent change of the thighs crosse one over another: but a very nod of the head, or winke of the eye alone, the whispering or rounding one of another in the eare, a bare smile, gapings, and drowsie yawnings, as if a man were ready for to drop asleep: finally, the hanging down of the head, and whatsoever gestures of that sort, we are constable for as fault-worthy, and they would be carefully taken heed of. Howbeit, there be some of this opinion, that the speaker indeed ought to looke unto himselfe and his behaviour when he is aloft; but the hearers beneath need not. They would (I say) have him who is to make a speech in publike place, to come well prepared, and with diligent præmeditation of that which he ought to say: but as for the hearers, they have no more to do but to take their places, without any fore-thinking of the matter, without any care and regard at all of duty and demeanour after they be set, as if they were come to a very supper, and nothing else, there to take their repast or ease themselves, whiles others take paine and travell. And yet a guest that goeth to sup with another hath somethiug to do and observe when he sits at table, if he would be thought civill and mannerly: how much more then, in all reason, is an auditor bound so to do, who is to heare another speake. For he is partaker with him of his speech, yea, and by right a coadjutor of him: he ought not then to examine rigorously his faults escaped; he is not to sift narrowly, and weigh in severe ballance each word of his, and every gesture; whiles he himselfe (exempt from censure and controlement, and without feare of being espied and searched into) committeth many enormities, unseemely parts, and incongruities in hearing. For like as at Tennis play, he that receiveth the ball, ought in the stirring and motion of his body to accommodate himselfe handsomely and in order to his fellow that smit it; even so betweene the speaker and the hearer, if both of them observe their duty and decency, there would be a mutuall and reciprocall proportion. Now in yeelding praises unto the Reader or Speaker, we must not inconsiderately use all manner of termes and acclamations without discretion: For *Epicurus* himselfe is not well liked, but odious, when he saith, That upon the reading of any letters missive from his friends unto him, they that were about him did set up excessive outcries and applauses, with troublesome clapping of their hands. And verily those who bring in now adaies into the auditory uncouth and strange noises by way of acclamation; they also who have brought up these termes, O heavenly and divine speech! The voice of God and not of man, uttered by his mouth; and, Who is able to come neere unto him? As though it were not sufficient, simply thus to say; O well said, Wisely spoken, or, Truly delivered; (which were the testimonies and signes of praise which *Plato*, *Socrates*, and *Hyperides* used in old time) such men, I say, do highly offend, and passe the bounds of decency exceeding much: nay, they do traduce and abuse the speakers themselves, as though they did hunt after, and lay for such excessive and proud commendations. Those also be odious and unpleasant, who as if they were in some judiciall Court, depose and give formall testimony as touching the honour of the speakers, and binde the same with an oath: neither be they in lesse fault, who without regard of the quality of persons do accommodate unto them their titles of praise best de all decorum: As for example, when they be ready to cry aloud unto a Philosopher, O quick and witty saying! and unto an old man, O what a brave and jolly speech is this! transferring and applying unto Philosophers those words and termes that ordinarily are used or attributed to players, or such as exercise and shew themselves in scholasticall declamations: and to a serious and sober oration giving a praise more beseeming a light and wanton curtesan: which is as much, as if upon the head of a victorious Champion, they should set a garland of lillies or roses, and not of the lawrell or wild olive tree. *Euripides* verily, the Poet, when one over-heard him as he prompted and endited unto the actors

or

or persons in the *Chorus*, a certaine song set to musicall harmony, and therewith laughed heartily whiles he instructed them in singing the same; If thou wert not (quoth he) some blockish and senselesse dolt, thou wouldst never laugh when I sung a heavy mixt-Lydian tune, or a note to a dumpe or dolefull ditty. Semblably, a grave Philosopher, and a man exercised in managing State-affaires, might very well in mine advice, cut off, and represse the delicate insolency of some auditor, over-wantonly disposed to mirth and jollity, by saying thus unto him; Thou seemest unto me a brain-sick fellow, and untaught: for otherwhiles whiles I am teaching, preaching, and reproving vices, discoursing and reading of policy and the administration of Common-weale, of the nature of the gods, or the duty of a Magistrate, thou wouldst neither dance thus and sing as thou dost. For consider with me in truth what a disorder is this, That when a Philosopher is in the Schoole at his Lecture reading, they within should keep a crying and howling, and make such noyses, as they that be without cannot tell whether it be some piper, harper, or dancer that they thus do praise, such a confused brute they make within. Moreover, we ought not to heare the reprehensions, rebukes, and corrections of Philosophers, reachlesly without sense of griefe and displeasure, nor yet unmanly: for they that can so well abide to be reproved or blamed by a Philosopher, and make nothing adoe at it, insomuch as when they be found fault withall they fall a laughing, or can find in their hearts to praise those that do reprehend them, much like unto these flattering Parasites, who are content to extoll and commend their good Masters that give them their meat and drinke, notwithstanding they be reviled and taunted by them: these fellows (I say) of all others be most rash, audacious, and bold, shewing thereby their shamelesse impudency, which is no good nor true argument of courage and fortitude. As for a pretty scoffe pleasantly delivered, and in mirth, without any wrong meant or touch of credit, if a man know how to take it well, and be not moved thereby to choler and displeasure, but laugh it out, it doth argueno base mind, nor want of wit and understanding, but it is a liberall and gentleman-like quality, savouring much of the ingenuous manner of the Lacedæmonians. But to heare a sharpe check that toucheth the very quick, and a reprehension to reforme manners, delivered in cutting and tart words, much like unto an eager and biting medicine, and therewith not to be cast down, and shrinke together for feare, nor to run all into a sweat, or be ready to reele and staggier with a dizzinesse in the head, for very shame that hath set the heart on fire; but to inseem flexible and nothing thereat moved, smiling in some sort, and drily scoffing after a dissembling manner, is a notable sign of a most dissolute and illiberall nature, past all grace, and that basheth for nothing, being so long wonted and inured to evill doing; in such sort, as the heart and conscience is hardened and overgrown with a certaine brawne and thick skin, which will not receive the marke or wale of any lash, be it never so smart. And as there be many such, so you shall meet with other youths of another nature meere contrary unto them; who if they happen but once to be checked and to heare ill, are soone gone, and will not turne againe, but quit the Philosophers schooles for ever. These being endued by nature with the good rudiments and beginnings of vertue tending unto felicity another day, to wit, Shamefastnesse and Abashment, lose the benefit thereof in that by reason of their over-much delicacy and effœminate minds they cannot abide reproofes, nor with generosity endure corrections, but turne away their itching eares, to heare rather the pleasant and smooth tales of some flatterers or sophisters, which yeeld them no fruit nor profit at all in the end. For as he, who after incision made, or the feate of dismembring performed by the Chyrurgion, runneth away from him, and will not tarry to have his wound bound up or seared, sustaineth all the paine of the cure, but misseth the good that might ensue thereof: even so he, who unto that speech of the Philosopher which hath wounded and lanced his folly and untowardnesse, will not give leisure to heale the same up, and bring it to a perfect and confirmed skin againe, goeth his waies with the painful bit and dolorous sting, but wanteth all the help and benefit of Philosophy. For not only the hurt that *Telephus* received, as *Euripides* saith,

By scales of rust both ease and remedy found,
Fil'd from the speare, that first did make the wound.

But also the pricke inflicted upon a towardly young man by Philosophy, is healed by the same words that did the hurt. And therefore when he findeth himselfe cheked and blamed, feele he must and suffer some smart, abide (I say), he ought to be bitten, but not to be crushed and confounded therewith, not to be discouraged and dismaied for ever. Thus he is to thinke of himselfe being now inducted in Philosophy, as if he were a novice newly instituted and professed in some religious orders and sacred mysteries: namely, that after he hath patiently endured awhile the first expiatory purifications and troubles, he may hope at the end thereof to see and find some sweet and goodly fruit of consolation after this present disquietnesse and agony. Say also, that he were wrongfully and without cause thus snubbed and rebuked by the Philosopher, yet he shall do well to have patience and sit out the end. And after the speech finished he may addresse an Apology unto him and justifie himselfe, praying him to reserve this liberty of speech and vehemency of reproofe which he now used, for to represse and redresse some other fault which he shall indeed have committed. Moreover, like as in Grammer, the learning to spell letters and to read: in Musick also to play upon the Lute or Harpe; yea, and in bodily exercise, the feate of wrestling and other activities at the beginning be painfull, cumbersome, and exceeding hard, but after that one be well entred and have made some progresse therein, by little and little continuall

uſe and cuſtome (much after the manner of converſing and acquaintance among men) maketh maſtry, engendreth further knowledge, and then every thing that was ſtrange and difficult before proveth familiar and eaſie enough both to ſay and do: Even ſo it fareth in Philoſophy, whereat the firſt there ſeemeth no doubt to be ſome ſtrangeneſſe, obſcurity, and I wot not what barrenneſſe, as well in the termes and words, as in the matters therein contained: Howbeit, for all that a young man muſt not for want of heart be aſtonied at the firſt entrance into it, nor yet for faintneſſe be diſcouraged and give over: but make proofe and triall of every thing, perſever and continue in diligence, deſirous ever to paſſe on ſtill and proceed further, and as it were, to draw well before, waiting and attending the time which may make the knowledge thereof familiar by uſe and cuſtome, the only meanes which every thing that is of it ſelfe good and honeſt, to be alſo ſweet and pleaſant in the end. And verily this familiarity will come on apace, bringing with it a great cleareneſſe and light of learning: it doth ingenerate alſo an ardent love and affection to vertue, without which love a man were moſt wretched or timorous, if he ſhould apply himſelfe to follow another courſe of life, having once given over for want of heart the ſtudy of Philoſophy. But peradventure it may fall out ſo, that young men not well experienced may find at the beginning ſuch difficulties in ſome matters that hardly or unneth at all they ſhall be able to comprehend them. Howbeit, they are themſelves partly the cauſe that they do incur this obſcurity and ignorance: who being of divers and contrary natures, yet fall into one and the ſelfe-ſame inconvenience. For ſome upon a certaine reſpectuous reverence which they bare unto their Reader and Doctor, or becauſe they would ſeeme to ſpare him, are afraid to aske queſtions, and to be confirmed and reſolved in doubts ariſing from the doctrine which he delivereth: and ſo give ſignes by nodding their heads that they approveall, as if they underſtood every thing very well. Others againe, by reaſon of a certaine importune ambition and vaine emulation of others, for to ſhew the quickneſſe and promptitude of their wit, and their ready capacity, giving out that they fully underſtand that which they never conceived, by that meanes attaine to nothing. And thus it commeth to paſſe, that thoſe baſhfull ones, who for modeſty and ſhamefaſtneſs are ſilent, and dare not aske that whereof they are ignorant, after they be departed out of the auditory are in heavineſſe and doubtfull perplexity, untill at laſt they be driven of neceſſity with greater ſhame to trouble thoſe who have once already delivered their doctrine, to runne (I ſay) unto them backagaine and move queſtions anew. And as for theſe ambitious, bold and preſumptuous perſons, they be forced to palliate, cover, and diſguiſe their ignorance and blindneſſe which abideth with them for ever. Therefore caſting behind us, and rejecting all ſuch ſtupidity and vanity; let us take paines and endeavour how ſoever we do to learn and throughly to comprehend all profitable diſcourſes that ſhall be taught unto us: and for to effect this, let us be content gently to beare the ſcoffs and deriſions of others, that thinke themſelves quicker of conceit than our ſelves: according to the example of *Cleanthes* and *Xenocrates*, who being ſomewhat more groſſe and dull of capacity than others their ſchool-fellows, ran not therefore away from ſchoole, nor were any whit diſcouraged, but the firſt that ſcoffed and made ſport with themſelves, ſaying, they were like unto narrow-mouthed veſſels, and brazen tables, for that they hardly conceived any thing that was taught them, but they retained and kept the ſame ſafe and ſurely when they had it once: for not only as *Phocylides* ſaith,

Who ſeeks in th' end for goodneſſe and for praiſe,
Meane while muſt be deceived many waies.

But alſo to ſuffer himſelf to be mocked oftentimes, and to endure much reproach, to abide broad jeſts and ſcurriles coſſes: expelling ignorance with all his might and maine; yea, and conquering the ſame.

Moreover, we muſt be carefull to avoid one fault more, which many commit on the contrary ſide; who for that they be ſomewhat ſlow of apprehenſion and idle withall, are very troubleſome unto their teachers, and importune them over-much: when they be apart by themſelves, they will not take any paines nor labour to underſtand that which they have heard; but they put their Maſters to new travell who reade unto them: asking and enquiring of them ever and anon concerning one and the ſame thing, reſembling herein young callow birds which are not yet feathered and fledg'd, but alwaies gaping toward the bill of the damme, and ſo by their good wills would have nothing given them but that which hath been chewed and prepared already. Now there be others yet, who deſirous beyond all reaſon to be counted quick of wit and attentive hearers, wearie their Maſters, even as they are reading unto them, with much prittle prattle interrupting them every foot in their lectures, demanding of them one thing or other that is needleſs and impertinent, calling for proofes and demonſtrations of things where no need is:

Thus they much paines for little take,
And of ſhort way long journies make.

According as *Sophocles* ſaid making much work, not only for themſelves, but alſo for others: For ſtaying their teacher thus as they do every foot with their vaine and ſuperfluous queſtions, as if they were walking together upon the way, they hinder the courſe of the Lecture, being ſo often interrupted and broken off. Theſe fellows then according to the ſaying of *Hierom*, in this doing are much like to cowardly and baſtardly cur-dogs, which, when they be at home within houſe, will bite the hides and skins of wild beaſts, and lie tugging at their ſhagged haire: but they dare not touch them abroad in the field. Furthermore, I would give thoſe others, who are but ſoft ſpirited and ſlow withall, this counſell, that retaining the principall points of every matter, they ſupply the reſt apart by themſelves, exerciſing their memory, and, as it were, leading it by the hand to all that dependeth thereto: to the end that when they have conceived in their ſpirit the words of others, as it were the elementary beginning and the very ſeed, they might nouriſh and augment the ſame: For that the mind and underſtanding of man is not of the nature of a veſſell that requireth to be filled up: but it hath need only of ſome match (if I may ſo ſay) to kindle and ſet it on fire (like as the matter ſtandeth ever in need of the efficient cauſe) which may ingender in it a certaine inventive motion, and an affection to find out the truth. Well then, like as if a man going to his neighbour for to fetch fire, and finding there good ſtore, and the ſame burning light in the chimney, ſhould ſit him down by it and warme himſelfe continually thereat, and never make care to take ſome of it home with him, you would take him to be unwiſe: even ſo he, that commeth to another for to learne, and thinketh not that he ought to kindle his own fire within, and make light in his own mind, but taketh pleaſure in hearing only, and there ſitteth by his Maſter ſtill, and joyeth only in this contentment: he may well get himſelfe a kind of opinion by the words of another, like a freſh and red colour by ſitting by the fire ſide: but as for the moſſe or ruſt of his mind within, he ſhall never ſcoure it out, nor diſperſe the darkneſſe by the light of Philoſophy.

Now if there be need yet of one precept more to atchieve the duty of a good auditor, it is this, That we ought to remember erſtoones that which now I have to ſay: namely, That we exerciſe our wit and underſtanding by our ſelves, to invent ſomething of our own, as well as to comprehend that which we heare of others: to the end that we may acquire within our ſelves a certaine habitude, nor ſophiſticall nor hiſtoricall, that is to ſay, apparant only, and able to recite barely that which we have been taught by others, but more inwardly imprinted and philoſophicall, making this account, that the very beginning of a good life is to heare well and as we ought.

Of Morall Vertue.

The Summary.

Before he entreth into the diſcourſe of vertues and vices, he treateth of Morall vertue in generall: propounding in the firſt place the diverſity of opinions of Philoſophers as touching this point: the which he diſcuſſeth and examineth: Wherein after that he had begun to diſpute concerning the compoſition of the ſoule, he adjoyneth his own opinion touching that property, which Morall vertue hath particularly by it ſelfe, as alſo wherein it differeth from contemplative Philoſophy. Then having defined the Mediocrity of this vertue, and declared the difference between Continence and Temperance, he ſpeaketh of the impreſſion of reaſon in the ſoule. And by this meanes addreſſeth himſelfe againſt the Stoicks, and diſputeth concerning the affections of the ſoule: proving the inequality therein, with ſuch a refutation of the contrary objections, that after he had taught how the reaſonleſs part of the ſoule ought to be mannaged, he diſcovereth by diverſe ſimilitudes and reaſons the abſurdities of the ſaid Stoick Philoſophers, who inſteed of well-governing and ruling the ſoule of man, have, as much as lieth in them, extinguiſhed and aboliſhed the ſame.

Of Morall Vertue.

MY purpoſe is to treate of that vertue which is both called and reputed Morall, and namely, wherein it differeth eſpecially from vertue contemplative: as having for the ſubject matter thereof, the paſſions of the mind, and for the forme, Reaſon: Likewiſe, of what nature and ſubſtance it is: as alſo, how it doth ſubſiſt and hath the being: to wit, whether that part of the ſoule which is capable of the ſaid vertue be endued and adorned with reaſon as appropriate and peculiar unto it; or, whether it borrow it from other parts, and ſo receiving it, be like unto things mingled, and adhering to the better: or rather, for that being under the government and rule of another, it be ſaid to participate the power and puiſſance of that which commendeth it? For, that vertue alſo may ſubſiſt and have an eſſentiall being, without any ſubject matter and mixture at all, I ſuppoſe it is very evident and apparent. But firſt and formoſt, I hold it very expedient, briefly to run through the opinions of other Philoſophers, not ſo much by way of an Hiſtoricall narration and ſo an end, as, that when they be once ſhewed and laid abroad, our opinion may both appeare more plainly, and alſo be held more ſurely.

Menedemus then, who was borne in the City *Eretria*, aboliſhed all plurality and difference of vertues, ſuppoſing that there was but one only vertue, and the ſame known by ſundry names:

For he said, that it was but one and the same thing, which men called Temperance, Fortitude, and Justice: like as if one should say, A Reasonable creature and a man, he meaneth the selfe-same thing. As for *Ariston* the Chian, he was of opinion likewise, that in substance there was no more but one vertue, the which he termed by the name of Health: mary, in some divers respects there were many vertues, and those different one from another: as namely for example, if a man should call our eye-sight, when it beholdeth white things, *Leucothea*: when it seeth black, *Melanthie*: and so likewise in other matters. For vertue, (quoth he) which concerneth and considereth what we ought either to do or not to do, beareth the name of prudence: when it ruleth and ordereth our lust or concupiscence, limiting out a certaine measure, and lawfull proportion of time unto pleasures, it is called Temperance: if it intermeddle with the commerce, contracts, and negotiation between man and man, then it is named Justice: likeas (to make it more plaine) a knife is the same still, although it cut now one thing, and then another: and the fire notwithstanding it worketh upon sundry matters, yet it remaineth alwaies of one and the same nature. It seemeth also, that *Zeno*, the Citiean inclined in some sort to this opinion, who in defining Prudence, saith, that when it doth distribute to every man his own, it ought to be called Justice; when it is occupied in objects either to be chosen or avoided, then it is Temperance; and in bearing or suffering, it should be named Fortitude. Now, they that defend and maintaine this opinion of *Zeno*, affirme, that by Prudence he understandeth Science or Knowledge. But *Chrysippus*, who was of this mind, that each vertue had a peculiar quality, and according to it, ought to be defined and set down, wist not how (ere he was aware) he brought into Philosophy, and as *Plato* saith, raised a swarme of vertues never known before, and wherewith the schooles had not been acquainted. For like as of Valiant he derived Valour, of Just Justice, of Clement Clemency: so also of Gracious he comes in with Graciosity, of Good Goodnesse, of Great Greatnesse, of Honest Honesty, and all other such like Dexterities, affabilities, and courtesies: he termed by the name of vertues, and so pestered Philosophy with new, strange, and absurd words, more wis than was needfull.

Now these Philosophers agree joyntly all in this, that they set down vertue to be a certaine disposition and power of the principall part of the soule, acquired by reason: or rather, that it is reason it selfe: and this they suppose as a truth confessed, certaine, firme, and irrefragable. They hold also, that the part of the soule subject to passions, sensuall, brutish, and unreasonable, differeth not from reason by any essentiall difference, or by nature: but they imagine, that the very part and substance of the soule which they call understanding, reason, and the principall part, being wholly turned and changed, as well in sudden passions, as alterations by habitude and disposition, becommeth either vice or vertue, and in it selfe hath no brutishnesse at all: but is named only unreasonable, according as the motion of the appetite and lust is so powerfull, that it becommeth Mistresse, and by that means she is driven and carried forcibly to some dishonest and absurd course, contrary to the judgement of reason: For they would have that very motion or passion it selfe to be reason, howbeit depraved and naught, as taking her force and strength from false and perverse judgement. Howbeit, all these (as it may seeme) were ignorant of this one point; namely, that each one of us (to speake truly) is double and compound: And as for one of these duplicities they never throughly saw; that only which is of the twaine more evident, to wit, the mixture or composition of the soule and body they acknowledge. And yet, that there is besides a certaine duplicity in the soule it selfe, which consisteth of two divers and different natures: and namely, that the brutish and reasonlesse part, in manner of another body, is combined and knit into reason by a certaine naturall linke of necessity: It seemeth that *Pythagoras* himselfe was not ignorant: And this we may undoubtedly gather and conjecture by his great diligence which he employed in that Musick and Harmony which he inferred for the dulcing, taming, and appeasing of the soule: as knowing full well, that all the parts thereof were not obedient and subject to instruction, learning, and discipline, ne yet such as might by reason be altered and trained from vice to vertue: but required some other kind of perswasive power co-operative with it, for to frame the same and make it gentle and tractable: for otherwise it would be hardly or never conquered by Philosophy, and brought within the compasse of obedience; so obstinate and rebellious it is. And *Plato* verily was of this opinion, (which he professed openly, and held as a firme and undoubted truth) that the soule of this universall world is not simple, uniforme, and uncompounded, but mixed (as it were) of a certaine power of * Identity and of Diversity. For after one sort it is governed and turned about continually in an uniforme manner, by meanes of one and the same order, which is powerfull and predominant over all: and after another sort againe it is divided into circles spheares, and motions, wandring and contrary in manner to the other: whereupon dependeth the beginning of diversity in generation of all things in the earth. Semblably (quoth he) the soule of man being a part and portion of that universall soule of the world, composed likewise of proportions and numbers answerable to the other, is not simple and of one nature or affection, but one part thereof is more spirituall, intelligible, and reasonable, which ought of right and according to nature have the soveraignty and command in man: the other is brutish sensuall, erroneous and disorderly of it selfe, requiring the direction and guidance of another. Now, this is subdivided againe into other two parts; whereof the one is alwaies called Corporall or Vegetative; the other Thymoeides, as one would say, Irascible and Concupiscible; which one while doth adhere and stick close to the foresaid grosse and corporall portion: and otherwhiles to the more pure and spirituall part, which is the discourse of reason; unto which according as it doth frame and apply it selfe, it giveth strength and vigour thereto. Now the difference between the one and the other may be known principally by the sight and resistance that oftentimes is between understanding and reason on the one side, and the concupiscence and wrathfull part on the other; which sheweth that these other faculties are often disobedient and repugnant to the best part. And verily *Aristotle* used these principles and grounds especially above all others at the first, as appeareth by his writings: but afterwards, he attributed the irascible part unto the concupiscible, confounding them both together in one, as if ire were a concupiscence or desire of revenge. Howbeit, this he alwaies held to the very end, That the brutish and sensuall part, which is subject unto passions, was wholly and ever distinct from the intellectuall part, which is the same that reason: not that it is fully deprived of reason, as is that corporal and grosse part of the soule, to wit, whereby we have sense only common with beasts, and whereby we are nourished as plants. But whereas this being furd and deafe, and altogether uncapable of reason, doth after a sort proceed and spring from the flesh, and alwaies cleave unto the body: the other sensuall part which is so subject unto passions, although it be in it selfe destitute of reason, as a thing proper unto it: yet nevertheless apt and fit it is to heare and obey the understanding and discoursing part of the mind; insomuch as it will turne unto it, suffer it selfe to be ranged and ordered according to the rules and precepts thereof; unlesse it be utterly spoyled and corrupted, either by blind and foolish pleasure, or else by a loose and intemperate course of life. As for them that make a wonder at this, and do not conceive how that part being in some sort brutish and unreasonable, may yet be obedient unto reason, they seeme unto me as if they did not well comprehend the might and power of reason: namely, how great it is, and forcible, or how far forth it may pierce and passe in command, guidance, and direction; not by way of rough, churlish, violent, and irregular courses, but by faire and formall meanes, which are able to do more by gentle inducements and perswasions, than all the necessary constraints and inforcements in the world. That this is so, it appeareth by the breath, spirits, sinews, bones, and other parts of the body, which be altogether void of reason: howbeit, so soone as there ariseth any motion of the will, which shaketh (as it were) the reines of reason never so little, all of them keep their order, they agree together, and yeeld obedience. As for example, if the mind and will be disposed to run, the feet are quickly stretched out and ready for a course; the hands likewise settle to their businesse if there be a motion of the mind either to throw or take hold of any thing. And verily, the Poet *Homer* most excellently expresseth the sympathy and conformity of this brutish part of the soule unto reason, in these verses;

Thus wept the chaste Penelope,
And drenche her lovely face
With dreary teares, which from her eyes
Ran trickling down apace;
For tender heart bewailing sore
The losse of husband deare,
Ulysses *hight, who was in place*
Set by her side full neare.
And he himselfe in soule, no lesse,
Did pity for to see
His best beloved thus to weep:
But wise and crafty he
Kept in his teares: for why?
His eyes within the lids were set
As stiffe as iron and sturdy horne,
One drop would they not shed.

In such obedience to the judgement of reason he had his breath, spirits, his bloud, and his teares. An evident proofe hereof is to be seen in those, whose flesh doth rise upon the first sight of faire and beautifull persons: for no sooner doth reason or law forbid to come neare and touch them, but presently the same falleth, lieth down, and is quiet againe without any stirring or panting at all. A thing very ordinary and most commonly perceived in those, who be enamoured upon faire women, not knowing at first who they were: For so soon as they perceive afterwards that they be their own sisters or daughters, their lust presently cooleth, by meanes of reason that toucheth it, and interposeth it selfe between: so that the body keepeth all the members thereof decently in order and obedient to the judgment of the said reason. Moreover, it falleth out oftentimes, that we eate with a good stomack and great pleasure certaine meats and viands before we know what they are: but after we understand and perceive once that we have taken either that which was uncleane, or unlawfull and forbidden: not only in our judgement and understanding we find trouble and offence thereby; but also our bodily faculties, agreeing to our opinion, are dismayed thereat: so that anon there ensue vomits, sick qualmes, and overturnings of the stomack which disquiet all the whole frame. And were it not that I greatly feared to be thought of purpose to gather and insert in my discourse such pleasant and youthfull inducements, I could infer in this place

*it. The same,

place Psalteries, Lutes, Harpes, Pipes, Flutes, and other like musicall instruments, how they are devised by art, for to accord and frame with humane passions: for notwithstanding they be altogether without life, yet they cease not to apply themselves unto us, and the judgement of our minds, lamenting, singing, & wantonly disporting together with us, resembling both the turbulent passions, and also the mild affections and disposicions of those that play upon them. And yet verily it is reported also of *Zeno* himselfe, that he went one day to the Theatre for to heare the Musician *Amœbeus*, who sung unto the Harpe: saying unto his scholars, Let us go Sirs and learne what harmony and musick, the entrailes of beasts, their sinews and bones make: Let us see (I say) what resonance and melody bare wood may yeeld, being disposed by numbers, proportions, and order. But leaving these examples, I would gladly demand and aske of them, if when they see dogs, horses, and birds, which we nourish and keep in our houses, brought to that passe by use, feeding, and teaching, that they learne to render sensible words, to performe certaine motions, gestures, and divers feats, both pleasant and profitable unto us; and likewise, when they read in *Homer*, how *Achilles* encouraged to battell both horse and man; they do marvell still, and make doubt, whether that part and faculty in us, whereby we are angry, do lust, joy, or grieve, be of that nature that it can well obey reason, and be so affected and disposed thereby that it may give assent thereto: considering especially, that it is not seated or lodged without, nor separated from us, ne yet framed by any thing which is not in us: no, nor shapen by forcible meanes and constraint, to wit, by mold, stroke of hammer, or any such thing: but as it is fitted and forged by nature, so it keepeth to her, is conversant with her, and finally perfected and accomplished by custome and continuance. Which is the reason that very properly Manners be called in Greeke by the name ἤθος, to give us to understand, that they are nothing else (to speake plainly and after a grosse manner) but a certaine quality imprinted by long continuance of time in that part of the soule which of it selfe is unreasonable: and is named ἦθος, for that the said reasonlesse part, framed by reason, taketh this quality or difference (call it whether you will) by the means of long time and custome which they terme ἦθος. For reason is not willing to root out quite all passions (which were neither possible nor expedient) but only it doth limit them within certaine bounds, and setteth down a kind of order; and thus after a sort causeth Morall vertues not to be impassibilities, but rather mediocrities and regularities, or moderations of our affections: and this it doth by the meanes of prudence and wisdome, which reduceth the power of this sensuall and patheticall part unto a civill and honest habitude. For these three things (they say) are in the soule of man, to wit, a naturall puissance or faculty, a passion or motion, and also an habitude. Now the said faculty or power is the very beginning, and (as a man would say) the matter of passions, to wit, the power or aptnesse to be angry, to be ashamed, or to be confident and bold. The passion is the actuall moving of the said power: namely, anger it selfe, shame, confidence, or boldnesse. The habitude is a setled and confirmed strength established in the sensuall or unreasonable part by continuall use and custome: which if the passions be ill-governed by reason, becommeth to be a vice: and contrariwise, a vertue; in case the same be well ordered and directed thereby. Moreover, forasmuch as Philosophers do not hold and affirme, that every vertue is a mediocrity, nor call it Morall: to the end therefore that we may the better declare and shew the difference, we had need to fetch the beginning of this discourse farther off.

Of all things then that be in the world, some have their essence and being of themselves absolutely and simply: others respectively and in relation to us. Absolutely have their being the earth, the heaven, the stars, and the sea: Respectively, and in regard of us, Good, evill, profitable, hurtfull, pleasant, and displeasant. Now it being so, that reason doth contemplate and behold the one sort as well as the other: the former ranke of those things which are simply and absolutely so pertaine unto Science and speculation as their proper objects: the second kind of those things which are understood by reference and regard unto us pertaine properly unto consultation and action. And as the vertue of the former sort is called Sapience: so the vertue of the other is named Prudence. For difference there is a-between Prudence and Sapience: in this, that Prudence consisteth in a certaine relation and application of the contemplative faculty of the soule unto action, and unto the regiment of the sensuall part according to reason: by which occasion Prudence had need of the assistance of Fortune: whereas Sapience hath nothing to do with it, no more than it hath need of consultation for to attaine and reach unto the end it aimeth at. For that indeed it concerneth such things as be ever one and alwaies of the same sort. And like as the Geometrician never consulteth as touching a triangle, to wit, whether it hath three angles equall to twaine that be right, or no? Because he knoweth assuredly that it hath (for all consultations are concerning things that alter and vary sometime after one sort, and otherwhiles after another, and never medleth with those that be firme, stable, and immutable) even so, the understanding and contemplative faculty of the mind, exercising her functions in those first and principall things which be permanent, and have evermore the same nature, not capable of change and mutation, is sequestred and exempt altogether from consultation. But Prudence which descendeth to things full of variety, errour, trouble, and confusion, must of necessity sometimes intermedle with casualties, and use deliberation in things more doubtfull and uncertaine: yea, and after it hath consulted to proceed unto action, calling and drawing unto it the reasonlesse part also to be assistant and present, as drawn unto the judgement of things to be executed. For need those actions

actions have a certaine instinct and motion to set them forward, which this Morall habitude doth make in each passion, and the same instinct requireth likewise the assistance of reason to limit it that it may be moderate, to the end that it neither exceed the meane, nor come short and be defective: for that it cannot be chosen but this brutish and passible part hath motions in it; some over-vehement, quick, and sudden, others as slow againe, and more slack than is meet. Which is the reason that our actions cannot be good but after one manner: whereas, they may be evill after divers sorts: like as a man cannot hit the marke but one way: many he may misse sundry waies, either by over-shooting or comming short. The part and duty then of that active faculty of reason according to nature, is to cut off and take away all those excessive or defective passions, and to reduce them unto a mediocrity. For whereas the said instinct or motion, either by infirmity, effeminate delicacy, feare, or sloathfulnesse, doth faile and come short of the duty and the end required, there active reason is present ready to rouze, excite, and stir up the same. Againe on the other side, when it runneth on end beyond all measure, after a dissolute and disorderly manner, there reason is prest, to abridge that which is too much, and to represse and stay the same: thus ruling and restraining these patheticall motions, it breedeth in man these Morall vertues whereof we speake, imprinting them in that reasonlesse part of the mind: and no other they are than a meane between excesse and defect. Neither must we thinke, That all vertues do consist in a mediocrity: for Sapience or Wisdome, which stand in no need at all of the brutish and unreasonable part, and consist only in the pure and sincere intelligence and discourse of understanding, and not subject to all passions, is the very height and excellency of reason, perfect and absolute of it selfe: a full and accomplished power (I say) wherein is engendred that most divine, heavenly, and happy knowledge. But Morall vertue which savoureth somewhat of the earth, by reason of the necessities of our body, and in which regard it standeth in need of the instrumentall ministry of the patheticall part, for to worke and performe her operations, being in no wise the corruption or abolition of the sensuall and unreasonable part of the soule, but rather the order, moderation, and embellishment thereof, is the extremity and height of excellence, in respect of the facultie and quality: but considering the quantity is rather a mediocrity, taking away the excesse on the one side, and the defect on the other.

But now, forasmuch as this terme of Meane or Mediocrity may be understood diverse waies, we are to set down what kind of meane this Morall vertue is. First and formost therefore, whereas there is one meane compounded of two simple extremes, as a russet or brown colour between white and black: also that which containeth and is contained must needs be the midst between the thing that doth containe and is contained, as for example, the number of 8, is just between 12, and 4. like as that, which taketh no part at all of either extreame, as namely, those things which we call *Adiaphora*, Indifferent, and do partake neither good nor ill: In none of these significations or senses can this vertue be called a meane or mediocrity. For surely it may not be in any wise a composition or mixture of two vices which be both worse: neither doth it comprehend the lesse and defective: or is comprehended of that which is over-much above decency, and excessive, ne yet is it altogether void of passions and perturbations, subject to excesse and defect, to more and lesse than is meet. But this morall vertue of ours, as it is in deed, so also it is called a Meane, especially in respect of that mediocrity which is observed in the harmony and accord of sounds. For like as in Musicke there is a note or sound called the Meane, for that it is the midst between the base and trebble, which in Greeke be called *Hypate* and *Nete*, and lieth just betwixt the height and loudnesse of the one, and the lownesse or basenesse of the other: Even so, morall vertue being a motion and faculty about the unreasonable part of the soule, tempereth the remission and intention; and in one word, taketh away the excesse and defect of the passions, reducing each of them to a certaine Mediocrity and moderation that falleth not on any side.

Now, to begin with Fortitude, they say it is the meane between Cowardise and rash Audacity, of which twaine, the one is a defect, the other an excesse of the irefull passion. Liberality, between Nigardise and Prodigality; Clemency and Mildnesse, between senseleslesse Indolence and Cruelty: Justice, the meane of giving more or lesse than due, in contracts and affaires between men: Like as Temperance, a mediocrity between the blockish stupidity of the mind moved with no touch of pleasure, and an unbridled looseneſſe whereby it is abandoned to all sensuality. Wherein especially and most clearely is given us to understand and see the difference between the brutish and the reasonable part of the soule: and thereby evident it is that wandring passions be one thing, and reason another: for otherwise we should not discerne Continency from Temperance, nor Incontinency from Intemperance, if pleasure and lusts, if that faculty of the mind whereby we judge, and that whereby we covet and desire were all one and the same: but now, Temperance is, when reason is able to manage, handle, and governe the sensuall and passionate part (as if it were a beast brought up by hand and made tame and gentle, so it will be ready to obey it in all desires and lusts, yea, and willing to receive the bit) whereas Continency is when reason doth rule and command concupiscence, as being the stronger, and leadeth it, but not without some paines and trouble thereof, for that it is not willing to shew obedience, but striveth, flingeth out sidelong, and goeth crossed, insomuch as it hath enough to do for to master it with stripes of the cudgell, and with hard bits of the bridle to hold it in and restraine it, whiles it resisteth

fisteth all that ever it may, and putteth reason to much agony, trouble and travell: which *Plato* doth lively represent unto us by a proper similitude, saying, that there be two draught beasts which draw the chariot of our soules, whereof the worst doth both winse and strive against the other; sellow in the same yoke, and also troubleth the coach-man or charioter, who hath the conduct of them; putting him to his shifts, that he is faine alwaies to pull in and hold his head hard, otherwhiles glad to let him slack and give him the head for feare, as *Simonides* saith,

Least that his purple reines full soone
Out of his hands should slip anon.

Thus you see what the reason is, why they do not vouchsafe Continency, the name of a perfect vertue in it selfe, but thinke it to be lesse than vertue. For there is not in it a certaine mediocrity arising from e Symphony and accord of the worse with the better: neither is the excesse of passion cut away, ne yet doth the appetite yeeld it selfe obedient and agreeable to reason: but doth trouble and vexe, and is troubled and vexed reciprocally, being kept down perforce and by constraint; like as in a seditious state, both parties at discord intending mischiefe and war one against another dwell together within the precinct of one wall: insomuch as the soule of a continent person for the fight and variance between reason and appetite, may aptly be compared as *Sophocles* saith unto a city,

Which at one time is full of incense sweet,
Resounding mirth with loud triumphant song,
And yet the same doth yeeld in every street
All signes of griefe, with plaints and groanes among.

And hereupon it is also, that they hold Incontinency to be lesse than vice: mary, Intemperance they will have to be a full and compleat vice indeed: For that in it as the affection is ill, so the reason also is corrupt and depraved: and as by the one it is incited and led to the appetite of filthinesse and dishonesty, so by the other through perverse judgement it is induced to give consent unto dishonest lusts, and withall groweth to be senseless, and hath no feeling at all of sins and faults which it committeth: whereas Incontinency reteineth still a right and sound judgement by meanes of reason: Howbeit through the vehement and violent passion which is stronger than reason, it is carried away against the owne judgement. Moreover, in these respects, it differeth from Intemperance: For that the reason of the incontinent person is over-matched with passion: but of the other, it doth not so much as enter combate therewith. He, albeit he contradict, gainsay, and strives a while yet in the end yeelds unto lusts & followeth them; but the Intemperate man is led thereby, and at the first giveth consent, and approveth thereof. Againe, the Intemperate person is well content, and taketh joy in having sinned: whereas the other is presently grieved thereat. Againe he runneth willingly and of his own accord to commit sin and villany; but the incontinent man, maugre and full against his mind doth abandon honesty. And as there is this distinct difference plainly seen in their deeds and actions, so there is no lesse to be observed in their words and speeches. For the sayings ordinarily of the Intemperate person be these and such like,

What mirth in life, what pleasure, what delight,
Without content in sports of Venus *bright?*
Were those joyes past, and I for them unmeet,
Ring out my knell, bring forth my winding sheet.

Another saith,

To eate, to drinke, to wench, are principall:
All pleasures else, I Accessories call.

As if with all his heart and soule he were wholly given to a voluptous life, yea, and overwhelmed therewith. And no lesse than those, he also who hath these words in his mouth,

Now suffer me to perish by and by;
It pleaseth, nay, it booteth me to dy.

Speaketh as one whose appetite and judgement both were out of order and diseased. But the speeches of Incontinent persons be in another key and far different: For one saith,

My mind is good and that her doth sway,
My nature bad, and puts it away.

Another,

Alas, alas, To see, how Gods above
Have sent to men on earth this misery
To know their Good, and that which they should love,
Yet wanting grace, to do the contrary!

And a third,

Now plucks, now hales, of deadly ire a fire:
But surely, hold my reason can no more:
Than anchor flouke stay ship from being split,
When grounded 'tis on sands neere to the shore.

He nameth not unproperly and without good grace the flouke of an anchor resting lightly upon the loose sand, to signifie the feeble hold that reason hath, which is not resolute and firmly seated, but

but through the weakenesse and delicacy of the soule, rejecteth and forsaketh judgement: And not much unlike hereunto is this comparison also that another maketh in a contrary sense;

Much like a ship which fastned is to land
With cordage strong, whereof we may be bold,
The winds do blow, and yet she doth withstand
And check them all, her cables take such hold.

He termed the judgement of reason, when it resisteth a dishonest act, by the name of Cable and Cordage; which notwithstanding afterwards may be broken by the violence of some passion (as it were) with the continuall gales of a blustering wind. For to say a very truth, the intemperate person is by his lusts and desires carried with full saile to his pleasures; he giveth himselfe thereto, and thither directeth his whole course: but the incontinent person tendeth thither also: howbeit (as a man would say) crookedly and not directly, as one desirous and endeavouring to withdraw himselfe, and to repell the passion that draweth and moveth him to it, yet in the end he also slideth and falleth into some foule and dishoneſt act: Like as *Timon* by way of biting scoffed, traduced and reproved *Anaxarchus* in this wise,

Here shews it selfe the dogged force of Anaxarchus *fell,*
So stubborne and so permanent, when once he tooke a pitch:
And yet as wise as he would seeme, a wretch (I heard folke tell)
He judged was, for that to vice and pleasures overmuch
By nature prone he was: a thing that Sages most do shun,
Which brought him back out of the way, and made him dote anon.

For neither is a wise Sage properly called continent, but temperate: nor a foole incontinent, but intemperate: because the one taketh pleasure and delight in good and honest things; and the other is not offended nor displeased with foule and dishonest actions. And therefore incontinency resembleth properly a mind (as I may so say) Sophisticall, which hath some use of reason, but the same so weake, that it is not able to persever and continue firme in that which it hath once known and judged to be right, Thus you may see the differences between Intemperance and Incontinence: As for Continency and Temperance, they differ also in certaine respects correspondent in some proportion unto those on the contrary side. For remorse, sorrow, displeasure and indignation, do not as yet abandon and quit continence: whereas in the mind of a temperate person, all lieth plaine and even on every side; nothing there but quietnesse and integrity; in such sort, as whosoever seeth the great obeisance and the marvellous tranquillity whereby the reasonlesse part is united and incorporate together with the reasonable, might well say,

And then anon the winds were down,
A calme ensued straight way;
No waves were seen, some power divine
The sea asleep did lay.

Namely, when reason had once extinguished the excessive, furious, and raging motions of the lusts and desires. And yet these affections and passions which of necessity nature hath need of, the same hath reason made so agreeable, so obeysant, so friendly and co-operative, yea, and ready to second all good intentions and purposes ready to be executed; that they neither run before it, nor come dragging behind; ne yet behave themselves disorderly, no, nor shew the least disobedience: so as each appetite is ruled by reason, and willingly accompanieth it,

Like as the sucking foale doth go
And run with dam, both to and fro.

The which confirmeth the saying of *Xenocrates*, touching those who earnestly study Philosophy, and practise it: For they only (quoth he) do that willingly, which others do perforce, and for dread of the Law: who forbeare indeed to satisfie their pleasures, and turne back, as if they were scared from them for feare of being bitten of some curst mastive or shrewd cat, regarding nothing else but danger that may ensue thereupon. Now, that there is in the soule a sense and perceivance of that strength, firmity, and resolution to encounter sinfull lusts and desires, as if it had a power to strive and make head againe it is very plaine and evident: howbeit, some there be, who hold and maintaine, That Passion is nothing different from Reason: neither (by their saying) is there in the mind a dissension or sedition (as it were) of two divers faculties: but all the trouble that we feele is no more but an alteration or change of one and the selfe-same thing, to wit, reason both waies; which we our selves are not able to perceive, for that forsooth it changeth suddenly and with such celerity: never considering all the while, that the same faculty of the mind is framed by nature to concupiscence and repentance both: to be angry and to feare: enclined to commit some foule and dishoneſt fact by the allurement of pleasure, and contrariwise restrained from the same for feare of paine. As for lust, feare, and all such like passions, they are no other (say they) but perverse opinions and corrupt judgements not arising and engendred in any one part of the soule by it selfe, but spread over that which is the chiefe and principall, to wit reason and understanding: whereof they be the inclinations, assensions, motions, and in one word, certaine operations, which in the turning of a hand be apt to change and passe from one to another: much like unto the sudden braids, starts, and runnings to and fro of little children, which how violent

soever

soever they be and vehement, yet by reason of their weakenesse are but slippery, unstediast and unconstant.

But these assertions and oppositions of theirs are checked and resuted by apparant evidence and common sense: For what man is he that ever felt in himselfe a change of his lust and concupiscence into judgement: and contrariwise an alteration of his judgement into lust: neither doth the wanton lover cease to love when he doth reason with himselfe and conclude, That such love is to be represted, and that he ought to strive and fight against it: neither doth he then give over reasoning and judging, when being overcome through weakenesse, he yeeldeth himselfe prisoner and thrall to lust: but like as when by advertisement of reason he doth resist in some sort a passion arising, yet the same doth still tempt him: so likewise when he is conquered and overcome therewith, by the light of the same reason at that very instant he seeth and knoweth that he sinneth and doth amisse: so, that neither by those perturbations is reason lost and abolished; nor yet by reason is he freed and delivered from them: but whiles he is tossed thus to and fro, he remaineth a neuter in the midst, or rather participating in common of them both. As for those who are of opinion, that one while the principall part of our soule is lust and concupiscence: and then anon that it doth resist and stand against the same, are much like unto them, who imagine and say, that the hunter and the wild beast be not twaine, but one body, changing it selfe, one while into the forme of an hunter, and another time taking the shape of a savage beast: For both they in a manifest and apparant matter should seem to be blind and see nothing: and also these beare witnesse and depose against their own sense, considering that they find and feele in themselves really not a mutation or change of one only thing, but a sensible strife and fight of two things together within them. But here they come upon us againe and object in this wise. How commeth it to passe then (say they) that the power and faculty in man which doth deliberate and consult is not likewise double (being oftentimes distracted, carried, and drawn to contrary opinions, as it is, namely, touching that which is profitable and expedient) but is one still and the same? True we must confesse, that divided it seemeth to be: But this comparison doth not hold, neither is the event and effect alike: for that part of our soule wherein prudence and reason is seated, fighteth not with it selfe, but using the help of one and the same faculty, it handleth divers arguments, or rather being but one power of discoursing it is employed in sundry subjects and matters different: which is the reason that there is no dolour and griefe at one end of those reasonings and discourses which are without passion; neither are they that consult, forced (as it were) to hold one of those contrary parts against their mind and judgement; unlesse peradventure it so fall out, that some affection lie close to one part or other, as if a man should secretly and under-hand lay somewhat besides in one of the balances or skales, against reason for to weigh it downe. A thing (I assure you) that many times falleth out: and then it is not reason that is poysed against reason; but either ambition, emulation, favour, jealousie, feare, or some secret passion, making semblance as if in shew of speeches, two reasons were at variance and differed one from another. As may appeare by these verses in *Homer*;

They thought it shame the combate to reject,
And yet for feare they durst not it accept.

Likewise in another Poet:

To suffer death is dolorous
Though with renown it meet:
Death to avoid is cowardise:
But yet our life is sweet.

And verily in determining of controversies between man and man in their contracts and suits of Law, these passions comming between, are they that make the longest delaies, and be the greatest enemies of expedition and dispatch: like as in the counsels of Kings and Princes, they that speak in favour of one party and for to win grace, do not upon any reason of two sentences encline to the one, but they accommodate themselves to their affections, even against the regard of utility and profit. And this is the cause that in those states which be called Aristocracies, that is to say, governed by a Senate or Councell of the greatest men: the Magistrates who sit in judgement will not suffer Oratours and Advocates at the Bar to move affections in all their Pleas: for in Truth, let not the discourse of reason be impeached and hindered by some passion, it will of it selfe rend directly to that which is good and just. But in case there do arise a passion between to crosse the same, then you shall see pleasure and displeasure to raise a combate and dissention, to encounter that which by consultation would have been judged and determined. For otherwise, how commeth it to passe that in Philosophicall discourses and disputations a man shall never see it otherwise, but that without any dolour and griefe some are turned and drawn oftentimes by others into their opinions, and subscribe thereto willingly? Nay, even *Aristotle* himselfe. *Democritus* also, and *Chrysippus* have been known to retract and recant some points, which before time they held, and that without any trouble of mind, without griefe and remorse, but rather with pleasure and contentment of heart: because in that speculative or contemplative part of the soule, which is given to knowledge and learning only, there raign no passions to make resistance, insomuch as the brutish part being quiet and at repose loveth not curiously to entermeddle in these and such like matters: By which meanes it happeth, that the reason hath no sooner a sight of

of truth, but willingly it encline th thereto, and doth reject untruth and falsity: for that there lieth in it, and in no other part else, that power and faculty to beleeve and give assent one way, as also to be perswaded for to alter opinion and go another way. Whereas contrariwise, the counsels and deliberations of worldly affaires, judgements also, and arbitriments, being for the most part full of passions, make the way somewhat difficult for reason to passe, and put her to much trouble. For in these cases, the sensuall and unreasonable part of the soule is ready to stay and stop her course; yea, and to fright her from going forward, meeting her either with the object of pleasure; or else casting in her way stumbling blocks of feare, of paine, of lusts and desires. And verily the deciding and judgement of this disputation lieth in the sense, which feeleth as well the one as the other, and is touched with them both: For say, that the one doth surmount and hath the victory, it doth not therefore defeat utterly and destroy the other; but drawn it is thereto perforce, and making resistance the while. As for example, the wanton and amorous person, when he checketh and reproveth himselfe therefore, useth the discourse of reason against the said passion of his; yet so, as having them both actually subsisting together in the soule: much like as if with his hand he repressed and kept down the one part, enflamed with an hot fit of passion, and yet feeling within himselfe both parts, and those actually in combate one against the other. Contrariwise, in those consultations, disputes, and inquisitions which are not passionate, and wherein those motions of the brutish part have nothing to do, such I meane as those be especially of the contemplative part of the soule: if they be equall and so continue, there ensueth no determinate judgement and resolution: but a doubt remaineth, as if it were a certaine pause or stay of the understanding, not able to proceed farther, but abiding in suspence between two contrary opinions. Now if it chance to encline unto one of them, it is because the mightier hath over-weighed the other and annulled it, yet so, as it is not displeased or discontent, no nor contesteth obstinately afterwards against the received opinion. To be short, and to conclude all in one generall word; where it seemeth that one discourse and reason is contrary unto another; it argueth not by and by a conceit of two divers subjects, but one alone in sundry apprehensions and imaginations. Howbeit, whensoever the brutish and sensuall part is in a conflict with reason, and the same such that it can neither vanquish, nor be vanquished without some sense of grievance: then incontinently this battell divideth the soule in twaine, so as the war is evident and sensible. And not only by this fight a man may know how the source and beginning of these passions differeth from that fountaine of reason: but no lesse also by the consequence that followeth thereupon. For seeing that possible it is for a man to love one child that is ingenious and towardly disposed to vertue: as also affect another as well, who is ill given and dissolute: considering also that one may use anger unjustly against his own children or parents: and another contrariwise justly in the defence of children or parents against enemies and tyrants. Like as in the one there is perceived a manifest combate and resistance of passion against reason; so in the other, there may be seen as evident a yeelding and obeysance thereof, suffering it selfe to be directed thereby, yea, and willingly running and offering her assistance and helping hand. To illustrate this by a familiar example, it hapneth otherwhiles, that an honest man espouseth a wife according to the laws, with this intention only to cherish and keep her tenderly, yea, and to company with her duly, and according to the laws of chastity and honesty: howbeit afterwards in tract of time, and by long continuance and conversing together, which hath bred in his heart the affection of love, he perceiveth by discourse of reason, and findeth in himselfe that he loveth her more deerely and entirely than he purposed at first. Semblably, young Scholars having met with gentle and kind Masters, at the beginning, follow and affect them in a kind of zeale, for the benefit only that they reape by them. Howbeit afterwards in processe of time they fall to love them; and so instead of familiar and dayly disciples they become their lovers, and are so called. The same is usually to be seen in the behaviour and carriage of men toward good Magistrates in Cities, neighbours also, kinsfolke and allies: For they begin acquaintance one with another, after a civill sort only by way of duty, or necessity and use: but afterwards by little and little ere they be aware they grow into an affectionate love of them, namely, when reason doth concur, perswading and drawing unto it that part of the mind which is the seat of passions and affections. As for that Poet, whatsoever he was, that first wrote this sentence,

Two sorts there be of bastfulnesse,
The one we cannot blame,
The other troubleth many an house,
And doth decay the same.

Doth he not plainly shew that he hath found in himselfe by experience oftentimes, that even this affection by meanes of lingring delay, and putting off from time to time, hath put him by the benefit of good opportunities, and hindred the execution of many brave affaires? Unto these proofes and allegations precedent, the Stoicks being forced to yeeld, in regard they be so cleare and evident: yet for to make some way of evasion and escape they call shame, bashfulnesse; pleasure, joy; and feare, warinesse or circumspection. And I assure you, no man could justly find fault with these disguisements of odious things with honest termes: if so be they would attribute unto these passions the said names when they be ranged under the rule of reason, and give them their own hatefull termes indeed, when they strive with reason and violently make resistance. But when convinced by the teares which they shed, by trembling and quaking of their joynts, yea, by change of colour going and comming; instead of naming Dolour and Feare directly, come in with (I wot not what) pretty

deuised termes of Mosiures, Contractions, or Conturbations: also when they would cloake and extenuate the imperfection of other passions, by calling lust a promptitude or forwardnesse to a thing: it seemeth, that by a flourish of fine words they deuise shifts, euasions, and iustifications, not philosophicall but sophisticall. And yet verily they themselves againe do terme those ioyes, those promptitudes of the will, and wary circumspections by the name of *Eupathies*, i.e. good affections, and not of *Apathies*, that is to say, impassibilities: wherein they use the words aright and as they ought. For then is it truly called *Eupathie*: i.e. a good affection, when reason doth not vtterly abolish the passion, but guideth and ordereth the same well in such as be discreet and temperate. But what befalleth vnto vicious and dissolute persons? Surely, when they haue set down in their iudgement and resolution to loue father and mother as tenderly as one louer may another, yet they are not able to performe so much. Mary say, that they determine to affect a curtezan or a flatterer, presently they can find in their hearts to loue such most deerely. Moreouer, if it were so, that passion and iudgement were both one, it could not otherwise be, so soone as one had determined that he ought to loue or hate but that presently loue or hate would follow thereupon. But now it falleth out cleane contrary; for that the passion as it accordeth well with some iudgements and obeyeth; so it repugneth with others, and is obstinate and disobedient: whereupon it is, that themselves enforced thereto by the truth of the thing, do affirme and pronounce that euery iudgement is not a passion, but that only which stirreth vp and moueth a strong and vehement appetite to a thing: confessing thereby, no doubt, that one thing it is in vs which iudgeth, and another thing that suffereth, that is to say, which receiueth passions: like as that which moueth, and that which is moued be diuers. Certes, euen *Chrysippus* himselfe, defining in many places what is Patience and what is Continency, doth auouch, That they be habitudes, apt and fit to obey and follow the choice of reason: whereby he sheweth euidently that by the force of truth he was driuen to confesse and avow, That there is one thing in vs which doth obey and yeeld, and another which being obeyed, is yeelded vnto, and not obeyed, is resisted.

Furthermore as touching the Stoicks, who hold, That all sins and faults be equall, neither will this place, nor the time now serue to argue against them, whether in other points they swerue from the truth: howbeit, thus much by the way I dare be bold to say, That in most things they will be found to repugne reason, euen against apparent and manifest euidence. For according to their opinion euery passion or perturbation is a fault, and whosoeuer grieue, feare, or lust, do sin: but in those passions great difference there is seen according to more or lesse: for who would euer be so grosse, as to say, that *Dolons* feare was equall to the feare of *Ajax*? who as *Homer* writeth,

As he went out of field did turne
And look behind full oft:
With knee before knee decently,
And so retired soft.

Or compare the sorrow of King *Alexander*, who would needs haue killed himselfe for the death of *Clytus*, to that of *Plato* for the death of *Socrates*? For dolours and griefes encrease exceedingly when they grow vpon occasion of that which hapneth besides all reason; like as any accident which falleth out beyond our expectation is more grieuous, and breedeth greater anguish than that whereof a reason may be rendred, and which a man might suspect to follow. As for example, if he who euer expected to see his son aduanced to honour, and liuing in great reputation among men, should heare say that he were in prison, and put to all manner of torture, as *Parmeno* was aduertised of his son *Philotas*. And who will euer say, that the anger of *Nicocreon* against *Anaxarchus*, was to be compared with that of *Magus* against *Philemon*, which arose vpon the same occasion, for that they both were spightfully reuiled by them in reproachfull termes; for *Nicocreon* caused *Anaxarchus* to be braid in a morter with iron pestles: whereas *Magus* commanded the Executioner to lay a sharpe naked sword vpon the neck of *Philemon*, and so to let him go without doing him any more harme. And therefore it is, that *Plato* named anger the sinewes of the soule, giuing vs thereby to vnderstand that they might be stretched by bitternesse, and let slack by mildnesse. But the Stoicks, for to auoid and put back these obiections, and such like, deny that these stretchings and vehement fits of passions be according to iudgement, for that it may faile and erre many waies: saying, they be certaine pricks or stings, contractions diffusions, or dilatations, which in proportion, and according to reason, may be greater or lesse. Certes, what variety there is in iudgement, it is plaine and euident. For some there be that deeme poverty not to be ill: others hold that it is very ill: and there are againe, who account it the worst thing in the world: insomuch as to auoid it, they could be content to throw themselues headlong from high rocks into the sea. Also you shall haue those, who reckon death to be euil, in that only it depriueth vs of the fruition of many good things: others there be, who think and say as much but it is in regard of the eternall torments and horrible punishments that be vnder the ground in hell. As for bodily health, some loue it no otherwise than a thing agreeable to nature, and profitable withall: others take it to be the soueraigne good in the world, as without which they make no reckoning of riches, of children,

Nay yet of crown and regall dignity,
Which men do match euen with diuinity.

Nay they let not in the end to thinke and say, That vertue it selfe serueth in no stead, and availeth nought, vnlesse it be accompanied with good health: whereby it appeareth, that as touching iudgement, some erre more, some lesse. But my meaning is not now to dispute against this euasion of theirs. Thus much only I purpose to take for mine aduantage out of their own confession, in that themselues do grant, That the brutish and sensuall part, according to which, they say that passions be greater and more violent, is different from iudgement: and howsoeuer they may seeme to contest and cauil about words and names, they grant the substance and the thing it selfe in question, ioyning with those who maintain that the reasonlesse part of the soul which entertaineth passions, is altogether different from that which is able to discourse, reason, and iudge. And verily *Chrysippus* in those books which he entituled, Of Anomology, after he had written and taught, that anger is blind, and many times will not permit a man to see those things which be plaine and apparent, and as often casteth a darke mist ouer that which he hath already perfectly learned and known; proceedeth forward a little farther: For (quoth he) the passions which arise, driue out and chase forth all discourse of reason, and such things as were iudged and determined otherwise against them, vrging it still by force vnto contrary actions. Then he vseth the testimony of *Menander* the Poet, who in one place writeth thus, by way of exclamation:

Woe worth the time, wretch that I am,
How was my mind distraught
In body mine? where were my wits?
Some folly (sure) me caught,
What time I fell to this. For why?
Thereof I made no choice.
Far better things they were, iwis,
Which had my former voice.

The same *Chrysippus* also going on still: It being so (quoth he) that a reasonable creature is by nature borne and giuen to vse the reason in all things, and to be gouerned thereby: yet notwithstanding we reiect and cast it behind vs, being ouer-ruled by another more violent motion that carrieth vs away. In which words, what doth he else but confesse euen that which hapneth vpon the dissention between affection and reason? For it were a meere ridiculous mockery indeed, as *Plato* saith, to affirme that a man were better and worse than himselfe: or that he were able now to master himselfe, and anon ready to be mastered by himselfe, and how were it possible that the same man should be better and worse than himselfe, and at once both master and seruant, vnlesse euery one were naturally in some sort double, and had in him somewhat better and somewhat worse? And verily by that meanes he that hath the worse part, obedient to the better, hath power ouer himselfe, yea, and is better than himselfe: whereas he that suffereth the brutish and vnreasonable part of his soule to command and go before, so as the better and more noble part doth follow, and is serviceable vnto it, he no doubt is worse than himselfe: he is (I say) incontinent, or rather impotent, and hath no power ouer himselfe, but disposed contrary to nature. For according to the course and ordinance of nature, meet and fit it is that reason being diuine and heauenly should command and rule that which is sensuall and void of reason: which as it doth arise and spring out of the very body, so it resembleth it as participating the properties and passions thereof, yea, and naturally is full of them, as being deeply concorporate and throughly mixed therewith: As it may appeare by all the motions which it hath, tending to no other things but those that be materiall and corporall, as receiuing their augmentations and diminutions from thence, (or to say more properly) being stretched out and let slack more or lesse, according to the mutations of the body. Which is the cause that young persons are quick, prompt, and audacious: rash also, for that they be full of bloud, and the same hot, their lusts and appetites are likewise fiery, violent, and furious: whereas contrariwise in old folke, because the source of concupiscence seated about the liuer is after a sort quenched, yea, and become weake and feeble, reason is more vigorous and predominant in them, as much as the sensuall and passionate part doth languish and decay together with the body. And verily this is that which doth frame and dispose the nature of wild beasts to diuers passions: For it is not long of any opinions good or bad which arise in them, that some of them are strong, venturous, and feareless, yea, and ready to withstand any perils presented before them: others againe be so surprised with feare and fright, that they dare not stir or do any thing: but the force and power which lieth in the bloud, in the spirits, and in the whole body, is that which causeth this diuersity of passions, by reason that the passible part growing out of the flesh as from a root, doth bud forth and bring with it a quality & proneness semblable. But in man that there is a sympathy and fellow moving of the body, together with the motions of the passions, may be proued by the pale colour, the red flushing of the face, the trembling of the ioynts, and panting and leaping of the heart in feare and anger: And againe on the contrary side, by the dilatations of the arteries, heart, and colour, in hope and expectation of some pleasures. But which as the diuine spirit and vnderstanding of man doth moue of it selfe alone without any passion, then the body is at repose and remaineth quiet, not communicating nor participating any whit with the operation of the mind and intendment, no more than it being disposed to study vpon any Mathematicall proposition, or other science speculative, it calleth for the help and assistance of the vnreasonable part: By which it is manifest, that there be two distinct parts in vs, different in faculty and power one from another. In sum, Go through the vniuersall world, all things (as they themselues affirme, and euident experience doth conuince) are gouerned and ordered some by a certaine habitude, others by nature: some by a sensuall and vnreasonable soule: others by that which hath reason and vnderstanding. Of all which man hath his part at once, yea, and was borne

naturally with theſe differences aboveſaid. For contained he is by an habitude: nouriſhed by nature: reaſon and underſtanding he uſeth: he hath his proportion likewiſe of that which is unreaſonable and inbred, there is together with him the ſource and primitive cauſe of paſſions, as a thing neceſſary for him, neither doth it enter into him from without: in which regard it ought not to be extirped utterly, but hath need only of ordering and government: whereupon Reaſon dealeth not after the Thracian manner, nor like King *Lycurgus*, who commanded all vines without exception to be cut down, becauſe wine cauſed drunkenneſſe: it rooteth not out (I ſay) all affections indifferently one with another, the profitable as well as the hurtfull: but (like unto the good gods *Phytalmius* and *Hemerides*, who teach us to order plants that they may fructifie, and to make them gentle which were ſavage) to cut away that which groweth wild and ranke, to ſave all the reſt, and ſo to order and mannage the ſame, that it may ſerve for good uſe. For neither do they ſhed and ſpill their wine upon the floore who are affraid to be drunke, but allay the ſame with water: nor thoſe who fear the violence of a paſſion, do take it quite away, but rather temper and qualifie the ſame: like as folke uſe to breake horſes and oxen from their ſtinging out with their heeles, their ſtiffeneſſe and curſtneſſe of the head, and ſtubbornneſſe in receiving the bridle or the yoke, but do not reſtraine them of other motions in going about their worke and doing their deed. And even ſo verily, reaſon maketh good uſe of theſe paſſions, when they be well tamed and brought (as it were) to hand: without over-weakning or rooting out cleane that part of the ſoule which is made for to ſecond reaſon, and do it good ſervice: For as *Pindarus* ſaith,

The horſe doth ſerve in chariot at the hill,
The oxe at plough doth labour hard in field,
Woorliſt in chaſe the wild Bore for to kill,
The hardy hound he muſt provide with skill.

And I aſſure you, the entertainment of theſe paſſions and their breed, ſerve in far better ſtead, when they do aſſiſt reaſon, and give an edge (as it were) and vigour unto vertues, than the beaſts above named in their kind. Thus moderate ire doth ſecond valour and fortitude: hatred of wicked perſons helpeth the execution of Juſtice: and indignation is juſt and due unto thoſe who without any merit or deſert enjoy the felicity of this life: who alſo for that their ſoule is puffed up with fooliſh arrogancy, and enflamed with diſdainefull pride and inſolence in regard of their proſperity, have need to be taken down and cooled. Neither is a man able by any meanes (would he never ſo faine) to ſeparate from true friendſhip naturall indulgence, and kind affection: nor from humanity, commiſeration and pity: ne yet from perfect benevolence and good-will, the fellowſhip in joy and ſorrow. Now if it be true (as it is indeed) that they do groſſely erre who would aboliſh all love becauſe of fooliſh and wanton love: ſurely they do amiſſe, who for covetouſneſſe ſake and greedineſſe of money do blame and condemne quite all other appetites and deſires. They do (I ſay) as much as thoſe, who would forbid running altogether, becauſe a man may ſtumble and catch a fall as he runneth: or debar ſhooting for that we may over-ſhoot and miſſe the marke: or to condemne hearing of muſick, becauſe a diſcord or jar is offenſive to the eare. For like as in ſounds, muſick maketh an accord and harmony, not by taking away the loud and baſe notes: And in our bodies Phyſick procureth health, not by deſtroying heat and cold, but by a certaine temperature and mixture of them both in good proportion: Even ſo it fareth in the ſoule of man, wherein reaſon hath the predominance and victory: Namely, when the power thereof, the paſſions perturbations, and motions are reduced into a kind of moderation and mediocrity. For no doubt exceſſive ſorrow and heavineſſe, immeaſurable joy and gladneſſe in the ſoule, may be aptly compared to a ſwelling and inflammation in the body, but neither joy nor ſorrow ſimply in it ſelfe. And therefore *Homer* in this wiſe ſentence of his,

A man of worth doth never colour change,
Exceſſive feare in him is very ſtrange,

Doth not aboliſh feare altogether, but the extremity thereof; to the end, that a man ſhould not thinke that either valour is deſperate folly, or confidence audacious temerity. And therefore in pleaſures and delights we ought likewiſe to cut off immoderate luſt: as alſo in taking puniſhment, extreme hatred of malefactors. He that can do ſo ſhall be reputed in the one not indolent, but temperate, and in the other not bitter and cruell, but juſt and righteous. Whereas let paſſions be rid cleane away (if that were poſſible to be done) our reaſon will be found in many things more dull and idle: like as the pilot and Maſter of a ſhip hath little to do, if the wind be laid and no gale at all ſtirring. And verily (as it ſhould ſeeme) wiſe Law-makers, ſeeing this well enough, have with great policy given occaſion in Cities and Common-wealths of Ambition and Emulation among Citizens one with another: and in the field againſt enemies deviſed to excite the courage of Souldiers, and to whet their ire and manhood by ſound of trumpets, fifes, drums, and other inſtruments. For not only in Poetry (as *Plato* ſaith very well) he that is inſpired, and (as it were) raviſhed with the divine inſtinct of the Muſes, will make a ridiculous foole of him, who otherwiſe is an excellent Poet, and his crafts-maſter, as having learned the exquiſite knowledge of the art: but alſo in battels, the heat of courage ſet on fire with a certaine divine inſpiration is invincible, and cannot be withſtood. This is that martiall fury, which (as *Homer* ſaith) the gods do infuſe or inſpire rather into warlike men:

Thus having ſaid he did inſpire
The Princes heart with might and ire.

And

And againe,

One god or other ſurely doth him aſſiſt,
Elſe faring thus, he never could perſiſt.

As if to the diſcourſe of reaſon they had adjoyned paſſion as a prick to incite, and a chariot to ſet it forward. Certes, even theſe very Stoicks with whom now we argue, and who ſeeme to reject all paſſions, we may ſee oftentimes, how they ſtir up young men with praiſes, and as often rebuke them with ſharpe admonitions and ſevere reprehenſions. Whereof there muſt needs enſue of the one part pleaſure, and of the other part diſpleaſure. For ſurely checks and fault-findings ſtrike a certaine repentance and ſhame: of which two, the former is comprized under ſorrow, and the latter under feare: and theſe be the uſe that they uſe principally to chaſtiſe and correct withall. Which was the reaſon that *Diogenes* upon a time, when he heard *Plato* ſo highly praiſed and extolled; And what great and worthy matter (quoth he) find you in that man, who having been a Philoſopher ſo long & taught the precepts thereof, hath not in all this time grieved and wounded the heart of any one perſon? For ſurely the Mathematicall ſciences a man cannot ſo properly call the eares or handles of Philoſophy (to uſe the words of *Xenocrates*) as he may affirme that theſe affections of young men, to wit, baſhfulneſſe, deſire, repentance, pleaſure and paine are their handles, whereof reaſon and law together taking hold by a diſcreet, apt, and wholeſome touch bring a young man ſpeedily and effectually into the right way. And therefore the Lacedæmonian ſchoole-maſter and governour of children ſaid very well, when he profeſſed, that he would bring to paſſe that the child whom he tooke into his tuition ſhould joy in honeſt things, and grieve in thoſe that were foule and diſhoneſt. Then which there cannot poſſibly be named a more worthy or commendable end of the liberall education and bringing up of a young youth well deſcended.

Of Vertue and Vice.

The Summary.

IN this little Treatiſe, adjoyned aptly unto the former, the Author proveth, that outward and corruptible things be not they that ſet the ſoule in repoſe, but reaſon well ruled and governed: And after that he hath depainted the miſerable eſtate of wicked and ſinfull perſons, troubled and tormented with their paſſions both night and day, he proveth by proper and apt ſimilitudes, that Philoſophy together with the love of vertue, bringeth true contentment and happineſſe indeed unto a man.

Of Vertue and Vice.

IT ſeemeth, and commonly it is thought, that they be the garments which do heat a man; and yet of themſelves they neither do heat, nor bring any heat with them: for take any of them apart by it ſelfe you ſhall find it cold; which is the reaſon that men being very hot, and in a fit of a feaver, love often to change their cloaths for to coole and refreſh their bodies. But the truth is this, Looke what heat a man doth yeeld from himſelfe, the cloaths or garments that cover the body do keep in the ſame, and unite cloſe together: and being thus included and held in, ſuffer it not to evaporate, breath out, and vaniſh away. The ſame errour in the ſtate of this life hath deceived many a man, who imagine that if they may dwell in ſtately and gorgeous great houſes, be attended upon with a number of ſervants, retaine a ſort of ſlaves, and can gather together huge ſums of gold and ſilver, then they ſhall live in joy and pleaſure: whereas in very ſooth, the ſweet and joyfull life proceedeth not from any thing without. But contrariwiſe, when a man hath thoſe goodly things about him, it is himſelfe that addeth a pleaſure and grace unto them, even from his own nature and civill behaviour, compoſed by morall vertue within him, which is the very fountaine and lively ſpring of all good contentment.

For if the fire do alwaies barne out light,
More ſtately is the houſe, and faire in ſight.

Semblably, riches are more acceptable, glory hath the better and more ſhining luſtre, yea, and authority carrieth the greater grace, if the inward joy of the ſoule be joyned therewith: For ſurely men do endure poverty, exile, and baniſhment out of their own countries, yea, and beare the burden of old age willingly and with more eaſe, according as their manners be mild, and the mind diſpoſed to meekneſſe. And like as ſweet odors, and Aromaticall perfumes, give a pleaſant ſmell unto thredbare and ragged cloaths; but contrariwiſe, the rich robe of *Anchyſes* yeelded from under it ſtinking matter and corrupt bloud; which as the Poet ſaith,

Ran down by drops upon his cloake
Of ſilke ſo fine, and it did ſoake.

Even ſo, with vertue, any ſort of life, and all manner of living is pleaſant and void of ſorrow: where-

as contrariwise, vice causeth those things which otherwise seemed great, honourable, and magnificent, to be odious, loathsome, and unwelcome to those that have them, if (I say) it be mingled therewith, according to the testimony of these vulgar verses:

This man who whiles he walks abroad in street
Or market place, is ever happy thought:
No sooner sets within his own house feet,
Thrice wretched but he is, and not for nought.
His wife (as master) hath of all the power,
She bids, commands, she chides and fights each houre.

And yet one may with ease be rid and divorced from such a curst and shrewd wife, if he be a man indeed, and not a bond-slave; but for thine owne vice, no meanes will serve to exempt thee from it. It is not enough to command it to be gone, by sending a little script or bill of divorcement, and to thinke thereby to be delivered from troubles, and so to live alone in quiet and repose. For it cleaveth close within the ribs, it sticketh fast in the very bowels, it dwelleth there both night and day,

It burneth thee, yet fire-brand none is seen,
And hastneth age apace before thou ween.

A troublesome companion it is upon the way, by reason of arrogancy and presumption: a costly and sumptuous guest at the table for gluttony and gourmandise: an unpleasant and combersome bed-fellow in the night, in regard of thoughts, cares, and jealousies, which breake the sleep or trouble the same with fantasies. For whiles men lie asleep the body is at rest and repose; but the mind all the while is disquieted and affrighted with fearefull dreames, and tumultuous visions, by reason of superstitious feare of the gods,

If that I sleep, when sorrows me surprise,
Then fearefull dreames me kill before I rise.

saith one. And even so do other vices serve men: to wit, Envy, Feare, Wrath, Wanton love, and Unbridled lust. For in the day time, vice looking out, and composing it selfe somewhat unto others abroad, is somewhat ashamed of her selfe, and covereth her passions; she giveth not her selfe wholly to her motions and perturbations, but many times doth strive againe and make resistance: but in sleep, being without the danger of laws and the opinion of the world, being far removed (as it were) from feare and shame: then it setteth all lusts a worke, then it quickneth and raiseth up all lewdnesse, and then it displayeth all lascivious wantonnesse. It tempteth (as *Plato* saith) a man to have carnall dealing with his own mother, and to eate of forbidden and unlawfull meats: there is no villany that it forbeareth; executing (so far forth as it is able) all abomination, and hath the fruition thereof, if it be but by illusions and fantasticall dreames, which end not in any pleasure, nor accomplishment of concupiscence, but are powerfull only to excite, stir, and provoke still the fits of secret passions and maladies of a corrupt heart. Wherein lieth then the pleasure and delight of sin, if it be so, that in no place, nor at any time, it be void of pensiveness, care and griefe? If it never have contentment, but alwaies in molestation and trouble, without repose? As for carnall delights and fleshly pleasures, the good complexion and sound constitution of an healthfull body, giveth thereto meanes, place, opportunity and breeding. But in the soule it is not possible that there should be engendred any mirth, joy, and contentment, unlesse the first foundation be laid in peace of conscience, and tranquillity of spirit, void of feare, and enjoying a setled calme in all assurance and confidence, without any shew of tempest toward. For otherwise, suppose that some hope do smile upon a man; or say that delight tickle a little; the same anon is troubled, and all the sport is marred by some carefull cogitation breaking forth: like as the object and concurrence of one rock troubleth and overthroweth all, though the water and weather both be never so calme.

Now gather gold and spare not by heaps, rake and scrape together masses of silver, build faire, gallant and stately walking-places, replenish all thy house with slaves, and a whole City with debtors: unlesse withall thou do allay the passions of thy mind; unlesse thou stay and appease thy insatiable lust and desire; unlesse thou free and deliver thy selfe from all feare and carking cares; thou dost as much as if reine wine, or make Ipocras for one that is sick of a feaver, give honey to a cholerick person diseased with the raging motion of choler, offer meats and viands to those that be sick of a stomachicall flux continuall lask, ulceration of the guts, and bloudy flix, who neither take pleasure therein, nor are the better but the worse rather a great deale for them. See you not how sick folkes are offended, and their stomacks rise at the most fine, costly, and daintiest meats that be offered unto them? How they spit them forth againe, and will none, though they be forced upon them? And yet afterwards, when the body is reduced againe into good temperature: when pure spirits and good fresh bloud is engendred, and when the naturall heat is restored and become familiar and kind: then they rise up on their feet to their meat, then their stomacks serve to eate full savourly of course bread with cheese or cresses, and therein they take great pleasure and contentment: The like disposition in the mind doth reason worke. Then and never before shalt thou be pleased and at peace with thy selfe, when thou hast once learned what is good and honest indeed: In poverty thou shalt live deliciously like a King: or in a private and quiet state sequestred from civill and publike affaires, thou shalt live as well as they who have the conduct of great armies, and governe the common-weale. When thou hast studied Philosophy and profited therein, thou shalt never lead a life in discontentment, but shalt learne

learne how to away with any estate and course of life, and therein find no small joy and hearts ease. Thy riches thou wilt rejoyce in, because thou shalt have better means to do good unto all men: In poverty likewise thou wilt take joy in regard that thou shalt have fewer cares to trouble thee: Glory will turne to thy solace, when thou shalt see thy selfe so honoured: and thy low estate and obscure condition will be no lesse comfort, for that thou shalt be safe and secured from envy.

That Vertue may be taught and learned.

The Summary.

PLutarch *refuting here the error of those, who are of opinion, That by good and diligent instruction a man cannot become the better; recommendeth sufficiently the study of Vertue. And to prove this assertion of his, he sheweth that the apprentissage of that, which is of small consequence in this world, witnesseth enough that a man ought to be trained from day to day to the knowledge of things that are beseeming and worthy his person: Afterwards, he declareth that as much travell should be employed to make him comprehend such things as be far distant from the capacity and excellency of his spirit: In which discourse he taxeth coverily those vaine and giddy heads, who (as they say) run after their own shadow, whereas they should stay and rest upon that which is firme and permanent.*

That Vertue may be taught and learned.

WE dispute of Vertue, and put in question, whether Prudence, Justice, Loyalty, and Honesty may be taught or no? And do we admire then the works of Oratours, Sailers, and Ship-masters, Architects, Husbandmen, and an infinite number of other such which be extant? Whereas of good men we have nothing but their bare and simple names, as if they were *Hippo-Centaures*, Gyants or *Cyclops*: and marvell we that of vertuous actions which be entire, perfect, and unblameable, none can be found: ne yet any manners so composed according to duty, but that they be tainted with some passions and vicious perturbations? Yea, and if it happen that nature of her selfe bring forth some good and honest actions, the same straightwaies are darkened, corrupted, and in a manner marred by certaine strange mixtures of contrary matters that creep into them: like as when among good corne there grow up weeds and wild bushes that choake the same; or when some kind and gentle fruit is cleane altered by savage nourishment. Men learne to sing, to dance, to read and write, to till the ground, and to ride horses, they learne likewise to shew themselves, to shoo on their apparell decently; they are taught to wait at cup and trencher, to give drinke at the table, to season and dresse meat: and none of all this can they skill to performe and do handsomely, if they be not trained thereto: and yet shall that, for which these and such like qualities they learne, to wit, good life and honest conversation be reckoned a meere casuall thing, comming by chance and fortune, and which can neither be taught nor learned? Oh good Sirs, what a thing is this? In saying, That Vertue cannot be taught, we deny withall that it is, or hath any being. For if it be true that the learning of it is the generation and breeding thereof, certes he that hindereth the one disannulleth the other: and in denying that it may be taught, we grant that no such thinke there is at all: And yet as *Plato* saith, for the neck of a Lute not made in proportion to the rest of the body, there was never known one brother go to war with another, nor a friend to quarrell with his friend ne yet two neighbour cities to fall out and maintaine deadly feud, to the interchangeable working and suffering of those miseries and calamities which follow open war. Neither can any man come forth and say that by occasion of an accent (as for example, whether the word *Telchines* should be pronounced with the accent over the second syllable or no) there arose sedition and dissention in any city; or debate in a house between man and wife about the warpe and woofe of any webbe: How beit never man yet would take in hand to weare a peece of cloath, nor handle a book, nor play upon the lute or harpe, unlesse he had learned before; for albeit he were not like to sustaine any great losse and notall dammage thereby, yet he would feare to be mocked and laughed to scorne for his labour, in which case as *Heraclitus* saith, it were better for a man to conceale his own ignorance: and may such an one thinke then, that he could order a house well, rule a wife, and behave himselfe as it becommeth in marriage, beare magistracy, or governe a common-weale as he ought, being never bound and brought up to it? *Diogenes* espying upon a time a boy eating greedily, and unmannerly, gave his Master or Tutor a good cuffe on the eare: and good reason he had so to do, as imputing the fault rather to him, who had not taught, than to the boy, who had not learned better manners. And is it so indeed? Ought they of necessity, who would be mannerly at the table, both in putting hand to a dish of meat, and taking the cup with a good grace, or as *Aristophanes* saith,

At

At board not feeding greedily,
Nor laughing much, undecently,
Nor crossing feet full wantonly.

to be taught even from their infancy. And is it possible that the same should know how to behave themselves in wedlock, how to manage the affaires of State, how to converse among men, how to beare office without touch and blame, unlesse they have learned first how to carry themselves one toward another? *Aristippus* answered upon a time, when one said unto him, And are you sir every where? I should (quoth he, laughing merrily) cast away the fare for ferriage, which I pay unto the marriner, if I were every where. And why might not a man say likewise, If children be not the better for their teaching, the salary is lost which men bestow upon their Masters and Teachers. But we see that they taking them into their governance presently from their nurses, like as they did forme their limbs and joynts featly with their hands, do prepare and frame their manners accordingly, and set them in the right way to vertue. And to this purpose answered very wisely a Laconian Schoole-master to one who demanded of him, what good he did to the child of whom he had the charge? Mary (quoth he) I make him to take joy and pleasure in those things that be honest. And to say a truth, these teachers and governours instruct children to hold up their heads straight as they go in the street, and not to beare it forward: also, not to dip into sauce, but with one finger: not to take bread or fish but with twaine: to rub or scratch after this or that manner: and thus and thus to trusse and hold up their cloaths. What shall we say then to him, who would make us beleeve that the Art of Physick professeth to scoure the morphew, or heale a whir-flaw: but not to cure a pleurisie, leaver, or the phrensie? And what differeth he from them, who hold that there be schooles and rules to teach petties and little children how to be mannerly, and demeane themselves in small matters: but as for great, important, and absolute things, it must be nothing else but use and custome, or else meere chance and fortune that doth effect them? For like as he were ridiculous, and worthy to be laughed at, who should say: that no man ought to lay hand upon the oare for to row, but he that hath been prentise to it: but sit at the sterne and guid the helme he may who was never taught it: even so, he, who maintaineth, that in some inferiour arts there is required apprentisage, but for the attaining of vertue none at all, deserveth likewise to be mocked. And verily, he should do contrary unto the Scythians: For they, as *Herodotus* writeth, use to put out the eyes of their slaves only, to the end that being blind they might turne round about with their milke, and so stir and shake it. But he forsooth putteth the eye of reason into these base and inferiour arts, which are no better than servants waiting upon others; but plucketh it from vertue. *Iphicrates* answered contrariwise, being demanded of *Callias* the son of *Chabrias*, by way of contempt and derision, in this wise, What are you sir? An Archer? A Targetiere? a man at armes? Or a light armed Souldier? I am none (quoth he) of all these, but rather one of those who commandeth them all. Well, ridiculous then is he, and very absurd, who would say, There were an art to be taught, of drawing a bow and shooting, of fighting close at hand being armed at all pieces, of discharging bullets with a sling, or of sitting and riding an horse; but forsooth to lead and conduct an army, there was none at all: as who would say, that feat were a thing not learned, but comming by chance, I know not how. And yet I must needs say, more sottish and foolish were he, who should hold and affirme that Prudence only could not be taught, without which no other Arts and Sciences be worth ought, or availe any whit. That this is true, and that she is alone the guide which leadeth and guideth all other Sciences, Arts, and Vertues, giving them every one their due place and honour, and making them profitable to mankind, a man may know by this, if there were nothing else. That there would be no grace at a feast, though the meat were never so well dressed and served up by skilfull Cooks, though there were proper Esquirs or Shewers to set the dishes upon the boord, Carvers, Tasters, Skinkers, and other Servitors and waitors enough, unlesse there be some good order observed among the said Ministers, to place and dispose every thing as it ought.

How a man may discerne a Flatterer from a Friend.

The Summary.

THe traveller hath great occasion and cause to rejoyce, if in his journey he go with a good companion, who by his pleasant and profitable discourses may make him forget the tedious difficulty of the way: even so in this life, happy is the man who can find and meet with those to beare him company, by whom he may both easily passe through the occurrent dangers that are presented unto him, and also advance forward chéerefully unto vertue. In which regard, our Author Plutarch *having discoursed as touching the Nurture, Education, and Instruction of youth, as also of Vice and Vertue in generall, by good order, and in great reason, sheweth in this Treatise, what sort of people we ought carefully to avoid, and with whom to joyne and be acquainted. And as he was a man well experienced and practised in the affaires of this world, he affirmeth and proveth by very sound and firme reasons, That there is nothing whereof we are to be more*

wary and heedfull than false friendship, which he calleth Flattery. Moreover, this being a matter of so great importance, as every wise man may well thinke and perceive, he draweth out this present discourse in length: and for that his purpose is to instruct us in those meanes whereby we may be able to distinguish between a flatterer and a true friend; he sheweth in the first place, That the only principall remedy to stop up the entry against all flatterers, is to know our selves well: for otherwise, we shall have such array and ornaments hanged upon us, that we shall not easily perceive and discerne who we are. And contrariwise, it hapneth oftentimes, that we esteeme them to be our perfect friends, so skilfull are they in counterfeiting; and withall, when they find us disposed to entertaine such company, our own indiscretion depriveth us of that true insight and view, which our soule ought to have in discerning a false friend from a true. Being willing therefore to aide and help us in this point, he describeth a crafty and wily flatterer, he discovereth his cunning casts, and depainteth him in his colours, shewing the very draught and lineaments which may direct us to the knowledge of him, to wit, That he doth conforme and frame himselfe to the humour and nature of those whose company he haunteth; how he is unconstant and mutable, changing and turning into many and sundry fashions, without any right and sincere affection, applying himselfe all the while to every thing but vertue, willing to be reputed alwaies more lewd and vicious than those whom he flattereth: without regard of doing them good any way, or seeking their profit, he only aimeth at this, to please them and follow their veine in all thengs by custome and use, bringing him that will give eare unto his words to this passe, That he shall thinke vice to be vertue: working covertly and under-hand for to deceive more cleanly, transforming vertue into vice, and making it nothing strange and coy to blame himselfe, for to do the more mischiefe afterwards to another: then he flattereth most when he maketh no semblance or shew at all that he mindeth any such thing, and exalteth up to the skie those that be most vicious, and worst of all others, so they will give him entertainment. Likewise, for that flatterers shew themselves otherwhiles very forward and bold to speake their minds and to find fault, which is one of the best and surest marks of true friendship, he treateth consequently of this liberty and freedome of speech, and how a man may know whether there be any flattery therein or no. He declareth therefore, how flatterers use this franke reprehension in vaine and frivolous things, and never in those sins and grosse faults which are indeed blame-worthy: so that this manner of reprehension is a kind of soothing them up, and lulling men asleep in their notorious vices: or else they charge them with faults cleane contrary. Now after he hath shewed how a man should take heed and beware of them, he discourses of those services which may make flatterers, and wherein the same differ from the offices and duties of friends, and in pursuing and prosecuting this Antithesis, he proveth that a flatterer is prest and ready to do us pleasure in shamefull matters, whereas a friend sheweth his good willin those that be honest: also that a flatterer is envious, and so is not a friend. And for that our nature is proud and blind withall, having need of good friends to guide and direct it, he describeth with what manner of eye and eare we ought to see and heare those that procure our good, albeit, they may seeme to carry with them a kind of severity. Meane while, he exhorteth friends so to temper and qualifie their liberty in reprehension, that all impudency and importunate rigor be far from it. But for as much as this is (as it were) the principall thing in amity, he sheweth, That first we must cut away selfe-love in all our reprehensions; and secondly all injurious, bitter, and biting speeches: then he adjoyneth moreover in what sessons, and upon what occurrences a man ought to reprove and say his mind frankly: and with what dexterity he is to proceed: that is to say, that sometimes, yea, and more often, he ought to rebuke his friend apart, or under the person of another: wherein he is to looke unto this, That he eschew all vaine-glory, and season his reprehensions with some praise among, to make them more acceptable and better taken. Consequently, he teacheth us, how we must receive the advertisements, admonitions, and reprehensions of a true friend: and returning to the very point indeed of amity and friendship, he sheweth what meane a man should keep for to avert and turne away the neighbour vice, and to urge our friends forward to their devoir: adding moreover, That all remonstrance and admonition ought to be tempered with mildnesse and lenity: wherein he concludeth this whole Treatise, which I assure you is to be well read and marked in these dues of all persons, but those especially, who are advanced above others in worldly wealth or honourable place.

How a mnn may discerne a Flatterer from a Friend.

PLato writeth (O *Antiochus Philopappus*) that no men do willingly pardon him, who professeth, That he loveth himselfe best: Howbeit thereby (quoth he) is ingendred in us this inconvenience among many others the greatest: that by this meanes no man can be a just judge of himselfe, but partiall and favourable. For the lover is ordinarily blinded in the thing that he loveth, unlesse he have been taught, yea, and accustomed long before to affect and esteeme things honest above those that be his own properly, or inbred and familiar to him. This is it that giveth unto a flatterer that large field, under pretence of friendship, where he hath a fort (as it were) commodiously seated, and with the vantage to assaile and endammage us, and that is, Self-love: whereby every man being the first and greatest flatterer of himselfe, he can be very well content to admit a stranger to come neere and flatter him, namely, when he thinketh and is well willing withall to witnesse with him, and to confirme that good selfe-conceit, and opinion of his own. For even he, who is justly reproached to be a lover of Flatterers, loveth himselfe not withstanding exceeding well: and for that good affection that he hath, is both very willing, yea, and fully perswaded also, that all good things are in himselfe: and the desire whereof is not simply bad, and unlawfull: but the perswasion

is it that is dangerous and slippery, having need to be restrained with great heed and carefulnesse. Now if truth be an heavenly thing, and the very sour.e yeelding all good things (as *Plato* saith) as well to the gods as to men: we ought thus to judge, That a flatterer is an enemy to the gods, and principally to *Apollo*: For opposite he is alwaies and contrary to this precept of his, *Know thy selfe*: causing a man to be abused and deceived by his own selfe, yea, and to be ignorant of the good and evill things that be in him; in making the good gifts which are in him to be defective and unperfect: but the evill parts incorrigible and such as cannot be reformed. Now if it were so, that flattery (as for the most part of other vi.es) touched either only or especially base, meane, and abject persons, it were perhaps neither so hurtfull, nor so hard to be avoided as it is. But like as wormes breed most of all and soonest in frimme tender, and sweet wood: even so, for the most part the generous and gentle natures, and those minds that are more ingenious, honest, amiable, and mild than others, are readiest to receive and nourish the flatterer that hangeth upon him. Moreover, as *Simonides* was wont to say, that the keeping of an escuiry or stable of horses, followeth not the lampe or oyle cruet, but the rich corne fields: that is, it is not for poore men to entertaine great hor.es, but those rather who are landed men, and with their revenews able to maintaine them: Even so, we see it is ordinary, that flattery keepeth not company nor sorteth with poore folke, or such persons as live obscurely, and are of no ability: but commonly it is the ruine and decay of great houses, and a malady incident to mighty states: which oftentimes undooth and overthroweth whole Monarchies, Realms, and great Seigniories. In which regard it is no small matter, nor a thing that requireth little or no forecast and providence to search and consider the nature thereof: lest being so active and busie as it is, and ready to meddle in every place (nothing so much) it do no hurt unto friendship, nor bring it into obloquy and discredit. For these flatterers resemble lice for al the world: And why? These vermine we see never haunt those that be dead, but leave and forsake the corps so soon as ever the bloud (whereof they were wont to feed) is extinct or deprived of vitall spirit: Semblably, a man shall never see flatterers so mush as approach unto such persons as are in decay, whose state is crackt, and credit waxeth coole; but looke where there is the glory of the world, where there is authority and power, thither they flock, and there they grow: no sooner is there a change of fortune, but they sneake and slinke away, and are no more seen. But we ought not to attend so long and stay for this triall, being unprofitable, or rather hurtfull, and not without some danger: For it goeth very hard with a man, if at the very instant and not before, even when he hath most need of friendship, to perceive those to be no friends whom he took to be, and namely, when he hath not with himat hand a good and faithfull friend, to exchange for him that is untrusty, disloyall, and counterfeit. For if a man did well, he should be provided before-hand of an approved and tried friend ere he have need to employ him, as well as of current and lawfull money; and not then to make triall of him and find him faulty when he is in greatest necessity, and standeth in most need: For we ought not to make proo.e with our losse, and find him to be false to our cost and detriment; but contrariwise, to be skilfull in the meanes of smelling out a flatterer, that we receive no dammage by him: For otherwise that might befall us which happeneth unto those who, for to know the force of deadly poysons, take the assay, and taste first themselves thereof: well may they come to the judgement thereof: but this skill is dearely bought when they are sure to die for it. And like as we do not commend such; no more can we praise and approve of those who measure friendship only by honesty and profit: thinking withall, That such as conversse and company with them pleasantly are straightwaies to be attainted as flatterers, no lesse than if they were taken in the very act of flattery: For surely a friend should not be unpleasant and unsavoury, without any reasoning (as it were) of delightsome qualities: neither is friendship to be accounted venerable in this respect, that it is austere or bitter; but even that very beauty and gravity that it hath is sweet and desirable, and as the Poet saith,

About her alwaies seated be
Delightsome Love and Graces three.

And not he only who is in calamity,

Doth great content and comfort find
To see the face of trusty friend.

According as *Euripides* saith, but true amity addeth no lesse grace, pleasure, and joy unto those that be in prosperity, than it easeth them of sorrow and griefe who are in adversity. *Evenus* was wont to say, that of all pleasant sauce, fire was the best and most effectuall: And even so God having mingled friendship with this life of ours hath made all things joyous, sweet, pleasant and acceptable, where a friend is present and enjoyeth his part. For otherwi.e a man cannot devise nor expresse how, and in what sort a flatterer could insinuate himselfe and creep into favour, under the colour of pleasure, if he saw that friendship in the own nature never admitted any thing that was pleasant and delectable. But like as false and counterfeit peeces of gold which will not abide the touch represent only the lustre and bright glittering of the gold: So a flatterer resembling the sweet and pleasant behaviour of a friend sheweth himselfe alwaies jocund, merry and delightsome, without crossing at any time. And therefore we ought not presently to suspect all them to be flatterers who are given to praise others: for otherwhiles to commend a man, so it be done in time and place convenient, is a property no lesse befitting a friend than to blame and reprehend: Nay contrariwise, there is nothing so adverse and repugnant to amity and so.iety than restlinesse, thwarting, complaining, and evermore fault-

fault-finding: whereas, if a man knoweth the good will of his friend to be ever prest and ready to ye eld due praises, and those in full measure to things well done, he will bear more patiently and in better part another time, his free reprehensions and reproof for that which is done amisse: for that he is verily perswaded of him, that as he was willing enough to praise, so he was as loth to dispraise, and therefore taketh all in good woorth. A difficult matter then it is, will some one say, to discern a flatterer from a friend, seeing there is no difference between them, either in doing pleasure, or yeelding praise: for otherwise, we see oftentimes, that in many services, courtesies and kindnesses betwe.es, a flatterer is more ready and forward than a friend. True it is indeed, we must needs say: a right hard matter it is to know the one from the other; especially if we speak of a right flatterer indeed, who is his own crasts-master, and can skill how to hand.e the matter artificially, and with great cunning and dexterity: if (I say) we make no reckoning of them for flatterers, as the common people do, who are these ordinary smell-feasts, and as ready as flies to light in every dish: these parasites (I say) whose tongue (as one said very wel) will be walking so soon as men have washed their hands, and be ready to sit down to meat, cogging and soothing up their good masters at every word, who have no honesty at all in them, and whose scurrilitie, profane, and irreligious impurity, a man shall soon finde with one dish of meat and cup of wine. For surely there was no great need to detect and convin.e the flattery of *Melanthius* the Parasite and Jester of *Alexander Pheraeus* the Tyrant, who being asked upon a time how *Alexander* his good Lord and Master was murthered, Mary with a thrust (quoth he) of a sword, which went in at his side and ranne as far as into my belly: neither of inch as a man shall never see to fail, but where there is a good house and plentiful table kept, they will be sure to gather round about it, in such sort as there is no fire nor iron grates, or brasse gates, can keep them back, but they will be ready to put their foot under the boord, no nor of those women who in times past were called in *Cypres*, *Colacides*. i.e. Flatteresses; but after they were come to *Syria*, mee named them, *Climacides*, as one would say, *Ladderesses*, for that they used to lie a.ong, and to make their backs stepping stooles or ladders as it were for Queens and Great mens wives to get upon when they would mount into their coaches. What kinde of flatterer then is it so hard and yet needful to beware of? Forsooth, even of him who seemeth none such, and professeth nothing lesse than to flatter: whom a man shall never finde about the kitchin where the good meat is dressed, nor take measuring of shadowes to know how the dayes goe, and when it is dinner or supper time: ne yet see drunken and lying along the ground untowardly, and full like a beast: But for the most part sober he is enough; he loveth to be a curious Polypragmon; he will have an oar in every boat, and thinks he is to intermeddle in all matters: he hath a mind to be privy and party in all deep secrets; and in one word he carrieth himself like a grave Tragedian, and not as a Comical or Satyrical player, and under that visour and habit he counterfeiteth a friend. For according to the saying of *Plato*, it is the greatest and most extream injustice for a man to make semblance of being just when he is not, even so we are to think, that flattery of all others to be most dangerous, which is covert and not apert or professed; which is serious (I say) and not practised by way of jest and sport. And verily such glozing and flattery as this, causeth men oftentimes to mistrust, true friendship indeed, and doth derogate much from the credit thereof: for that in many things it jumpeth so even therewith, unlesse a man take very good heed and look narrowly into it. True it is, that *Gobrias* being runne into a dark and secret room, together with one of the usurping Tyrants of *Persia*, called *Magi*, whom he pursued hard, and at hand gripes strugling, grappling, and wrestling close together, cried out unto *Darius* coming into the place with a naked sword, and doubting to thrust at the Usurper, for fear he should runne *Gobrias* thorough also; Thrust hardly and spare not (quoth he) though you dispatch us both at once. But we who in no wise can allow of that common saying, Let a friend perish, so he take an enemie with him: but are desirous to pluck and part a flatterer from a friend, with whom he is coupled and interlaced by means of so many resemblances: we (I say) have great cause to fear and beware, that we do not cast and reject from us the good with the bad: or leaft in pardoning and accepting that which is agreeable and familiar unto us, we fall upon that which is hurtful and dangerous. For like as amongst wild seeds of another kind, those that being of the same form, fashion, and bigness with the grains of wheat are intermingled therwith a man shal hardly trie out from the rest; for that they will not passe thorough the holes of sieve, ruddle or trey, if they be narrowe: and in case they be large and wide, out goeth the good corn together with them: even so it is passing hard to separate flatterie from friendship, being so intermedled therewith in all accidents, motions, affairs, dealings, employment and conversation as it is. For considering that a flatterer seeth well enough, that there is nothing in the world so pleasurable as friendship, nor yeeldeth more contentment unto man than it doth: He windeth himself into favour by means of pleasure, and wholy is imployed to procure mirth and delight. Also for that grace and commoditie, doth alwaies accompany amity: in which regard the common Proverbe saith, that a friend is more necessarie than either aire or water. Therefore a flatterer is ready to put himself forward, and offereth his service with all) double diligence, striving in all occasions and businesses to be ever prompt and officious. And because the principall thing that linketh and bindeth friendship sure at the beginning is the conformity and likeness of manners, studies, endeavours and inclinations, and in one word, seeing that to be like affected, and to shew pleasure or displeasure in the same things, is the chief matter that knitteth amity and both combineth, and also keepeth men together, by a certain mutual correspondencie in natural affections: the flatterer knowing so much, composeth his nature (as it were) some unformed matter

ready

ready to receive all sorts of impressions, studying to frame and accommodate himself wholy to all those things that he taketh in hand: yea, and to resemble those persons just by way of imitation, whom he meaneth to set upon and deceive, as being supple, soft, and pliable to represent them lively in every point, so as a man may say of him after this manner,

Achillies *sonne think you he is?*
Nay, even Achilles himself *iwis.*

But the craftiest cast of all other, that he hath, is this, That seeing (as he doth) libertie of speech, (both in truth, and also according to the opinion and speech of the whole world) to be the proper voice of friendship (as a man would say) of some living creature; insomuch, as where there is not this freedom of speaking frankely, there is no true friendship nor generositie in deed. In this point also, he will not seem to come short, nor leave it behinde for want of imitation; but after the fashion of fine and excellent cookes, who use to serve up tart, bitter and sharpe sauces together with sweet and pleasant meats, for to divert and take away the satietie and fulnesse which soon followeth them. These flatterers also use a certain kind of plain and free speech: howbeit neither syncere and natural is it, nor profitable, but (as we commonly say) from teeth outward, or (as it were) beckning and winking slightly with the eye under the browes, not touching the quick, but tickling aloft onely, to no purpose. Well, in these respects above specified, hardly and with much ado, is a flatterer discovered, and taken in the manner: much like unto those beasts, who by nature have this propertie, To change their colour, and in hue to resemble that bodily matter or place whereon they settle, and which they touch. Seeing then it is so, that he is so apt to deceive folk and lieth hidden under the likenesse of a friend: our part it is by unfolding the differences that are so hidden, to turn him out of his masking habit, and being despoiled of those colours and habiliments that he borroweth of others, for want of his own (as *Plato* saith) to lay him naked and open to the eie: let us therefore enter into this discourse, and fetch it from the very first beginning.

We have already said, that the original of friendship among men (for the most part) is our conformitie of nature and inclination, embracing the same customes and manners, loving the same exercises, affecting the same studies, and delighting in the same actions and imployments: concerning which, these verses well and fitly runne;

Old folke love best with aged folk to talk,
And with their feeres young children to disport:
Women once met, do let their tongues to walk,
With sick likewise sick persons best do sort:
The wretched man his miseries doth lament
With those, whose states like fortunes do torment.

The flatterer then, being well aware that it is a thing naturally inbred in us, to delight in those that are like our selves, to converse with them, and to use and love them above all others, endeavoureth first and formost to draw and to approch, yea, and to lodge neer unto him whom he meaneth to enveagle and compasse, even as if he went about in some great pasture to make toward one beast, whom he purposeth to tame and bring to hand, by little and little joyning close unto him, as it were to be concorporated in the same studies and exercises, in the same affections, employments and course of life: and this he doth so long, until the party whom he layeth for, have given him some advantage to take holde by, as suffering himself gently to be touched, clawed, handled and stroked, during which time, he letteth slip no opportunity to blame those persons, to reproove those things, and courses of life, which he perceiveth the other to hate: contrariwise to praise and approve all that which he knoweth him to take delight in: and this he doeth not after an ordinary manner and in a mean, but excessively and beyond all measure, with a kinde of admiration and wonder; confirming this love and hatred of his, to a thing, not as if he had received the impressions from some sudden passion, but upon a staied and setled judgement. Which being so: how, and by what different marks shall he be known and convinced, that he is not the like or the same indeed, but onely a counterfeit of the like and of the same? First, a man must consider well, whether there be an uniform equalitie in all his intentions and actions or no? whether he continue and persist still taking pleasure in the same things, and praising the same at all times? whether he compose and direct his life according to one and the same mold and patern? like as it becometh a man who is an ingenuous lover of that friendship and conversation which is ever after one manner, and alwaies like it self: for such a one indeed is a true friend. But a flatterer contrariwise is one who hath not one permanent seat in his manners and behaviour, nor hath made choice of any life for his own content, but onely to please another, as framing and applying his actions wholly to the humor of another, is never simple, uniform, nor like himself, but variable and changing alwaies from one form to another, much like as water which is powred out of one vessel into another, even as it runneth forth, taketh the form and fashion of that vessel which receiveth it. And herein he is clean contrarie to the apes: for the ape as it should seem, thinking to counterfeit a man, by turning, hopping and dancing as he doth, is quickly caught: but the flatterer, whiles he doth imitate and counterfeit others, doth entice and draw them, as it were, with a pipe or call into his net, and so beguileth them. And this he doeth not alwaies after one manner: for with one he danceth and singeth; with another he will seem to wrestle, or otherwise to exercise the bodie in seats of activity: if the chance to meet with a man that loveth to hunt, and to keep hounds, him he will follow hard at heels, setting out a throat as loud in a manner as *Hippolitus* in the Tragedie *Phœdra*, crying,

So ho, this is my joy and onely good,
With cries to lure, with tooting horn to winde,
By leave of gods to bring into the wood
My hounds, to rouse and chase the dapple Hinde.

And yet hath he nothing to do at all with the wild beasts of the forrest, but it is the hunter himself whom he laieth for to take within his net and toil. And say that he light upon a young man that is a student and given to learning, then you shall see him also as deep poring upon his book, and alwaies in his Studie: you shall have him let his beard grow down to his foot like a grave Philosopher: who but he then, in his side thred-bare Students cloak, after the Greek fashion, as if he had no care of himself, nor joy of any thing els in the world: not a word then in mouth, but of the Numbers, Orthangles and Triangles of *Plato*. If peradventure there fall into his hands an idle do-nothing, who is rich withal, and a good fellow, one that loveth to eat and drink and make good cheer,

That wily Fox Ulysses *tho*
His ragged garments will off do.

off goes then his bare and overworn studying gown, his beard he causeth to be cut and shorn as neer as a new mowne field in harvest, when all the corn is gone: no talk then but of flagons, bottels, pots, and cooling pans to keep the wine cold: nothing now but merry conceits to move laughter in every walking place and gallerie of pleasure: Now he letteth fle frumpes and scoffes against Scholiers and such as study Philosophie. Thus by report it fell out upon a time at *Syracusa*: For when *Plato* there arrived, and *Denys* all on a sodain was set upon a furious fit of love to Philosophie, his palace and whole court was full of dust and sand, by reason of the great recourse thither of Students in Geometrie, who did nothing but draw figures therein. But no sooner had *Plato* incurred his displeasure and was out of favor: no sooner had *Denys* the tyrant bidden Philosophie farewel, and given himself again to belly-cheer, to wine, vanities, wantonnesse, and all looseneſſe of life: but all at once, it seemed the whole court was transformed likewise, (as it were by the sorcerie and enchantment of *Cyrces*) into hatred and detestation of good letters: so as they forgat all goodnesse, and betook themselves to folly and sottishnesse. To this purpose it were not amisse for to alledge as testimonies, the fashions and acts of some notorious flatterers, such I mean as have governed Common-wealths and affected popularitie. Among whom the greatest of all other was *Alcibiades*, who all the while he was at *Athens* used to scoffe, and had a good grace in merry conceits and pleasant jests: he kept great horses, and lived in jollitie, most gallantly, with the love and favor of all men: when he sojourned in *Sparta*, he went alwaies shaven to the bare skin, in an overworn cloke, or else the same very course, and never washed his body but in cold water. Afterwards, being in *Thrace*, he became a Souldier, and would carrouse and drink lustily with the best. He came no sooner to *Tisaphernes* in *Asia*, but he gave himself to voluptuousnes and pleasure, to riot, wantonnes, and superfluous delights: Thus throughout the whole course of his life, he wan the love all men, by framing himself to their humors and fashions wheresoever he came. Such were not *Epaminondas* and *Agesilaus*: For albeit they conversed with many sorts of people, travailed divers cities, and saw sundry fashions and manners of strange nations: yet they never changed their behavior, they were the same men still, reteining evermore a decent port which became them, in their apparel, speech, diet, and their whole carriage and demeanour. *Plato* likewise was no changeling, but the same man at *Syracusa*, that he was in the Academie or College at *Athens*: and look what his carriage was before *Dion*, the same it was and no other in *Denys* his court.

But that man may very easily finde out the variable changes of a flatterer, as of the fish called the Pourcuttle, who will but strain a little and take the pains to play the dissembler himself, making shew as if he likewise were transformed into divers and sundry fashions, namely in misliking the course of his former life, and sodainly seeming to embrace those things which he rejected before, whether it be in diet, action or speech: For then he shall soon see the flatterer also to be inconstant, and not a man of himself: taking love or hatred to this or that, joying or grieving at a thing, upon any affection of his own that leadeth him thereto, for that he receiveth alwaies as a mirrour, the images of the passions, motions and lives of other men. If you chance to blame one of your friends before him, what will he say by and by? Ah well. You have found him out I see now at last though it were long first: I wish I liked him not a great while ago: Contrariwise, if your minde alter, so that you happen to fall a praising of him, &c. Very well done will he say, and binde it with an oath, I con you thank for that: I am very glad for the mans sake, and I beleeve no lesse of him. Do you break with him about the alteration of your life, and bear him in hand that you mean to take another course, as for example, to give over State affaires, to betake your self to a more private and quiet life. Yea marie (quoth he) and then you do well, it is more than high time so to do: for long since we should have been disburdened of these troubles so full of envie and peril. Make him beleeve once that you will change your copie, and that you are about to shake off this idle life, and to betake your self unto the Common-weal, both to rule and also to speak in publike place: you shall have him to sooth you up, and second your song, with these and such like re'ponds: A brave mind (believe me) and beseeming a man of your worth and good parts: For to say a truth, this idle and private life, though it be

pleasant, and have eale enough, yet it is but base, abiect, and dishonourable; when you finde him there once, muffle his nose immediately with this posie,

Good sir me thinks you soon do turn your stile,
You seem much chang'd from him you were ere while.

I have no need of such a friend, that will alter as I do, and follow me every way (for my shadow can do that much better) I had rather have one that with me will follow the truth, and judge according to it and not otherwise. Avant therefore, I will have nought to do with thee. Thus you see one way to discover a flatterer.

A second difference we ought to observe in his imitations and resemblances, for a true friend doth not imitate all that he seeth him whom he loveth to do; neither is he forward in praising every thing, but that onely which is best: For according to *Sophocles*,

In love he would his fellow be,
But not in hate and enmitie.

And verily one friend is ready and willing to assist another in well doing and in honest life, and never will yeeld to be companion in leawdnesse, or help him to commit any wicked and heinous fact: unlesse peradventure through the ordinarie conversation, and continual acquaintance together, he be tainted with infection of some ill quality and vicious condition, even against his will and ere he be well aware: much like as they who by contagion catch rheumaticke and bleered eyes; or as the familiar friends and Schollers (by report) of *Plato* did imitate him in stooping forward: and those of *Aristotle* in his stammering and massling speech; and the Courtiers of *Alexander* the Great, in bending of his neck, and rough voice when he spake. For even so, some there be who receive impression of their manners and conditions at unawares and against their wils. But contrariwise, it fareth with a flatterer even as with the Chamœlion; For as he can take upon him any colour save onely white; semblably, a flatterer cannot possibly frame himself to any thing that good is and of importance: but there is no naughtinesse and badnesse in the world which he will not quickly imitate. And well I may compare such fellowes to ill painters, who when through insufficiency in their art they be not able to draw to the life, the beautie and favour of a good face, will be sure yet to expresse the rivels, warts, moules, freckles, scarres and such like deformities. For even so a flatterer can imitate very passing well, Incontinencie, foolish superstition, hastines and choler, bitternesse towards houshold servants, distrust and diffidence in friends and kinsfolk, yea, and treachery against them: for that by nature he is alwaies inclined to the worse; and besides, so far he would be thought from blaming vice, that he undertaketh to imitate the same. For those that seek for amendment of life and reformation of manners are ever suspected: such (I say) as shew themselves displeased and offended at the faults and misdemeanors of their friends. And this was it that made *Dion* odious to *Denys* the Tyrant, *Samius* to *Philip*, and *Cleomenes* to *Ptolomæus*, and in the end was their ruine and overthrow. The flatterer who desireth to be both pleasant and faithful at once, or at least wise so to be reputed, for excessive love and friendship that he pretendeth, will not seem to be offended with his friend for any lewd parts, but in all things would be thought to carry the same affection, and to be in manner of the same nature and incorporate into him: whereupon it cometh to passe also, that even in casual things and the occurrences of this life, which happen without our will and counsel, he will needs have a part, there is no remedie. Thus if he be disposed to flatter sick persons, he will make as though he were sick also of the same disease for company: and if he have to do with such as be dimsighted or hard of hearing, he will be thought neither to see nor heare well for fellowship. Thus the flatterers about *Denys* the Tyrant, when he had an impediment in his eies that he could not see cleerely, faigned that themselves likewise were halfblind, and to make it good, hit one upon another at the board and overthrew the dishes upon the Table as they sate at supper. Others there be that proceed farther than so, and because they would appear more touched with a fellow-feeling of affections, will enter as farre as to the very inward secrets that are not to be revealed. For if they can perceive that they whom they do flatter, be not fortunate in their marriage, or that they are growne into distrust, jealousie, and sinister opinion, either of their own children, or their neer kinsfolk and familiars; they spare not themselves but begin to complain, and that with grief of heart and sorrow of their own wives and children, of their kindred and friends, laying abroad some criminous matters, which were better (iwis) to be concealed and smothered, than uttered and revealed. And this resemblance and likenesse that they take upon themselves, causeth them to seem more affectionate and fuller of compassion. The other then, thus flattered, thinking that by this means they have received from them a sufficient pawn and assurance of their fidelitie, stick not to let fall from their mouth some matter of secrecie also; and wen they have once committed it unto them. then they are ever after bound to use them, yea, and be afraid to mistrust them in any thing. I my self knew one who seemed to put away his own wedded wife, because his friend whom he flattered had divorced his before: and when he had so done, was known to go secretly unto her, and messengers there were who passed to and fro between them under hand: which the divorced wife of the other perceived and found out well enough. Certes little knew he what a flatterer was, and he had no experience of him who thought these Iambick verses to expresse the Sea-crab better then him,

A beast whose body and belly are meet,
The eye doth serve each way to see:

With

With teeth it creepes, they stand for feet,
A read now what creature this may be?

For this is the very portraiture and image of a parasite, who keeps about the frying-pan (as *Eupolis* saith) of his good friends, and waiteth where the cloth is laid. But as touching these things, let us referthem to their proper places for to be discoursed more at large. Howbeit, for the present let us not leave behinde us one notable devise and cunning cast, that a flatterer hath in his imitations; to wit, that if he do counterfeit some good quality that is in him whom he doth flatter, yet he giveth him alwayes the upper hand: For among those that be true friends, there is no emulation at all, no jealousie or envy between one and another: but whether they be equal in wel doing or come behinde, they take all in good part and never grieve at the matter. But the flatterer bearing well in minde that he in every place, is to play the second part, yeeldeth alwayes in his imitation the equalitie from himself, and doth affect to counterfeit another so, as he will be the inferiour, giving the superioritie unto the other in all things but those which are naught, for therein he challengeth to himself the victorie over his friend. If he be somewhat male-content and hard to be pleased, then will the flatterer professe himself to be stark melancholike: if his friend be somewhat too religious or superstitious, then will he make semblance as though he were rapt and transported altogether with the fear of the gods: If the other be amorous, he will be in love furious: when the other saith I laughed a good while, but I (wil he say again) laughed until I was well neer dead. But in good things it is clean contraries for when he speaketh of good footmanship he will say, I runne swiftly indeed; but you fly away. Again, I sit a horse and ride reasonable well; but what is that to this Hippo-Centaure here for good horsemanship? Also, I have a prettie gift in Poetrie (I must needs say) and am not the worst versifier in the world; but

To thunder verses I have no skill,
To Jupiter *there leave that I will.*

in these and such like speeches two things at once he doth: for first he seemeth to approve the enterprise of the other as singular good, because he doth imitate him; and secondly, he sheweth that his sufficiency therein is incomparable and not to be matched, in that he confesseth himself to come short of him. And thus much of the different marks between a flatterer and a friend as touching their resemblances.

Now, forasmuch as there is a communitie of delectation and pleasure in them both (as I have said before) for that an honest man taketh no lesse joy and comfort in his friends, then a lewd person in flatterers, let us consider likewise the distinction between them in this behalf. The onely way to distinguish them asunder in this point, is the marke, the drift and end of the delectation both in the one and the other: which a man may see more clearely by this example: There is a sweet ointment an odoriferous smell; so is there also in an Antidote or medicine; but herein lieth the difference, for that in the ointment aboveſaid, there is a reference to pleasure onely, and to nothing elses but in the Antidote, beside the delectation that the odor yeeldeth, there is a respect also of some medicinable vertue, namely either to purge and clense the bodie, or to heat and chafe it, or else to incarnate and make new flesh to come. Again, Painters do grinde and mix fresh colours and lively tinctures; so the Apothecary hath drugs and medicines of a beautiful and pleasant colour to the eye, that it would do a man good to look upon them. But wherein is the difference? Is there any man so grosse that conceiveth not readily, that the odslieth in the use or end, for which both the one and the other be ordained? Semblably the mutual offices and kindnesses that passe from friend to friend, beside the honesty and profit that they have, bring with them also that which is pleasing and delectable, as if some dainty and lively flowers grew thereupon: For sometime friends use plaies and passimes one with another: they invite one another, they eat and drink together: yea, and otherwhiles (beleeve me) you shall have them make themselves merry and laugh heartily, jesting, gauding, and disporting one with another; all which serve as pleasant sauces to season their other serious and honest affaires of great weight and consequence. And to this purpose serve well these verses:

With pleasant discourses from one to another
They made themselves merry, being met together.

Also,

And nothing else disjoined our amity,
Nor parted our pleasures and mutual jollity.

But the whole work of a flatterer, and the onely mark that he shooteth at, is alwayes to devise, prepare and conſect, as it were, some play or sport, some action and speech, with pleasure and to do pleasure. And to knit up all briefly in one word, he is of opinion that he ought to do all for to be pleasant: whereas the true friend doing alwayes that which his duty requireth, many times pleaseth, and as often again he is displeasant: not that his intention is to displease at any time: howbeit if he see it expedient and better so to do, he will not stick to be a little harsh and unpleasant. For like as a Physician when need requireth putteth in some Saffron or Spiknard into his medicine: yea and otherwhile permitteth his patient a delicate bath, or liberal and dainty diet to his full contentment: but sometimes for it again leaving out all sweet odors, casteth in *Castoreum*,

Or Polium *which strong sent doth yeeld,*
And stinkes most of all herbs in field.

or else he bruiseth and stampeth some Ellebore, and forceth his patient to drink of that potion: not

proposing either in the former medicine pleasure, nor in the latter displeasure for the end: but both by the one and the other, training the sick person under his hand to one and the same effect of his cure to wit, his good and the health of his body; even so it is with a true friend: one while with praises and gracious words he extolleth and cheereth up his friend, inciting him thereby alwaies to that which is good and honest, as he in *Homer*,

Deer heart Sir Teucer *worthy sonne*
of Telamon *that Knight*,
Come Prince and flour of valiant knights,
Shoot thus your arrowes slight.
And another,
How can I ever put out of minde
Heavenly Ulysses *a Prince so kinde?*

Contrariwise, another while where there is need of Chastisement and correction, he will not spare but use sharp and biting words: yea, and that free speech which carrieth with it an affection carefull to do good, and such as indeed beseemeth a tutor and governour, much after this manner:

What Menelaus! *how ever that*
from Jupiter *you descend:*
You play the fool, for folly such
I cannot you commend.

It falleth out so likewise, that sometime he addeth deeds to words. And thus *Menedemus* shut the door against the son of *Asclepiades* his friend, and would not deigne once to salute him, because he was a riotous youth, and lived dissolutely and out of all order: by which means he was reclaimed from a loose life, and became an honest man. *Arcesilaus* in like manner excluded *Battus* out of his school, and would not suffer him to enter, because in a Comedie that he composed, he had made one verse against *Cleanthes*; but afterwards *Battus* repenting of that he had done, and making satisfaction unto *Cleanthes*, was pardoned and received again into his favor. For a man may offend his friend with intention to do him good; but he must not proceed so farre in displeasing him, that thereby he break or undo the knot of friendship: he ought (I say) to use a sharp rebuke, as a Physician doth some bitter or tart medicine, to save or preserve the life of his patient. And a good friend is to play the part of a musician, who to bring his instrument into tune, and so to keep it, setteth up these strings and letteth down those: and so ought a friend to exchange profit with pleasure, and use one with another, as occasion serveth, observing still this rule, oftentimes to be pleasing unto his friend, but always profitable: whereas the flatterer being used evermore to sing one note, and to play upon the same string, that is to say, To please: and in all his words and deeds, to aime at nothing else but the contentment of him whom he flattereth, cannot skill either in act to resist, or in speech to reprove and offend him; but goeth on still in following his humor, according alwayes with him in one tune, and keeping the same note just with him.

Now, as *Xenophon* writeth of King *Agesilaus*, that he was well apaied to be commended of them who he knew also would blame him, if there were cause; so we are to think well of friendship when it is pleasant, delightsome and cheerful, if otherwhiles also it can displease and crosse again; but to have in suspition the conversation and acquaintance of such, as never do or say any thing but that which is pleasing, continually keeping one course without change, never rubbing where the gall is, nor touching the sore, without reproof and contradiction. We ought (I say) to have ready alwayes in remembrance the saying of an ancient Laconian, who hearing king *Charilaus* so highly praised and extolled: And how possibly (quoth he) can he be good, who is never sharp or severe unto the wicked? The gad-flie (as they say) which useth to plague bulles and oxen, setleth about their eares, and so doth the tick deal by dogges: after the same manner, flatterers take hold of ambitious mens ears, and possesse them with praises; and being once set fast there, hardly are they to be removed and chased away. And here most needful it is, that our judgement be watchful and observant, and do discern whether these praises be attributed to the thing or the person; we shall perceive that the thing it self is praised, if they commend men rather absent than in place: also if they desire and affect that themselves, which they do so like and approve in others: again, if they praise not us alone, but all others, for the semblable qualities: likewise if they neither say nor do one thing now, and another time the contrary. But the principal thing of all other, is this, If we our selves know in our own secret conscience, that we neither repent nor be ashamed of that, for which they so commend us; ne yet wish in our hearts, that we had said or done the contrary: for the inward judgement of our mind and soul bearing witnesse against such praises, and not admitting thereof, is void of affections and passions, whereby it neither can be touched nor corrupted and surprised by a flatterer. Howbeit, I know not how it commeth about, that the most part of men cannot abide nor receive the consolations which be ministred unto them in their adversities, but rather take delight and comfort in those that weep, lament and mourn with them: and yet the same men having offended or being delinquent in any dutie, if one come and find fault or touch them to the quicke therefore, do strike and imprint into their hearts remorse and repentance, they take him for no better than an accuser and an enemie: contrariwise, let one highly commend and magnifie that which they have done, him they salute and embrace, him they account their wel-willer and friend indeed. Now, whosoever they be that are ready to praise and extol with applause and clapping of hands

hands, that which one hath done or said, were it in earnest or in game: such (I say) are dangerous and hurtfull for the present onely, and in those things which are next hand: but those, who with their praises pierce as farre as to the manners within, and with their flatteries proceed to corrupt their inward natures and dispositions, I can liken unto those slaves or household servants, who rob their masters, not only of that corn which is in the heap, and lieth in the garners, but also of the very seed; for the inclination and towardnesse of a man, are the seed that bring forth all his actions, and the habitude of conditions and manners, are the very source and head from whom runneth the course of our whole life, which they pervert in giving to vices the names of vertues. *Thucydides* in his Story writeth: That during civil seditions and warres, men transferred the accustomed significations of words unto other things, for to justifie their deeds: for desperate rashnes without all reason, was reputed valour, and called Love-friend: provident delay and temporizing, was taken for decent cowardise: Modestie and temperance, was thought to be a cloke of effeminate unmanlinesse: a prudent and wary circumspection in all things, was held for a general sloth and idlenesse. According to which precedent, we are to consider and observe in flatterers, how they term prodigality by the name of liberality; cowardise is nothing with them but heedfull wariness: brainsicknesse they entitle promptitude, quicknesse, and celeritie: base and mechanical niggardise, they account temperate frugality. Is there one full of love and given to be amorous? him they call good fellow, a boon-companion, a man of a kinde and good nature. See they one hasty, wrathful, and proud withall? him they will have to be hardy, valiant and magnanimous: contrariwise, one of a base minde and abject spirit, they will grace with the attribute of fellow-like, and full of humanity. Much like to that which *Plato* hath written in one place: That the amorous lover is a flatterer of those whom he loveth. For if they be flat nosed like a shooing horn, such they call lovely and gracious: be they hawk-nosed like a griffin, Oh, that is a kingly sight say they: those that be black of colour, are manly: white of complexion, be Gods children. And as for the term *Melichrus*, that is Hony-coloured, it is alwayes (verily) a flattering word, devised by a Lover, to mitigate and diminish the odiousnesse of a pale hue, which he seemeth by that sweet name, not to mislike, but to take in the best part. And verily if he that is foul and ill-favoured, be born in hand that he is fair and beautiful, or one of small and low stature made beleeve that he is goodly and tall: he neither continueth long in this his error, neither is the damage that he sustaineth thereby grievous and great, nor unrecoverable: but the praises which induce and inure a man to beleeve, That vice is vertue, insomuch that he is nothing at all discontented in his sin and grieved therefore; but rather taketh pleasure therein: those also which take away from us all shame and abashment to commit faults; such were they that brought the Sicilians to ruine, and gave them occasion to beautifie or colour the tyranny and cruelty of *Denys* and *Phalaris*, with the goodly names of Justice and Hatred of wickednesse: These were the overthrow of Ægypt, in cloking the effeminate wantonnesse, the furious superstition, the yelling noises after a fanatical manner of King *Ptolomæus*, together with the marks that he carried of Lillies and Tabours in his bodie, with the glorious names of Devotion, Religion, and the service of the gods. And this was it that at the same time went very neer, and had like to have corrupted and spoiled for ever the manners and fashions of the Romanes, which before were so highly reputed, to wit, naming the riotousnes of *Antonie*, his loosenesse, his superfluous delights, his sumptuous shewes and publike feasts, with the profusion and wasting of so much mony, by smooth and gentle termes of courtesies, and merriments full of humanity, by which disguisements and pretexts, his fault was mollified or diminished in abusing so excessively the grandeur of his puissance and fortune. And what was it else that made *Ptolomæus* to put on the maske or mussle (as it were) of a piper, and to hang about him pipes and flutes? What was it that caused *Nero* to mount up the Stage to act Tragedies, with a vizour over his face, and buskins on his legs? was it not the praise of such flatterers as these? And are not most of our kings being when they sing small and fine after a puling manner, saluted *Apollo's* for their musicke: and if they drink until they be drunk, honoured with the name of *Bacchus* the god of wine: and when they seem a little to wrestle or trie some feats of activity, stiled by and by with the glorious addition of *Hercules*, brought (think you) to exceeding dishonour and shame by this grosse flattery, taking such pleasure as they do in these gallant surnames. And therefore we had most need to beware of a flatterer in the praises which he giveth, which himself is not ignorant of: but being careful and very subtil in avoiding all suspicion, if haply he meet with one of these fire-fools, and delicate minions, well set out in gay apparel: or some rustical thick-skin, carrying on his back a good leather pilch: or (as they say) one that feedeth grosly: such he will not spare but abuse with broad flattery, and make common laughing stocks of them: Like as *Struthias*, making a very asse of *Bias*, and riding him up and down, yea, and insulting upon him for his sottishnesse with praises that he would seem to hang upon him: Thou hast (quoth he) drunk more than king *Alexander* the Great, and with that turning to *Cyprius* laughed as hard as ever he could till he was ready to sink again. But if a flatterer chance to deal with them that be more civil and elegant and do perceive that they have a special eye unto him in this point, namely, that they stand well upon their guard in this place, for fear lest they be surprised by him: then he goes not to work directly in praising of them, but he keepeth aloof, he fetcheth about many compasses a great way off at first, afterwards by little and little he winneth some ground and approcheth neerer and neerer, making no noise until he can touch and handle them, much after the manner of those that come about wild beasts assaying how to bring them to hand and make them tame and gentle. For one while he will report to such a one

the praises that some other give out of him; imitating herein the Rhetoricians, who many times in their orations speak in the third person, and after this manner he will begin: I was not long since (quoth he) in the market place, where I had some talk with certain strangers, and other ancient personages of good worth, whom I was glad at the heart to hear, how they recounted all the good in the world of you, and spake wonderfully in your commendation. Otherwhiles he will devise and fetch out of his own fingers ends some light imputations against him, yet all forged and false, agreeable to his person and condition, making semblance as if he had heard others what they said of him, and very cunningly will he close with him, and bear him in hand that he is come in all haste to know of him, whether ever he said or did so as was reported of him: And if the other do denie it, (as it is no other like but he will) thereupon he takes occasion to enter into the praise and commendation of the man in this wise: I marvail truly how that you should abuse and speak ill of any of your familiars, and friends, who were never wont so much as to misca or say otherwise than wel of your very enemies? or how it possibly could be, that you should be ready to gape after other mens goods, who use to be so liberal and bountiful of your own? Other flatterers there be, who like as Painters to set up their colours and to give them more beautiful light and lustre unto them, lay neer unto them others that be more dark and shadowie: so they inblaming, reproving, reproching, traducing and deriding the contrarie vertues to those vices which are in them whom they mean to flatter, covertly and underhand do praise and approve those faults and imperfections that they have, and so in praising & allowing, do feed and cherish the same: As for example, if they be among prodigal ding-thrifts and wasters, riotous persons, covetous misers, mischievous wretches, and such as have raked and scraped goods together by hook and crook, and by all indirect means, they care not how: before them they will speak baisly of Temperance and Abstinence, calling it rusticity: and as for those that live justly and with a good conscience, contenting themselves with their estate, and therein reposing sufficiance, those they will nickname, heartlesse and base minded folk, altogether insufficient to do or dare any thing. If it falll out, that they converse and be in company with such as be idle lusks, and love to sit still at home and do nothing, forbearing to meddle with ordinary affairs abroad in the world: they will not bash to finde fault with policy & civil government, calling the managing of State matters and common weal, a thankless intermedling in other mens affairs, with much travail and no profit. And as for the minde and desire to be a magistrate and to sit in place of authority, they will not let to say it is vain glory and ambition, altogether fruitlesse. For to flatter and claw an Oratour, they will reprove in his presence a Philosopher. Among light huswives that be wantonly given, they win the prize, and are very well accepted, if they call honest matrons and chaste dames (who content themselves with their own husbands, and them love alone) rude and rustical women, untaught, ill-bred, unlovely and have no grace with them. But herein is the very height of wickednesse, that these flatterers for advantage will not spare their own selves: For like as wrestlers debase their own bodies, and stoop down low otherwhiles, for to overthrow their fellowes that wrestle with them, and to lay them along on the ground: so in blaming and finding many faults with themselves, they winde in, and creep closely to the praise and admiration of others: I am (quoth one of them) a very coward, and no better then a very slave at sea: I can away with no labour and travel in the world: I am all in a heat of choler, and raging mad, if I hear that one hath given me any bad termes: mary as for this man (meaning him whom he flattereth) he casteth doubts at no peril and danger, all is one with him, sea or land: he can endure all hardnesse, and he counteth nothing painful, no hurt there is in him, a singular man he is, and hath not his fellow, he is angry at nothing, he beareth all with patience. But say he meet with one at aventure, which standeth upon his own bottom, and hath some great opinion of his own sufficiency for wit and understanding, who hath a desire to be austere, and not to depend upon the conceits of others, but resteth in his own judgement; and upon a certain uprightnesse in himself, ofttoones hath these verses in his mouth:

Sir Diomede, *do not me praise*
So much to mo·e or lesse,
Nor out of measure me dispraise,
I love not such excesse.

This flatterer then, who is his own crasts-master and hath thoroughly learned his trade, goeth not the old way to work in setting upon him, but he hath another origin and device in store to assail such a grim sir withal. He will make an errand to him for counsel in his own affaires, as being the man whom he esteemeth to have more wit and wisdome then himself. There be divers others (quoth he) with whom I have better acquaintance and familiarity than with your self: Howbeit, sir, I am forced of necessity to make bold and to importune you a little: For whither else should we ingram men repair, that have need of advice? and to whom are we to have recourse in matters of trust and secresie. And then after he had heard once what he will say, and it makes no matter what it be; he will take his leave, saying, that he hath received not counsel from a man, but an oracle, from some god. Now before he departeth, if haply he perceive that he taketh upon him good skill and insight in literature, he will present unto him some compositions of his own penning, praying him withal to peruse them, yea and correct the same. *Mithridates* the King affected and loved the art of Physick very well: by reason whereof some of his familiar friends about him, came and offered themselves to be cut and cauterised by him: which was a meer flattery indeed and not in word. For it seemed that they gave great testimony of his skill, in that they put their lives into his hands.

Of subtill spirits, thus you may see,
That many formes and shapes there be.

But this kind of dissimuled praises, requiring greater and more wary circumspection to be taken heed of, if man would detect and convince, he ought of purpose when he is rempted and assailed with such flattery, to obtrude and propose unto the flatterer absurd counsell, if he seeme to demand and aske it: advertisements also, and precepts of the same kind, yea, and corrections without all sense and to no purpose, when he shall offer his labours to be read and perused: In so doing, if he perceive the party suspected to be a flatterer, doth not gainsay nor contradict any thing, but alloweth of all, and receiveth the same, yea, and more than that, when he shall to every point cry out and say, Oh well said and insufficiently: O excellent wit: be sure, then he is caught in a trap: then, I say, it will be found plainly according to the common by-word,

That when he did a watch-word crave,
Some other thing he sought to have:
Or as we say (in Proverbe old)
Draffe was his errand, but drinke he would.

That is to say, he waited for some occasion and opportunity, by praising to puffe him up with vanity and overweening of himselfe. Moreover, like as some have defined painting to be a mute Poesie; even so praising is a kind of silent and secret flattery. Hunters (we see) then sooneſt deceive the poore beasts, when they seeme to do nothing lesse than to hunt, making semblance as though they either travelled like way-faring men, or tended their flocks, or else tilled the ground. Semblably flatterers touch those whom they flatter nearest, and enter to the very quick by praising, when they make no shew thereof, but seeme to do nothing lesse than praise. For he that giveth the chaire and seat to another comming in place, or as he is making an oration either in publike place before the people, or in Councell house to the Senate, breaketh off his own speech, and yeeldeth unto him his roome, giving him leave to speake or to opine, and remaineth silent himselfe: by this his silence sheweth, that he doth repute the other a better man, and of more sufficiency for wisdome and knowledge than himselfe, much more than if he should pronounce and ring it out aloud to the whole audience. And hereupon it is that this sort of people who make profession of flattery, take up ordinarily the first and higheſt seats, as well at sermons and publike orations whither men flock to heare, as at the Theaters and shewn places, not that they thinke themselves worthy of shew-places, but because they may rise and make roome for better and richer persons as they come, and thereby flatter them kindly. This we see also, that in solemne assemblies, and great meetings, or auditories, they are by their good wils the first that put themselves forth, and make offer to begin speech; but it is for nothing else, but that afterward they would seem to quit the place and give assent to their betters, soone retracting their own opinions, when they heare a mighty man, a rich or noble personage in authority to contradict and say the contrary. And here we ought most of all to be circumspect and wary, that we may evict them of this, That all this courting, this giving place, this yeelding of the victory and reverence made unto others, is not for any more sufficiency that they acknowledge in them, for their knowledge, experience, and vertues: ne yet for their worthinesse in regard of elder age, but only for their wealth, riches, credit, and reputation in the world. * *Megabyſus*, a great Lord belonging to the Kings court of *Persia*, came upon a time to visit *Apelles* the painter: and sitting by him in his shop to see him worke, began of his own accord to discourse I wot not what, of lines, shaddows, and other matters belonging to his art: *Apelles* hearing him, could not hold but said unto him; See you not sir these little prentise boies here that grind Oker and other colours? So long as you sat still, and said never a word, they advised you well, and their eye was never off, wondering to see your rich purple robes, your chaines and jewels of gold, no sooner began you to speak, but they fell to teighing, and now they laugh you to scorne, talking thus as you do of those things which you never learned. And *Solon* being demanded once by *Cræsus* King of *Lydia*, what men he had seen whom he reputed most happy in this world? named unto him one *Tellus*, none of the great men of *Athens*, but a good plaine and meane Citizen, *Cleobis* also and *Biton*: and these he said were of all others most fortunate. But these flatterers will affirme that Kings and Princes, rich men and rulers are not only blessed happy, and fortunate; but also excell all others in wisdome, knowledge and vertue. There is not one of them that can endure so much as to hear the Stoicks, who hold, that the sage and wise man (such a one as they depaint unto us) ought all at once to be called, rich, fair, noble, yea and a King: whereas our flatterers will have the rich men onely, whom they are disposed to flatter to be an Oratour and a Poet: yea, and if he will himself, a painter, a good piper, passing light of foot and strong of limmes: insomuch, as whosoever wrestleth with him, shall be sure to take the foil and lye along: and whomsoever he runneth with in the race, he shall come behind him a fair deal, but how? Surely even as *Crisson* the Himeræan lagged for the nonce behind King *Alexander* the Great when he ran with him for the best game: for which the King was highly displeased and wroth at him, when he once perceived it. *Carneades* was wont to say, that the sons of Kings and great rich men, learned to do nothing well and right, but onely to sit and ride an horse. For that their masters are wont to flatter and praise them in all their schooles where they be taught: for if they be at the exercise of wrestling, you shall have him that wrestleth with them,

of

* Plinie reporteth this of K. Alexander, and not of Megabyſus.

of purpose to take a fall and lie under them: Mary, the horse not knowing nor having the reason to discerne a private mans son from a prince; nor whether he be poore or rich that sits upon his back, will be sure to cast him over his head and lay him along, whosoever he be, that cannot skill how to hold and rule him. *Bion* therefore was but a very lob and foole in saying thus: If I wist that with praising a peece of ground I could make it good, rich, and fertile, it should want for no praises; and rather would I commend it than toyle and moile in digging, tilling, and doing worke about it. And yet I will not say, that a man is too blame and doth amisse in praising: if so be, that those who are praised be the better and more fruitfull in all good things for it. Howbeit to come againe into the ground beforesaid; a field being praised never so much is not the worse nor lesse fertile therefore: but I assure you they that commend folke falsely, and beyond their desert and due, puffe them full of wind and vanity, and worke their overthrow in the end. But now having discoursed sufficiently upon this article and point of praises, let us proceed forward to treat of frankneſse and liberty of speech.

And verily meet and reason it had been, that as *Patroclus* when he put on the armour of *Achilles*, and brought forth his horses of service to battell, durst not meddle with his speare Pelias, but left it only untouched; so a flatterer also, although he maske and disguise himselfe with other habits, ornaments, and ensignes of a friend, should let this liberty only of speech alone, and not once go about to touch or counterfeit it, as being indeed

A baston of such poise and weight,
So big withall so stiff and streight,

That of all others it belongeth only to friendship for to be carried and weilded by it. But forasmuch as our flatterers now adaies are affraid to be detected in laughing in their cups, in their jests, scoffes, and gamesome mirth; therefore to avoid such discovery, they have learned forsooth to knit and bend the brows, they can skill, iwis, to flatter, and yet looke with a frowning face and crabbed countenance they have the cast to temper with their glavering glozes some rough reprehensions, and chiding checks among: let us not over-passe this point untouched, but consider and examine the same likewise. For mine own part I am of this mind: That as in a Comedy of *Menander* there comes in a counterfeit *Hercules* to play his part upon the stage with a club on his shoulder, that is (you may be sure) nothing massie, heavy, stiffe, and strong, but some device and gawd hollow and empty within, made of brown paper, or such like stuffe; Even so, that plaine and free speech which a flatterer useth will be found light, soft, and without any strength at all to give a blow: much like (to say truly) unto the soft bed pillows that women lie on, which seeming full and plumpe to resist and beare out against their heads, yeeld and sinke under the same so much the more: For after the same manner this counterfeit free speech of theirs puffed up full of wind, or else stuffed with some deceitfull light matter, seemeth to rise up, to swell, and beare out hard and stiffe, to the end that being pressed down once (and both sides as it were comming together) it might receive, enlap and enfold him that chanceth to fall thereupon, and so carry him away with it. Whereas the true and friendly liberty of speech indeed taketh hold of those that are delinquent and do offend, bringing with it a kind of paine for the time, which notwithstanding is wholesome and healthfull: resembling herein the nature of honey, which being applied to a sore or ulcerous place, at the first doth smart and sting; but it doth cleanse and mundifie withall, and otherwise is profitable, sweet and pleasant. But as touching this plaine dealing and franke speech, I will write a part of purpose in place convenient. As for the flatterer he maketh shew at the first, that he is rough, violent, and inexorable in all dealings with others: For over his servants he carrieth a hard hand, and is not pleased with their service, with his familiars, acquaintance, and kinsfolke he is sharpe and eager, ready to find fault with every thing; he maketh no reckoning nor account of any man but himselfe; he despiseth and disdaineth all the world besides; there is not a man living that he will pardon and forgive; he blameth and accuseth every one; and his whole study is to win the name and reputation of a man that hateth vice, and in that regard careth not whom he doth provoke, and whose displeasure he incur: as who, for no good in the world would be hired to hold his tongue, nor willingly forbeare to speake plainly the truth; who with his good will would never speake or do any thing to sooth up and please another: Then will he make semblance as though he neither saw nor tooke knowledge of any great and grosse sins indeed: but if peradventure there be some light and small outward fault, he will make foule ado thereat, he will keep a wondering and crying out upon them: then shall you have him in good earnest exclaime and reprove the delinquent with a loud and sounding voice: As for example, if he chance to spie the implements, or any thing else about the house lie out of order; if a man be not well and neatly lodged; if his beard be not of the right cut, or his haire grow out of fashion; if a garment sit not handsomely about him, or if a horse or hound be not so carefully tended as they should be. But say that a man set nought by his parents, neglect his own children, misuse his wife, disdaine and despise his kindred, spend and consume his goods; none of all these enormities touch and move him: Here he is mute and hath not a word to say; he dares not reprove these abuses: much like as if a Master of the wrestling Schoole, who suffereth a wrestler that is under his hand to be a drunkard and a whoremonger, should chide and rebuke him sharply about an oyle crose or curry-combe; or as if a Grammarian should find fault with his scholler and chide him for his writing tables or his pen, letting him go away cleare with solœcismes, incongruities, and barbarismes, as if he heard them not. Also I can liken a flatterer to him, who

who will not blame an ill author, or ridiculous Rhetorician in any thing as touching his oration it selfe; but rather reproveth him for his utterance, and sharply taketh him up for that by drinking of cold water he hath hurt his wind-pipe, and so marred his voice; or to one who being bidden to read over and peruse a poore silly Epigram or other writing which is nothing worth, taketh on and fareth against the paper wherein it is written, for being thick, course, or rugged; or against the writer, for negligent, slovenly, or impure otherwise. Thus the claw-backs and flatterers about King *Ptolomeus*, who would seeme to love good letters, and to be desirous of learning, used ordinarily to draw out their disputations and conferences at length, even to midnight, debating about some glose or signification of a word, about a verse, or touching some history: but all the while there was not one, among so many of them, that would tell him or his cruelty, of his wrongs and oppressions, ne yet of his * drumming, tabouring, and other enormous indignities, under the colour of religion; and seeke to reforme him. Certes a foolish fellow were he, who comming to a man diseased with tumors, swellings, impostumes, or hollow ulcers, called *Fistulaes*, should with a Chirurgions launcer, or Barbers razor, fall to cut his haire, or pare his nailes; even so it fareth with these flatterers, who apply their liberty of speech to such things as neither are in paine, nor yet do any hurt. Moreover, some others there be of them, who being more cunning and crafty than their fellows, use this plainnesse of language and reprehension of theirs, for to please and make sport withall. Thus *Agis* the *Argive*, seeing how *Alexander* the Great gave very great rewards and gifts to a pleasant and odde fellow that was a jester, cried out for very envy and dolour of heart; O great abuse and monstrous absurdity: The King hearing it, turned about to him in great displeasure and indignation, demanding of him what he had to say? I confesse (quoth he) indeed, that I am grieved, and I thinke it a great indignity, when I see all you that are descended from *Jupiter* and his sons, to take pleasure in flatterers and jesters about you, for to make you merry. For even so *Hercules* tooke a delight to have in his company certaine ridiculous *Cercopes*, and *Bacchus* had ever in his traine the *Silenes*. In your court likewise, a man may see such to be in credit and highly esteemed. When *Tiberius Cæsar* the Emperour upon a certaine day was come into the Senate house of Rome, one of the Senators who knew how to flatter, arose and stood up, and with a good loud voice, Meet it is (quoth he) O *Cæsar*, that men free borne, should likewise have the liberty of speech, and speake their minds frankly, without dissimuling or concealing any thing which they know to be good and profitable: with this speech of his he stirred up the attention of the whole house, so as they gave good eare unto him, and *Tiberius* himselfe listened what he would say. Now when all was still and in great silence; Hearken, (quoth he) O *Cæsar*, what it is that we all accuse and blame you for, but no man dare be so bold as to speake it out: You neglect your selfe, and have no regard of your own person; you consume and spoile your body with continuall cares and travels for our sake, taking no rest nor repose either day or night. Now when he had drawn out a long traine of words to this purpose, *Cassius Severus* a Rhetorician stood up, and by report said thus; Such liberty of speech as this will be the utter undoing of this man. But these flatteries are of the lighter sort, and do lesse hurt: there be other more dangerous, which worke the mischiefe and corruption of those who are not wise and take no heed unto them; namely, when flatterers set in hand to reprove them whom they flatter, for the contrary vices to those that be in them. Thus *Himerius* the flatterer reproached a certaine rich man of *Athens*, the veriest pinching miser, and the most covetous withall, that was in the whole City, with the imputations of prodigality, and negligence about his own profit and gaine: charging him that one day he would smart for it, and both he and his children be hungerstarved for want wherewith to sustaine themselves, if he looked no better to his thrift: or when they object miserable niggardize and beggary unto those that are known to be prodigall spenders, and consume all. After which manner *Titus Petronius* reproved *Nero*. Againe, if they come to Princes and great Lords, who deale cruelly and hardly with their subjects and tenants, saying unto them, That they must lay away this over-much lenity and foolish pitty of theirs, which neither is seemly for their persons, nor yet profitable for their state. And very like to these is he who maketh semblance to him who is a very senselesse sot and foolish foole, that he stands in great feare and doubt of him, left he should be circumvented by him as if he were some cautelous, crafty, and cunning person. He also, that doth rebuke another, who is an ordinary slanderer, who taketh pleasure (upon spight and envy) to be ever railing on all men, and back-biting them, if he chance any one time to breake out into the praise of some worthy and excellent personage, saying in this manner unto him, This is a great fault that you have, and a disease that followeth you, thus to praise men of no worth: What is he (I pray you) whom you thus commend? What good parts be in him? Hath he at any time done any doughty deed, or delivered any singular speech that might deserve such praises? But in amatorious and love matters they passe: there you shall have them most of all to come over those whom they flatter and lay on load; to them they will joyne close, and set them on a flaming fire. For if they see brethren at some variance, or setting nought by their parents, or else to deale unkindly with their own wives, and to set no store by them, or to be jealous and suspicious of them; they never admonish, chastise, or rebuke them for it, that they may amend; but rather they will kindle more coales between, and encrease their anger and discontentment on both sides: Nay, it is no great matter (will they say) it is even well enough; you will never see and know who you are; you are the cause of all this your own selfe: and selfe do, selfe have; you evermore have born your selves so pliable, submisse, and lovely toward them, that you are but rightly served. But say there

* τυμπανίζονται καὶ τελευτῶσι. Some expound it, bearing his subjects with cudgels, and oppressing them with excessive exactions.

be

be some itching heate of love, or smart anger upon jealousie, in regard of a curtezan or married wife, whom the party is amorous of; then shall you see a flatterer ready at hand to display his cunning openly, and to speak his mind freely unto him, putting fire to fire and feeding his love; you shall have him to lay the law upon this lover, accusing and entring processe against him in these termes: you have broken the lawes of love: you have done and said many things not so kindly as beseemed a true lover, but rather deale hardly with your love, and enough to lose her heart, and incurre her hatred for ever:

Unthank-full person that thou art,
For kissing so many of thy sweet hart.

Thus the flattering friends of *Antonius*, when he burned in love of the Ægyptian queen *Cleopatra*, would perswade and make him beleeve, that she it was who was enamoured upon him, and by way of opprobrious imputation they would tell him to his face, that he was proud, disdainful, hard hearted, and void of all kind affection. This nobe queen (would they say) forsaking so mighty and wealthy a Kingdome, so many pleasant palaces, and stately houses of blessed abode, such meanes and opportunities of happinesse, for the love of you pineth away, and consumeth her self, trudging after your camp to and fro, for to do your Honour content and pleasure with the habit and title of your Concubine,

Whiles you in brest do carry an hart
Which will not be wrought by any art.

neglecting her (good lady) and suffering her to perish for sorrow and hearts grief. Whereupon he being well enough pleased to hear himself thus charged with wrong doing to her, and taking more pleasure in the accusations of theirs, than if they had directly praised him, was so blinde that he could not see how they that seemed thus to admonish him of his duty, perverted and corrupted him thereby so much the more. For this counterfeit liberty of plain dealing and plain speech, may be very well likened to the wanton pinches and bitings of luxurious women, who tickle and stirre up the lust and pleasure of men by that which might seem to cause their pain. For like as pure wine, which otherwise of it self is a sure remedy against the poison of hemlock, if a man do mingle it with the juice of the said hemlocke, doth mightily enforce the poison thereof, and make it irremediable for by that means of the heat it conveyeth the same more speedily unto the heart: even so these lewd and mischievous flatterers, knowing full well that frank speech is a singular help and remedy against flattery, abuse it to flatter withal. And therefore it seemeth that *Bias* answered not so well as he might have done, to one that asked of him, which was the shrewdest and most hurtful beast of all the other: If (quoth he) your question be of wild and savage, a Tyrant is worse: if of tame and gentle, a flatterer. For he might have said more truly; that of flatterers some be of a tame kinde, such (I mean) as these parasites are who haunt the bains and stouphes; those also that follow good cheer and keep about the table. As for him, who (like as the Porcupine fish stretcheth out his clawes like branches) reacheth as farre as to the secret chambers and cabinets of women, with his busie intermedling, with his calumniations and malicious demeanors, such a one is savage, fell, intractable and dangerous to be approched.

Now one of the means to beware of this flatterie, is to know and remember alwayes that our soul consisteth of two parts, whereof the one is addicted to the truth loving honesty and reason: the other more brutish, of its own nature unreasonable, given to untruth and withal passionate. A true friend assisteth evermore the better part, in giving counsel and comfort, even as an expert and skilful Physitian, who hath an eye that aimeth alwayes at the maintenance and encrease of health: but the flatterer doth apply himself, and settleth to that part which is void of reason and full of passions: this he scratcheth, this he tickleth continually, this he stroketh and handleth in such sort, by devising some vicious and dishonest pleasures, that he withdraweth and turneth it away quite from the rule and guidance of reason. Moreover, as there be some kind of viands which if a man eat, they neither turn unto blood nor ingender spirits, ne yet adde vigor and strength to the nerves and the marrow: but all the good they do is happly to cause the flesh or genital parts to rise, to stirre and loose the belly, or to breed some foggie, fantom and half rotten flesh, which is neither fast nor sound within: even so if a man look neerely and have good regard unto a flatterer, he shall never find that all the words he useth minister or procure one jot of good to him that is wise and governed by reason; but feed fools with the pleasant delights of love; kindle and augment the fire of inconsiderate anger: provoke them unto envie; breed in them an odious and vain presumption of their own wit; increase their sorrow and grief, with moaning them and lamenting with them for company: set on work and exasperate their inbred naughtinesse and lewd disposition: their illiberal minde and covetous nature: their diffidence and distrustfulnesse of others; their base and servile timiditie, making them alwayes worse, and apt to conceive ill: more fearful, jealous and suspicious, by the means of some new accustion, false surmises and conjectural suggestions, which they be ready to put into their heads. For evermore it getteth closely into some vicious passion and affection of the minde, and there lurketh: the same it nourisheth and feedeth fat, but anon it appeareth like a botch, rising cesses upon the corrupt diseased or inflamed parts of the soul. Art thou angry with one? punish him (saith he:) Hast thou a minde to a thing? buy it, and make no more ado: Art thou never so little afraid? let us flie and be gone: Suspectest thou this or that? beleeve it confidently (saith he.) But if peradventure, he can hardly be seen and discovered about these passions, for

for that they be so mighty and violent, that oftentimes they chase and expel all use of reason, he will give some vantage to be sooner taken in others that: be not so strong and vehement, where we shall find him alwayes the same and like himself. For say, a man do suspect that he hath taken a surfeit, either by over-liberal feeding or drinking headie wine, and upon that occasion make some doubt to bathe his bodie, or to eat presently again and lay gorge upon gorge (as they say:) A true friend will advice him to forbear and abstain; he will admonish him to take heed to himself and look to his health: In comes a flatterer, and he will draw him to the bain in all haste: he will bid him to call for some novelty or other to be set upon the boord, willing him to fall fresh to it again, and not to punish his body and do himself injurie, by fasting and refusing his meat and drink: Also if he see him not disposed to take a journey by land or voyage by sea, or to go out about any enterprise whatsoever it be, slowly and with an ill will, he will say unto him: either that there is no such great need, or the time is not so convenient, but it may be put off to a farther day, or it will serve the turn well enough to send others about it. Now if it fall out so, that he having made promise to some familiar friend either to lend or let him have the use of some money, or to give him it freely, do change his minde and repent of his promise: but yet be somewhat abashed and ashamed thus to break his word; the flatterer by and by will put himself to the worse and lighter end of the ballance, and make it weigh down on the purse side, soon excluding and cutting off all shame for the matter: What man! (will he say) Spare your purse and save your silver: you are at a great charge; you keep a great house, and have many about you which must be maintained and have sufficient; in such sort, that if we be not altogether ignorant of our selves, and wilfully blinde: not seeing that we be covetous, shameless, timorous and base minded, we cannot choose but start and finde out a flatterer: neither is it possible that he should escape us. For surely he will evermore defend and maintain these imperfections, and frankly will he speak his minde in favour thereof, if he perceive us to over-passe our selves therein. But thus much may suffice as touching these matters.

Let us come now to the uses and services that a flatterer is employed in: For in such offices he doth confound, trouble, & darken much the difference between him and a true friend; shewing himself in apparence, alwayes diligent, ready and prompt in all occurrences, without seeking any colourable pretences of shifting off, and a refusing to do any thing. As for a faithful friend, his whole carriage and behaviour is simple, like as be the words of truth, as saith *Euripides*, without welts and gards, plain, without plaits, and nothing counterfeit: whereas the conditions of a flatterer to say a truth,

By nature are diseased much,
And medicines needful are for such,

not only with wisdome to be ministred and applied, but also many in number, and those (I assure you) of a more exquisite making and composition than any other. And verily as friends many times when they meet one another in the street, passe by without good-morrow or god-speed, or any word at all between them: onely by some light some look, cheerful smile, or amiable regard of the eye reciprocally given and taken, without any other token els, there is testified the good-will and mutual affection of the heart within: whereas the flatterer runneth toward his friend to meet him, followeth apace at his heels, spreadeth forth both his armes abroad, and that a farre off, to embrace him: & if it chance that he be saluted & spoken to first, because the other had an eye on him before, he will with brave words excuse himself, yea, and many times call for witnesses, and bind it with great oathes good store, that he saw him not. Even so likewise in their affairs and negociations abroad in the world, friends omit and overslip many small and light things, not searching narrowly into matters, not offering or expecting again any exquisit service: nothing curious and busie in each thing. ne yet putting themselves forward to every kinde of ministery: but the flatterer is herein double diligent, he will be continually employed, and never rest, without seeming at any time to be weary, no place no space nor opportunity will he give the other to do any service: he looketh to be called unto and commanded, and if he be not bidden, he will take it ill and be displeased: nay, you shall have him then out of heart and discouraged, complaining of his ill fortune, and protesting before God and man, as if he had some great wrong done unto him. These be evident marks and undoubted arguments to such as have wit and understanding, not of a friendship sound, sober and honest, but rather smelling of wanton & whorish love, which is more ready to embrace and clip, than is decent and seemely. Howbeit, to examine the same more particularly, let us consider what difference there is between a flatterer and a friend, as touching the offers and promises that they make. They who have written of this theam before us, say very well, that a friends promise goeth in this form,

If that I can, or if it may be done,
Fulfil I will your mind, and that right soon

but the offer of a flatterer runneth in this manner,

What would you have? say but the word to me,
Without all doubt effected it shall be.

For such frank promisers and braggers as these, the Poets also use to bring unto the Stage in their Comedies after this sort;

Now of all loves, Nicomachus, this I crave,
Set me against this souldier here so brave,

I will

I will ſo ſwing his coat, you ſhall it ſee,
That like a pompion his fleſh ſhall tender be:
His face, his head I ſhall much ſofter make,
Than is the ſponge that growes in ſea or lake.

Moreover, you ſhall not ſee a friend offer his helping hand or aide in any action, unleſſe he were called before to counſel, and his opinion asked of the enterpriſe, or that he have approved and ſet down the ſame upon good adviſement, to be either honeſt or profitable: whereas the flatterer, if a man ſhould do him ſo much credit, as to require his conſent and approbation, or otherwiſe requeſt him to deliver his opinion of the thing, he, not onely upon a deſire to yeeld unto others, and to gratifie them; but alſo for fear to give any ſuſpition that he would ſeem to draw back and avoid to ſet his hand to any work or buſineſſe whatſoever, is ready with the formoſt to applie himſelf to the appetite and inclination of another, yea, and withal, pricketh and inciteth him forward to enter upon it. And yet lightly you ſhall find even of rich men and kings, but few or none, who can or will come forth with theſe words,

Would God ſome one that needy is and poor,
Yea, worſe than he that begs from door to door,
Would come to me (ſo that he were my friend)
Without all fear, and ſpoke to me his mind.

But now adayes it is farre otherwiſe; for they are like muſh unto compoſers of Tragedies, who will be provided of a quire or dance of their friends to ſing with them, or deſire to have a Theatre of purpoſe to give applauſe and clap their hands unto them. And verily whereas *Merope* in a certein Tragedie giveth theſe ſage and wiſe advertiſements;

Take thoſe for friends, I reed, and hold them ſo,
Whoſe ſpeech is ſound, and waves not to and fro:
But thoſe that pleaſe thy mind in word and deed,
Count lewd, and ſuch lock forth of door with ſpeed.

Our Potentates and Grand Seigneurs do clean contrary; for ſuch as will not follow their humors, and ſooth them up at every word, but gain-ſay their courſes, in making remonſtrance of that which is more profitable and expedient: ſuch they diſdain and will not vouchſafe them a good look. But for thoſe wicked wretches, baſe minded varlets, and coſening impoſtors, who can curry favor, they not onely ſet their doores wide open for ſuch, and receive them into their houſes, but they admit them alſo to confeſences with their inward affections and the very ſecrets of their heart. Among whom you ſhall have one more plain perhaps and ſimple than the reſt, who will ſay, that it is not for him, neither is he worthy to deliberate and conſult of ſo great affairs: mary he could be content, and would take upon him, to be a poor ſervitour and miniſter, to execute whatſoever were concluded and enjoined him to do: another more craſty and cunning than his fellowes, is willing enough to be uſed in counſel, where he will hear all doubts and perils that be caſt; his eye browes ſhall ſpeak if they will, his head and eyes ſhall nod and make ſignes, but his tongue ſhall not ſpeak a word: Say that the party whom he minded to flatter, do utter his minde and what he thinketh good to do: then he will cry out aloud and ſay, By *Hercules* I ſwear, it was at my tongues end to have ſaid as much, had you not prevented me and taken the word out of my mouth, I would have given you the very ſame counſel. For like as the Mathematicians do affirm, that the ſuperficial and outward extremities, the lines alſo of the Mathematical bodies, do of themſelves and in their own nature, neither bend nor ſtretch, ne yet move at all: for that they be intellectual onely or imaginary, and not corporal, but according as the bodies do bow, reach or ſtirre, ſo do they: ſo you ſhall ever finde that a flatterer, will pronounce, opine, think and be moved to anger, according as he ſeeth a ſtother before him. And therefore in this kind, moſt eaſie it is to obſerve the difference between a flatterer and a friend. But yet more evident you ſhall ſee it in the manner of doing ſervice. For the offices and kindneſſes which come from a friend, are ever beſt, and (as living creatures) have their moſt proper vertues inwardly, carrying leaſt in ſhew, and having no outward oſtentation of glorious pompe. And as it falleth out many times a Phyſitian cureth his patient, and fayeth little or nothing at all unto him: but doth the deed ere he be aware; even ſo, a good friend whether he be preſent or departed from his friend, doth him good ſtill, and taketh care for him when he full little knoweth of it. Such a one was *Arceſilaus* the Philoſopher, who beſide many other kind parts which he ſhewed unto his friend *Apelles*, the painter of *Chios*, coming one day to viſite him when he was ſick, and perceiving how poor he was, went his way for that time: and when he returned again, brought twenty good drachmes with him: and then ſitting cloſe unto *Apelles* by his beds ſide: Here is nothing here (quoth he) I ſee well, but theſe four bare Elements that *Empedocles* writeth of,

Hot Fire, cold Water, ſheer and ſoft:
Groſſe Earth, pure Aire that ſpreads aloft.

But me thinkes you lie not at your eaſe: and with that he removed the pillow or bolſter under his head, and ſo conveighed underneath it privily, the ſmall pieces of coin aforeſaid. The old woman his nurſe and keeper, when ſhe made the bed, found this money: whereat ſhe marvelled not a little, and told *Apelles* thereof, who laughing thereat: This is (quoth he) one of *Arceſilaus* his theeviſh caſts. And for that it is a Maxime in Philoſophie that children are born like their parents, one *Lacydes* a ſchollar of *Arceſilaus* aforeſaid, being aſſiſtant with many other to a friend of his named *Cephiſocrates*

crates, when he came to trial in a caſe of treaſon againſt the ſtate: in pleading of wich cauſe, the accuſer his adverſary called for *Cephiſocrates* his ring, a pregnant evidence that made againſt him, which he had cleanly ſlipped from his finger and let it fall to the ground: whereof the ſaid *Lacydes* being adviſed, ſet his foot preſently over it, and ſo kept it out of ſight: ſo that the main proof of the matter in queſtion lay upon that ring. Now after ſentence paſſed on *Cephiſocrates* his ſide, and that he was clearly acquit of the crime, he went privately to every one of the Judges for to give them thanks: One of them who (as it ſhould ſeem) had ſeen what was done, willed him to thank *Lacydes*; and with that told how the caſe ſtood, and how it went with him as he did: but all this while *Lacydes* himſelf had not ſaid a word to any creature. Thus I think verily, that the gods themſelves beſtow many benefits and favours upon men ſecretly, and whereof they be not aware: being of this nature to take joy and pleaſure in bountifulneſſe and doing good. Contrariwiſe, the office that a flatterer ſeemeth to perform, hath nothing in it that is juſt, nothing true, nothing ſimple, nothing liberal: onely you ſhall ſee him ſweat at it; you ſhall have him runne up and down; keep a loud crying and a great ado, and ſet his countenance upon the matter, ſo as that he maketh right good ſemblance and ſhew that he doth eſpecial ſervice, taketh much care and pains about his buſineſſe, and maketh haſt to diſpatch it: and much like are all his doings to a curious picture, which with ſtrange colours, with broken plaits, wrinkles and angles, affecteth and ſtriveth (as it were) to ſhew ſome lively reſemblance. Moreover, much ado he maketh, and is troubleſome in telling how he went to and fro, wandring here and there about the matter; alſo what a deal of care he took therein: how he incurred the evil will and diſpleaſure of others: and a thouſand hinderances, troubles and dangers, as beſides he reckoneth up; inſomuch as a man that heareth, would ſay; All that ever he did was not worth ſo much as the twittle twattle that he maketh. For ſurely a good turn that is upbraided in that wiſe, becometh burthenſome, odious, and not thankfully accepted, but intollerable. In all the offices and ſervices of a flatterer, you ſhall find theſe upbraidings and ſhameful reports, that would make one bluſh to hear them, and thoſe not onely after the deed done, but at the very inſtant when he is about it. But inſtead hereof, a true friend, if it fall out ſo, that he be forced and urged to relate what is done, maketh a plain report and narration in modeſt manner; but of himſelf he will never ſay a word. After which ſort did the Lacedæmonians in times paſt, when they had ſent corn unto the Smyrnæans, which, in their extreme neceſſity they craved at their hands: For at what time as themen of *Smyrna* magnified, and wanderfully extolled this liberality of theirs, they returned this anſwer again: This is not ſo great a matter that it ſhould deſerve ſo highly to be praiſed or wondered at: for (ſay they) gathered we have thus much, and made this ſupply of your neceſſities, onely by cutting our ſelves and our labouring beaſts ſhort of one daies pittance and allowance. Bounty in this wiſe performed, is not onely gentleman-like and liberal indeed, but alſo more welcome and acceptable to the receivers; in as much as they think it was no great damage, nor much out of their way that did it. Furthermore, not onely this odious faſhion of doing any ſervice with ſuch pain and trouble, or the readineſſe to make offer and promiſe ſo quickly, doth principally bewray the nature of a flatterer: but herein alſo much more he may be diſcovered: for that a friend is willingly employed in honeſt cauſes: but a flatterer in ſhameful and diſhoneſt: as alſo in the divers ends that they purpoſe; for the one ſeeketh to profit his friend, the other to pleaſe onely. A friend as *Gorgias* was wont to ſay, will never require that his friend ſhould do him a pleaſure, but in juſt things onely: whiles a flatterer ſerveth his turn in many things that are unjuſt: For why?

To do good deeds friends ſhould be joint,
But not to ſinne in any point.

whereas he ſhould endeavour to avert and withdraw him from that which is not decent, or ſeemly: Now if it happen that the other will not be perſwaded by him, then were it not amiſſe to ſay unto him as *Antipater* once anſwered *Phocion*; You cannot have me to be a friend and flatterer too (that is to ſay) a friend, and no friend. For one friend is to ſtand to another, and to aſſiſt him in doing, and not in miſdoing, in conſulting, and not in complotting and conſpiring, in bearing witneſſe with him of the truth, & not in circumventing any one by falſhood, yea and to take part with him in ſuffring calamity, and not to bear him company in doing injurie: For ſay that we may chance to be privy unto ſome ſhameful and reprochful deeds of our friend; yet we ought not to be party unto them therein, nor willing to aide them in any undecent action. For like as the Lacedæmonians being defaited in battell by king *Antipater*, and treating with him about the capitulations and articles of peace, made requeſt unto him, That he would impoſe upon them what conditions he would himſelf, were they never ſo chargeable and diſadvantageous unto them, but in no wiſe enjoin them to do any ſhamefull indignity: even ſo a faithful friend ought to be ſo diſpoſed, that if his friends occaſions do require any matter of expence, danger or travail, he ſhew himſelf at the firſt call and holding up of his finger, ready to come, and cheerfully to take his part and undergo the ſame, without any ſhifting off, or allegation of any excuſe whatſoever: mary, if there be never ſo little ſhame or diſhonor that may accrew thereby, he ſhall then refuſe and pray him to hold him excuſed; he ſhall requeſt pardon and deſire to have leave for to be diſmiſſed and depart in peace. The flatterer is quite contrary: for in painfull, difficult and dangerous affairs, which require his help and aſſiſtance, he draweth back, and is ready to pluck his neck out of the collar: if (I ſay) in this caſe you ſeem for trial ſake to knock (as it were upon a pot) to ſee whether he be right, he will not ring cleer; but you ſhall ſee by

the dead sound of his pretended and forged excuses, that he is ful of cracks, and flawes: contrariwise, in dishonest, vile, base and shamefull ministeries, I am for you, (will he say) I am yours to command: do with me what you will, tread me under your foot, abuse me at your pleasure: to be short, he will think nothing to be an ignominious indignity unto him. See you not the ape? good he is not to keep the house & to give warning of thieves, as dogs do; carry upon his back any burdens he cannot, like the horse: neither yet is he fit to draw or to plough the ground, as the oxe doth; and therefore he beareth all kinde of abuse and misusing, all wrongs, all unhappy sports and tricks that can be devised, serving onely as an instrument of mockerie, and a meer laughing stock. Even so it fareth with a flatterer, being not meet to plead at the barre for a friend, to assist him in counsell, to lay his hand to his purse and supply his wants that way, nor to fight as his champion in maintenance of his quarrel, as one that can away with no labour, no paines taking, or serious employment; and in one word, fit for nothing that good is: mary in such affaires as may be done under the arm, that is to say, which be close, secret and filthy services, he is the forwardest man in the world, and makes no excuses. A trusty currier he is between, in love matters, in finding favour with a Bawd, and bringing a wench or harlot to your bed, he is excellent, and hath a marvellous gift: to make the shot, and clear the reckoning of any sumptuous feast or banket he is ready and perfect, in providing for a great dinner or supper, and setting the same forth accordingly, he is nothing slow, but nimble enough. To give entertainment unto concubines, he is very handiome, obsequious and serviceable; if one bid him to speak audaciously and malepartly against a father in law, a guardian, tutour, or any such, or to put away his true espoused wife, like as he seeth his good master do before him, he is without all shame and mercy: so that even herein also it is no hard matter to see what kinde of man he is, and how much he differeth from a true friend: For command him to commit what villanie and wickednesse you will, ready he is to execute the same, and so he may gratifie and pleasure you that set him on work, he careth not to do any injurie to himself.

There is moreover another means not of the least consequence, whereby a man may know how much a flatterer differeth from a friend indeed, namely, by his disposition and behaviour towards his other friends: for a true friend findeth contentment in nothing so much as to love many, and likewise to be loved of many; and herein he laboureth especially with his friend to procure himself many others to love and honor him: for being of this opinion, that among good friends all things are common, he thinketh that nothing ought to be more common than friends themselves. But the supposed, false and counterfeit friend, being privy to his own conscience, that he doth great injurie to true amitie and friendship, which he doth corrupt in manner of a base piece of money: as he is by nature envious, so he exerciseth that envie at his, upon such as be like himself, striving with a kinde of emulation to surpasse them in scurrile speech, giving of taunts and garilitys: but before such as he knoweth better than himself, he trembleth and is afraid, and in truth dare not come neer nor shew his face to such an one, no more (I assure you) than a footman to go and keep pace (according to the Proverb) with a Lydian chariot, or rather (as *Simonides* saith,

Laid to fine gold tried clean from drosse,
He hath not so much as lead so grosse.

Being compared with true, sound and grave friendship, which (as they say) will endure the hammer, he cannot choose but finde himself to be but light, falsified and deceitful: seeing then that he must needs be detected and knowne, for such an one as he is, what doth he think you? Surely he playeth like an unskilful painter, who had painted certain cockes, but very badly: For like as he gave commandement to his boy for to keep away natural and living cockes indeed, farre enough off from his pictures; so a flatterer will do what he can to chase away true friends, and not suffer them to approch neer; or if he be not able so to do, than openly and in publke place, he will seem to curry favor with them, to honor and admire them, as farre better than himself, but secretly under hand, and behind their backs, he will not let to raise some privy calumniations, and low slanderous reports tending to their discredit: but if he see that by such privy girds and pinches which will fret and gall the sore, he cannot at the first bring his purpose about: yet he remembreth full and well, and observeth the saying of *Medius*. This *Medius* was the chief captain of the troup, or the master rather of the quire (if I may so say) of all those flatterers that used the court of King *Alexander* the Great, and came about his person; the principal Sophister also that opposed himself and banded against all good men, and never rested to slander and backbite them: This rule and lesson he taught his scholars and quirisiers that were under his hand, To cast out slanders boldly, and not spare, therewith to bite others: For (quoth he) although the sore may heal up again, yet the scarre will remain and be ever seen. By these cicatrices and scarres of false imputations, or (to speak more properly and truly) by such gangrenes and cankerous ulcers as these, *Alexander* the King being corroded and eaten, did to death *Callisthenes*, *Parmenion*, and *Philotas*, his fast and faithfull friends: but to such as *Agnon*, *Bagoas*, *Agesias* and *Demetrius* were, he abandoned and gave himself wholy to be supplanted and overthrowne at their pleasure, whiles he was by them adored, adorned, arraied gorgeously with rich robes, and set out like a Barbarian image, statue or idoll. To what is the force and power of flattery to win grace and favor; and namely in those, who would be reputed the mightiest monarches and greatest potentates of the world, it beareth most sway: For such

such are perswaded, and desirous also, that the best things should be in themselves; and this is it, that giveth both credit and also boldnesse unto a flatterer. True it is I must confesse, that the highest places and forts situate upon the loftiest mounts, are least accessible, and most hard to be gained by those who would surprise and force them; but where there is an high spirit and haughty minde by nature, not guided by the sound judgement of reason, but lifted up with the favors of fortune, or nobility of birth, it is the easiest matter in the world even for most base and vile persons to conquer such, & the avennes to them lie ready and open to give the vantage of easiest entrance. And therefore as in the beginning of this Treatise I gave warning; so now I admonish the Readers again in this place; That every man would labour and strive with himself to root out that self-love and overweening that they have of their own good parts and worthinesse: For this is it that doth flatter us within & possesseth our minds before-hand, wherby we are exposed, and lie more open unto flatterers that are without, finding us thus prepared already for to work upon. But if we would obey the god *Apollo*, and by acknowledging how much in all things we ought to esteem that oracle of his, which commandeth us, To know our selves, search into our own nature, and examine with all our nurture and education; when we finde there an infinite number of defects, and many vanities, imperfections and faults, mixed untowardly in our words, deeds, thoughts and passions, we would not so easily suffer these flatterers to tread us under their feet, and make a bridge of us as they do at their pleasure. King *Alexander* the Great was wont to say, that two things there were especially which moved him to have lesse beleef in them, who saluted and greeted him by the name of a god: The one was sleep, and the other the use of *Venus*: in both which he found that he was worse than himself: that is to say, subject to infirmities and passions more than in any thing els: But if we would look into our selves, and ever and anon consider, how many grosse vices, troublesome passions, imperfections and defects we have, surely we shall finde that we stood in great need, not of a false friend to flatter us in our follies, and to praise and extoll us; but rather of one that would frankely finde faule with our doings, and reprove us in those vices that each one privately and in particular doth commit. But very few there be among many others, who dare freely and plainly speak unto their friends but rather sooth them up and seek to please them in every thing: And even in those, as few as they be, hardly shall you find any that know how to do it well, but for the most part they think that they speak freely, when they do nothing but reprove, reproch and rail. Howbeit this liberty of speech, whereof I speak, is of the nature of a medicine, which if it be not given in time convenient, & as it ought to be, besides that it doth not good at all, it troubleth the body, worketh grievance, and in stead of a remedy proveth to be a mischief: For even so, he that doth reprehend and find fault unseasonably, bringeth forth the like effect with pain, as a flatterer doth with pleasure. For men are apt to receive hurt and damage, not onely by overmuch praise; but also by inordinate blame when it is out of due time: for it is the only thing that of all others maketh them soonest to turn side unto flatterers, and to be most easily surprised by them; namely, when from those things that stand most opposite and highest against them, they turn aside like water, and run down those wayes that be more low, easie, and hollow. In which regard it behoveth that this liberty in fault finding, be tempered with a certain amiable affection, and accompanied with the judgement of reason, which may take away the excessive vehemency and force of sharp words, like the over-bright shining of some glittering light, and for fear left their friends being dazeled as it were and frighted with the flashing beames of their rebukes, seeing themselves so reproved for each thing, and blamed every while, may take such a grief and thought thereupon, that for sorrow they be ready to flie unto the shadow of some flatterer, and turn toward that which will not trouble them at all. For we must avoid all vice, (*O Philoppus*) and seek to correct the same by the means of vertue (and not by another vice contrary unto it) as some do; who for to shun foolish and rustical bashfulnesse, grow to be overbold and impudent; for to eschew rude incivility, fall to be ridiculous jesters and pleasants; and then they think to be farthest off from cowardise and effeminate tendernesse, when they come neerest to extreme audacitie and boasting bravery. Others there be, who to prove themselves not to be superstitious, become meer Atheists; and because they would not be thought and reputed idiots and fooles, prove artificial conny-catchers. And surely in redressing the enormities of their manners, they do as much as those, who for want of knowledge and skil to set a peece of wood streight that twineth and lyeth crooked one way, do curb and bend it as much another way. But the most shameful means to avoid, and shun the suspicion of a flatterer is to make a mans self odious and troublesome without profit: and a very rude and rustical fashion this is, of seeking to win favor, and that with favour of no learning, skill, and civility, to become unpleasant, harsh, and sowre to a friend, for to shunne that other extream, which in friendship seemeth to be base and servile; which is as much, as if a freed slave newly franchised, should in a Comedie think that he could not use and enjoy his liberty of speech, unlesse he might be allowed allowed licentiously to accuse another without controlment. Considering then, that it is a foul thing to fall to flattery, in studying to please, as also for the avoiding of flattery, by immoderate liberty of speech, to corrupt and mar aswell the grace of amity and winning love, as the care of remedying and reforming that which is amisse: and seeing that we ought to avoid both the one and the other: and as in all things else, so free speaking, is to have the perfection from a mean and mediocrity; reason would, and by order it were requisit, that toward the end of this Treatise, we should adde somewhat in manner of a corollary and complement, as touching that point.

Forasmuch as therfore we see that this liberty of language and reprehension hath many vices following it, which do much hurt: let us assay to take them away one after another, & begin first with blind self-love and private regards: where we ought especially to take heed that we be not seen to do any thing for our own interest, and in respect of our selves: and namely, that we seem not, for wrong that we have received our selves, or upon any grief of our own, to reproch, upbraid, or revile other men: for they will never take it as done for any love or good will that we bear unto them, but rather upon some discontentment and heart-burning that we have, when they see that our speech tendeth unto a matter wherein we are interessed our selves; neither will they repute our words spoken by way of admonition unto them, but rather interpret them as a complaint of them. For surely the liberty of speech whereof we treat, as it respecteth the welfare of our friend, so it is grave and venerable; whereas complaints savour rather of self-love and a base minde. Hereupon it is that we reverence, honour and admire those who for our good deliver their minds frankly unto us: contrariwise, we are so bold as to accuse, challenge and charge reciprocally, yea, and contemne those that make complaints of us. Thus we read in *Homer*, That *Agamemnon*, who could not bear and endure *Achilles*, when he seemed to tell him his minde after a moderate manner: but he was well enough content to abide and suffer *Ulysses*, who touched him neer, and bitterly rebuked him in this wise:

Ah wretch, would God some abject hoast
beside us, by your hand
Conducted were; so that in field
you did not us command.

As sharp a check as this was, yet being delivered by a wise man, proceeding from a careful minde, and tendering the good of the Common-weal he gave place thereto, and kicked not again: for this *Ulysses* had no private matter, nor particular quarrell against him, but spake frankly for the benefit of all *Greece*: whereas *Achilles* seemed to be offended and displeased with him principally, for some private matter betwene them twain. And even *Achilles* also himselfe, although he was never known for to be a man of a gentle nature and of a milde spirit,

But rather of a stomack fell,
and one who would accuse
A guiltlesse person for no cause,
and him full soon abuse,

endured *Patroclus* patiently, and gave him not a word again, notwithstanding he taunted and took him up in this wise:

Thou merciless and cruel wretch,
sir Peleus *valiant knight*
Was never (sure) thy father true,
ne yet dame Thetis *bright*
Thy mother kind: but sea so green,
Or rocks so steep and hard
Thee bare, (thy heart of pity hath
So small or no regard.)

For like as *Hyperides* the Orator required the Athenians (who complained that his orations were bitter) to consider of him, not only whether he were sharpe and eager simply, but whether he were so upon no cause, nor taking any fee; even so the admonition and reprehension of a friend, being sincere and cleansed pure from all private affection, ought to be reverenced: it carrieth (I say) authority with it, and no exceptions can well be taken, nor a man dare lift up an eye against it: in such sort, as if it appeare that he who chideth freely, and blameth his friend, doth let passe and reject all those faults which he hath committed against him, and maketh no mention thereof, but toucheth those errours and misdemeanours only which concerne others, and then, sparehim not, but pierce and bite to the quick: the vehemency of such free speech is invincible, and cannot be challenged, for the mildnesse and good will of the chastiser doth fortifie the austerity and bitternesse of the chastisement. Well therefore it was said in old time, That whensoever we are angry, or at some jar and variance with our friends, then most of all we ought to have an eye unto their good, and to study how to do somewhat that is either profitable unto them, or honourable for them. And no lesse materiall is this also to the maintenance of friendship, if they that thinke themselves to be despised and not well regarded of their friends, do put them in mind, and tell them frankly of others who are neglected by them, and not accounted of as they should be. Thus dealt *Plato* with *Denys*, at what time he was in disgrace, and saw how he made no reckoning at all of him: For he came unto the Tyrant upon a time, and requested that he might have a day of audience and leave to confer with him: *Denys* granted his request, supposing verily that *Plato* had a purpose to complaine and expostulate with him in his own behalfe, and thereupon to discourse with him at large: But *Plato* reasoned and debated the matter with him in this manner: Sir (quoth he) O *Denys*, if you were advertised and knew that some enemy or evill willer of yours were arrived and landed in *Sicily*, with a full intention to do you some displeasure, although he had no opportunity or meanes to execute and effect the same, would you let him saile away againe and depart from *Sicily* with impunity, and before he were talked withall? I tro not, O *Plato*, (quoth *Denys*) but I would looke to him well enough

enough for that: For we ought to hate and punish not the actions only, but the very purposes and intentions also of enemies. But how and if (quoth *Plato* againe) on the contrary side, some other being expresely and of purpose come for meere love and affection that he beareth unto you, and fully minded to do you some pleasure, or to advise you for your good, you will give him neither time nor opportunity therefore: is it meet (think you) that he should be thus unthankfully dealt withall, or hardly entreated at your hands? With that *Dionysius* was somewhat moved, and demanded who that might be? *Æschines* (quoth *Plato*) is he, a man faire conditioned, and of as honest carriage and behaviour, as any one that ever came out of *Socrates* schoole, or daily and familiarly conversed with him; sufficient and able by his eloquence and pithy speech to reforme the manners of those with whom he keepeth company: This *Æschines* (I say) having taken a long voyage over sea and arrived here, intending for to confer with you philosophically is nothing regarded, nor set by at all. These words touched *Denys* so to the very quick, that presently he not only took *Plato* in his armes, embracing him most lovingly, and yeelding him great thanks for that kindnesse, and highly admiring his magnanimity; but also from that time forward entreated *Æschines* right courteously, and did him all the honour that he could.

Secondly, this liberty of speech, which now is in hand, we ought to cleare and purge cleane from all contumelious and injurious words, from laughter, scoffes, and scurrile taunts, which are the hurtfull and unwholesome sauces (as I may say) wherewith many use to season their free language. For like as a Chirurgion, when he maketh incision and cutteth the flesh of his patient, had need to use great dexterity, to have a nimble hand and an eie: yea, and every thing neat and fine belonging to this worke and operation of his: as for all dancing, gesticulations besides of his fingers, toyish motions, and superfluous agitation thereof, to shew the agility of his hand, he is to forbeare for that time: So this liberty of speech unto a friend, doth admit well a certaine kind of elegancy and civility, provided alwaies, that the grace thereof retaine still a decent and comely gravity, whereas if it chance to have audacious bravery, saucy impurity, and insolency, to the hurt or hinderance of credit, it is utterly marred and loseth all authority. And therefore it was not an unproper and unelegant speech, wherewith a musician upon a time stopped King *Philips* mouth that he had not a word to say againe: For when he was about to have disputed and contested against the said minstrell as touching good fingering, and the sound of the severall strings of his instrument: Oh sir (quoth he) God forbid that ever you should fall to so low an estate, as to be more cunning in these matters than I. But contrariwise, *Epicharmus* spake not so aptly and to the purpose in this behalfe: For when King *Hiero*, who a little before had put to death some of his familiar acquaintance, invited him not many daies after to supper. Yea mary sir, but the other day when you sacrificed, you bad not your friends to the feast. And as badly answered *Antiphon*, who upon a time when there was some question before *Denys* the Tyrant, what was the best kind of brasse: Mary that (quoth he) whereof the Athenians made the Statues of *Harmodius* and *Aristogiton*. Such speeches as these are tart, and biting, and no good can come thereof, neither hath that scurrility and scoffing manner any delight, but a kind of intemperance it is of the tongue, mingled with a certaine maliciousnesse of mind, implying a will to do hurt and injury and shewing plaine enmity, which as many as use, worke their own mischiefe and destruction dancing (as the Proverbe saith) a dance untowardly about a pits brinke, or jesting with edged tooles. For surely it cost *Antiphon* his life, who was put to death by the said *Denys*. And *Timagines* lost for ever the favour and friendship of *Augustus Cæsar*, not for any franke speech and broad language that ever he used against him: but only because he had taken up a foolish fashion at every feast or banket, whereunto the Emperour invited him, and whensoever he walked with him, ensioones, and to no purpose he would come out with these verses in *Homer*,

For naught else but to make some sport
Among the Greeks he did resort.

pretending that the cause of that favour which he had with the Emperour, was the grace and gift that he had in flouting and reviling others: and even the very comicall Poets in old time exhibited and represented to the Theaters many grave, austere, and serious remonstrances, and those pertaining to policy and government of State: but there be scurrile speeches intermingled among, for to move laughter, which (as one unsavoury dish of meat among many other good viands) marre all their liberty of speech, and the benefit thereof; so as it is vaine and doth no good at all: And even so the Authors and Actors of such broad jests get nothing thereby, but an opinion and imputation of a malicious disposition and impure scurrility: and to the hearers there accreweth no good nor profit at all. At other times, and in other places, I hold well with it, and grant, that to jest with friends and move laughter is tolerable enough: but surely the liberty of speech then ought to be serious and modest, shewing a good intention without any purpose to gall or sting. And if it do concerne weighty affaires indeed, let the words be so set and couched, the affection so appeare, the countenance be so composed and the gesture so ordered, and the voice so tuned, that all concurring together may win credit to the speech, and be effectuall to move. But as in all things else, fit opportunity over-slipt and neglected doth much hurt; so especially it is the occasion that the fruit of free speech is utterly lost, in case it be omitted and forgotten. Moreover this is evident, that we must take heed how we speake broad at a table where friends be met together to drinke wine liberally, and to make good cheere: for he that amidst pleasant discourses and merry talke moveth a speech that causeth bending and knitting of brows, or others, maketh men to frown and be frowning,

ing he doth as much as overcast faire weather with a black and darke cloud; opposing himselfe unto that god * *Lyæus*, who by good right hath that name, as *Pindarus* the Poet saith,

* Some read Lydius.

For that the cord he doth unty
Of cares that breed anxiety.

Besides, this neglect of opportunity bringeth with it great danger; for that our minds and spirits, kindled once with wine, are easie enflamed with choler; yea, and oftentimes it falleth out, that a man after he hath taken his drinke well, when he thinketh but to use his freedome of tongue for to give some wholsome advertisment and admonition, ministreth occasion of great enmity. And to say all in few words it is not the part of a generous, confident, and resolute heart, but rather of a craven kind and unmanly to forbeare plaine speech when men are sober, and to keep a barking at the boord, like unto those cowardly cur-dogs who never snarle but about a bone under the table. And now of this point needlesse it is to discourse any longer.

But forasmuch as many men neither will nor dare controll and reforme their friends when they do amisse, so long as they be in prosperity; as being of opinion that such admonition cannot have accesse nor reach into a fortunate state that standeth upright; and yet the same persons when men are falling, are ready to lay them along, and being once down, to make a football of them, or tread them under feet, or else keep them so when they be once under the hatches, giving their liberty of speech full scope to run over them all at once; as a brooke-water, which having been kept up perforce against the nature and course thereof, is now let go, and the flood-gates drawn up: rejoycing at his change and inforturnity of theirs, in regard as well of their pride and arrogancy, who before disdained and despised them; as also of themselves, who are but in meane and low estate: it were not impertinent to this place for to discourse a little of this matter, and to answer that verse of *Euripides*,

When fortune doth upon men smile,
What need have they of friends the while?

Namely, that even then when as they seem to have fortune at their command they stand in most necessity, and ought to have their friends about them to pluck down their plumes and bring under their haughtinesse of heart occasioned by prosperity: for few there be who with their outward felicity continue wise and sober in mind; breaking not forth into insolence; yea, and many there are who have need of wit discretion, and reason to be put into them from without to abate and depresse them, being set a gog and puffed up with the favours of fortune: But say that the divine power do change and turne about, and overthrow their state, or clip their wings and diminish their greatnesse and authority, then these calamities of themselves are scourges sufficient, putting them in mind of their errours, and working repentance: and then in such distresse there is no use at all either of friends to speake unto them frankly, or of pinching and biting speeches, to molest and trouble them, but to say a truth, in these mutations,

It greatly doth content our minds
To see the face of pleasant friends,

Who may yeeld consolation, comfort, and strength to a distressed heart, like as *Xenophon* doth write, that in battels and the greatest extremities of danger, the amiable visage and chearefull countenance of *Clearchus* being once seen of the souldiers, encouraged them much more to play the men, and fight lustily: whereas he that useth unto a man distressed such plaine speech as may gall and bite him more, doth as much as one who unto a troubled and inflamed eye applieth some quicke eye-salve or sharpe drug that is proper for to cleare the sight: by which meane he cureth not the infirmity before-said, neither doth he mitigate or allay the paine, but unto sorrow and griefe of mind already addeth anger moreover, and doth exasperate a wounded heart. And verily so long as a man is in the latitude of health he is not so testy, froward, and impatient, but that he will in some sort give eare unto his friend, and thinke him neither rough, nor altogether rude and uncivill, in case he tell him of his looseness of life, how he is given too much either unto women or wine; or if he find fault with his idlenesse and sitting still, or contrariwise, his excessive exercise; if he reprove him for haunting so often the baines or hot-houses, and never lying out of them, or blame him for gormandise and belly-cheere, or eating at undue houres. But if he be once sick, then it is a death unto him, and a griefe unsupportable, which doth aggravate his malady, to have one at his bed-side sounding ever in his eares, See what comes of your drunkennesse, your idlenesse, your surfetting and gluttony, your wenching and leachery, these are the causes of your disease. But what will the sick man say againe: Away good sir with these unseasonable words of yours: you trouble me much, and do me no good iwis: I am about making my last will and testament; my Physicians are busie, preparing and tempering a potion of *Scammony*, or a drinke of *Castoreum* for me: and you come preaching unto me with your Philosophicall reasons and admonitions to chastise me: I have no need of them now, nor of such friends as you. Semblably it fareth with those who are fallen to decay & be down the wind: for capable they be not of sententious saws; they have no need as the case now stands of free reprehensions: then lenity and gentle usage, aide, aide and comfort are more meet for them. For even so, kind nurses when their little babes and infants have caught a fall run not by and by to rate or chide them, but to take them up wash and make them cleane where they were bewrayed, and to still them by all meanes that they can: afterwards, they rebuke and chastise them for looking no better to their feet. It is reported of *Demetrius* the Phalerean, when being banished out of his country, he lived

lived at *Thebes* in meane estate and very obscurely, that at the first he was not well pleased to see *Crates* the Philosopher, who came to visit him, as looking ever when he would begin with some rough words unto him, according to that liberty of speech which those Cynick Philosophers then used: but when he heard *Crates* once speake kindly unto him, and discoursing after a mild manner, of the state of his banishment; namely, That there was no misery fallen unto him by that meanes, nor any calamity at all, for which he should vexe and torment himselfe; but rather that he had cause to rejoyce, in that he was sequestred and delivered from the charge and management of such affairs as were ticklish, mutable, and dangerous; and withall exhorting him to pluck up his heart, and be of good cheere, yea, and repose all his comfort in his own selfe and a cleare conscience. Then *Demetrius* being more lightsome, and taking better courage, turned to his friends and said, Shame take those affaires and businesses; out upon those troublesome and restlesse occupations, which have kept me from the knowledge and acquaintance of such a worthy man: For

If men be in distresse and griefe,
Sweet words of friends do bring reliefe:
But foolish sots in all their actions,
Have need ofttoones of sharpe corrections.

And verily this is the manner of generous and gentle friends; but other base minded and abject fellowes, who flatter and fawne whiles fortune doth smile: like unto old ruptures, spasmes, and cramps (as *Demosthenes* saith) do then stir and shew themselves, when any new accident happeneth unto the body, so they also stick close to every change and alteration of fortune, as being glad thereof, and taking pleasure and contentment therein. For, say that a man afflicted were to be put in mind of his fault and misgovernment of himselfe, by reason that he hath taken lewd courses and followed ill counsell, and so fallen into this or that inconvenience, it were sufficient to say thus unto him,

You never tooke by mine advice this course,
Against the same how oft did I discourse?

In what cases and occurrences then ought a friend to be earnest and vehement? And when is he to use his liberty of speech, and extend it to the full? Even then, when occasion is offered, and the time serveth best to represse excessive pleasure, to restraine unbridled choler, to refraine intollerable pride and insolency, to stay insatiable avarice, or to stand against any foolish habitude and inconsiderate motion. Thus *Solon* spake freely unto King *Crœsus*, when he saw how he was cleane corrupted, and grown beyond all measure arrogant upon the opinion that he had of his felicity in this world, which was uncertaine, advertising him to look unto the end. Thus *Socrates* clipped the wings of *Alcibiades*, and by convincing his vice and errour, caused him to weep bitterly, and altered quite the disposition of his heart. Such were the remonstrances and admonitions of *Cyrus* to *Cyaxares*, and of *Plato* to *Dion*, even when he was in his greatest ruffe, in the very height of his glory: when (I say) all mens eyes were upon him for his worthy acts and great successe in all affaires, willing him even then to take heed and beware of arrogancy and selfe-conceit as being the vice that dwelleth in the same house together with solitude, (that is to say) which maketh a man to live apart from the whole world. And to the same effect wrote *Speusippus* also unto him, when he bad him looke to himselfe, and not take a pride and presume much upon this: That there was no talke among women and children, but of him; rather that he should have a care so to adorne *Sicily* with religion and piety towards the gods, with justice and good laws in regard of men, that the schoole of the Academy might have honour and credit by him. Contrariwise, *Eutetæus* and *Eulæus*, two minions and favourites of King *Perseus*, who followed his veine and pleased his humour in all things, like other courtiers of his, all the while that he flourished, and so long as the world went on his side: but after he had lost the field in a battell against the Romans, fought neare the City *Pydna*, and was fled, they let fly at him grosse termes and reproachfull speeches, bitterly laying to his charge all the misdemeanours and faults that he had before committed, casting in his dish those persons whom he had evill entreated or despised; which they ceased not to do so long, untill the man (partly for sorrow and partly for anger) was so moved, that he stabbed them both with his dagger, and slew them in the place. Thus much in generall may suffice to determine and define as touching the opportunity of free speech to friends: meane while a faithfull and carefull friend must not reject such occasions as many times are represented unto him by them, but to take hold thereof quickly, and make good use of them: for otherwhiles it falleth out, that a demand or question asked, a narration related, a reprehension or commendation of like things in other persons, open the doore and make way for us to enter, and giveth us leave to speake frankly. After this manner it is said, that *Demaratus* tooke his vantage to utter his mind freely: who comming upon a time from *Corinth* to *Macedony*, when as King *Philip* was in some termes of dissension with his wife and son, was friendly received by *Philip*, and bidden kindly welcome. Now after salutations and other complements passed between: the King asked him whether the Greeks were at accord and unity one with another? *Demaratus*, as he was a friend very inward with him, and one that loved him heartily, answered thus; It becommeth you well indeed sir to enquire of the concord and agreement betweene the Athenians and the Peloponnesians, when in the meane while you suffer your own house to be full of domesticall quarrels and debates. Well did *Diogenes* likewise, who being come into the campe of King *Philip*, when he had an expedition or journey against the Greeks, was taken and brought before the King, who not knowing what he was, demanded of him, If he were not a spie:

Yes

Yes marry (quoth he) and come I am to spie out your inconsiderate folly (O *Philip*.) and want of forecast, who being not urged nor compelled by any man, are come thus far to hazard in one houre the state of your kingdome and your own life, and to lay all upon the chance and cast of a die. But some man perad venture will say, This was a speech somewhat with the sharpest, and too much biting. Moreover, another fit time and occasion there is of admonition, when those whom we mind to reprove having been reproached and taunted already by others for some faults which they committed are become submisse and cast down to our hands. Which opportunity a wise and skilfull friend will not omit, but make especiall good use of: namely, by seeming in open place to check those that thus have slandered them, yea, and to repulse and put back such opprobrious imputations, but privately he will take his friend apart by himselfe, and put him in mind to live more warily, and give no such offence, if for no other thing else; yet because his enemies should not take vantage, and beare themselves insolently against him: For how shall they be able to open their mouths against you, and what misword can they have to say unto you, if you would leave these things and cast them behind you, for which you heare ill and are grown to some obloquy? In this sort if the matter be handled, all the offence that was taken shall light upon the head of the first slanderer, and the profit shall be attributed unto the other that gave the friendly advertisement, and he shall go away with all the thanks.

Some there be moreover, who after a more cleanly and fine manner in speaking of others, admonish their own familiar friends: for they will accuse strangers in their hearing for those faults which they know them to commit, and by this meanes reclaime them from the same. Thus *Ammonius* our master perceiving when he gave lecture in the afternoon, that some of us his scholars had taken a larger dinner, and eate more than was fit for students, commanded a servant of his a franchised, to take up his own son and to beat him. and why so? He cannot forsooth make his dinner (quoth he) but he must have some vinegar to his meat. And in saying so he cast his eye upon us, in such sort, that as many as were culpable took themselves to be rebuked, and thought that he meant them. Furthermore, this good regard would be observed, that we never use this fashion of free speech, and reproving our friend in the presence of many persons, but we must remember that which befell unto *Plato*: for when upon a time *Socrates*, in a disputation held at the table, inveighed somewhat too bitterly against one of his familiars before them all: had it not been better (quoth *Plato*) to have told him of this privately, but thus to shame him before all this company? But *Socrates* taking him presently therewith; And you also might have done better to have said this to my selfe when you had found me alone. *Pythagoras* by report gave such hard termes by way of reproofe to one of his scholars and acquaintaine in the hearing of many, that the young man for very griefe of heart was weary of his life and hanged himselfe. But never would *Pythagoras* after to his dying day reprove or admonish any man if another were in place. And to say a truth, as well the detection as the correction of a sin ought to be secret, and not in publike place, like as the discovery and cure also of some filthy and foule disease: it must not, I say, be done in the view of the world (as if some shew or pompe were to be exhibited unto the people) with calling witnesses or spectators thereto. For it is not the part of a friend, but a trick of some Sophister, to seeke for glory in other mens faults, and affect outward shew and vaine ostentation in the presence of others: much like to these Mountebanke Chirurgions, who for to have the greater practise, make shew of their cunning casts, and operations of their art in publike Theaters, with many gesticulations of their handy-worke. Moreover, besides that there should no infamy grow to him that is reproved, (which indeed is not to be allowed in any cure or remedy) there ought also to be some regard had of the nature of vice and sin, which for the most part of it selfe is opinionative, contentious, stubborne, and apt to stand to it, and make meanes of defence. For as *Euripides* saith,

We dayly see, not only wanton love
Doth presse the more, when one doth it reprove.

But any vice whatsoever it be, and every imperfection, if a man do reprove it in publike place before many, and spare not at all, putteth on the nature of impudence, and turneth to be shamelesse: like as therefore *Plato* giveth a precept, that elder folke, if they would imprint shame and grace in their young children, ought themselves first to shew shamefac'd behaviour among them: even so, the modest and bashfull liberty of speech which one friend useth, doth strike also a great shame in another. Also to come and approach by little and little unto one that offendeth, and after a doubting manner with a kind of feare to touch him, is the next way to undermine the vice that he is prone and given unto; whiles he cannot choose but be modestly disposed, who is so modestly and gently entreated. And therfore it would be alwaies very good in those reprehensions to observe what he did, who in like case reproving a friend,

Held head full close unto his eare,
That no man else but he might heare.

But lesse seemly and convenient it is for to discover the fault of the husband before his wife; of a father in the presence of his sons; of a lover before his love; or of a schoolemaster in the hearing of his scholars: that were enough to put them beside their right wits for anger and griefe when they shall see themselves checked and discredited before those of whom they desire to be best esteemed. And verily of this mind I am, that it was not the wine so much that set King *Alexander* in such a chase and rage against *Clitus* when he reproved him, as for that he did it in the presence and hearing of so many. *Aristomenes* also, the master and tutor of King *Ptolomeus*, for that in the sight of an embassadour he awaked him out of a sleep, and willed him to give eare unto the embassage that was delivered, ministred unto his ill-wilkers and the flatterers about the court great vantage, who thereupon tooke occasion to seeme discontented in the Kings behalfe, and thus to say: What if after so many travels that your Majesty doth undergo, and your long watching for our sakes, some sleep do overtake you otherwhiles; our part it were to tell you of it privately, and not thus rudely to lay hand as it were upon your person in the presence of so many men. Whereupon *Ptolomeus* being moved at these suggestions, sent unto the man a cup of poison, with commandement that he should drinke it off. *Aristophanes* also casteth this in *Cleon* his teeth,

For that when strangers were in place
The town with termes he did disgrace,

And thereby provoke the *Athenians* and bring their high displeasure upon him. And therefore this regard would be had especially above all others, that when we would use our liberty of speech, we do it not by way of ostentation in a vaine glory to be popular, and to get applause, but only with an intention to profit and do good, yea, and to cure some infirmity thereby. Over and besides that which *Thucydides* reporteth of the *Corinthians*, how they gave out of themselves, and not unfitly, that it belonged unto them, and meet men they were to reprove others; the same ought they to have in them that will take upon them to be correctors of other persons. For like as *Lysander* answered to a certaine Megarian who put himselfe forward in an assembly of associates and allies to speake frankely for the liberty of *Greece*: These words of yours (my friend) would beseeme to have been spoken by some puissant State or City; even so it may be said to every one that will seeme freely to reprehend another, that he had need himselfe to be in manners well reformed. And this most truly ought to be inferred upon all those that will seeme to chastise and correct others, namely, to be wiser and of better government than the rest: for thus *Plato* protested that he reformed *Speusippus* by example of his own life: and *Xenocrates* likewise casting but his eye upon *Polemon*, who was come into his schoole like a Ruffian, by his very looke only reclaimed him from his loose life: whereas on the contrary side, if a light and lewd person, one that is full of bad conditions himselfe, would seeme to find fault with others and be busie with his tongue, he must be sure alwaies to heare this on both sides of his eares,

Himselfe all full of sores impure
Will others seeme to heale and cure.

Howbeit, forasmuch as oftentimes the case standeth so, that by occasion of some affaires we be driven to chastise those with whom we converse, when we our selves are culpable and no better than they: the most cleanly and least offensive way to do it, is this, To acknowledge in some sort that we be likewise faulty and to include and comprehend our own persons together with them: after which manner is that reproofe in *Homer*,

Sir Diomede *what aileth us?*
How is it come about?
That we should thus forget to fight,
Who earst were thought so stout?

Also in another place:

And now we all unworthy are
With Hector *only to compare.*

Thus *Socrates* mildly and gently would seeme to reprove young men, making semblance as if himselfe were not void of ignorance, but had need also to be instructed in vertue, and professing that he had need with them to search for the knowledge of truth: for such commonly do winlove and credit, yea, and sooner shall be beleeved, who are thought subject to the same faults, and seeme willing to correct their friends like as they do their own selves; whereas he who spreadeth and displaieth his own wings in clipping other mens, justifying himselfe as if he were pure, sincere, faultlesse, and without all affections and infirmities, unlesse he be much elder than we, or in regard of some notable and approved vertue in far higher place of authority, and in greater reputation than our selves, he shall gaine no profit nor do any good, but be reputed a busie body and troublesome person. And therefore it was not without just cause that good *Phœnix* in speaking to *Achilles* alledged his own misfortunes, and namely, how in a fit of choler he had like ore day to have killed his own father, but that suddenly he bethought himselfe and changed his mind,

Lest that among the Greeks I should be nam'd
A parricide and ever after sham'd:

Which he did no doubt to this end, because he would not seeme in chiding him to arrogate this praise unto himselfe that he was not subject to anger nor had ever done amisse by occasion of that infirmity and passion. Certes such admonitions as these enter and pierce more effectually into the heart, for that they are thought to proceed from a tender compassion; and more willing are we to yeeld unto such as seem to have suffered the like than to those that despise and contemne us. But forasmuch as neither the eye when it is enflamed can abide any cleare and shining light, nor a passionate mind endure franke speech, or aplaine and bare reprehension, one of the best and most profitable helps in this case is to intermingle therewith a little praise, as we read thus in *Homer*,

Now (sure) me thinks you do not well,
Thus for to leave the field,
Who all are known for doughty knights,
And best with speare and shield.
A coward if I saw to flee,
Him would I not reprove:
But such as you, thus for to shrinke,
My heart doth greatly move.

Likewise,

O Pandar, where is now thy bow,
Where are thine arrows flight:
Where is that honour in which none
With thee dare strive in fight?

And verily such oblique reprehensions also as these are most effectuall and wonderfull in reclaiming those that be ready to run on end, and fall to some grosse enormities: as for example,

What is become of wise Oedipus,
In riddles areading who was so famous.

Also,

And Hercules, *who hath endur'd such paine,*
Speakes he these words so foolish and so vaine?

For this kind of dealing doth not only asswage and mitigate the roughnesse and commanding power that is in a reprehension and rebuke, but also bleedeth in the party in such sort reproved a certaine emulation of himselfe, causing him to be abashed and ashamed for any follies and dishonest pranks, when he remembreth and calleth to mind his other good parts and commendable acts, which by this meanes he setteth before his eyes, as examples, and so taketh himselfe for a patterne and president of better things: But when we make comparison between him and others, to wit, his equals in age, his fellow-citizens or kinsfolks; then his vice which in the own nature is stubborne, and opinionative enough becommeth by that means more froward and exasperate, and oftentimes he will not stick in a fume and chafe to fling away, and grumble in this wise, Why go you not then to those that are so much better than I? Why can you not let me alone but thus trouble me as you do? And therefore we must take heed especially, that whiles we purpose to tell one plainly of his faults, we do not praise others, unlesse haply they be his parents: as *Agamemnon* did unto *Diomedes*,

A son (iwis), sir Tydeus *left behind,*
Unlike himselfe, and much grown out of kind.

And *Ulysses* in the Tragedy entituled *Scyrii*,

You sir, whose father was a knight,
The best that ever drew
A sword, of all the Greeks, in field,
And many a Captaine slew,
Sit you here carding like a wench,
And spinning wooll on rock,
Thereby the glorious light to quench
Of your most noble stock?

But most unseemely it were and undecent of all other, if when one is admonished by his friend, he should fall to admonish him againe; and being told freely of his fault, serve him the like, and quit him with as much: for this is the next way to kindle coales, and to make variance and discord; and in one word verily, such a rejecting and spurning againe as this may seeme in effect to be way, not a reciprocall liberty of rendring one for another, but rather a peevish mind that can abide no manner of reproofe. Better therefore it is, to endure patiently for the time a friend that telleth us plainly of our faults; and if himself afterwards chance to offend and have need of the like reprehension, this after a sort giveth free liberty unto him that was rebuked afore to use the same liberty of speech again unto the other: For calling to minde by this occasion, without any remembrance of old grudge and former injurie, that himself also was wont not to neglect his friends when they did amisse and forgat themselves, but took pains to reprove, redresse, and teach them how to amend, he will the sooner yeeld a fault, and receive that chastisement and correction, which he shall perceive to be a retribution of like love and kindnes, and not a requital of complaint & anger. Moreover, like as *Thucydides* saith. That the man is wise and well advised, who incurreth the envie of men for matters of greatest weight and importance; even so we say: That if a friend will adventure the danger and heavy load and ill will for blaming his friends, he must make choice of such matters as be of great moment and much consequence: for if he will take exceptions at every trifle and little thing indifferent: if he will seem evermore to be finding fault, and carry himself not like a kind and affectionate friend, but a precise, severe and imperious School-master, to spie all faults, and correct every point and tittle, certes he shall finde afterwards, that his admonitions even for the greatest offences shall not be regarded, nor any whit effectual: for that he hath used already to no purpose, his frank reprehension (the soveraign remedie for grosse and main faults) in many others that are but slight, and ot w or thy reproof: much like unto a Physician, who hath employed and spent a medine that is strong and bitter,

bitter, howbeit, necessary and costly, in small infirmities, and of no reckoning to speak of. A friend therefore is to look unto this; That it be not an ordinary matter with him to be alwayes quarrelsome, and desirous to finde one fault or other. And if peradventure he meet with such a companion as is apt to search narrowly into all light matters, to cavill and wrangle for every thing, and ready to raise calumniations like a petty Sycophant for toyes and trifles; he may take the better advantage and occasion thereby for to reprove him again, in case he chance to fall in greater and more grosse faults.

Philotimus the Physician answered pretily unto one, who having an impostume growne to suppuration about his liver, shewed unto him a finger that was sore, and troubled with some blister or whitflaw, and desired his counsell for the same: My good friend (quoth he) the disease that you are to look unto, is not a whitflaw nor about your nail-roote; even so, there may be occasion and opportunity offered unto a friend, to say unto one that ever and anon is finding fault, and reproving small errors not worth the noting, to wit, sports and pastimes, feasting and merry meeting, or such like trifling tricks of youth: Good sir, let us find the meanes rather, that this man whom you thus blame may cast off the harlot that he keeps, or give over his dice playing: for otherwise, he is a man of excellent and wonderful good parts. For he that perceiveth how he is tolerated or winked at, yea, and pardoned in small matters, will not be unwilling, that a friend should use his liberty in reproving his greater vices: whereas he that is evermore urgent upon one, pressing and lying hard unto him; alwayes bitter and unpleasant, prying and looking in every corner, and taking knowledge in all things: such an one (I say) there is neither childe nor brother will endure; nay, he is intolerable to his very servants: But like as *Euripides* saith,

All is not naught that old age brings,
We may in it finde some good things.

No more is the folly of friends so bad but that we may pick some goodnesse out of them: we ought therefore to observe diligently, not onely when they do amisse, but also when they do well: and verily at the first to be willing and most ready to praise: but afterwards we must do as the Smiths who temper yron: For when they have given it a fire, and made it by that means soft, loose, and pliable, they drench and dip it in cold water, whereby it becometh compact and hard, taking thereby the due temperature of stiff steel: even so, when we perceive that our friends be well heat and relaxed (as it were) by hearing themselves praised by us, then we may come upon them by little and little with a tincture (as I may so say) of reproof, and telling them of their faults. Then will it be a fit time to speak unto a friend thus: How say you, are these pranks worthy to be compared with those parts? See you not the fruits that come of vertue? Lo what we your friends require of you: these are the duties and offices which are beseeming your person: for these hath nature made and framed you. As for those lewd verses, fie upon them,

Send such away, confine them farre,
unto the mountain wild,
Or into roaring sea, from land
let them be quite exil'd.

For like as an honest minded and discreet Physician, will choose rather to cure the malady of his Patient by rest and sleep, or by good nutriture and diet, than by *Castoreum* or *Scammonium*: even so, a kinde and courteous friend, a good father and gentle schoolmaster, taketh pleasure and joyeth more to use praises than reproofs, in the reformation of manners. For there is nothing that maketh the man, who boldly findeth fault with his friends to be so little offensive unto them, or to do more good and cure them better, than to be void of anger, and to seem after a milde sort in all love and affectionate good will to addresse himself unto them, when they do amisse. And therefore neither ought he to urge them overmuch, and seem too eagerly to convince them if they deny the thing; nay yet to debarre them of liberty to make their answer and cleere themselves: but rather to help them out, and after a sort to minister unto them some honest and colourable pretences, to excuse and justifie their facts: and when a man seeth them do amisse by reason of some worse cause indeed, to lay the fault upon another occasion that is more tolerable: As *Hector* when he said unto *Paris*,

Unhappy man, alas, you do not well
To bear in breast a heart so fell,

As if his brothers retire out of battell and refusall to combat with *Menelaus*, had not been a meer flight and running away, but very anger and a curst stomack. Likewise *Nestor* unto *Agamemnon*,

But you gave place unto your haughty mind:
And feed those fits which come to you by kind.

For in mine advice a more milde reprehension is this than to have said: This was injuriously done of you, or this was a shamefull and villanous part of yours: As also to say unto one, You could not tell what you did; you thought not of it: or you were altogether ignorant what would come thereof, is better and more civill, than bluntly to charge him and say: This was a meer wrong, and a wicked act of yours. Also thus do not contest and quarrell in this wise with your brother, is lesse offensive then to say: Deal not thus enviously and spitefully against your brother: Likewise it were a more gentle manner of reproof to say unto a man: Avoid this woman that spoileth and abuseth you; than thus: Give over this woman, spoil and abuse her no more. Thus you see what

means

meanes are to bee used in this liberty of speech, when a friend would cure a malady, to avert and turn our friends from committing a fault, whereto they are prone and enclined: or to withstand some violent and disordinat passion, which carrieth them a clean contrary way: or when we are desirous to incite and stir them forward unto good things, being of themselves slow and backward: when, I say, we would give an edge unto them, who are otherwise dull, and hear them being cold, we ought to transferre the thing or act in hand to some absurd causes, and those that be unseemly and undecent. Thus *Ulysses* pricked on *Achylles* in a certain Tragedie of *Sophocles*, when he said thus unto him: It is not for a supper *Achilles* that you are so angry, but

For that you have already seen
The wals of Troy, *your fearfull teen.*

And when upon these words *Achilles* took great indignation, and chased more and more, saying that he would not sail forward but be gone back again, he came upon him a second time with this rejoynder:

I wrote well why you gladly would depart:
'Tis not because at checks or taunts you chafe,
But Hector *is not far, he kils your hart;*
For dread of him to stay it is not safe.

By this meanes when we scar a valiant and hardly man with the opinion of cowardise; an honest, chaste and civill person, with the note of being reputed loose and incontinent; also a liberall and sumptuous *Magnifico*, with the fear to be accounted a niggard or a mechanicall micher: we do mightily incite them to well doing, and chase them from bad wayes. And like as when a thing is done and past, and where there is no remedie, there should be born a modest and temperate hand, in such sort that in our liberty of speech we seem to shew more commiseration, pitty and fellow-grief of minde for the fault of a friend, than eager reprehension; so contrariwise where it stands upon this point that he should not fault, where (I say) our drift is to fight against the motion of his passions, there we ought to be vehement, inexorable, and never to give over nor yeeld one jot unto them. And this is the very time when we are to shew that love of ours and good will which is constant and setled, and sure, and to use our true liberty of speech to the full. For to reprove faults already committed, we see it is an ordinary thing among arrant enemies. To which purpose said *Diogenes* very well; That a man who would be an honest man ought to have either very good friends, or most shrewd and bitter enemies: for as they do teach and instruct: so these are ready to finde fault and reprove. Now far better it is for one to abstain from evil doing, in beleeving and following the sound counsel of his friends, than to repent afterwards of ill doing, when he seeth himself blamed and accused by his enemies. And therefore if it were for nothing else but this, great discretion and circumspection would be used in making remonstrances and speaking freely unto friends: and so much the rather, by how much it is the greater and stronger remedie that friendship can use, and hath more need to be used in time and place convenient, and more wisely to be tempered with a mean and mediocrity. Now forasmuch as I have said sundry times already, that all reprehensions whatsoever are dolorous unto him that receiveth them; we ought in this case to imitate good Physicians and Chirurgians: for when they have made incision or cut any member, they leave not the place in pain and torment still, but use certain fomentations and lenitive infusions to mitigate the anguish: No more do they that after a civil manner have chid or rebuked, run away presently so soon as they have bitten and pricked the party, but by changing their manner of speech, entertain their friends thus galled and wounded, with other more mild and pleasant discourses; to asswage their grief and refresh their hart again that is cast down and discomforted: and I may well compare them to these cutters and carvers of images, who after they have rough hewne and scabbled over certain peeces of stone for to make their statures of, do polish and smooth them fair, yea and give them a lightsome lustre. But if a man bestung and nipped once, or touched to the quick by some objurgatory repehension, and so left rough, uneven, disquieted, swelling and puffing for anger, he is ever after hardly quieted or reclaimed, and no consolation will serve the turn to appease and comfort him again. And therefore they who reprove and admonish their friends, ought to observe this rule above all others: Not to forsake them immediately when they have so done, nor to break off their conference forthwith, or to conclude their speech with any word that might grieve and provoke them.

Of

Of Meekness, or how a Man should refrain Choler.

A Treatise in manner of a Dialogue.

The persons that be the Speakers: SYLLA and FUNDANUS.

The Summarie of the Dialogue.

After we are taught how to discern a flatterer from a friend, it seemeth that this Treatise, as touching mildnesse and how we ought to bridle anger, was set here in this proper place. For like as we may soon erre grossly in those whom we are willing and well content to have about us, and in that respect are to be circumspect, and to stand upon our guard: so we have no lesse cause to consider how we should converse among our neighbours. Now of all those vices and imperfections which defame mans life, and cause the race and course thereof to be difficult and wondrous painfull to passe, anger is one of those which are to be ranged in the first rank; in such sort, that it booteth not to be provided of good friends, if this furious humor get the mastery over us: like as contrariwise flatterers and such other pestilent plagues have not so easie entrance in us, nor such ready means to be possessed of us, so long as we be accompanied with a certain wise and prudent mildnesse. In this discourse then, our Author doing the part of an expert Physician, laboureth to purge our mindes from all choler, and would train them to modestie and humanity, so far forth as Philosophie morall is able to perform. And for to attain unto so great a benefit, he sheweth in the first place, that we ought to procure our friends for to observe and mark our imperfections, that by long continuance of time we may accustome our selves to holde in our judgement by the bit of reason. After certain proper similitudes serving for this purpose, and a description of the inconveniences, and harmes that come by wrath, he proveth, that it is an easie matter to restrain and represse the same: to which purpose he setteth down divers means; upon which he discourseth after his usuall manner, that is to say, with reasons and inductions, enriched with notable similitudes and examples, afterwards, having spoken of the time and manner of chastising and correcting those who are under our power and governance, he proposeth aswell certain remedies to cure choler, as preservatives to keep us from relapse into it again: Which done, he representeth ire lively, as in a painted table, to the end that those who suffer themselves to be surprised therewith, may be abashed and ashamed for their unhappy state: and therewith he giveth five notable advertisements for to attain thereto, which be as it were preservatives: by means whereof we would not feel our selves attaint any more with this maladie.

Of Meekness, or how a man should refrain Choler.

A Treatise in Manner of a Dialogue.

SYLLA.

AT seemeth unto me (O *Fundanus*) that painters do very wel & wisely, to view & consider their works often and by times between, before they think them finished and let them go out of their hands: for that by setting them so out of their sight, and then afterwards having recourse thither again to judge thereof, they make their eyes (as it were) new judges to spie and discern the least fault that is, which continually looking thereupon, and the ordinarie view of one and the same thing doth cover and hide from them. But forasmuch as it is not possible that a man should depart from himself for a time, and after a certain space return again; nor that he should break, interrupt and discontinue his understanding and sense within (which is the cause that every man is a worse Judge of himself than of others.) A second means and remedie therefore in this case wou'd be used: namely, to review his friends sundry times, and ofttoons likewise to yeeld himself to be seen and beheld by them, not so much to know thereby whether he aged apace and grow soon old; or whether the constitution of his body be better, or worse than it was before, as to survey and consider his manners and behaviour, to wit, whether time hath added any good thing, or taken away ought that is bad and naught. For mine own part, this being now the second year since I came first to the Citie of *Rome*, and the fifth moneth of mine acquaintance with you, I think it no great wonder, that considering your towardnesse and the dexterity of your nature, those good parts which were already in you, have gotten so great an addition, and be so much increased, as they are: but when I see how that vehement inclination, and ardent motion of yours to anger, whereunto by nature you were given, is by the guidance of reason become so milde,

so gentle and tractable, it cometh into my minde to say thereunto, that which I read in *Homer*,

O what a wondrous change is here?
Much milder are you than you were.

And verily this gentleness and meekness of yours is not turned into a certain sloth, and generall dissolution of our vigour but like as a peece of ground well tilled, lieth light and even, and besides more hollow than before, which maketh much for the fertility thereof; even so, your nature hath gotten in stead of that violent disposition and sudden propension unto choler, a certain equality and profundity, serving greatly to the management of affairs, whereby also it appeareth plainly that is is not long of the decaying strength of the body, by reason of declining age; neither yet of the own accord, that your hastinesse and cholericke passion is thus faded, but rather by means of good reasons and instructions well cured. And yet verily (for unto you I will be bold to say the truth) at the first I suspected and could not well beleeve *Eros* our familiar friend, when he made this report of you unto me; as doubting that he was ready to give this testimony of you in regard of affection and good will, bearing me in hand of those things which were not indeed in you, but ought to be in good and honest men: and yet (as you know well enough) he is not such a man, as for favour of any person, and for to please, can easily be perswaded and brought to say otherwise than he thinketh. But now as he is freed and acquit from the crime of false witnesse: so you (since this journey and travell upon the way affordeth you good leasure) will (I doubt not) at my request, declare and recount unto us the order how you did this cure upon your self; and namely, what medicines and remedies you used, to make that cholericke nature of yours, so gentle, so tractable, so soft and supple, so obeisant (I say) and subject wholly to the rule of reason?

FUNDANUS.

But why do ye not your self (O *Sylla*) my deerest and most affectionate friend, take heed, that for the amity and good will which you bear unto me, you be not deceived, and see one thing in me for another? As for *Eros*, who for his own part hath not alwayes his anger stedfastly stayed with the Cable and Anchor of *Homers Peisa* (that is, obedient and abiding firm in one place) but otherwhiles much moved and out of quiet, for the hatred that he hath of vice and vicious men, it may very well be, and like it is that unto him I seem more mild and gentle than before; like as we see in changing and altering the notes of Prick-song, or Gam-ut in Musick, certain Netæ or Notes which are Trebles in one 8. being compared with other Netæ more high and small become Hypatæ, *i. e.* the Basses.

SYLLA.

It is neither so nor so (O *Fundanus*) but of all loves, do as I desire you for my sake.

FUNDANUS.

Since it is so (*Sylla*) among many good advertisements of *Musonius* which come to my minde, this is one; That whosoever would live safe and in health, ought all their life time to look to themselves, and be as it were in continual Physick. For I am not of this minde, neither do I think it convenient that like as *Elleborus*, after it hath done the deed within a sick mans bodie and wrought a cure, is cast up again together with the maladie: so reason also should be sent out after the passion which it hath cured, but it ought to remain still in the mind for to keep and preserve the judgement. For why? reason is not to be compared with medicines and purgative drugs, but rather to holesome and nourishing meats, engendring mildly in the mindes of them unto whom it is made familiar, a good complexion and a fast habit together with some perfect health: whereas admonitions and corrections applyed or ministred unto passions when they swell and rage, and be in the height of their heat and inflammation hardly and with much ado work any effect at all, and if they do, it is with much pain. Neither differ they in operation from those strong odors which well may raise out of a fit those who are fallen and be subject to the *Epilepsy* or falling sickness; but they cure not the disease, nor secure the patient for falling again: True it is that all other passions of the minde, if taken in hand at the very point and instant when they are in highest fury, do yeeld in some sort, and they admit reason coming from without into the minde for to help and succour, but anger not onely, as *Melanthius* saith,

Commits lewd parts, and reason doth displease
Out of her seat, a proper resting place.

but also turneth her clean out of house and home, shutteth and locketh her out of doors for altogether: nay it fareth for all the world like to those who set the house on fire over their own heads, and burn themselves and it together: it filleth all within full of trouble, smoke, & confused noises, in such sort that it hath neither eye to see, nor ear to listen unto those that would, and might assist and give aid: and therefore sooner will a Ship abandoned of her Master in the mids of the Sea, and there hulling dangerously in a storm and tempest receive a Pilot from other Ship without; than a man tossed with the waves of fury and anger, admit the reason and remonstrance of a stranger; unlesse his own reason at home were before-hand well prepared: But like as they who look for no other but have their City besieged, gather together and lay up safe their own store and provision, and all things that might serve their turn, not knowing nor respecting any aid or relief abroad during the siege: even so ought we to have our remedies ready and provided long before, and the same gathered out of all parts of Philosophie and conceived into the mind for to withstand the rage of choler: as being assured

assured of this, that when need and necessity requireth to use them, we shall not easily admit the same, and suffer them to have entrance into us. For surely at such a time of extremity, the soul heareth not a word that is said unto it without, for the trouble and confusion within, unlesse her own reason be assistant, ready both to receive and understand quickly every commandement and precept, and also prompt the same accordingly unto her. And say that she doth hear: look what is said unto her after a milde, calm, and gentle manner, that she despiseth; again, if any be more instant, and do urge her somewhat roughly, with those she is displeased, and the worse for their admonitions: for wrath being of the own nature proud, audacious, unruly, and hardly suffering it self to be handled or stirred by another, much like unto a tyrant attended with a strong guard about his person, ought to have something of the own which is domestical, familiar, and (as it were) in-bred together with it, for to overthrow and dissolve the same. Now the continual custome of anger and the ordinary or often falling into a chase, breedeth in the minde an ill habit called wrathfulnesse, which in the end groweth to this passe, that it maketh a man cholerick and hasty, apt to be moved at every thing; and besides, it engendreth a bitter humor of revenge, and a testinesse implacable, or hardly to be appeased: namely when the mind is exulcerate once taking offence at every small occasion, quarreling and complaining for toyes and trifles, much like unto a thin or a fine edge that entreth with the least force that the graver puteth it to. But the judgement of reason opposing it self straightwayes against such motions and fits of choler, and ready to suppresse and keep them down, is not onely a remedy for the present mischief, but also for the time to come doeth strengthen and fortifie the mind, causing it to be more firm and strong to resist such passions when they arise. And now to give some instance of my self: The same hapned unto me after I had twice or thrice made head against choler, as befell sometimes to the Thebanes; who having once repelled and put to slight the Lacedæmonians (warriors thought in those dayes invincible) were never in any one battel afterward defeated by them. For from that time forward I took heart and courage, as seeing full well, that conquered it might be with the discourse of reason. I perceived moreover, that anger would not onely be quenched with cold water powred and cast upon it, as *Aristotle* hath reported unto us, but also that it would go out and be extinguished, were it never so light a fire before, by presenting neer unto it some object of fear: nay (I assure you) by a sudden joy coming upon it unlooked for. in many a man, according as *Homer* saith, choler hath melted, dissolved and evaporated away. And therefore this resolution I made, that anger was a passion not incurable, if men were willing to be cured: for surely the occasions and beginnings thereof are not alwayes great and forcible but we see that a jest, a scoff, some sport, some laughter, a wink of the eye, or nod of the head, and such small matters, hath set many in a pelting chafe: even as Lady *Helena* saying no more but thus unto her neece or brothers daughter at the first meeting,

Electra *Virgin, long time since I you saw*, &c.

drave her in such a fit of choler, that therewith she was provoked to break off her speech with this answer,

Wise now at last, though all too late,
you are I may well say,
Who whilom left your husbands house,
and ran with shame away.

Likewise *Callisthenes* mightily offended *Alexander* with one word, who when a great boule of wine went round about the table, refused it as it came to his turn, saying: I wil not (I trow) drink so to your health *Alexander*, that I shal have need therby of *Aesculapius* (*i. e.* a Physician.) A fire that newly hath caught a flame with hares, or conies hair, drie leaves, hurds and light straw, stubble and rakings, it is an easie matter to put out & quench: but if it have once taken to sound fewell & such matter as hath solidity, substance and thickness in it, soon it burneth and consumeth as *Aeschylus* saith:

By climbing up and mounting hie
The stately works of Carpentrie.

Semblably, he that will take heed unto choler at the beginning, when he seeth it once to smoke or flame out by occasion of some merry speech, flouting scoffes, and fooolish words of no moment, needs not to strive much about the quenching of it: for many times if he do no more but hold his peace or make smal account or none at all of such matters, it is enough to extinguish and make it go out. For he that ministreth not fewel to fire, putteth it out; and whosoever feedeth not his anger, at the first, and bloweth not the coals himself, doth cool and represse the same. And therefore *Hieronymus* the Philosopher, although otherwise he have taught us many good lessons and instructions; yet in this point he hath not pleased and satisfied me, when he saith; That a man is not able to perceive in himself the breeding of anger, (so quick and sudden it is) but onely when it is bred, then it may be felt: for surely there is no vice or passion in us, that giveth such warning, or hath either so evident a generation or so manifest an augment whiles it is stirred and moved, as anger, according as *Homer* himself right skilfully, and as a man of good experience, giveth us to understand, who bringeth in *Achilles* sore moved to sorrow and griefe of heart, even with a word, and at the very instant, when he heard the speeches of *Agamemnon*: for thus reporteth the Poet of him:

Out of the king his sovereigns mouth,
the word so sooner past,
But straight a black and mistie cloud
of ire him overcast.

But of *Agamemnon* himſelfe he ſaith, that it was long ere he was angry; namely, after he had been kindled with many hard ſpeeches, that were dealt to and fro, which if any third perſon ſtepping between, would have ſtaid or turned away, certes their quarrell and debate had not grown to ſuch termes of extremity as it did. And therefore *Socrates* ſo often as he felt himſelfe ſomewhat declining and more moved than he ſhould, againſt any one of his friends, and avoiding as it were a rock in the ſea, before the tempeſt came and the billows aroſe, would let fall his voice, ſhew a ſmiling countenance, and compoſe his look and viſage to mirth and lenity, and thus by bending and drawing another way to that whereunto his affection enclined, and oppoſing himſelfe to a contrary paſſion, he kept upright on his feet, ſo that he fell not nor was overthrown. For there is (my good friend) a ready meanes in the very beginning to breake the force of choler, like as there is a way to diſſolve a tyrannicall rule and dominion, that is to ſay, not to obey at the firſt, not to give eare and be ruled by her commandement, when ſhe ſhall bid thee to ſpeake and cry out aloud, or to look with a terrible countenance or to knock or beat thy ſelfe; but to be ſtill and quiet, and not to re-enforce and encreaſe the paſſion, as men do exaſperate a ſickneſſe with ſtrugling, ſtriving, toſſing, and roaring out aloud. For thoſe things which ordinary lovers and amorous young men practice, that is to ſay, to go in a wanton and merry maske, to ſing and dance at the doores of their ſweet-hearts and miſtreſſes, to bedeck their windows with coronets and flower-garlands, bring ſome eaſe and alleviation (ſuch as it is) of their paſſions, and the ſame not altogether undecent and uncivill, according to that which we read in the Poet:

And when I came, aloud I cried not,
And asked who ſhe was, or daughter whoſe?
But kiſt my love full ſweetly that I wot:
If this be ſin? but ſin I cannot chooſe.

Alſo that which we permit thoſe to do who are in ſorrow, namely, to mourne, to lament and weep for loſſes or miſhaps; certainly with their ſighs which they fetch, and teares that they ſhed, they do ſend out and diſcharge a good part of their griefe and anguiſh. But it is not ſo with the paſſion of anger: for ſurely, the more that they ſtir and ſpeake who are ſurpriſed therewith, the more hot it is, and the flame burneth out the rather; and therefore the beſt way is, for a man to be quiet, to flie and keep him out of the way, or elſe to retire himſelfe into ſome haven of ſurety and repoſe, when he perceiveth that there is a fit of anger toward, as if he felt an acceſſe of the falling evill comming. This (I ſay) we ought to do, for feare leſt we fall down, or rather run and ruſh upon ſome one or other. But who be they that we run upon? Surely our very friends, for the greateſt part, and thoſe we wrong moſt. As for our affection of love, it ſtandeth not to all things indifferently, neither do we hate, ne yet feare we every thing alike; But what is it that ire ſetteth not upon? Nothing is there but it doth aſſaile and lay hands on; we are angry with our enemies; we chaſe with our friends; with children, with parents are we wroth; nay, the very gods themſelves we forbeare not in our choleri k mood; we flie upon dumbe and brute beaſts; we ſpare not ſo much as our utenſill veſſels and implements which have neither ſenſe nor life at all, if they ſtand in our way, we fare like *Thamyris* the Muſician,

Who brake his cornet finely bound
And tipt with gold: his lute he hent,
Well ſtrung and tuned to pleaſant ſound,
And it anon to ſitters rent.

Thus did *Pandarus* alſo, who curſed, and betooke himſelfe to all the fiends in hell, if he did not burſt his bow and arrows with his own hands, and throw them into the fire when he had ſo done. As for *Xerxes*, he ſtuck not to whip, to laſh and ſcourge the ſea, and to the mountaine *Athos* he ſent his minatory letters in this forme; *Thou wretched and wicked* Athos, *that beareſt up thy head aloft into the skie; ſee thou bring forth no great craggy ſtones, I adviſe thee, for my workes, and ſuch as be hard to be cut and wrought: otherwiſe, if thou do, I ſhall cut thee through and tumble thee into the maine ſea.* Many fearefull and terrible things there be that are done in anger, and as many for them againe, as fooliſh and ridiculous, and therefore of all paſſions that trouble the mind, it is both hated and deſpiſed moſt. In which regards expedient it were, to conſider diligently as well of the one as of the other: for mine own part, whether I did well or ill, I know not; but ſurely, when I began my cure of choler in my ſelfe, I did as in old time the Lacedæmonians were wont to do by their Ilotes, men of baſe and ſervile condition: For as they taught their children what a foule vice drunkenneſſe was, by their example when they were drunke, ſo I learned by obſerving others what anger was, and what beaſtly effects it wrought. Firſt and formoſt therefore, like as that malady, according to *Hippocrates*, is of all others worſt and moſt dangerous, wherein the viſage of the ſick perſon is moſt disfigured and made unlikeſt it ſelfe; ſo, I ſeeing thoſe that were poſſeſſed of choler, and (as it were) beſide themſelves thereby, how their faces were changed, their colour, their countenance, their gate and their voice quite altered, I imagined thereupon unto my ſelfe a certaine forme and image of this malady, as being mightily diſpleaſed in my mind, if happily at any time I ſhould be ſeen of my friends, my wife, and the little girles my daughters, ſo terrible, and ſo far moved and tranſported beſide my ſelfe: not only fearefull and hideous to behold, and far otherwiſe than I was wont, but alſo unpleaſant to be heard; my voice being rough, rude, and churliſh: like as it was my hap to ſee ſome of my familiar friends in that caſe, who by reaſon of anger could not reteine and keep their ordinary fashions

faſhions and behaviour, their forme of viſage, nor their grace in ſpeech, ne yet that affability and pleaſantneſſe in company and talke as they were wont.

This was the reaſon that *Caius Gracchus* the Orator, a man by nature blunt, rude in behaviour, and withall over-earneſt and violent in his manner of pleading, had a little flute or pipe made for the nonce, ſuch as Muſicians are wont to guide and rule the voice gently by little and little up and down, between baſe and trebble, according to every note as they would themſelves, teaching their ſcholars thereby to have a tunable voice. Now when *Gracchus* pleaded at the bar at any time, he had one of his ſervants ſtanding with ſuch a pipe behind him: who obſerving when his Maſter was a little out of tune, would ſound a more mild and pleaſant note unto him, whereby he reclaimed and called him back from that loud exclaiming, and ſo taking downe that rough and ſwelling accent of his voice,

Like as the Neat-heards pipes ſo ſhrill
Made of the marriſh reeds ſo light;
The joynts whereof with waxe they fill,
Reſound a tune for their delight:
Which while the herd in field they keep,
Brings them at length to pleaſant ſleep.

dulced and allayed the cholerick paſſion of the Orator. Certes my ſelfe, if I had a pretty page to attend upon me, who were diligent, neceſſary and handſome about me, would not be offended, but very well content, that when he ſaw me angry he ſhould by and by preſent a mirrour or looking glaſs unto me, ſuch a one as they uſe to bring and ſhew unto ſome that newly are come out of the baine, although no good or profit at all they have thereby. But certainly for man to ſee himſelfe at ſuch a time, how diſquieted he is, how far out of the way, and beſide the courſe of nature, it were no ſmall meanes to check this paſſion, and to ſet him in hatred therewith for ever after. They who are delighted in tales & fables, do report by way of merry ſpeech and paſtime, that once when *Minerva* was a piping there came a Satyr and admoniſhed her, that it was not for her to play upon a flute; but ſhe for the time took no heed to that advertiſement of his, notwithſtanding he ſpake thus unto her:

This forme of face becomes you not,
Lay up your pipes, take armes in hand:
But firſt this would not be forgot,
Your cheekes to lay, that puft now ſtand.

But afterwards when ſhe had ſeen her face in a certaine river, what a paire of cheekes ſhe had gotten with her piping, ſhe was diſpleaſed with her ſelfe, and flung away her pipes: And yet this art and skill of playing well upon the pipe yeeldeth ſome comfort, and maketh amends for the deformity of a disfigured viſage, with the melodious tune and harmony that it affordeth; yea, and afterwards, *Marſyas* the Minſtrel (as it is thought) deviſed firſt with a certaine hood and muzzle faſtned round about the mouth, as well to reſtraine and keep down the violence of the blaſt enclоſed thus by force, as alſo to correct and hide the deformity and undecent inequality of the viſage;

With glittring gold both cheeks as far
As temples he did bind:
The tender mouth with thongs likewiſe,
Faſt knit the neck behind.

But anger contrariwiſe, as it doth puffe up and ſtretch out the viſage after an unſeemly manner, ſo much more it ſendeth out undecent and unpleaſant voice,

And ſtirs the ſtrings a ſecret root of heart,
Which touched ſhould not be, but lye apart.

The ſea verily, when being troubled and diſquieted with bluſtring winds, it caſteth up moſſe, reits, and ſuch like weeds, (they ſay) it is cleanſed and purged thereby: but the diſſolute, bitter, ſcurrile, and fooliſh ſpeeches, which anger ſendeth out of the mind when it is turned upſide down, firſt pollute and defile the ſpeakers themſelves, and fill them full of infamy, for that they be thought to have their hearts full of ſuch ordure and filthineſſe at all times; but the ſame lurketh there, untill that choler diſcovereth it: And therefore, they pay moſt deerely for their ſpeech, the lighteſt matter of all others (as *Plato* ſaith) in that they ſuffer this heavy and grievous puniſhment, to be held and reputed for malicious enemies, curſed ſpeakers, and ill-conditioned perſons. Which I ſeeing and obſerving well enough, it falleth out that I reaſon with my ſelfe, and alwaies call to mind what a good thing it is in a feaver, but much better in a fit of choler, to have a tongue faire, even, and ſmooth: For in them that be ſick of an ague, if the tongue be not ſuch as naturally it ought to be, an ill ſigne it is, but not a cauſe of any harme or indiſpoſition within. Howbeit if their tongues, who are angry, be once rough, foule, and running diſſolutely at randome to abſurd ſpeeches, it caſteth forth outragious and contumelious language, the very mother and work-miſtris of irreconcileable enmity, and bewrayeth an hidden and ſecret malicioуſneſſe. As for wine, if a man drinke it, of it ſelfe undelayed with water, it putteth forth no ſuch wantonneſſe, no diſſordinate and lewd ſpeeches, like to thoſe that proceed of ire. For drunken talke ſerveth to make mirth, and to procure laughter rather than any thing elſe: but words of choler are tempered with bitter gall and rancor. Moreover, he that

fitteth silent at the table when others drinke merrily is odious unto the company, and a trouble: whereas in choler thete is nothing more decent and beseeming gravity, than to be quiet and say nothing: according as *Sappho* doth admonish,

When furious choler once is up,
Disperst and spread in brest,
To keep the tongue then apt to barke,
And let it lie at rest.

The consideration of these things collected thus together, serveth not only to take heed alwaies unto them that are subject to ire and therewith possessed, but also besides to know throughly the nature of anger: how it is neither generous or manfull, nor yet hath any thing in it that savoureth of wisdome and magnanimity. Howbeit the common people interpret the turbulent nature thereof to be active and meet for action; the threats and menaces thereof, hardinesse and confidence, the peevish and froward unrulinesse to be fortitude and strength. Nay, some there be who would have the cruelty in it to be a disposition and dexterity to atchieve great matters; the implacable malice thereof to be constancy and firme resolution: the morosity and difficulty to be pleased, to be the hatred of sin and vice; howbeit herein they do not well, but are much deceived, for surely the very actions, motions, gestures, and countenance of cholerick persons do argue and bewray much baseneſſe and imbecility: which we may perceive not only in these brain-sick fits that they fall upon little children, and them pluck, twitch, and misuse; flie upon poore silly women, and thinke that they ought to punish and beat their horses, hounds, and mules, like unto *Cesiphon* that famous wrestler and professed champion, who stuck not to spurne and kick his mule; but also in their tyrannicall and bloudy murders, wherein their cruelty and bitternesse which declareth their pusillanimity and base mind; their actions which shew their passions and their doings to others bewraying a suffering in themselves, may be compared to the stings and bitings of those venemous serpents which be very angry, exceeding dolorous, and burne most themselves when they do inflict the greatest inflammation upon the patients and put them to most paine: For like as swelling is a symptome or accident following upon a great wound or hurt in the flesh: even so it is in the tenderest and softest minds, the more they give place and yeeld unto dolour and passion, the more plenty of choler and anger they utter forth as proceeding from the greater weakneſſe. By this you may see the reason why women ordinarily be more waspish, curst and shrewd than men; sick folk more testy than those that are in health; old people more wayward and froward than those that be in the flower and vigour of their yeares; and finally, such as be in adversity, and upon whom fortune frowneth, more prone to anger than those who prosper and have the world smiling upon them. The covetous mizer and pinching penny-father is alwaies most angry with his steward that layeth forth his money; the glutton is ever more displeased with his cook and caterer: the jealous husband quickly falleth out and brawleth with his wife: the vain-glorious foole is soonest offended with them that speake any thing amisse of him; but the most bitter and intolerable of all others are ambitious persons in a city, who lay for high places and dignities, such also as are the heads of a faction in a sedition; which is a trouble and mischiefe (as *Pindarus* saith) conspicuous and honourable. Loe, how from that part of the mind which is wounded, grieved, suffereth most and especially upon infirmity and weakneſſe, ariseth anger, which passion resembleth not (as one would have it) the sinews of the soule, but is like rather to their stretching spreines and spasmatick convulsions, when it streineth and striveth overmuch in following revenge.

Well, the examples of evill things yeeld no pleasant sight at all, only they be necessary and profitable, and for mine own part supposing the precedents given by those who have caried themselves gently and mildly in their occasions of anger, are most delectable, not only to behold, but also heare: I begin to contemne and despise those that say thus:

To man thou hast done wrong: be sure
At mans hand wrong for to endure.

Likewise,

Down to the ground with him, spare not his coat,
Spurne him, and set thy foot upon his throat.

And other such words which serve to provoke wrath, and whet choler; by which some go about to remove anger out of the nursery, and womens chamber into the hall where men do sit and keep: but herein they do not well: For prowesse and fortitude according in all other things with justice, and going fellow-like with her, me thinks is at strife and debate with her about meeknesse and mildnesse only, as if she rather became her and by right appertained unto her: For otherwhiles it hath been known, that the worst men have gone beyond and surmounted the better. But for a man to erect a Trophee, and set up a triumphall monument in his own soule against ire (with which as *Heraclitus* saith, the conflict is hard and dangerous: for what a man would have he buyeth with his life) it is an act of rare valour and victorious puissance, as having in troth the judgement of reason, for sinews, tendons, and muscles to encounter and resist passions. Which is the cause that I study, and am desirous alwaies to read and gather the sayings and doings, not only of learned clarkes and Philosophers; who as our Sages and wise men say, have no gall in them. but also and much rather of Kings, Princes Tyrants, and Potentates: As for example, such as that was of *Antigonus*, who hearing his souldiers upon a time revile him behind his pavilion, thinking that he heard them not, put

put forth his staffe from under the cloth unto them and said: A whorson knaves, could you not go a little farther off when you meant thus to raile upon us. Likewise when one *Arcadian* an *Argive* or *Achæan* never gave over reviling of King *Philip*, and abusing him in most reproachfull termes, yea, and to give him warning

So far to flie, untill he thither came
Where no man knew nor heard of Philips *name.*

And afterwards the man was seen (I know not how) in *Macedonia*; the friends and courtiers of King *Philip* were in hand with him to have him punished, and that in any wise he should not let him go and escape: *Philip* contrariwise, having him once in his hands, spake gently unto him, used him courteously, sending unto him in his lodging gifts and presents, and so sent him away. And after a certaine time he commanded those courtiers of purpose to enquire what words he gave out of him unto the Greeks: but when every one made report againe, and testified that he was become another man, and ceased not to speake wonderfull things in the praise of him; Lo (quoth *Philip*) then unto them: Am not I a better Physician than all you and can I not skill how to cure a foule-tongued fellow? Another time at the great solemnity of the Olympian games, when the Greeks abused him with very bad language, his familiar friends about him said they deserved to be sharply chastised and punished for so miscalling and reviling him, who had been so good a benefactor of theirs: what would they do and say then (quoth he) if I should deale hardly by them and do them shrewd turnes? Semblably, notable and excellent was the carriage of *Pisistratus* to *Thrasibulus*: of King *Porsenna* to *Mutius*, and of *Magas* to *Philemon*, who in a publike and frequent Theatre, had mocked and scoffed at him in this manner:

Magas, *there are some letters come*
Unto you from a King,
But letter Magas *none can read,*
Nor write for any thing.

Now it chanced afterwards that by a tempest at sea he was cast upon the Port-towne *Paretonium*, whereof *Magas* was governour, and so fell into his hands, who did him no other harme, but commanded one of his guard or officers about him, only with his naked sword to touch his bare neck, and so gently to go his waies and do no more to him: mary afterwards, he sent unto him little bones for cock-all, and a pretty ball to play withall, as if he had been a child that had no wit nor discretion, and so sent him home againe in peace. King *Ptolomæus* upon a time gesting and scoffing at a simple and unlearned Grammarian, asked him, who was the father of *Peleus*: I will answer you sir (quoth he) if you tell me first who was the father of *Lagus*: This was a dry flout, and touched King *Ptolomæus* very neere, in regard of the meane parentage from whence he was descended: whereat, all about the King were mightily offended, and thought it was too broad a jest and trumpe intollerable: But *Ptolomæus*, if it be not seemly for a King to take and put up a scorne: surely, as little decent it is for his person to give a scorne *

Alexander the great was more bitter and cruel (than otherwise his ordinary manner was to others) towards *Callisthenes* and *Clytus*. But King *Porus* being taken prisoner by him in a battell, besought that he would use him royally, or like a King. And when King *Alexander* demanded moreover what he had more to say, and what he would have else? No more (quoth he) for under this word Royally is comprised all. And therefore I suppose it is, that the Greeks call the King of the gods by the name of *Milichius*, that is to say, Mild and sweet as honey. And the Athenians named him *Mumattes*, which is as much as, Ready to help and succour: For to punish and torment pertaineth to devils and the furious fiends of hell: there is no celestiall, divine, and heavenly thing in it. And like as one said of King *Philip*, when he had rased and destroyed the City *Olynthus*: Yea marry, but he is not able to set up such another City in the place: Even so, a man may well say unto Anger; Thou canst overthrow, demolish, marre, and pull down: but to reare and erect againe, to save, to pardon, and to endure, be the properties of meeknesse, clemency, mildnesse, patience, and moderation: they be the parts (I say) of *Camillus*, *Metellus*, *Aristides*, and *Socrates*: whereas to stick close unto the flesh, to pinch, prick, and bite, are the qualities of pismires, flies, and mice. Moreover and besides, when I look unto Revenge, and the manner thereof, I find for the most part, that if men proceed by way of choler, they misse of their purpose: for commonly all the heat and desire of revenge is spent in biting of lips, gnashing and grating of teeth, vaine running to and fro, in railing words with foolish threats and menaces among, that favour of no wit at all: By which meanes it fareth with them afterwards, as with little children in running of a race, who for feebleneſſe being not able to hold out, fall down before they come unto the goale, whereunto they made such ridiculous and foolish haste. And therefore in my conceit it was not an improper answer which a certaine Rhodian made unto one of the Lictours and Officers of a Roman Generall or Lord Prætor, who with wide mouth bauled at him, and made a glorious bragging and boasting. I passe not (quoth he) one whit what thou saiest; I care rather for that which he thinketh there. that saith nothing. In like manner, *Sophocles*, when he had brought in *Eurypilus* and *Neoptolemus* all armed, speaketh bravely in their commendation thus,

They dealt no threats in vaine, no taunts
They made, nor boasting words:
But to't they went, and on their shields
They laid on load with swords.

* It seemeth that here is somewhat wanting.

And

And verily, some barbarous nations there are who use to poison their swords, and other weapons of iron; but valour hath no need at all of the venom of choler, for dipped it is in reason and judgment; whereas whatsoever is corrupted with ire and fury, is brittle, rotten, and easie to be broken into peeces. Which is the reason that the Lacedæmonians do allay the choler of their souldiers, when they are fighting, with the melodious sounds of flutes and pipes; whose manner is also before they go to battell to sacrifice unto the Muses, to the end that their reason and right wits may remaine in them still, and that they may have use thereof: yea, and when they have put their enemies to flight, they never pursue after nor follow the chase, but reclaime and hold their furious anger within compasse, which they are able to weild and manage as they list; no lesse than these daggers or counterfaces which are of a meane size and reasonable length. Contrariwise, anger hath been the cause that many thousands have come short of the execution of vengeance, and miscarried by the way. As for example, *Cyrus* and *Pelopidas* the Thebane among the rest. But *Agathocles* endured patiently to heare himselfe reproached and reviled by those whom he beseged: and when one of them said: You Potter there? Heare you? Where will you have silver to pay your mercenary souldiers and strangers their wages? He laughed againe, and made answer; Even out of this City when I have once for ed it. Some there were also that mocked and scorned *Antigonus* from the very walls, and twitted him with his deformity and ill-favoured face. But he said no more than thus, Why! And I took my selfe before to have been very faire and well favoured. Now when he had won the town he sold in open port-sale those that had so flouted him, protesting withall unto them, that if from that time forward they mocked him any more, he would tell their masters of them, and call them to account.

Moreover, I do see that hunters, yea, and orators also commit many faults in their choler. And *Aristotle* doth report, that the friends of *Satyrus* the Orator, in one cause that he had to plead for them, stopped his eares with waxe, for feare lest that he, when he heard his adversaries to raile upon him in their pleas, should mar all in his anger. And do not (I pray you) we our selves many times misse of punishing our servants by this meanes when they have done some faults: for when they heare us to threaten, and give out in our anger that we will do thus and thus unto them, they be so frighted that they run away far enough off from us. Like as Nurses therefore are wont to say unto their little children, Cry not, and you shall have this or that: so we shall do very well to speake unto our choler in this wise; make no such haste, soft and faire, keep not such a crying, make not so loud a noise be not so eager and urgent upon the point: so shall you see every thing that you would have, sooner done and much better. And thus a father, when he seeth his child going about to cut or cleave any thing with a knife or edge-toole, taketh the toole or knife out of his hand, and doth it himselfe; even so he that doth take revenge out of the hands of choler, punisheth not himselfe but him that deserveth it: and thus he doth surely, putting his own person in no danger, without damage and losse, nay, with great profit and commodity. Now, whereas all passions whatsoever of the mind had need of use and custome to tame (as it were) and vanquish by exercise that which in them is unruly, rebellious, and disobedient to reason: certes, in no one point besides had we need to be more exercised. (I meane as touching those dealings that we have with our household servants) than in anger: for there is no envy and emulation that ariseth in us toward them, there is no feare that we need to have of them, neither any ambition that troubleth or pricketh us against them: but ordinary and continuall fits of anger we have every day with them, which breed much offence and many errours, causing us to tread awry, to slip and do amisse sundry waies, by reason of that licentious liberty unto which we give our selves all the whiles that there is none to controll, none to stay, none to forbid and hinder us: and therefore being in so tickliish a place, and none to sustaine and hold us up, soone we catch a fall, and come down at once. And a hard matter it is (I may say to you) when we are not bound to render an account to any one, in such a passion as this, to keep our selves upright, and not to offend; unless we take order before-hand to restrain and empale (as it were) round about so great a liberty with meeknesse and clemency, unlesse (I say) we be well inured and acquainted to beare and endure many shrewd and unhappy words of our vvives, much unkind language of friends and familiars, vvho many times do challenge us for being too remisse, over-gentle, yea, and altogether carelesse and negligent in this behalfe. And this in truth hath been the principall cause that I have been quick and sharpe unto my servants, for feare lest they might prove the vvorse for not being chastised. But at the last, though late it vvere, I perceived; First, that better it vvas by long-sufferance and indulgence to make them somevvhat vvorse, than in seeking to reforme and amend others, to disorder and spoile my selfe vvith bitternesse and choler: Secondly, vvhen I savv many of them oftentimes, even because they vvere not so punished, feare and shame to do evill, and hovv pardon and forgivenesse vvas the beginning of their repentance and conversion, rather than rigour and punishment; and that I assure you they vvould serve some more vvillingly vvith a nod or vvinke of the eye, and vvithout a vvord spoken, than others vvith all their beating and vvhipping: I vvas at last perswaded in my mind and resolved, that reason vvas more vvorthy to command and rule as a master than ire and vvrath. For true it is not that the Poet saith:

Where ever is feare,
Shame also is there:

But cleane contrary: Look vvho are bashfull and ashamed; in them there is imprinted a certaine feare that holdeth them in good order: vvhereas continuall beating and laying on vvithout mercy, breedeth

breedeth not repentance in servants for evill doing, but rather a kind of forecast and providence, how they should not be spied nor taken in their evill doing. Thirdly, calling to remembrance, and considering evermore with my selfe, that he who taught us to shoot forbad us not to draw a bow, or to shoot an arrow, but to misse the marke: no more will this be any let or hinderance, but that we may chastise and punish our servants, if we be taught to do it in time and place, with moderation and measure, profitably, and decently, as it appertaineth. And verily I do enforce my selfe, and strive to master my choler and subdue it principally, not denying unto them who are to be punished, the liberty and meane to justifie themselves, but in hearing them to speake what they can for their excuse. For as time and space doth in the meane time find the passion occupied another way, and withall bring a certaine delay, which doth slack and let down (as it were) the vehemency and violence thereof; so judgement of reason, all the while meeteth both with a decent manner, and also with a convenient meane and measure of doing punishment accordingly. And besides, this course and manner of proceeding, leaveth him that is punished no cause, occasion, or pretence at all to resist and strive againe, considering that he is chastised and corrected not in choler and anger, but being first convinced, that he had well deserved his correction: and (which were yet worse than all the rest) the servant shall not have vantage to speake more justly and to better reason than his master. Well then, like as *Phocion* after the death of *Alexander* the Great, having a care not to suffer the Athenians to rise over-soone, or make any insurrection before due time, ne yet to give credit rashly unto the news of his death: My Masters of *Athens* (quoth he) if he be dead to day, he will be dead to morrow also, and three daies hence too; even so should a man (in my opinion) who by the impulsion and instigation of anger maketh haste to take punishment, thus suggest and secretly say to himselfe: If this servant of mine hath made a fault to day, it will be as true to morrow, and the next day after that he hath done a fault: neither will there be any harme or danger at all come of it, if he chance to be punished with the latest: but beleeve me, if he be punished over-soone, it will be alwaies thought that he had wrong, and did not offend: a thing that I have known to happen full often. For which of us all is so curst and cruell, as to punish and scourge a servant for burning the roast five or ten daies ago? Or for that so long before he chanced to overthrow the table? Or was somewhat with the slowest in making answer to his Master? Or did his errand or other businesse not so soon as he should? And yet we see these and such like be the ordinary causes for which (whiles they be fresh and new done) we take on, vve stampe and stare, vve chase, vve scovvn, vve are implacable and vvill heare of no pardon: And no marvell, for like as any bodies seeme bigger through a mist; even so every thing appeareth greater than it is through anger. And therefore at these and such like faults vve should vvinke for the time, and make as though vve savv them not, and yet thinke upon them nevertheless, and beare them in mind. But afterwards when the storme is well overblown, we are without passion, and do not suspect our selves, then we may do well to consider thereof: and then if upon mature deliberation, when our mind is staid and our senses settled, the thing appeare to be naught, we are to hate and abhor it, and in no wise either to for-let and put off, or altogether to omit and forbeare correction, like as they refuse meats who have no stomack nor appetite to eate. For certainly it is not a thing so much to be blamed for to punish one in anger, as not to punish when anger is past and allayed, and so to be retchlesse and dissolute: doing as idle mariners who so long as the sea is calme, and the weather faire, loyter within the harbour or haven but afterwards when a rempest is up, spread sailes and put themselves into danger. For even so we, condemning and neglecting the remissenesse and calmenesse of reason in case of punishment, make haste to execute the same during the heat of choler, which no doubt is a blustring and turbulent wind. As for meat he calleth for it indeed, and taketh it naturally who is a hungry: but surely he executeth punishment best, who neither hungreth nor thirsteth after it: neither hath he need to use choler as a sauce or dainty dish for to get him a stomack and appetite to correct: but even when he is farthest off from desire of revenge, then of necessity he is to make use of reason and wisdome to direct him: for we ought not to do as *Aristotle* writeth in his time the manner was in *Tuskane*; To whip servants with sound of flutes and hautboies; namely, to make a sport and pastime of punishing men and to solace our selves with their punishment for pleasures sake, and then afterwards when we have done repent us of it: for as the one is brutish and beast-like; so the other is as womanish and unmanly: but without griefe and pleasure both, at what time as reason and judgement is in force, we ought to let justice take punishment, and leave no occasion at all for choler to get advantage. But peradventure some one will say, that this is not properly the way to remedy or cure anger; but rather a putting by our precaution that we should not commit any of those faults which ordinarily follow that passion: Unto whom I answer thus; That the swelling of the Spleene is not the cause, but a symptome or accident of a feaver: howbeit if the said humour be fallen, and the pain mitigated the feaver will be much eased, according as *Hieronymus* saith. Also, when I consider by what meanes choler is engendred: I see that one falleth into it upon this cause, another upon that: but in all of them it seemeth this generall opinion there is, that they thinke themselves to be despised and naught set by. And therefore we ought to meet with such as seem to defend and maintaine themselves, as being angry for just cause, and to cure them after this manner; namely, by diverting and removing from them as far as ever we can, all suspition of contempt and contumacy in those that have offended them and moved their anger; in laying the fault upon inconsiderate folly, necessity, sicknesse, infirmity and misery, as *Sophocles* did in these verses,

For

For thoſe my Lords whoſe ſtate is in diſtreſſe,
Have not their ſpirits and wits as heretofore:
As fortune frowns, they waxen ever leſſe,
Nay gone are quite, though freſh they were before.

And *Agamemnon*, albeit he laid the taking away of *Briſeis* from *Achilles* upon *Ate* (that is to ſay) ſome fatall infortunity, yet

He willing was and preſt him to content,
And unto him rich gifts for to preſent.

For to beſeech and intreat, are ſignes of a man that deſpiſeth not, and when the party who hath given often e becommeth humble and lowly, he removeth all the opinion that might be conceived of contempt. But he that is in a fit of choler muſt not attend and wait untill he ſee that, but rather help himſelfe with the anſwer of *Diogenes*. Theſe fellows here, ſaid one unto him, do deride thee *Diogenes*; but I (quoth he againe) do not find that I am derided; even ſo ought a man who is angry not to be perſwaded that he is contemned of another, but rather that himſelfe hath juſt cauſe to contemne him. and to thinke that the fault committed did proceed of infirmity, errour, heady-raſhneſſe, ſloth and idleneſſe, a baſe and illiberall mind, age or youth. And as for our ſervants and friends we muſt by all means quit them hereof, or pardon them at leaſtwiſe: For ſurely they cannot be thought to contemne us, in regard that they think us unable to be revenged, or men of no execution if we went about it: but it is either by reaſon of our remiſſeneſſe and mildneſſe, or elſe of our love and affection that we ſeem to be ſmally regarded by them, whiles our ſervants preſume of our tractable nature, eaſie to be pacified, and our friends of our exceeding love that cannot be ſoon ſhaken off. But now we are provoked to anger, not only againſt our wives, or ſervitors and friends, as being contemned by them; but alſo many times in our choler we fall upon Inn-keepers, Mariners and Muliters, when they be drunk, ſuppoſing that they deſpiſe us. And that which more is, we are offended with dogs when they bay or barke at us; and with aſſes if they chance to fling out and kick us. Like unto him who lifted up his hand to ſtrike and beat him that did drive an aſſe; and when the man cried that he was an Athenian: But thou I am ſure art no Athenian, (quoth he to the aſſe) and laid upon the poore beaſt as hard as he could, and gave him many a blow with his cudgell. But that which chiefly cauſeth us to be angry, and breedeth a continuall diſpoſition thereto in our minds, cauſing us ſo often to breake out into fits of choler, which by little and little was ingendred and gathered there before, is the love of our own ſelves; and a kind of froward ſurlineſſe hardly to be pleaſed together with a certaine daintineſſe and delicacy, which all concurring in one, breed and bring forth a ſwarme (as it were) of bees, or rather a waſpes neaſt in us. And therefore there cannot be a better means for to carry our ſelves mildly and kindly towards our wives, our ſervants, familiars, and friends, than a contented mind. and a ſingleneſſe or ſimplicity of heart, when a man reſteth ſatisfied with whatſoever is preſent at hand, and requireth neither things ſuperfluous nor exquiſite.

But he that never is content
With roſt or ſod, but Cooke is ſhent:
How ever he be ſerv'd, I meane
With more, with leſſe, or in a meane:
He is not pleas'd nor one good word
Can give of viands ſet on boord
Without ſome ſnow who drinks no draught,
Nor eateth bread in market bought,
Who taſts no meate, be't never ſo good,
Serv'd up in diſh of earth or wood:
And thinkes no bed nor pillow ſoft,
Unleſſe with down like ſea aloft
Stir'd from beneath, it ſtrut and ſwell;
For otherwiſe he ſleeps not well.

Who with rods and whips plieth and haſteneth the ſervitors at the table, making them to run untill they ſweat againe, crying and bawling at them to come away apace, as if they were not carrying diſhes of meat but plaſters and cataplaſmes for ſome inflammation or painfull impoſtume: ſubjecting himſelfe after a ſlaviſh manner to a ſervile kind of diet and life, full of diſcontentment, quarrels and complaints: little knoweth ſuch an one how by a continuall cough, or many concuſſions and diſtemperatures, he hath brought his ſoule to an ulcerous and rheumatike diſpoſition about the ſeat and place of anger. And therefore we muſt uſe the body by frugality to take up and learne to becontent with a competent meane (forasmuch as they who deſire but a little can never be diſappointed nor fruſtrate of much) finding no fault, nor keeping any ſtir at the beginning about meat, but ſtanding ſatisfied without ſaying a word, with that which God ſendeth whatſoever it be, not fretting, vexing, and tormenting our ſelves at the table about every thing, and in ſo doing, ſerving both our ſelves and our company about us of friends, with the moſt unſavory meſſe of meat, that is to wit, choler:

A ſupper worſe than this I do not ſee
How poſſibly one can deviſed be.

Namely,

Namely, whiles the ſervants be beaten, the wife chidden and reviled for the meat burnt, for ſmoke in the parlor, for want of ſalt, or for the bread over-ſtale and drie. But *Arceſilaus* upon a time with other friends of his, feaſted certain ſtrangers and hoſts of his abroad, whoſe gueſt he had been; and after the ſupper was come in, and meat ſet upon the board, there wanted bread, by reaſon that his ſervants had forgotten and neglected to buy any: for ſuch a fault as this, which of us here would not have cryed out that the walles ſhould have burſt withall, and been ready to have throwne the houſe out of the window? And he laughing at the matter: He had need be a wiſe man (quoth he) I ſee well, that would make a feaſt and ſet it out as it ſhould be. *Socrates* alſo upon a time, when he came from the wreſtling ſchool, took *Euthydemus* home with him to ſupper: but *Xantippe* his wife fell a chiding and ſcoulding with him at the board, reviling him with moſt bitter tearms, ſo long, until at laſt in an anger down went table and all that was upon it: Whereupon *Euthydemus* a roſe, and was about to depart; but *Socrates*: Will you be gone (quoth he?) Why, do you not remember that the other day as we ſat at ſupper in your houſe, there flew up to the board a hen and did as much for you? and yet were we not offended nor angry for the matter. And in very truth, we muſt entertein our friends and gueſts, with courteſie, mirth, a ſmiling countenance, and affectionate love: and not to brow-beat them, nor yet put the ſervitors in a fright, and make them quake and tremble with our frowning looks. Alſo we ought ſo to accuſtome our ſelves, that we may be content to be ſerved with any kind of veſſels whatſoever, and not upon a daintineſſe to have a mind to this, rather then to that, but to like all indifferently. And yet there be ſome ſo divers, that although there be many cups and globlets ſtanding upon the board, chooſe one from the reſt, and cannot drink forſooth but out of that one: according as the Stories do report of *Marius*, who loved one mazar, and could drink out of no other. Thus they do by their oil cruets and currying combs or rubbers, when they are at the bains or ſtouphes, taking a fancy and affection to ſome one above the reſt: but if it chance that one of them be crackt, broken, or beloſt and miſcarry any way; then they are exceeding angry and fall to beating of their ſervants. Such men therefore as finde themſelves to be cholerick, ſhould do well to forbear all rare and exquiſite things, to wit, pots cups, ſeal-rings of excellent workmanſhip and precious ſtones. For that ſuch coſtly jewels, if they be marred or loſt, breed more anger and ſet men out of order, more than thoſe which be ordinary and eaſie to be come by. And therefore when *Nero* the Empetour had cauſed to be made a certain pavilion or tabernacle eight ſquare, which was both for the beauty and coſt, exceeding fair and ſumptuous, and indeed an admirable piece of work. In this Tabernacle (quoth *Seneca*) unto him, you have bewrayed O *Caſar*, that you are but a poor man: for if you loſe this once, you ſhall never be able to recover and get the like again. And ſo it fell out indeed, for the ſhip, wherein the ſame Tabernacle was, chanced to be caſt away upon the Sea, and all was drowned. But *Nero* calling to minde the words of *Seneca*, took the loſſe more patiently.

Moreover, this contentment of mind, and eaſineſſe to be pleaſed with any thing in the houſe, cauſeth a man alſo to be more gentle, milde, and better contented with his ſervants and people about him: now if it work this effect in us toward our houſhold ſervants, evident it is that we ſhall be likewiſe affected to our friends and thoſe that be under our government. We ſee alſo, that ſlaves new bought, are inquiſitive as touching him who hath bought them; not whether he be ſuperſtitious and enviovs; but whether be be cholerick and haſty or no. And to be brief: neither can husbands endure the pudicity and honeſty of their wives; nor wives the love of their husbands; ne yet friends the mutuall converſation one with another, if there do an angry and cholerick humor go withall. Thus we ſee, that neither marriage nor amity be tollerable with choler. Contrariwiſe, if anger be away, even drunkenneſſe it ſelf is tollerable and we can eaſily abide it: for the very *ferula* of god *Bacchus* is a ſufficient puniſhment of drunkenneſſe, if ſo be there be no choler therewith, which may cauſe *Bacchus*, that is, Strong wine, in ſtead of *Lyæus* and *Chorius*, That is to ſay, The Looſer of cares, and Leader of daunces (which are his ſurnames) to be call ed *Omeſtes* and *Mænoles*, which ſignifie Cruell and Furious. As for ſimple madneſſe of it ſelf alone, the *Elleborе* growing in *Antycira*, is ſufficient to cure: but if it be mingled with choler, it cauſeth Tragicall fits, and thoſe ſo ſtrange, that a man would repute them for meer fables. And therefore we muſt not give place to anger neither in ſport and paſtime; for in lieu of good will it breedeth enmity: nor in conference and diſputations; for it turneth the love and deſire of knowledge in debate and contention: nor in deciding and judging cauſes; becauſe to authority it addeth violence and inſolency: nor in the teaching and inſtruction of our children: for it maketh them deſperate and haters of learning: nor in proſperity; for it encreaſeth the envy and grudge of men: ne yet in adverſity, becauſe it taketh away pitty and compaſſion, when they who are fallen in any misfortune, ſhew themſelves teſtie, froward and quarrellous to thoſe who come to moan and mourn with them. This did *Priamus*, as we read in *Homer*:

Avant (quoth he) you chiding gueſts,
you odious mates be gone:
Have you no ſorrowes of your own,
But you come me to moan?

On the other ſide, fair conditions and milde behaviour, yeeldeth ſuccour and helps in ſome caſes; compoſeth and ordereth matters aright in others; dulceth and allayeth that which is tart and ſowre:

sowre and in one word, by reason of that kinde, meek and gentle quality, it overcometh anger and all froward tetinesse whatsoever. Thus it is reported of *Euclides* in a quarrell or variance between him and his brother: For when his brother had contested and said unto him: I would I might die, if he not revenged of thee: he inferred again; Nay, let me die for it, if I perswade thee not otherwise before I have done; by which one word he presently won his brothers heart, so that he changed his mind and they parted friends. *Polemon* likewise, at a certain time, when one who loved precious stones, and was sick for fair and costly rings and such like curious jewels, did rail at him outrageously: answered not a word again, but looked very wistly upon one of the signets that the other had, and well considered the fashion and workmanship thereof: which when the party perceived, taking as it should seem no small contentment, and being very well pleased that he so perused his jewell: Not so *Polemon* (quoth he again) but look upon it thus, between you and the light, and then you will think it much more beautiful. *Aristippus* fell out upon a time (I know not how) with *Aeschines*, and was in a great choler and fit of anger: How now *Aristippus* (quoth one who heard him so high and at such hot words) where is your amity and friendship all this while? Mary, asleep (quoth he) but I will waken it anon. With that he stept close to *Aeschines*, and said: Think you me so unhappy every way and incurable, that I deserved not one admonishment at your hands? No marvell (quoth *Aeschines* again) if I thought you (who for natural wit and all things else excell me) to see better in this case also than I, what is meet and expedient to be done. For true it is that the Poet saith;

The bear so wilde whose neck with bristles strong
Is thick beset, the tender hand and soft
Of woman nice, yea, and of infant yong,
By stroking farre, shall bend and turn (full oft)
Much sooner farre, and that with greater ease
Than wrestlers strong with all their force and peise.

And we our selves can skill how to tame wilde beasts, we know how to make yong wolves gentle, yea and lions whelps other-whiles we carry about with us in our armes: but see, how we again afterwards in a raging fit of choler be ready to fling from us and cast out of our sight, our own children, our friends and familiars and all our household servants, and our fellow-citizens and neighbours, we let loose our ire like some savage and furious beast, and this rage of ours we disguise and cloak forsooth with a colourable and false name, calling it Hatred of vice. But herein (I suppose) we do no otherwise than in the rest of our passions and diseases of the minde; tearming one, Providence and fore-caste; another Liberality: and a third Piety and religion: and yet for all these pretenties of goodly names, we cannot be cured of the vices which they palliate; to wit, Timorousnesse, Prodigality and superstition.

And verily, like as our naturall seed (as *Zeno* said) is a certain mixture and composition, derived and extracted from all the powers and faculties of the soul: even so, in mine opinion, a man may say that choler is a a miscellane seed (as it were) and a dredge, made of all the passions of the mind: for pricked it is from pain, pleasure and insolent violence: Of envie it hath this quality to joy in the harmes of other men: it standeth much upon murder, but worse it is simply than murder: for the wrathfull person striveth and laboureth not to defend and save himself from taking harm: but so he may mischief and overthrow another, he careth not to come by a hurt and shrewd turn himself. It holdeth likewise of concupiscence and lust, and taketh of it the worse and more unpleasant part, in case it be (as it is indeed) a desire and appetite to grieve, vex, and harm another. And therefore when we approch and come neer to the house of luxurious and riotous persons, we hear betimes in the morning a minstrel-wench, sounding and playing the Morrow-watch by break of day: we see the muddy-grounds and dregs (as one was wont to say) of the wine, to wit, the vomits of those who tast up their stomacks: we behold the pieces and fragments of broken garlands and chaplets: and at the dore we find the lackies and pages of them who are within, drunken and heavy in the head with tipling strong wine. But the signes that tell where hasty, cholerick, and angry persons dwell, appear in the faces of their servants, in the marks and weales remaining after their whipping, and in their clogs, yrons, and fetters about their feet. For in the houses of hasty and angry men, a man shall never hear but one kind of musick; that is to say, the heavy note of wailing grones and piteous plaints: whiles either the stewards within are whipped and scourged, or the maidens racked and put to torture, in such sort that you would pitty to see the dolors and pains of yre which she suffereth in those things that she lusteth after and taketh pleasure in. And yet as many of us as happen to be truly and justly surprised with choler oftentimes, for the hatred and detestation that we have of vices, ought to cut off that which is excessive therein and beyond measure, together with our over-light beleef and credulity of reports concerning such as converse with us: For this is one of the causes that most of all doth engender and augment choler; when either he whom we took for an honest man proveth dishonest, and is detected for some naughtinesse, or whom we reputed our friend is fallen into some quarrel and variance with us: as for my self, you know my nature and disposition, what small occasions make me both to love men effectually, and also to trust them confidently, and therefore (just as it falleth out with them who go over a false floor where the ground is not fast, but hollow under their feet) where I lean most and put my greatest trust for the love that I bear, there I offend most and soonest catch a fall: there (I say) am I grieved most also, when I see how

how I was deceived: As for that exceeding inclination and forwardnes of mind, thus to love and affect a man, could I never yet to this day wean my self from, so inbred it is and setled in me: mary to stay my self from giving credit over-hastily and too much, I may peradventure use that bridle which *Plato* speaketh of, to wit, wary circumspection: for in recommending the Mathematician *Helicon*, I praise him (quoth he) for a man, that is much to say, as a creature by nature mutable & apt to change. And even those who have been well brought in up in a city, to wit, in *Athens*, he saith that he is afraid likewise of them, lest being men, and coming from the seed of man, they do not one time or other bewray the weaknesse and infirmity of humane nature: and *Sophocles* when he speaketh thus,

Who list to search through all deeds of mankind
More bad then good he shall be sure to find,

seemeth to clip our wings, and disable us wonderfully. Howbeit this difficulty and caution in judging of men and pleasing our selves in the choice of friends, will cause us to be more tractable and moderate in our anger: for whatsoever cometh sodainly and unexpected, the same soon transporteth us beside our selves. We ought moreover as *Panatius* teacheth us in one place to practise the example of *Anaxagoras*, and like as he said when newes came of his sons death: I know well (quoth he) that I begat him a mortal man; so in every fault of our servants or others that shall whetten our choler, each one may sing this note to himself: I knew well that when I bought this slave, he was not a wise Philosopher: I wist also that I had gotten for my friend not one altogether void of affections and passions: neither was I ignorant when I took a wife, that I wedded a woman. Now if withall a man would evermore when he seeth others do amisse, adde this more unto the dittie as *Plato* teacheth us, and sing thus: Am not I also such an other? turning the discursion of his judgement from things abroad, to those which are within himself, and among his complaints and reprehensions of other men, come in with a certain caveat of his own, and fear to be reproved himself in the like; he would not haply be so quick and forward in the hatred and detestation of other mens vices, seeing that himself hath so much need of pardon. But on the contrary side, every one of us, when he is in the heat of choler and punisheth another, hath these words of severe *Aristides* and precise *Cato* ready enough in his mouth: Steal not Sirrha: Make no more lies: Why art thou so idle then? &c. To conclude (that which of all others is most unseemly and absurd) we reproving in anger others for being angry; and such faults as were committed in choler, those our selves will punish in choler; not verily as the Physicians use to do, who

A bitter medicine in the body powr,
When bitter choler they mean to purge and scour.

But we rather do encrease the same with our bitternesse, and make more trouble than it was before. And therefore when I think and discourse with my self of these matters, I endeavour withall and assay to cut off somewhat from needlesse curiosity. For surely this narrow searching and streight looking into every thing, for to spie and find out a fault: as for example to sift thy servant and call him into question for all his idle houres; to prie into every action of thy friend; to see where about thy sonne goeth, and how he spendeth all his time; to listen what whispering there is between thy wife and another, be the very means to breed much anger, daily brauls, and continual jarres, which grow in the end to the height of cursinesse and frowardnesse, hard to be pleased with any thing whatsoever. For according as *Euripides* saith in one place, we ought in some sort to do:

All great affairs God ay himself directeth,
But matters small to Fortune he committeth.

For mine own part, I do not think it good to commit any businesse to Fortune; neither would I have a man of understanding to be retchlesse in his own occasions: But with some things to put his wife in trust; others to make over unto servants, and in some matters to use his friends. Herein to bear himself like a Prince and great Commander, having under him his Deputies, Governours, Receivers, Auditors, and Procurators; reserving unto himself and to the disposition of his own judgement, the principall affairs, and those of greatest importance. For like as little letters or a small print do more offend and trouble the eyes then greater, for that the eyes be very intentive upon them: even so, small matters do quickly move choler, which thereupon soon getteth an ill custome in weightier matters. But above all, I ever reckon that saying of *Empedocles* to be a divine precept and heavenly oracle, which admonisheth us *To fast from sin*. I commended also those points and observations, as being right honest, commendable, and beseeming him, that maketh profession of wisdome and philosophie, which we use to vow unto the gods in our prayers: Namely, *To forbear both Wine and Women, and so to live sober and chaste a whole yeer together, and in the mean while to serve God with a pure and undefiled heart: Also, to limit and set out a certain time, wherein we would not make a lie, observing precisely not to speak any vain and idle word, either in earnest or in bourd.* With these and such like observations also, I acquainted and furnished my soul, as being no lesse affected to religion and godlines, than studious of learning and philosophie: Namely, first enjoyned my self to passe a certain few Holy-dayes without being angry, or offended upon any occasion whatsoever; no lesse than I would have vowed to forbear drunkennesse, and abstain altogether from wine, as if I sacrificed at the feast *Nephalia* [wherein no wine was spent] or celebrated the solemnity *Melisponda*, [in which Hony onely was used.] Thus having made an entrance; I tried afterwards a moneth or

two by little and little what I could do, and ever I gained more and more time, exercising my self still to forbear sinne with all my power and might. Thus I proceeded and went forward daily, blessing my self with good words and striving to be milde, quiet and void of malice, pure and clean from evill speeches and lewd deeds: but principally from that passion which for a little pleasure, and the same not very lovely, bringeth with it great troubles and shamefull repentance in the end. Thus with the grace of God, assisting me somewhat (as I take it) in this good resolution and course of mine, experience it self approved and confirmed my first intent and judgement, whereby I was taught, That this mildnesse, clemency, and debonair humanity, is to none of our familiars who live and converse daily with us, so sweet, so pleasant, and agreeable, as to our selves who have these vertues and good qualities within us.

Of Curiosity.

The Summary.

THE former Treatise hath shewed unto us, how many mischiefs and inconveniences Anger causeth, teaching us the means how to beware of it. Now Plutarch *dealeth with another vice, no lesse dangerous than it, which bendeth to the opposite extremity. For whereas ire doth so bereave a man of the use of reason during the accesse and fit thereof, that the cholericke and furious persons differ not one from another, but in the space of time. This curiosity which is now in hand, being masked under the name of wisedome and hability of spirit, is (to say a truth) a covert and hidden fury, which carrieth the minde of the curious person past himself, for to gather and heap from all parts the ordure and filthinesse of another, and afterwards to bring the same into himself, and to make thereof a very store-house, for to infect his own self first, and then others, according as the malignity and malice, the follies, backbiting, and slanders of these curious folk do sufficiently declare. To the end therefore that every man who loveth vertue, should divert from such a maladie, our Author sheweth that the principall remedie for to preserve us from it, is to turn this curiosity to our own selves; namely, to examine our own persons more diligently than others. Which point he amplifieth by setting down on the contrary side, the blindnesse of those who are over-busie and curious. Then cometh he to declare, why a curious person goeth forth alwayes out of his own house for to enter into another mans; to wit, because of his own filthinesse, which by that means he cannot smell and perceive; but whiles he will needs go to stirre and rake into the life of others, he snareth and entangleth himself and so perisheth in his own folly and indiscretion. Afterwards proceeding to prescribe the remedies for the cure of curiosity, when he had deciphered the villanies and indignities thereof, together with the nature of curious persons, and the enormous vices which accompanie them, he requireth at our hands, that we should not let desirous to know things which be vile, base, lewd or unprofitable; that we should hold in our eyes, and not cast them at random and aventure within the house of another; that we should not seek after the bruit and rumours that are spread in meetings and companies; that we otherwhiles should forbear even such things, whereof the use is lawfull and permitted: also to take heed that we do not enter nor sound too deep into our own affairs; Finally, not to be rash and heady in those things that we do, be they never so small. All these points premised, he adorneth with inductions, similitudes and choise examples, and knitteth up all with one conclusion, which proveth, that curious folk ought to be ranged among the most mischievous and dangerous in the world.*

Of Curiosity.

THE best way haply it were altogether to avoid an house and not therein at all to dwell, which is close without fresh air, dark, standing bleak & cold, or otherwise unhealthfull: Howbeit, if a man by reason that he hath been long used to such an house, delight in that seat, and will there abide, he may either by altering the prospects and removing the lights, or by changing the staires into another place, or else by opening the dores of one side, and shutting them upon another, make the house more lightsome, better exposed to the wind for to receive fresh air, and in one word more wholsome than before. And verily some have much amended whole cities by the like alterations: as for example, men say that one *Cheron* in times past turned my native City and Place of nativity *Cheronea* to lie Eastward, which before looked toward the Western wind *Zephyrus*, and received the Sunne setting from the mount *Parnassus*. And *Empedocles* the natural Philosopher, by stopping up the mouth or deep chink of a certain mountain between two rocks, which breathed out a noisome and pestilent southern wind upon all the champian countrey and plain underneath, was thought to have put by the plague, which by occasion of that wind reigned ordinarily before in that Country. Now forasmuch as there be certain hurtfull and pestiferous passions, which send up into our soul tempestuous troubles and darknesse, it were to be wished, that they were chased out quite, and throwne down to the very ground; whereby we might give our selves a free prospect, and open and cleer light, a fresh and pure air; or if we be not so happy, yet at least wise endeavour, we ought by all means possible to change, alter, translate, transpose and turn them so about, as they may be found more fit and commodious to serve our turnes. As for example, and to go no farther for the matter, Curiosity, which I take to be a desire to know the faults and imperfections in other men, is a vice or disease which seemeth not cleer of envie and maliciousnesse: And unto him that is infected therewith may very well be said,

Most spightfull and envious man,
why doest thou ever finde
With piercing eyes thy neighbours faults,
and in thine own art blinde?

avert thine eyes a little from things without, and turn thy much medling and curiosity to those that be within. If thou take so great a pleasure and delight to deal in the Knowledge and Historie of evill matters, thou hast work enough i wis at home, thou shalt finde plenty thereof within to occupie thy self;

For look what water run's along
an Isthm or Ile we see,
Or leaves lie spred about the Oke,
which numbred cannot be;

Such a multitude shalt thou finde of sinnes in thy life, of passions in thy soul, and of oversights in thy duties. For like as *Xenophon* saith, That good stewards of an houshold have one proper room by it self for those utensils or implements which serve for sacrifice; another for vessels that come to the table; in one place he layeth up the instruments and tools for tillage and husbandry, and in another apart from the rest, he bestoweth weapons, armour, and furniture for the wars; even so shalt thou see within thy self a number of manifold vices how they are digested: some proceeding from envie, others from jealousie: some from idleneſſe, others from nigardise: take account of these (I advise thee) survey and pursue them over well: shut all the dores and windowes that yeeld prospect unto thy neighbours: stop up the avenues that give accesse and passage to Curiosity: But set open all other doors that lead into thine own bed-chamber, and other lodgings for men, into thy wives cabinet and the nursery, into the rooms where thy servants keep: There shalt thou meet wherewith to amuse and busie thy self: there may curiosity and desire to know every thing be employed in exercises, neither unprofitable nor malicious: nay, in such as be commodious, wholsome and tending to salvation: namely, whiles every one calleth himself to account, saying thus,

Where have I been, what good I have done,
or what have I misdone?
Where have I slipt, what duty begun
is left by me undone?

But now according as fables make report: that *Lamia* the Witch whiles she is at home is stark blind, and doth nothing but sing, having her eyes shut up close within a little boxe; but when she means to go abroad, she takes them forth, and setteth them in their right place, and seeth well enough with them; even so, every one of us when we go forth, set unto that evill meaning and intention which we have to others, an eye to look into them, and that is curiosity and overmuch medling; but in our own errors, faults and trespasses we stumble and fail through ignorance, as having neither eyes to see, nor light about them whereby they may be seen. And therefore it is, that a busie fellow and curious medler doth more good to his enemies than to himself: for their faults he discovereth and bringeth to light, to them he sheweth what they ought to beware of: and what they are to amend: but all this while he overseeth, or rather seeth not the most things that are done at home, so deeply amused he is and busie in spying what is a misse abroad. Howbeit wise *Ulysses* would not abide to speak and confer with his own mother, before he had enquired of the Prophet those things for which he went down into hell: and when he had once heard them, then he turned to his mother and other women also, asking what was *Tyro*? what was *Chloris*? and what was the occasion and cause that *Eperasto* came by her death?

Who knit her neck within a deadly string,
And so from beam of lofty house did hing.

But we quite contary, sitting still in supine idleneſſe and ignorance, neglecting and never regarding that which concerneth our selves, go to search into the genealogie and pedigrees of others: and we can tell readily, that our neighbours grandfather was no better then a base and servile Syrian: that his nurse came out of barbarous *Thracia*: that such an one is in debt, and oweth three talents, and is behind hand besides, and in arrerages for non-paiment of interest for the use thereof. Inquisitive also we are in such matters as these: From whence came such a mans wife? what it was that such a one and such a one spake when they were alone together in an odde corner? *Socrates* was clean of another quality; he would go up and down enquiring and casting about what

were the reasons wherewith *Pythagoras* perswaded men to his opinion. *Aristippus* likewise, at the solemnity of the Olympian games, falling into the company of *Ischomachus*, asked of him, what were the perswasions that *Socrates* used to yong folk, wereby they became so affectionate unto him; and after he had received from him some small seeds (as it were) and a few samples of those reasons and arguments, he was so moved and passionate therewith, that presently his body fell away, he looked pale, poor and lean, untill he having sailed to *Athens* in this wonderfull thirst and ardent heat, had drunk his fill at the fountain and well-head it self, known the man, heard his discourses and learned his Philosophie; the summe and effect whereof was this: That a man should first know his own maladies, and then the means to be cured and delivered of them. But some there be, who of all things cannot abide to see their own life, as being unto them the most unpleasant sight of all others: neither love they to bend and turn their reason as a light to their own selves: but their minde being full of all sorts of evill, fearing and ready to quake for to behold what things are within, leapeth forth (as one would say) out of doors, and goeth wandring to and fro, searching into the deeds and words of other men, and by this means feedeth and fatteth (as it were) her own malicious naughtinesse. For like as a hen many times having meat enough within house set before her, loveth to go into some corner, and there keepeth a pecking and scraping of the ground,

To finde perhaps one silly barley corn
As she was wont and dung hill heretofore;

even so these busie Polypragmons, passing by those ordinary speeches and matters which are exposed and open for every man; not regarding (I say) the reports and narrations which are free for each one to discourse of, and which neither any man hath to do, to forbid and warn them for to ask and enquire of, nor will be displeased if peradventure he should be demanded and asked the question of them, go up and down in the mean time to gather and learn all the secret and hidden evils of every house. Certes, a prety answer it was of an Ægyptian, and pertinent to the purpose, who when one asked him, what it was that he carried covered all over, and so enwrapped within a cloth: Mary (quoth he) covered it is even for this cause, that thou shouldest not know what it is: And thou like-wise, that art so busie, why dost thou intermedle in that which is concealed? Be sure, that if there were no evill therein, kept close it should not be. And verily, it is not the manner and custome for any body to enter boldly into the house of another man, without knocking at the door, for which purpose we use porters in these dayes; whereas in old time there were rings and hammers which served the turn, and by rapping at the gates, gave warning to those within, to the end that no stranger might meet the mistresse at unawares in the hall or mids of the house; or come suddenly upon a virgin or yong damosel her daughter, and find her out of her chamber; or take some of the servants a beating, or the wenches and chamber-maids chiding and scolding aloud: whereas a busie fellow loveth a life to step secretly into a house, for to see and hear such disorders: and you shall never know him willingly to come and see an honest house and well governed (though one should call and pray him never so fair,) but ready he is to discover and set abroad in the view of the whole world such things; for which we use locks, keies, bolts, barres, portals and gate houses. Those windes (saith *Ariston*) are wemost troubled and offended with, which drive open our cloaks and garments that cover us, or blow and whisk them over our heads: but busie Polypragmons do lay abroad and display not the cloaks of their neighbours nor their coats; but discover their walls, set wide open their doors, and like a wind, pierce, creepe and enter so farre, as to the tender bodied and soft skinned maiden, searching and inquiring in every bacchanall, in all dancings, waking and night feasts, for some matter to raise slanders of her. And as one *Cleon* was noted by an old Comicall Poet upon the Stage,

Whose hands were both in Ætolie,
But heart and minde in Clopidie;

Even of the spirit of a curious and busie person, is at one time in the stately palace of rich and mighty men, in the little houses of mean and poor folk, in Kings Courts, and in the bed-chamber of new wedded wives: it is inquisitive in all matters, searching as well the affaires of strangers and travellers, as negotiations of Lords and Rulers, and other-while not without danger of his own person. For much like as if a man upon a kindle of wanton curiosity, will needs be tasting of *Aconite* or *Labarid-bain*, to know (forsooth) the quality of it, cometh by a mischief, and dieth of it before he can know any thing thereof: so they that love to be prying into the faults of great persons, many times overthrow themselves before they come to any knowledge. For such as cannot be content with the abundant raies and radiant beams of the Sunne which are spread so clear over all things, but will needs strive and force themselves impudently to look full upon the circle of his body, and audaciously will presume and venture to pierce his brightnesse, and enter into the very mids of his inward light, commonly dazzle their eyes, and become stark blind. And therefore well and properly answered *Philippides* the Writer of Comedies upon a time when King *Lysimachus* spake thus unto him: What wouldest thou have me to impart unto thee of my goods, *Philippides*? What it pleaseth your Majesty (quoth he) so it be nothing of your secrets. For to say a truth, the most pleasant and beautifull things simply, which belong to the estate of Kings, do shew without, and are exposed to the view and sight of every man; to wit, their sumptuous feasts, their wealth and riches their magnificent port and pomp in publick places, their bountifull favours, and liberall gifts: but is there any thing secret and hidden within. Take heed I advise thee how thou approch and come neer, beware (I say) that thou do not stir and meddle therein. The

The joy and mirth of a Prince in prosperity cannot be concealed; he cannot laugh when he is disposed to play and be merry but it is seen; neither when he mindeth and doth prepare to shew some gracious favour or to be bountifull unto any is his purpose hidden; but mark what thing he keepeth close and secret, the same is terrible, heavy, stearn, unpleasant, yea, ministring no accesse nor cause of laughter: namely, the treasure-house (as it were) of some rancker and festered anger; a deep designe or project of revenge; Jealousie of his wife, some suspicion of his own sonne; or diffidence and distrust in some of his minions, favorites and friends. Flie from this black cloud that gathereth so thick: for when soever that which is now hidden shall break forth, thou shalt see what cracks of thunder and flashes of lightning wil ensue thereupon. But what be the means to avoid it? mary (even as I said before) to turn and to withdraw thy curiosity another way; and principally to set thy minde upon matters that are more honest and delectable; Advise thy self and consider curiously upon the creatures in heaven, in earth, in the air, and in the sea. Art thou delighted in the contemplation of great or smal things? if thou take pleasure to behold the greater, busie thy self about the Sunne; seek where he goeth down, and from whence he riseth; Search into the cause of the mutations in the Moon, why it should it so change and alter as it doth, like a man or woman? what the reason is that she loseth so conspicuous a light? and how it commeth to passe that she recovereth it again?

How is it, when she hath been out of sight
That fresh she seems and doth appear with light?
First young and fair whiles that she is but new
Till round and full we see her lovely hiew:
No sooner is her beauty at this height
But fade she doth anon, who was so bright,
And by degrees she doth decr ease and wain
Untill at length she comes to naught again.

And these truly are the secrets of nature, neither is she offended and displeased with those who can find them out. Distrusteth thou thy self to attain unto these great things? then search into smaller matters, to wit, what might the reason be that among trees and other plants, some be alwaies fresh and green, why they flourish at all times, and be clad in their gay clothes, shewing their riches in every season of the yeer; why others again be one while like unto them in this their pride and glory, but afterward you shall have them again like unto an ill husband in his house; namely, laying out all at once, and spending their whole wealth and substance at one time, untill they be poor, naked, and beggerly for it? Also what is the cause that some bring forth their fruit long-wise, others cornered, and others round or circular? But peradventure thou hast no great mind to busie thy self and meddle in these matters, because there is no hurt nor danger at all in them. Now if there be no remedie, but that curiosity should ever apply it self to search into evill things, after the manner of some venemous serpent, which loveth to feed, to live and converse in pestilent woods, let us lead and direct it to the reading of histories, and present unto it abundance and store of all wicked acts, lewd and sinfull deeds. There shall Curiosity finde the ruines of men, the wasting and consuming of their state, the spoil of wives and other women, the deceitfull traines of servants to beguil their masters, the calumniations and slanderous surmises raised by friends, poisoning casts envie, jealousie, shipwrack and overthrow of houses, calamities and utter undoing of Princes and great rulers; Satisfie thy self herewith to the full, and take thy pleasure therein as much as thou wilt; never shalt thou trouble or grieve any of thy friends and acquaintance in so doing. But it should seem that curiosity delighteth not in such naughty things that be very old and long since done; but in those which be fresh, fire new, hot and lately committed, as joying more to behold new Tragedies. As for Comedies and matters of mirth, she is not greatly desirous to be acquainted with such. And therefore, if a man do make report of a marriage, discourse of a solemn sacrifice, or of a goodly shew or pompe that was set forth, the curious busie-body (whom we speak of) will take small regard thereto, and hear it but coldly and negligently. He will say that the most part of all this he heard aleady by others, and bid him who relateth such narrations, to passe them over, or be brief, and cut off many circumstances. Marie if one that sits by him chance to set a tale on end, and begin to tell him there was a maiden deflowred, or a wife abused in adultery: if he recount of some processe of law or action commenced, of discord and variance between two brethren: you shall see him then not to yawn and gape as though he had list to sleep, you shall not perceive him to nod; he will make no excuse at all that his leisure will not serve to hear out the tale,

But bids say on, and tell us more:
And close he holds his ear then efore.

So that this sentence,

How sooner much are ill newes understood,
And heard by men (alas) than tidings good!

is well and truly verified of these curious Polypragmons. For like as cupping glasses, boxes, and ventoses, draw the worst matter out of the flesh; even so, the ears of curious and busie folk, are willing to receive and admit the most lewd and naughtiest speeches that are: or rather, to speak more properly, as Towns and Cities have certain cursed and unlucky gates, at which they send out malefactors to execution, carry and throw forth their dung, ordure, filthinesse, and cleansings whatsoever,

but never cometh in or goeth out that way, any thing that pure is and holy: semblably, the ears of these curious intermediers be of the same nature: for there entreth and passeth into them nothing that is honest, civil and lovely: but the bruit and rumours of cruel murders have accesse unto them, and there make aboad, bringing therewith wicked, abominable, profane and cursed reports: and as one said:

The onely bird that in my house doth ever chant and sing
Doth night and day is dolefull moan, much sorrow and wailing.

So this is the *Muse*, *Syrene*, and *Mere-maid* alone that Busie folk have: neither is there any thing that they hearken to more willingly: for Curiosity is an itching desire to hear secrets and hidden matters: and wel you wot that no man will lightly conceal any good thing that he hath: considering that many times we make semblance of good parts that be not in us. And therefore the busie intermedler who is so desirous to know and hear of evils, is iubject to that which the Greeks call ἐπιχαιροκακία, a vice, chosen germain or sister rather to envie and eye-biting. Forasmuch as envie is nothing else, but the grief for another mans good: and the foresaid ἐπιχαιροκακία, the joy for his harm: and verily both these infirmities proceed from an untoward root, even another unnamed vice and savage disposition, to wit, malignity or malice. And this we know well, that so irksome and odious it is to every man for to bewray and reveal the secrets, evils and vices which he hath, that many men have chosen to die, rather than to discover and open unto Physicians any of their hidden maladies, which they carry about them. Now suppose that *Heraclitus* or *Erosistratus* the Physicians: nay *Aesculapius* himself whiles he was a mortall man, should come to an house furnished with drugs, medicines and instruments requisite for the cure of diseases, and ask whether any man there had a Fistula in *Ano*, that is, an hollow and hidden ulcer within his fundament? Or if she be a woman, whether she have a cankerous sore within her matrice: (albeit in this art such inquisitive curiosity is a special means making for the good & health of the sick) each one I suppose would be ready to hunt & chase away from the house such a Physician, who unsent for, and before any need required, came upon his own accord and motion in a bravery to enquire and learn other folks maladies. What shall we say then to these busie medlers, who enquire of another the self-same infirmities and worse too? Not of any minde at al to cure and heal the same, but onely to detect and set them abroad: In which respect they are by good right the most odious person in the world. For we hardly can abide Publicanes, Customers, and Tol-gatherers, but are mightily offended with them, not when they exact of us, and cause us to pay toll for any commodities or wares that are openly brought in; but when they keep a fetretting and searching for such things as be hidden, & meddle with the wares and carriages of other men: notwithstanding that law, grant eth and publick authority alloweth them so to do; yea, and if they do it not, they sustain losse and dammage themselves. But contrariwise, these curious fellowes let their own businesse alone, and passe not which end goes forward, caring not to hinder themselves, whiles they be intentive to the affaires of other men. Seldome go they into the Country, for that they cannot endure the quietnes and still silence of the wild and solitary fields. But if haply after a long time they make a start thither, they cast an eye to their neighbours vines, rather than to their own; they enquire how many beeves or oxen of his died? or what quantity of wine sowred under his hand? and no sooner are they full of these news, but into the City they trudge and make haste again. As for the good farmer and painfull husband man indeed, he is not very willing to give ear unto those news, which without his hearkning after come from the City of the own accord, and are brought unto him, for his saying is:

My ditcher will anon both tell and talk,
upon what points concluded was the peace,
For now the knave about such newes doth walk,
And busie he, to listen doth not cease.

But in truth, these busie-bodies, avoiding countrey-life and husbandry, as a vain trade and foolish occupation, a cold manner of living, which bringeth forth no great and tragicall matter: intrude and thrust themselves into the high Courts of Justice, the Tribunal-seats, the Market-place and Publike-pulpits where speeches be made unto the people, great assemblies, and the most frequented quarter of the Haven where the Ships ride at Anchor, what: No newes? saith one of them. How now? Were you not this morning at the Market or in the Common-place? What then: How think you, is not the City mightily changed & transformed within these three hours? Now if it chance that some one or other make an overture, and have something to say as touching those points, down he alights on foot from his horse, he embraceth the man, kisseth him, and there stands attending and giving ear unto him. But say that the party whom he thus encountreth and meeteth upon the way tell him that he hath no newes to report: what sai'st thou? (will he inferre again, and that in displeasure and discontentment:) Wert not thou in the Market-place of late? Didst not thou passe by the Princes court? Hadst thou no talk or conference at all with those that came out of *Italy*? In regard of such therefore as these, I hold well with the Magistrates of the City *Locri*, and commend a law of theirs: That if any Citizen had been abroad in the Countrey, and upon his return home demanded what news? he should have a fine set on his head. For like as Cooks pray for nothing, but good store of fatlings to kill for the Kitchin, and Fishmongers plenty of fishes; even so curious and busie people wish for a world of troubles and a number of affaires, great newes, alterations and changes of State: to the end that they might evermore be provided of gain, to chase and

and hunt after, yea and to kill. Well and wisely therefore did the Law-giver of the Thurians, when he gave order and forbad expresly, That no Citizen should be taxed, noted by name, or scoffed at upon the Stage in any Comedie, save onely adulterers and these busie persons. For surely adultery may be compared well to a kinde of curiosity, sear. hing into the pleasures of another: seeking (I say) and enquiring into those matters which are kept secret, and concealed from the view of the whole world. And as for curiosity, it seemeth to be a resolution of loosenes, like a palsie or corruption, a detection of secrets and laying them naked: For it is an ordinary thing with those who be inquisitive and desirous of many newes, for to be blabs also of their tongues, and to be prattling abroad; which is the reason that *Pythagoras* injoyned yong men five yeers silence, which he called *Echemychia*, Abstinence from all speech, or holding of their tongue.

Moreover it cannot otherwise be chosen, but that foul and cursed language also should accompany curiosity: for look what thing soever busie bodies hear willingly, the same they love to tell and blurt out as quickly: and such things as with desire and care they gather from one, they utter to another with joy: Whereupon it cometh to passe, that over and above other inconveniences which this vice minis treth unto them that are given to it, an impediment it is to their own appetite. For as they desire to know much, so every man observeth them, is beware of them, and endeavoureth to conceal all from them. Neither are they willing to do any thing in their sight, nor delighted to speak ought in their hearing; but if there be any question in hand to be debated, or businesse to be considered and consulted of, all men are content to put off the conclusion and resolution unto another time: namely, untill the curious and busie person be out of the way. And say, that whiles men are in sad and secret conference, or about some serious businesse; there chance one of these busie bodies to come in place presently all is husht, and every thing is removed aside and hidden, no otherwise than folke are wont to set out of the way victuals where a cat doth haunt, or when they see her ready to run by: insomuch as many times those things which other men may both hear and see safely, the same may not be done or said by them onely. Therefore also it followeth by good consequence that a busie and curious person is commonly so farre out of credit, that no man is willing to trust him for any things in such sort, that we commit our letters missive and sigle manuall, sooner to our servants and meer strangers, than to our friends and familiars, if we perceive them given to this humor of much medling. But that worthy Knight *Bellerophontes* was so farre from this, that he would not break open those letters which he carried, though they were written against himself, but forbare to touch the Kings epistle, no lesse than he abstained from the Queen his wife, even by one and the same vertue of Continence. For surely, curiosity is a kind of incontinency, a well as is adultery; and this moreover it hath besides, that joyned there is with it, much folly and extream want of wit: For were it not a part (think you) of exceeding blockish senselesnesse, yea, and madnesse in the highest degree, to passe by so many women that be common, and every where to be had; and them to make means with great cost and expence, to some one kept under lock and key, and besides sumptuous: notwithstanding it fall out many times that such an one is as ill-favoured as she is foul? Semblably, and even the same do our curious folk: they omit and cast behind them many fair and goodly sights to behold, many excellent lectures worth the hearing, many disputations, discourses, honest exercises and pastimes; but in other mens letters they keep a puddering they open and read them, they stand like eaves droppers under their neighbours walles, hearkening what is done or said within, they are ready to intrude themselves to listen what whispering there is between servants of the house; what secret talk there is amongstsilly women when they be in some od corner. &, as many times they are by this means not free from danger: so always they meet with shame & infamy. And therefore very expedient it were for such curious folk, if they would shift off and put by this vice of theirs, estsoons to call to mind (as much as they can) what they have either known or heard by such inquisition: for if (as *Simonides* was wont to say) that when he came (after some time between) to open his desks and coffers, he found one which was appointed for gifts and rewards always full; the other ordained for thanks and the graces void and empty: so, a man after a good time past, set open the store-house of curiosity, and look into it what is therein, and see it toppe full of many unprofitable, vain and unpleasant things; peradventure the very outward sight and face thereof will discontent and offend him, appearing in every respect so loveless and toyish as it is. Go to then: if one should set in hand to turn over leaf by leaf the Books of ancient Writers, and when he hath picked forth and gathered out the worst, make one Volume of altogether, to wit, of those headlesse & unperfect verses of *Homer*, which happly begin with a short syllable, and therefore be called ἀκεφαλοί: or of the solœcismes & incongruities which be found in Tragedies: or of the undecent and intemperate speeches which *Archilochus* framed against women, whereby he defamed and shamed himself: were he not (I pray you) worthy of this Tragicall curse:

A Foul-ill take thee thou lewd wretch,
that lovest to collect
The faults of mortall men now dead,
the living to infect.

but to let these maledictions alone, certes this treasuring and scoring up by him of other mens errors and misdeeds, is both unseemly, and also unprofitable: much like unto that City which *Philip* built of purpose, and peopled it with the most wicked, graceless, and incorrigible persons that were in his time,

time, calling it *Poneropolis* when he had so done. And therefore these curious medlers in collecting and gathering together on all sides the errours, imperfections, defaults, and solœcismes (as I may so say) not of verses or Poems, but of other mens lives, make of their memory a most unpleasant Archive or Register, and uncivill Record, which they ever carry about them. And like as at *Rome*, some there be, who never cast eye toward any fine pictures, or goodly statues, no nor so much as make any account to cheapen beautifull boies and faire wenches which there stand to be sold, but rather go up and down the market where monsters in nature are to be bought, seeking and learning out where be any that want legs, whose armes and elbows turne the contrary way like unto cats; or who have three eyes apeece in their heads, or be headed like unto the Ostrich: taking pleasure (I say) to see if there be borne

A mungrell mixt of divers sorts,
False births, unkind, or strange aborts.

But if a man should bring them to see such sights as these ordinarily, the very thing it selfe would soone give them enough, yea, and breed a loathing in them of such ugly monsters; even so it fareth with those who busie themselves and meddle in searching narrowly into the imperfections of other mens lives, the reproaches of their stocks and kindred, the faults, errours, and troubles that have happned in other houses; if they call to mind what like defects they have found and known before time, they shall soon find that their former observations have done them small pleasure, or wrought them as little profit.

But the greatest meanes to divert this vicious passion is use and custome; namely, if we begin a great way off, and long before to exercise and acquaint our selves in a kind of continency in this behalfe, and so learne to temper and rule our selves; for surely use it was and custome that caused this vice to get such an head, encreasing daily by little and little, and growing from worse to worse: But how and after what manner we should be inured to this purpose, we shall see and understand as we treat of Exercise withall.

First and formost therefore, begin we will at the smallest and most slender things, and which most quickly may be effected. For what matter of difficulty is it for a man in the way as he travelleth, not to amuse and busie his head in reading Epitaphs or inscriptions of Sepulchers? Or what paine is it for us as we walk along the galleries, to passe over with our eyes the writings upon the walls; supposing thus much secretly within our selves, as a maxime or generall rule: That there is no goodnesse, no pleasure, nor profit at all in such writings: For there you may read, That some one doth remember another, and make mention of him by way of hearty commendations in good part; or such an one is the best friend that I have, and many other such like mottoes are there to be seen and read, full of toies and vanities, which at first seem not to do any hurt if one read them, but in truth secretly they do much harme, in that they breed in us a custome and desire to seek after needlesse and impertinent matters. For like as hunters suffer not their hounds to range out of order, nor to follow every sent, but keep them up and hold them in by their collars, reserving by that meanes their smelling pure and neat, altogether for their proper worke, to the end that they should be more eager and hot to trace the footing of their game, and as the Poet saith,

With sent most quick of nosethrils after kind,
The traces of beast so wild, in chase to find;

Even so, we ought to cut off these excursions and foolish traines that curious folke make to heare and see every thing; to keep them short (I say) and turne them another way to the seeing and hearing only of that which is good and profitable. Also, as we observe in Eagles and Lions, That whiles they go upon the ground they draw their talons and claws inward, for feare lest they should dull the sharpe edge and weare the points thereof; so considering that curiosity hath a certain quick conceit and fine edge (as it were) apt to apprehend and know many things, let us take heed that we do not imploy and blunt the same in the worst and vilest of all others.

Secondly, we are to accustome our selves as we passe by another mans doore, not to look in, not to cast our eyes to any thing whatsoever that there is: for that the eye is one of the hands that curiosity useth. But let us alwaies have in readinesse and thinke upon the Apophthegme of *Xenocrates*, who was wont to say, That it skilled not, but was all one, whether we set our feet or eyes within the house of another man. For it is neither meet and just, nor an honest and pleasant sight, according to the old verse,

My friend or stranger, whatever you be,
You shall within all things deformed see.

And what be those for the most part which are seen in houses? Dishes, trenchers, and such like utensils and small vessels lying on the bare ground, or one upon another disorderly: the wenches set and doing just nothing: and lightly a man shall not find ordinarily ought of importance or delight. Now the very cast of the eye upon such things doth therewith turne away the mind: the intentive looking thereupon is unseemly, and the using thereof starke naught. *Diogenes* verily upon a time seeing *Dioxippus*, when he entred in his triumphant chariot into the city for winning the best prise at the Olympian games, how as he rode he could not chuse but set his eye upon a certaine faire damozell, who was in place to behold this pompe and solemne entrance of his, but evermore his eye followed her, whether she were before or behind him: Behold (quoth he) our victorious and triumphant champion, how a young wench hath him sure enough by the neck, and doth writhe him which way she list! Semblably, see you not how these curious folke have their necks bended aside at every foolish sight, and how they turne about with each vanity that they heare and see, after once they have gotten an habit or custome, to looke every way and to carry a rouling eye in their heads? But in mine opinion, it is not ritest that our senses should gad and wander abroad, like a wild and untaught girle, but when reason hath sent it forth to some businesse; after it hath been there imployed and done the errand about which it was set, to returne speedily againe unto her mistris the soule, and make report how she hath sped, and what she hath done? And then afterwards to stay at home decently like a modest waiting-maiden, giving attendance upon reason, and ready alwaies at her command. But now hapneth that which *Sophocles* saith,

The head-strong jades that will no bit abide,
Hate him perforce who should them reine and guide.

The senses having not met with good instructions (as I said before) nor been trained to right waies, run before reason upon their own accord, and draw with them many times the understanding, and send it headlong after such things as are not seemely and decent. And therefore false is that which is commonly reported of *Democritus* the Philosopher: namely, that willingly he dimmed and quenched (as it were) his own sight, by fixing his eyes fast upon a fiery and ardent mirror, to take the reverberation of the light from thence, to the end that they should not disturbe the mind, by calling out essoones the inward intelligence, but suffer it to keep house within, and to be employed in objects intellectuall, as if the windows that regard the street and high way were shut up. Howbeit most true it is, that those who for the most part occupy their understanding, have least use of their senses: which is the reason that in old time they both builded the temples of the Muses, that is to say, houses ordained for students, which they named *Musæa*, as far as they could from Cities and great towns: and also called the night *Euphrone*, as one would say, a friend to sage advice and counsell; as supposing that quiet rest, repose, and stilnesse from all disturbance make very much for contemplation, and invention of those things that we study and seek for.

Moreover, no harder matter is it, nor of greater difficulty than the rest, when in the open market-place or common hall, men are at high words, reproaching and reviling one another, not to approach and come neere unto them. Also if there be any great concourse and running of people together upon some occasion, not to stir at all but sit still, or if thou art not able to containe and rule thy selfe, to rise up and go thy waies. For surely gaine thou shalt no good at all by intermedling with such busie and troublesome persons; but contrariwise, much fruit maiest thou reape by turning away such curiosity, in repressing the same and constraining it by use and custome to obey reason. Having made this good entrance and beginning, to proceed now unto farther and stronger exercise, it were very good, whensoever there is any play exhibited upon the stage in a frequent Theater, where there is assembled a great audience to heare and see some worthy matter for to passe by it, and to back thy friends who sollicite thee to go thither with them, for to see either one dance excellent well, or to act a Comedy; nor so much as to turne back when thou hearest some great shout and out-cry, either from out of the race or the grand-cirque, where the horse-running is held for the prize. For like as *Socrates* gave counsell to forbeare those meats which provoke men to eate when they are not hungry, and those drinks which incite folke to drinke when they have no thirst; even so, we ought to avoid and beware how we either see or heare any thing whatsoever, which may either draw or hold us thereto, when there is no need at all thereof. The noble prince *Cyrus* would not so much as see faire Lady *Panthea*, and when *Araspes* one of his courtiers and minions made report unto him, that she was a woman of incomparable beauty, and therefore worthy to be looked on: Nay, rather (quoth he) for that cause I ought to forbeare the sight of her; for if by your perswasion I should yeeld to go and see her, it may peradventure fall out so, that she her selfe might tempt and induce me againe to repaire unto her; even then haply when I shall not have such leisure, yea, and fit by her, and keep her company, neglecting in the meane time the weighty affairs of State. In like manner *Alexander* the Great would not come within the sight of King *Darius* his wife notwithstanding that she was reported unto him for to be a most gallant and beautifull Lady: Her mother an ancient Dame and elderly matron, he did not stick to visite, but the young gentlewoman her daughter (fresh, faire, and young) he could not be brought so much as once to see. As for us, we cannot cast a wanton eye secretly into the coaches and horse-litters of wives and women as they ride, we can look out of our windows, and hang with our bodies halfe forth, to take the full view of them as they passe by: and all this while we think we commit no fault, suffering our curious eye and wandring mind to slide and run to every thing.

Moreover, it is meet and expedient for the exercise of justice, otherwhiles to omit that which well and justly might be done; to the end that by that means a man may acquaint himselfe to keep far off from doing or taking any thing unjustly. Like as it maketh much for temperance and chastity, to abstaine otherwhiles from the use of a mans own wife, that thereby he might be never moved to lust after the wife of his neighbour; taking this course likewise against curiosity, strive and endeavour sometimes to make semblance as though thou didst neither heare nor see those things that properly concerne thy selfe: And if a man come and bring thee a tale of matters concerning thine own household, let it passe, and put it over, yea, and those words which seeme to have been spoken as touching thine own person, cast them behind, and give no eare thereto. For default of this discretion, it was the inquisitive curiosity of King *Oedipus*, which intangled and enwrapped him in exceeding

dinggreat calamities and miseries: for when he would needs know who himselfe was, as if he had been not a Corinthian, but a stranger, and would needs go therefore to the Oracle to be resolved, he met with *Laius* his own father by the way, whom he slew, and so espoused his own mother, by whose meanes he came to be King of *Thebes*: and even then when he seemed to be a most happy man, he could not so stay, but proceeded further to enquire concerning himselfe, notwithstanding his wife did what she possibly could to dissuade him from it; but the more earnest she was with him that way, the more instant was he with an old man who was privy to all, using all means to enforce him for to bewray that secret: at length when the thing it selfe was so pregnant, that it brought him into farther suspition, and withall when the said old man cried out in this manner,

Alas, how am I at the point perforce
To utter that which will cause great remorse?

The King surprised still with his humour of curiosity, notwithstanding he was vexed at the very heart, answered,

And I likewise for my part am as neare
To beare as much, but yet I must to heare.

So bitter-sweet is that itching-smart humour of curiosity, like unto an ulcer or sore, which the more it is rubbed and scratched, the more it bleedeth and bloudieth it selfe. Howbeit he that is delivered from this disease, and besides of nature mild and gentle, so long as he is ignorant and knoweth not any evill accident, may thus say,

O blessed Saint, when evils are past and gone,
How sage and wise art thou, oblivion.

And therefore we must by little and little accustome our selves to this, that when there be any letters brought unto us, we do not open them presently and in great haste, as many do, who if their hands be not quick enough to do the feat, set their teeth to, and gnaw in sunder the threds that sewed them up fast. Also if there be a messenger comming toward us from a place with any tidings, that we run not to meet him, nor so much as once rise and stir for the matter; and if a friend come unto thee saying, I have some news to tell you of: yea marry (must you say againe) but I had rather that you brought me something indeed that were profitable, fruitfull, and commodious. I remember upon a time when I declaimed and read a lecture at *Rome*, that Orator *Rusticus*, whom afterwards *Domitian* put to death for envy that he bare to his glory, happened to be there to heare me: Now in the midst of my Lecture there came into the place a souldier with letters from the Emperour, which he delivered to *Rusticus* aforesaid, whereupon there was great silence in the schoole, and I my selfe made some pause whiles he might read the letter, but he would not read it then, nor so much as breake it open before I had made an end of my discourse, and dismissed the auditory: for which all the company there present highly prailed and admired the gravity of the man. Now if one do feed and nourish all that he can, (be it but in lawfull and allowable things) this veine and humour of curiosity, so as thereby it becommeth in the end mighty and violent, it will not be an easie matter to restraine and hold it in when it shall breake out and run on end to such things as be unlawfull and forbidden, by reason that it is so used already to intermeddle and be doing. But such men as these break open and unseale letters (as I said) intrude themselves into the secret counsels of their friends: they will needs discover and see those sacred mysteries which it is not lawfull for to see; in place whereunto there is no lawfull accesse they love to be walking; enquire they do into the secret deeds and words of Kings and Princes; and notwithstanding there be nothing in the world that causeth tyrants, who must of necessity know all, so odious as this kind of people, who be called their eares; (promoters, I meane, and spies) who heare all and bring all unto their eares. The first that ever had about him these Oracostes (as a man would say, Princes eares) was *Darius* the yonger; a Prince distrusting himselfe, suspecting also and fearing all men. As for those which were called Prosagogidæ, that is to say, Courtiers, Spies and Enformers, the *Dionysii*, tyrants of *Sicily*, intermingled, such among the Syracusians: whereupon, when the State was altered, those were the first that the Syracusians apprehended and massacred. Also those whom we call Sycophants are of the confraternity, house, and linage of these curious persons, save only this difference there is, that Sycophants enquire what evill any man hath either designed or committed; whereas our Polypragmons hearken after and discover the very calamities and misadventures of their neighbours, which happen even against their will and purpose: and when they have so done, set them abroad to the view of the whole world. Furthermore, it is said, that the name *Aliterium* came up first by occasion of this overmuch medling, called Curiosity. For when there was (by all likelihood) a great famine at *Athens*, they that had corne kept it in and would not bring it abroad to the market, but privily and in the night ground the same into meale within their houses: Now these fellows, named *Aliterii*, would go up and down closely hearkening where the querne or mill went, and thereupon tooke the said name. Semblably as it is reported, the name of Sycophants arose upon the like occasion: for when there was a law made, forbidding that any figs should be carried forth out of the land, such promoters as bewrayed the delinquents, and gave information against those that conveighed figgs away, were also thereupon called Sycophants. To conclude therefore, it were not unprofitable for these curious Polypragmons (of whom we have discoursed all this while) to know thus much; That they might be asshamed in themselves to be noted for manners and profession to be like unto those who are accounted the most odious and hatefull persons in the world.

Of

Of the tranquillity and contentment of mind.

The Summary.

In this Treatise a man may see the excellent discourses and most sound arguments of Morall Philosophy; the scope whereof is to make Scholars and Students therein resolute, and to keep them from wavering and tottering to and fro; notwithstanding that either the skie were ready to fall upon their heads, or the earth to chinke and open under their feet. True it is, that in this place Plutarch *sheweth sufficiently what blindnesse there is in humane wisdome, when the question is to pronounce and speake precisely, Wherein consisteth true repose and assured felicity? For to teach a man whom he calleth vertuous, to search for contentment and quiet rest in his own reason, were as much as to fetch light out of darknesse, and life out of death it selfe. And therefore (for this time) needlesse it is to treat long upon this point, considering that we mind not to dispute or declare how insufficient humane learning and Philosophy is in comparison of true Divinity and Theology. For the present this may suffice, that seeing he was no better than a pagan who hath disputed of this theame, let us receive both this discourse and other such, wherein he endeavoureth to withdraw us from vice, and bring us unto vertue, as written and penned by a man, guided and conducted by a dim and darke light: in which notwithstanding appeare certaine sparks of the truth, which as they are not able to shew the way sufficiently, so they give them to understand, who be far remote from the true light, how miserable and wretched they are every way. Proved he had before, that Flattery, Choler, and Curiosity are vices that overturne the soule up-side down, and transport it so far off, that it is not at home, nor mistris of her selfe: and after he had taught how a man might reclaime and reduce her againe to her own house, he treateth now of those meanes whereby she may be kept quiet, peaceable, joyous, and contented within. For the effecting hereof, at the very entry of this Treatise, he proposeth one expedient meane to attaine thereto, requiring that a man should fortifie and defend his mind with reasons against the evils and dangers to come: then he confuteth the Epicureans, who for to set a man in peace would make him blockish, senselesse, and good for nothing: he answereth likewise to those who are of opinion, that a man may find a certaine kind of vacation and impassibility without all trouble and molestation: which done, he sheweth that reason well ruled and ordered is the foundation and ground of our tranquillity: and all in one and the same traine, he teacheth how a man may be furnished and assisted with this reason. Having thus sufficiently in generall termes discoursed of these premises, he doth particularise and decipher the same point by point, giving fifteen severall counsels, whereby a man may attaine to this contentment and repose of Spirit; the which we have distinguished particularly, and shewed in each one the substance of them, which I thought not good to insert in this place, because the Summary should not exceed over-much. Furthermore, the said counsels be enriched with notable examples, similitudes and sentences; which (no doubt) would have been much more forcible and effectuall, if the principle indeed had been joyned therewith, to wit, true piety and religion: which hath been cleane omitted by the Author, who indeed never knew what was the only true and perfect tranquillity of the soule. Howbeit, wonderfull it is, how he should proceed so far as he doth, having no other help and meanes but his own selfe: which may so much the better serve our turnes, considering that we have aids and guides far more excellent to bring us so far, as to make entry, and take assured possession of that soveraigne good and felicity, whereof he here speaketh.*

Of the tranquillity and contentment of mind.

PLUTARCH *to* PACCIUS *sendeth greeting:*

OVer-late it was before I received your letter, wherein you requested me to write somewhat as touching the Tranquillity of the Soule, and withall of certaine places in *Plato's* Dialogue *Timæus*, which seeme to require more exact exposition: but so it happened, that at the very same time, your friend and mine *Eros*, had occasion to saile with speed to *Rome*, upon the receit of certaine letters from that right worshipfull Gentleman *Fundanus*, by vertue whereof he was to depart suddenly and to repaire unto him with all expedition. By which occasion having not sufficient time and leisure to performe your request in such manner as I purposed, and yet unwilling that the man comming from me should be seen of you empty-handed; I have collected certaine notes, chosen out of those commentaries, which for mine own memory and private use I had compiled long before, concerning this argument, to wit, The Tranquillity and contentment of spirit: supposing that you also demand this present discourse, not for any pleasure that you take to read a treatise penned curiously, and affecting or hunting after fine phrases and exquisite words; but only in regard of some doctrine that may serve your turne and help you to the framing of your life as you ought; knowing withall full well (for the which I do congratulate and rejoyce heartily on your behalfe) that notwithstanding your inward acquaintance, friendship, and favour with the

best and principall persons of the City, and that for eloquence you come behind none that plead causes at the bar in open court, but are reputed a singular Oratour, yet for all that you do not as that Tragicall *Merops*, suffer your selfe foolishly and beyond the course of nature to be carried away as he was with the vaine-glory and applause of the multitude, when they do admire and account you happy therefore; but still you keep in memory that which oftentime you have heard from us; That it is neither a rich Patricians shooe that cureth the gout in the feet, nor a costly and precious ring that healeth the whitflaw or felon in the fingers; nor yet a princely diadem that easeth the headach. For what use is there at all of goods and riches to deliver the soule from griefe and sorrow, or to lead a life in rest and repose without cares and troubles? What good is there of great honours, promotions, and credit in court? Unlesse they that have them know how to use the same well and honestly; and likewise if they be without them, can skill how to find no misse of them, but be alwaies accompanied with contentment; never coveting that which is not? And what is this else but reason accustomed and exercised before-hand, quickly to restraine, and eftsoones to reprehend the passionate and unreasonable part of the soule, which is given oftentimes to breake out of her bounds: and not to suffer her to range and vague at her pleasure, and to be transported by the objects represented unto her? Like as therefore *Xenophon* giveth us good counsell: Alwaies to remember the gods, and most of all to worship and honour them when we are in prosperity, to the end that whensoever we stand in need we may more boldly invocate and call upon them, with full assurance that they will supply our necessities, being thus before-hand made propitious and gracious unto us; even so, wise men, and such as are of good conceit, ought alwaies to be furnished and well provided of reasons sufficient to serve their turne for to encounter their passions before they arise, to the end that being once laid up in store they may do most good when time serveth. For as curst and angry mastives by nature, which at every noise that they heare keep an eager baying and barking as if they were affrighted, become quiet and appeased by one only voice which is familiar unto them, and wherewith they have been acquainted; so it is no small paine and trouble to still and compose the passions of the mind (skittish as they be and grown wild) unlesse a man have ready at hand proper and familiar reasons to represse the same so soone as ever they begin to stir and grow out of order.

Now as touching those who affirme that if a man would live in tranquillity and rest, he ought not to meddle nor deale in many affaires, either in publike or private: First and formost thus I say, that they would make us pay deare for traquillity of mind, when they would have us buy it with idleness and doing nothing; which were as much as if they advised each one to do as *Electra* did to her sick brother *Orestes*, when she said unto him,

Lie still poore wretch and keep thy bed,
Stir not from thence, and have no dread.

But surely as this were untoward Physick for the body, to prescribe for the allaying of paine a medicine that would benumme and stupifie the senses; so verily he were no better Physician for the soule, who to deliver her from trouble and griefe, ordained that she should be made idle, sluggish, soft, and tender, which in one word is as much, as to forget all duty, and to betray friends, kinsfolke, and country. Moreover a false position it is: That they enjoy tranquillity of life, who intermeddle not in much businesse: for if that were true, women would live in more repose and quietnesse of mind than men, forasmuch as they keep home and sit still within doores for the most part, and seldome go abroad: but now although it cannot be denied but that the Poet *Hesiodus* saith,

Cold Boreas *a wind that blows*
From Northern pole full ofi,
Doth never pierce the tender skin
Of damsell smooth and soft.

Yet many hearts-griefes, troubles, perturbations, discontentments, and cares arising upon jealousie, superstition, pride, ambition, foolish and vaine opinions, (which are so many as hardly a man is able to number them) find way and entrance even to the secret chambers and cabinets of our fine and dainty dames: And *Laertes* who lived apart for the space of twenty yeares in the country,

With one old woman and no more,
Who meat and drinke set him before,

far from his native countrey, his own home, from court and kingdome; yet nevertheless he had alwaies dwelling with him sadnesse of heart, accompanied with languishing, idlenesse, and heavy silence. And more than that, this non-imployment in affairs is that which many times hath cast some men into a dumpish melancholy and heavinesse of spirit, like to him of whom *Homer* thus writeth,

Here sat Achilles *swift of foot, by him descended right*
From Jupiter, *though sonne he were of* Peleus *worthy knight,*
And stirr'd not from his fleet in rode, but in an agry fit
Would neither fight in open field, nor yet in counsell sit:
Thus idle he abood so long untill his heart within
Consum'd and nothing wisht he more, than battail to begin.

Where-

whereupon being in a passionate humor, and thinking it a great indignity thus to wear away and do nothing, he breaketh forth himself afterwards into this speech:

But here sit I close to my ships, from action more and lesse
And idle lusk to load the earth, I cannot but confesse.

Insomuch as *Epicurus* himself that great patron and maintainer of pleasure, would not advise nor thinketh meet that those who by nature are of an ambitious and aspiring minde, or desirous of glory, should take their ease and sit still, but by the guidance and direction of their natural inclination, to manage the weighty affaires of State and govern the common weal: saying, that men born for action would be more troubled and discontented in minde with doing nothing, namely when they see how they misse and fail of that which so greatly they desired. Howbeit I must note the absurd folly of the man and his want of judgement, in that he seemeth to call and exhort unto the rule of weal-publike not those who are able and sufficient, but such onely as cannot away with a private life and sitting still: neither ought we to measure and determine either the tranquillity or trouble of the spirit, by the paucity or multitude of affairs, but rather by their honesty or dishonesty: for as we have already said, no lesse discontentment and trouble, groweth to the minde by neglecting and omitting things honest, than by affecting and committing things dishonest. As for those who have determinately set by one speciall kind of life, as void of all grief and trouble, to wit, some making choise to live as husbandmen in tillage of the ground: others to lead a single and unmarried life, and some again have esteemed a Kings-life to be it: to such *Menander* answereth prettily in these verses:

I thought one while that rich and married men,
O Phanias, *who were not hard bested*
To pay for use in every hundredten,
Do either groan nor sigh all night in bed:
Nor as they turn from top to toe
Eftsoones, wo is me, alas, what shall I doe?
Breath out from heart full pensive and oppress,
But sweetly take repose and sleep in rest.

And coming more neerly unto the point, when he perceived that rich men were as restles, and as much disquieted as the poor, he concludeth thus:

But now, I wot, that life and pensive pain
Are neer of kin and cousin germains twain.
Who live in wealth, I see, feel grief of hart,
And men in honour, of sorrows have their part
No lesse than those, whose want and penurie
Do hap age with them, and keep them companie.

And the case is all one as with those that be either timorous or stomack-sick at sea, when they be under sail: for supposing that they shall be better at ease they go out of a bark into a brigandine, and out of it into a galley: but they finde no good thereby, for that they carry about them still choler and a false heart, which are the cause of this their distemperature; even so eftsoons to change from one course of life unto another, is not the means to deliver the mind from troubles and perturbations, which hinder the repose and quietnesse thereof. And what be these troubles? even want of experience in affaires; inconsiderate rashnesse, and default of discretion: insufficiency and want of knowledge, how to use and accommodate things aright to the present occasions. These be they that molest and vex as well the rich as the poor: these torment and hurt single persons no lesse than married folk. In regard hereof, some having bidden the court and civil affaires farewell yet soon after again could not away with a private and quiet life. And for no other cause but this many make all the means they can to be advanced to high places, and to insinuate themselves into Princes courts: and when they have attained thereto, anon repent them and mislike of that course: But true it is the Poet *Ion* saith,

He that lieth sick is hard to please,
He wants advise that should him ease.

For his wife is a trouble unto him; the Physician he findeth fault with, and the bed is not to his minde; besides,

A Friend comes to visit, he welcomes him not; but,
And when he departs, unkind he is thought.

But afterwards as the disease beginneth to break away or decline, and the former temperature of the bodie to return, health cometh again which maketh every thing pleasant and agreeable: insomuch as he who the day before was ready upon a peevishnesse of stomack to cast up dainty egges, fine *Amydum* and marchpain, and the fairest cocked manchet that is, will be content the morrow after, yea, and glad with all his heart, to feed savourly and with a good stomack of down right household bread, of some Olives or Cresses. Such a contentment and alteration worketh judgement of reason in every kind and course of life. It is reported that King *Alexander* the Great, hearing *Anaxarchus* the Philosopher discoursing and maintaining this Position: That there were worlds innumerable, fell a weeping: & when his friends and familiars about him asked what he ailed. Have I not (quoth he good cause to weep, that being as there are an infinite number of worlds, I am not yet the Lord of

one? Whereas *Crates* having no more than a wallet at his neck, and a poor threadbare cloke upon his back, spent his whole life in mirth and joy, laughing alwayes full merrily as if it had been alwaies a feastivall holiday. As for *Agamemnon* he complained in these words, and thought it an intolerable burden to be a King and Commander of so great a People.

Wot well you see Atreus *his sonne,*
King Agamemnon *high:*
Whom Jupiter *clogs more with care,*
than any mortall weight.

Contrariwise *Diogenes*, when he was to be bought and sold among other slaves in open market, si offed at the Crier who made sale; and lying along the ground, would not so much as rise when he was bidden to stand up, but cavilled with him after a mocking and jesting manner, what (quoth he) and if you sold a fish would you bid it rise up? Likewise *Socrates* discoursed familiarly with his fellowes and followers as touching Philosophie, even when he was in prison. Whereas *Phaeton*, notwithstanding he was mounted up into heaven, wept for anger and despight that no man would give him the rule and regiment over the chariot-steeds belonging to the sunne his father. And as a shoe is wrested and turned according to the fashion of a crooked or splay-foot, but never doth the foot writhe to the form of a shoe; even so it is for all the world with the dispositions of mens minds: they frame their lives and make them like thereto. For it is not use and custome that causeth the best life to be pleasant also unto them that have made choice thereof, as some one haply is of opinion; but wisedome rather and discretion maketh that life which is best to be also sweetest and most pleasant. Since that therefore the source and fountain of all tranquillity and contentment of spirit is in our selves, let us cleanse and purifie the same spring, as clean as possibly we can, that all outward and casuall occurrences whatsoever, may be made familiar and agreeable unto us, knowing once how to use them well.

If things go crosse, we ought not, iwis,
To fret; for why? such choler will not boot:
But he that know's when ought is done amisse,
To set all straight, shall cheve full well, I wot.

Plato therefore compared our life to a game of Tables; wherein the plaier is to wish for the luckiest cast of the dice, but whatsoever his chance is, he must be sure to play it well, and make the best of it: Now of these two points, the former, to wit a good throw, is not in our power and choice; but the other resteth in us, namely, whatsoever our lot is, to take in good worth, and to dispose every thing in that place where it may profit most if it fortuned well: and contrariwise, if it fell out crosse, where it may do least harm. This (I say) is our part and duty to perform, if we be as wise as we should be. As for brain-sick fooles, and such as know not to carry themselves in this life (like unto those that have crasie and diseased bodies, who neither can abide burning heat nor chilling colde) as in prosperity they spread and set up their sails too high, so in adversity they strike them as low. Troubled they are mightily with both extremities; or to speak more truely, with themselves, as much in the one as the other, and no lesse in that state which yeeldeth those things that we call and repute goods. *Theodorus* that infamous Philosopher, who for his profane opinion was surnamed *Atheos*, that is to say, the Atheist, was wont to say: That he delivered his speeches with the right hand to his auditors and scholars, but they took the same with their left: even so ignorant and untaught persons many times when fortune presenteth her self unto them on the right hand receive her awkly, turning to the left side undecently, and by that means commit many untoward and lewd parts. But those that be wise do farre better: for as Thyme yeeldeth unto Bees the quickest and driest hony; even so they out of the most unfortunate accidents that be, can skill often-times to get somewhat which is agreeable and commodious unto themselves. This is then the first and principall point, wherein a man ought to be trained and exercised, upon this must he study and meditate. And like as that fellow, when he slung a stone at a curst bitch, missed her, and chanced to hit his step-mother, saying withall: It makes no matter: for it hath not light amisse; even so we, may turn all our own fortune to our own purpose, and make the best use of it, in case things fall out otherwise than we would or meant. *Diogenes* his hap was to be banished and driven out of his own Countrey; yet this exile of his proved not ill to him; for by that means and thereupon he began to study and professe Philosophie. *Zeno* the Cittizan had but one Frigat or Flie-boat left him, and hearing newes that both it and all therein was cast away, drowned and perished in the mids of the Sea, O Fortune (quoth he) thou hast done well, to drive us again to put on our poor and simple Scholars habit, and to send us to our gallerie and school of Philosophie. What should hinder us then, but that we may follow the examples of these men. Art thou deprived and put out of some publike office or magistracy which thou didst exercise? Go and live in the Countrey: there follow thine own businesse, and plie thy private affairs. Hast thou made suite and great means to be entertained in the Court, and to winde into speciall favour with some Prince and Potentate, and after all thy travell suffered repulse? Well, thou shalt live privately at home, without danger, without trouble. Again. Art thou entred into action, and dost thou manage State-affaires, wherein thou hast cares enough, and no time to breathe thy self?

The wholsome waters and hot baines
Do not so much slay our painer:

And

And if our limmes be dull or sick,
Refresh the same and make them quick:
As when a man himself doth see
Advanc't to honour and high degree,
His glory, care and pain doth ease,
No travell then will him displease.

as *Pindarus* saith very well: Art thou in some disgrace, and cast out of favour with reproch, by reason of some slanderous calumniation or envie? Thou hast a gale of fore-wind at the Poop, which will soon bring thee directly to the Muses and to the Academie: that is to say, to follow thy book, and study Philosophie: for this was *Plato's* help, when he was in disfavour with *Denys* the Tyrant. And therefore one means this is (of no small importance) to work contentment in a mans mind; namely, to look back unto the state of famous and renowned persons, and to see whether they (haply) have not suffered the like at any time; as for example: Art thou discontented with thy childlesse estate, for that thy wife hath brought thee no children? Do but mark the Kings of *Rome*, how there was not one of them that left the crown unto his son. Is it poverty that pincheth thee, so as thou not art able to endure it? Tell me which of all the Bœotians wouldest thou chuse to resemble, sooner than *Epaminondas*? or what Romane wouldest thou be like unto, rather than *Fabricius*? But say thy wife hath plaied false by thee, and made thee wear hornes? Didst thou never read that Epigram of King *Agis* at *Delphos*?

Τῆνδέ ϐ᾽ * τεταφεῖν βασιλεὺς Ἄγις μ᾽ ἀνέθηκεν.
Agis, *of sea and land a crowned king,*
Gave me sometime a sacred offering.

* Not Τεαφεῖν, as it is commonly printed and according to which Budæus hath translated it, and made no sense at all in Latin, But in Homer the same manner of phrase is used Iliad. ζ. εἰ μ᾽ ὄϕελον δὴ τεαφεῖν ϗ ἔϐη ὑγρὴν. i.e. over Land and Sea.

And yet as mighty a Prince as he was, you have heard (I am sure) that *Alcibiades* lay with his wife *Timea*, and she would not bash to call the sonne that she had by him in adultery, *Alcibiades*, especially amongst her women and waiting-maidens, whispering and speaking as much softly unto them: But what of all that? This crooked crosse was no barr unto K. *Agis*, but that he proved the greatest and most renowned personage of all the Greeks in his time. No more was it any hinderance to *Stilpo*, but that he lived all the dayes of his life most merrily, and no Philosopher like to him: in those dayes, notwithstanding he had a daughter that plaied the harlot: and when *Metrocles* the Cynick reproched him therewith; Is this (quoth he) my fault or hers? To which when *Metrocles* answered again: The fault is indeed hers, but the infortunity and mishap is yours: What now (replyed *Stilpo* again) how can that be? Are not (I pray you) all faults rightly named Slips or Falles? Yes truly, said the other: And are not falles (quoth *Stilpo*) mischances or misfortunes? *Metrocles* could not denie it: Why then (inferred *Stilpo* at last) what are mischances or misfortunes, other than infortunities and mishaps to them whose mischances they are. By this milde kind of Sorites and Philosophicall reasoning thus from point to point, he shewed that the reprochfull language of this Cynicall *Metrocles*, was nothing else, but a vain and foolish baying and barking of a cur-dogge. But on the contrary side, the most part of men are provoked and troubled not onely for the vices of their friends, familiars, and kinsfolk, but also of their very enemies. For reprochfull taunts anger envie, malice, and spightfull jealousies, are the mischiefs and plagues (I must needs say) of such especially that have them: howbeit they most eft and vex those also that are witlesse and without discretion no otherwise than the hasty and cholerick fits of our neighbours, the peevish and froward dispositions of our familiar acquaintance, and some shrewd demeanors of our servants in that they go about: with which me thinks you also troubling and disquieting your self as much as with any thing else, like unto those Physicians of whom *Sophocles* thus writeth:

Who bitter choler cleuse and scour
With drugs as bitter and as soure,

do unseemly and not iwis for the credit of your person, thus to chase and fret at their passions and imperfections beyond all reason, and shew your self as passionate as they. For surely the affairs and negotiations wherewith you are put in trust, and which be managed by your direction, are not executed ordinarily by the ministery of such persons whose dealings be plain, simple and direct as instruments most meet and fit for such a purpose: but for the most part by crooked, rough, and crabbed pieces. To reform and amend these enormities, I would not have you think that it is either your work and duty or an enterprise otherwise easily performed. But if you making use of these, being such by nature as the Chirurgians do of tooth-drawing pincers and those instruments wherewith they do bring the edges of a wound together; will shew your self milde, moderate, and tractable in every respect, according as the present occasion will give leave: surely you shall not receive so much discontentment and displeasure at the untoward and unhappy dealings of others, as joy in the conscience of your own good disposition, as making this account, that such ministers of yours do but their kind, like as dogs when they bark: But if you feed and cherish this pusillanimity and weakness of yours, you shall be sure to heap up many troubles and follies of other men ere you be aware, which will be ready to fall and run as into some low ground and hollow trench, unto that weaknesse of yours. For what should I say, that some Philosophers reprove the pitty and commiseration which we have for them that are in distresse and miserie, acknowledging that it is a good and charitable deed to help and succor such as be in calamity, but not commending that condolence and fellow-feeling with our neighbours, as if we yeelded with them unto Fortune? And more than so, the same

Philosophers will not permit and give us leave, in case we be subject to some vice and ill disposed, for to be seen and known for to grieve and sorrow therefore: but rather to correct and amend what is amisse, without any shew at all of sad cheer and heavinesse; which being so, consider then how little reason and small cause we have, nay, how absurd it were, that we should suffer our selves to be troubled, vexed and angry, in case of all those who commerce and converse with us, deal not so well and kindly as they should? But above all things my good friend *Paccius*, let us see to this, that our self-love deceive and seduce us not: let us beware (I say) that we do not so much shew an hatred and detestation of wickednesse and sinne in generall: as bewray some private and particular regard of our own, in that we seem to abhorre and dread the naughtinesse of those that have to do with us. For to be exceeding much moved and beyond all measure affectionate at some time to such and such affairs; to covet (I say) and pursue the same over-hotly, and otherwise than is meet and beseeming; or contrariwise, to loth, despise, and abhor the same, must needs breed discontentments, suspitions, and offences in those persons by whom we seem either to have been prevented and disappointed of some things, or to have run and fallen too soon upon other: But he that is used to carry himself cheerfully and with moderation in his affaires, (fall out as they will) and can frame to their events, he will soon learn to negotiate and converse with any man in all dexterity and gentle behaviour. Well then, let us set in hand again to discourse of those matters which we have intermitted for a while: for like as in a feaver all things that we taste seem at the first bitter & unsavoury: but when we see others take without any shew and signification of dislike the same which we spit out, then we blame no more either meats or drinks, but lay the fault upon our disease; even so, when we perceive that other men have entred upon and gone through the same affairs with great alacrity, and without any pain at all, whereof we complained and made much adoe: let us for shame cease to find fault and be offended so much at the things. And therefore if at any time there shall befall unto us some adverse and crooked accident against our wils, it will be very good for the working of our contentment in mind, not to pass over but to regard such things as at other times have hapned to our minds and as we could wish them: but to conferre them together, and by a good medly of them both to darken and dor the worst with laying the better to. But now, whereas we are wont when our eyes be dazzled and offended with beholding that which is too bright and glittering, to refresh and comfort our sight again with looking upon pleasant colours of flowers; and green grasse: herein contrariwise we direct our minds and cogitations upon heavy and dolorous objects, and violently force our thoughts to be amused upon the remembrance of calamities and adverse fortunes, plucking them perforce as it were from the consideration of better. And here in this place me thinks I may very fitly apply that sentence to our present purpose, which was said to a busie and curious person,

Ah spitefull minde and most envious hart
Why other faults do'st thou so quickly spie
With eagles sight, but in thine own thou art
Stark blinde, or else do'st wink with howlets eye?

Even so good sir, How is it that you regard and advise so wittily your own miserie and calamitie, making it alwayes apparent and fresh in remembrance, but upon your present prosperity you set not minde? And like as ventoses, cupping glasses or boxes draw the most corrupt humors to them out of the flesh; even so you gather against your self the worst thing you have, being no better than the merchant of *Chio*, who when he sold to others a great quantity of the best wine, sought up and down tasting every vessel until he met with that of his own dinner, which began to sowr and was little better than stark naught. This man had a servant who ranne away; who being demanded what his master had done unto him for which he should shew him a pair of heels? Because (quoth he) when he had plenty of that which was good, he would needs seek for naught. And most men verily are of the same nature, who passing by good and desiderable things, which be (as a man would say) the pleasant and potable liquors that they have, betake themselves to those that be harsh, bad, and unsavoury. But *Aristippus* was of another humour: for like a wise man and one that knew his own good, he was alwayes disposed to make the best of every occurrence, raising and lifting up himself to that end of the ballance which mounted aloft, and not to that which went downward. It fortuned one day that he lost a fair Mannor or Lordship of his own, & when one of his friends above the rest made most semblance to lament with him, and to be angry with fortune in his behalf: Hear you (quoth he) know you not that your self have but one little farm in the whole world, and that I have yet three houses more left, with good lands lying to them? Yes marie do I (quoth the other) Why then (quoth *Aristippus* again) wherefore do we not rather pitty your case, and condole with you? For it is meer madnesse to grieve and sorrow for those things that are lost and gone, and not to rejoyce for that which is saved. And like as little children, if a man chance to take from them but one of their gauds, among many other toies that they play withall, throw away the rest for very curst-heart, and then fall a puling, weeping and crying out aright: semblably, as much folly and childishnesse it were, if when fortune thwarteth us in one thing, we be so farre out of the way and disquieted therewith, that with our plaints and moans we make all her other favours unprofitable unto us. But will some one say, What is it that we have? Nay, What is it that we have not? might he rather say: One man is in honour, another hath a fair and goodly house; one hath a wife to his mind, and another a trusty friend.

Antipater of *Tarsus* the Philosopher, when he drew toward his end and the hour of his death, in recount-

recounting and reckoning up all the good and happy dayes that ever he saw in his life time, left not out of his roll so much as the Bon-voiage that he had when he sailed from *Cilicia* to *Athens*. And yet we must not forget nor omit those blessings and comforts of this life which we enjoy in common with many more, but to make some reckoning and account of them: and namely to joy in this, that we live; that we have our health: that we behold the light of the Sunne; that we have neither warre abroad nor civill sedition and dissension at home: but that the land yeeldeth it self arable and to be tilled, and the sea navigable to every one that will, without fear of danger; that it is lawfull for us to speak, and keep silence at our pleasure: that we have liberty to negotiate and deal in affairs, or to rest and be at our repose. And verily the enjoying of these good things present, will breed the greater contentment in our spirit, if we would but imagine within our selves that they were absent; namely, by calling to mind eftsoons, what a misse and desire those persons have of health, who be sick and diseased? How they wish for peace, who are afflicted with warres? How acceptable it is either to a stranger or a mean person and unknown, for to be advanced unto honour, or to be friended in some famous and puissant City? And contrariwise, what a great griet is this to forgo these things when a man once hath them? And surely a thing cannot be greater nor precious when we have lost it, and the same of no value and account all the while we have and enjoy it: for the not being thereof, addeth no price and worth thereto. Neither ought we to hold these things right great and excellent, whiles we stand alwayes in fear and trembling to think that we shall be deprived and bereft of them, as if they were some worthy things: and yet all the time that they be sure and safe in our possession, neglect and little regard them, as if they were common and of no importance. But we ought to make use of them whiles they be ours, and that with joy, in this respect especially, that the losse of them, if it shall so fall out, we may bear more meekly and with greater patience. Howbeit, most men are of his opinion (as *Arcesilaus* was wont to say) that they ought to follow diligently with their eye and cogitation the Poemes, Pictures, and Statues of others, and come close unto them for to behold and perule exactly each of them; yea, and consider every part and point therein from one end to the other: whiles in the mean time they neglect and let alone their own lives and manners; notwithstanding there be many unpleasant sights to be spied and observed therein: looking evermore without, and admiring the advancements, welfare and fortunes of others: much like as adulterers who have an eye after their neighbours wives, but loath and set naught by their own. And verily this one point also is of great consequence, for the setling of a mans minde in sure repose; namely, to consider principally himself, his own estate and condition; or at least wise (if he do not so) yet to look back unto those that be his inferiours and under him: and not as the most sort do, who love alwayes to look forward and to compare themselves with their betters and superiors. As for example, slaves that are bound in prison and lie in irons, repute them happy who are abroad at liberty; such as be abroad, think their state blessed who be manumitted and made free; being once franchised, they account themselves to be in very good case if they were Citizens; and being Citizens they esteem rich men most happy; the rich imagine it a gay matter to be Lords and Princes; Lords and Princes having a long desire to be Kings and Monarchs; Kings and Monarchs aspire still higher and would be Gods; and yet they rest not so, unlesse they may have the power to flash lightnings and shoot thunder-bolts, as well as *Jupiter*. Thus whiles they evermore come short of that which is above them, and covet still after it, they enjoy no pleasure at all of those things that they have, nor be thankfull therefore.

The Treasures great I care not for
of Gyges *King so rich in gold;*
Such avarice I do abhor,
nor money will I touch untold.
I never long'd with Gods above,
in their high works for to compare:
Grand Seigniories I do not love,
far from mine eyes all such things are.

A Thracian he was that protested thus. But some other, that were a Chian, a Galatian or a Bithynian (I dare warrant you) not contenting himself with his part of honor, credit and authority in his own country and among his neighbours and fellow-citizens, would be ready to weep and expostulate the matter with tears, if he might not also wear the habit and ornaments of a Patrician or Senator of *Rome*. And say it were granted and allowed him to be a noble Senator, he would not be quiet untill he were a Roman Lord Prætor: Be he Lord Prætor, he will aspire to a Consulship; and when he is created Consull, whine he will and crie if he were not nominated and pronounced the former of the two, in, but elected in the second place. And I pray you what is all this? What doeth a man herein but gather pretended excuses of ingratitude to Fortune, in punishing and chastizing himself after this manner? But the man who is wise and of a sound judgement, in case some one or two among so infinite thousands of us mortall men,

Whom Sunne from heaven so daily doth behold,
Who feed on fruits of earth so manifold,

be either more honoured or richer than himself, will not therefore be cast down straightway, and sit mourning and lamenting for sorrow: but rather in the way as he goeth, and whensoever he cometh abroad, salute and blesse with praise and thanksgiving, that good fortune of his and blessed

angell that guideth his life, for that his lot is to live farre better, more at hearts ease, and in greater reputation than many millions of millions of other men. For true it is, that in the solemn games at *Olympia*, no champion may choose his concurrents with whom he is to wrestle or enter into a combat for a prize: but in this life, our state standeth so, and our affairs be in that manner composed, that every man hath means to match, yea, and excel many others, and so to bear himself aloft, that he be rather envied than envious: unlesse haply he be such an one, as will presume to deal with *Briareus* or *Hercules* for the Mastrie. Well, when thou shalt behold some great Lord or honorable personage born aloft in a litter upon mens shoulders, stand not wondring so much at him, but rather cast thine eyes down a little lower, and look upon the poor porters that carry him. Again, when thou shalt repute that great Monarch *Xerxes* a right happy man, for that he made a bridge of ships over the Streights of *Hellespont*; consider withall, those painfull slaves who under the very whip and for fear of scourging, digged thorow the mountain *Athos*, and made passage that way for an arm of the Sea: as also those miserable wretches, who had their ears cropt and their noses cut off, for that the foresaid bridge by a mighty tempest was in joynted and broken; and therewith imagine by thy self what those silly souls might think, and how happy they would repute thy life and condition in comparison of their own. *Socrates* upon a time, when one of his familiar friends seemed to complain and say, What a costly place is this? How deer are things sold in this City? The wine of *Chios* will cost a pound; purple is sold for three, and a pinte of hony is held at five drachmes: Took him by the hand and led him to the Meal-hall. Lo (quoth he) you may buy here half a sextar of good meal for a half-penny. The market (God be thanked) is cheap: from thence he brought him to an Oil-cellar, and where they sold Olives: Here you shall have (quoth he) a measure called *Chœnix*, for two brasen dodkins (a good market beleeve me.) He took him then with him to the Brokers shops that sold clothes, where a man might buy a suit of apparell for ten drachmes. You see (quoth he) that the pennyworths are reasonable, and things be bought and sold good cheap through out the City: even so we, when we shall hear other men say: Our state is but mean, we are exceeding bare, and our condition is passing base: For why? We cannot come to be Consuls, we shall never be rulers nor governors of Provinces, nor rise to the highest places of authority. We may very well answer in this wise: Nay mary, but our case is right good; we live gallantly, and lead a blessed and happy life: we beg not: we go not from door to door to crave folks alms; we are no porters: we bear no burdens; neither like parasites and smell-feasts, do we get our bread by flattery. But forasmuch as we are for the most part grown to this folly, that we are accustomed to live rather according to others than our selves, and our nature is so far corrupted with a kind of jealous affectation and envie, that it joyeth not so much in her own proper goods, as grieveth at the welfare of another) I would advise you not onely to regard those things that be resplendent, glorious and renowned in those whom you admire and esteem so happy: but also to set open and lift up the vail a little, and to draw (as it were) that glittering curtain of outward shew, apparance and opinion that men have of them, which covereth all, and so to look in. Certes, you shall find that they have within them many matters of trouble, many grievances and discontentments. That noble *Pittacus*, so famous for his valor and fortitude, and as much renowned also for wisedome and justice, feasted upon a time certain of his friends that were strangers: and his wife coming in at mids of the dinner, being angry at somewhat els overthrew the Table and there lay all under foot. Now when his guests and friends were wonderously dismayed and abashed hereat: *Pittacus* made no more ado at the matter, but turning unto them, There is not one of us all (quoth he) but he hath his crosse, and one thing or other to exercise his patience: and for mine own part this is the only thing that checketh my felicity: for were it not for this shrow my wife, I vvere the happiest man in the world: So that of me may these verses be well verified:

This man who while he is in street
or publick p'ace is happy thought,
No sooner sets in house his feet
but wo is him: and not for nought.
His wife him rules, and that's aspight
She chides, she fights, from morn to night.

Well my masters, you have many occasions (I am sure) that vex you: as for my self I grieve at nothing. Many such secret sores there be that put them to anguish and pain who are rich and in high authority, yea, and trouble Kings and Princes themselves: howsoever the common people see no such matter: and why? their pomp and outward glory covereth and hideth all. For vvhen vve read thus in *Homer*,

O happy King, sir Agamemnon *hight*
The sonne of Atreus *that worthy Knight,*
Born in good hower, and lull'd in Fortunes lap,
Most puissant, rich, and thrall to no mishap.

This is a rehearsall surely of an outvvard beatitude onely, in regard of his arms, horses, and men of war about him: for the voices which are breathed out and uttered from his passions, do falsifie that opinion of him, and bear witnesse of the contrary: as may appear by this testimonie of himself in *Homer*,

Great

Great Jupiter *god* Saturnes *son,*
Hath plung'd me deep in woe begun.

Euripides also to the like effect;

Your state, ô sir, I happy deeme,
And his no lesse I do admire
Who led his life unknown, unseene,
From danger far, from vaine desire.

By these and such like meditations, a man may by little and little spend and diminish that quarrelsome and complaining discontentment of the mind against Fortune in debasing and casting down his own condition with the wonderfull admiration of his neighbours state. But there is nothing that doth so much hurt unto our tranquillity of mind as this, when our affection and will to a thing is disproportioned unto our might and power: as if we set up greater sailes than our vessell will beare, building our hopes and desires as castles in the aire without a sound foundation, and promising our selves more than reason is; for afterwards when by proofe we see, that we cannot reach thereto, and find that the successe is not answerable to our conceit, we grumble by and by against fortune, and we blame our destiny; whereas we should accuse our own folly and rashnesse. For neither he that would seeme to shoot an arrow out of a plough; or ride upon an Oxe-back to hunt the Hare; can say that he is unlucky; nor he that goeth about to catch the Hart and Hind with fishers drag-nets, or with grins, snares and traps, may justly find fault with his fortune, and give out that some wicked angell doth crosse him, or malignant spirit haunt him, if he faile and misse of his purpose: but surely such are to condemne their own foolishnesse and inconsiderate temerity, in attempting things impossible. And what might be the cause of such errours and grosse oversight? Surely our fond and blind selfe-love. This is it that causeth men to affect ever to be foremost; this moveth them to strive and contend for the highest place; this maketh them opinionative in every thing, aiming and reaching at all things unsatiable, and never rest contented. For it sufficeth them not to be both rich and learned; eloquent withall and mighty; good fellows at the table and pleasant companions; minions and favourites of Kings and Princes; Rulers of Cities, and Governors of Provinces; unlesse they may be masters also of the swiftest and hottest hounds for running; the principall horses for service and stomack; quailes and cocks of the best game for fight; If they faile in any of these, they be cast down, and their hearts are done. *Denys* the elder of that name, not being contented and satisfied in mind that he was the most mighty and puissant tyrant in his time; but because he was not a better Poet than *Philoxenus*, nor able to discourse and dispute so learnedly as *Plato*; in great choler and indignation he cast the one into a dungeon within the Stone quarries, where malefactors, felons, and slaves were put to punishment; and confined the other as a caitife, and sent him away into the Isle *Ægine*. *Alexander* the Great was not of that disposition, who when *Brison* the famous runner in the race contended with him for the best game in foot-manship, and for the nonce to please the King, seemed to faint and lag behind, and so to yeeld the honour of the course unto him; being advertised thereof, was mightily offended and displeased with him for it. Very wisely therefore and aptly to this purpose the Poet *Homer* when he had given this commendation of *Achilles*,

Like unto him there is not one in field,
Of all the Greeks that serve with speare and shield

He inferred presently upon it,

In feats of armes: but for to speake and plead
Others there be who can him teach and lead.

Megabyzus the Persian, a great Lord went up one day into the shop of *Apelles*, where he used to paint; and when he was about to speake (I wot not what) as touching painting-craft, *Apelles* not enduring to heare him talke so foolishly, staied him and stopped his mouth, saying prettily thus unto him: So long sir as you held your tongue you were taken to be some great man by reason of your chaines, corquans, and brooches of gold; your purple robes also, which together with your silence commended your person: but now the very prentise boies here, who grind colour, and such like colours, are ready to laugh at you, hearing you to talke so foolishly, you know not what. And yet some there be who thinke that the Stoicks do but mock and jest when they heare them hold this opinion: That the wise man (such as they imagine to themselves) is not only Prudent, Just, and Valiant, but ought also to be called an Oratour, a Captaine, and a Poet, a rich and mighty man, yea, and a very King; whiles they themselves will needs be invested in these titles, and if they be not, then they are displeased and misconten by and by; what reason they have so to be, let them answer. Sure I am, that among the gods themselves some have power one way, and some another; and thereupon took their sundry denominations accordingly, and rest contented therewith: as for example, one is surnamed *Enyalius*, i. e. the god of war; another *Mantous*, i. e. the president of Prophesies; and a third *Cerdous*, which is as much to say, as the patron of those that gaine by traffick. And hereupon it is that *Jupiter* in *Homer* forbidding *Venus* to meddle in warlike and martiall affaires, as nothing pertinent unto her, sendeth her to weddings and bride-chambers, and bids her attend them. Moreover, some qualities and things there be that we seem to affect and wish; the which are in nature contrary, and will not concur and sort well together: as for example, the profession of eloquence, and the study of Arts Mathematicall require rest and quietnesse, neither have the students need to

be

be employed in any affaires. Contrariwise, policy and managing of the State and weale-publike, the favours of Princes and Potentates are not compassed without much ado; neither can a man be idle at any time, who either is employed in the service of his countrey, or attendant in the Court. Much feeding upon flesh, and liberall drinking of wine, maketh (I must needs say) the body able and strong, but the mind feeble and weake. Likewise, the continuall and excessive care both in getting and keeping goods, may well augment riches and increase our substance: but surely it is the contempt and despisement of worldly wealth, that is a great help and meanes to learning and Philosophy. And therefore we may well conclude; that every man is not fit for every thing: but herein each one must be ruled by the sage sentence of *Pythius Apollo*, and first learne, To know himselfe; then marke and observe to what one thing he is most framed and enclined; and thereto both apply and employ his wits, and not to offer violence to nature, and draw her perforce, as it were, against the haire, to this or that course of life which she liketh not.

The horse serves best in chariot at the thill,
The oxe at plough, the ground to eare and till:
Ships under sayle the dolphins when they spy,
Most swiftly then do swim their sides fast by:
Who would in wood the wild bore chase and slay,
Must bring with him the hardy hound away.

Now if there be one that shall be angry with himselfe and displeased, that he is not at once both a savage lion of the forrest, bold and venturous of his own strength, and withall a dainty fine puppy of *Malta*; cherished and softered in the lap and bosome of some delicate dame and rich widdow; commend me to him for a senselesse foole of all fooles, and to say a sooth, I hold him also as very an asse and doltish sop, who will needs be such a one as *Empedocles*, *Plato*, and *Democritus*; namely, to write of the world of the nature and true essence of all things therein, and withall, to keep a rich old trot and sleep with her every night, as *Euphorion* did; or else like unto those who kept company with *Alexander* the great, in drinking and gaming (as one *Medius* did) and yet thinke it a great abuse and indignity (forsooth) if he may not be as much admired for his wealth as *Ismenias*, and esteemed no lesse for his vertue than *Epaminondas*. We see that the runners in a race be not discontented at all if they weare not the garlands and coronets of wrestlers, but rest pleased with their own rewards, and therein delight and rejoyce. It is an old saying, and a common proverbe: *Spirta* is thy lot and Province, look well to it, and adorne the same. For it is a saying also of wise *Solon*,

And yet we will not change our boon
With them for all their wealth and gold:
Goods passe from man to man full soone,
Ours vertue is, a sure free-hold.

Strato the naturall Philosopher, when he heard that *Menedemus* his Concurrent had many more scholars by far than he: What marvell is that (quoth he) if there be more that desire to be washed and bathed than are willing to be anointed and rubbed. *Aristotle* writing to *Antipater*: It is not meet (quoth he) that *Alexander* alone should think highly of himselfe, in that he is able to command so many men; but they also have good cause to be as well conceited of themselves, who have the grace to beleeve of the gods as they ought. For surely, they that thus can make the best use of their own estate shall never be vexed, nor at their neighbours welfare pine away for very envy. Which of us now doth require or think it fit, that the vine-tree should beare figgs, or the olive grapes? And yet we our selves, if we may not have all at once, to wit, the superiority and preeminence among rich men, among eloquent orators and learned clerks, both at home and abroad, in the schooles among Philosophers, in the field among warriers; as well among flattering clawbacks as plaine-spoken, and tell-troth friends; to conclude, unlesse we may go before all pinching penny-fathers in frugality; yea, and surpasse all spend-thrifts in riot and prodigality; we are out of our little wits; we accuse our selves dayly like sycophants; we are unthankfull; we repine and grumble as if we lived in penury and want. Over and besides, do we not see that Nature her selfe doth teach us sufficiently in this point? For like as she hath provided for sundry kinds of bruit and wild beasts, divers sorts of food: for all feed not upon flesh, all peck not upon seeds and grains of plants, neither do all live upon roots which they worke for under the ground; even so she hath bestowed upon mankind many means to get their living, while some live by grasing and feeding of cattell, others by tillage, some be Fowlers, others Fishers: and therefore ought every man to chuse that course of life which forteth best with his own nature, and wholly to apply and fer his mind thereto; leaving unto others that which pertaineth to them, and not to reprove and convince *Hesiodus* when he thus speaketh, although not to the full and sufficiently to the point:

The Potter to Potter doth beare envy,
One Carpenter to another hath a spightfull eye.

For jealous we are not only of those who exercise the same art, and follow that course of life which we do; but the rich also do envy the learned and eloquent; noble men the rich, advocates and lawyers captious and litigious sophisters; yea, and (that which more is) gentlemen free-borne, and deserned from noble and ancient houses, envy Comedians when they have acted well and with a good grace upon the stage in great Theaters; dancers also and jesters in the court, whom they see to

to be in favour and credit with Kings and Princes; and whiles they do admire these, and thinke them happy for their good speed and successe in comparison of their own doings they fret and grieve, and out of measure torment themselves. Now, that every one of us hath within himselfe treasures laid up of contentment and discontentment, and certaine tuns of good things and evill; not bestowed as *Homer* said, Upon the doore-sill and entry of *Jupiters* house; but placed in each of our own minds, the divers passions whereunto we are subject do sufficiently prove and shew. For such as are foolish and unadvised, do neglect and let go the very good things that presently they have, and never care to enjoy them, so intentive and earnestly bent are their minds and spirits alwaies to that which is comming, and future expectation: whereas wise men on the contrary side, call to their fresh remembrance those things that are past, so as they seem to enjoy the same as if they were present, yea, and to make that which is no more to be as beneficiall unto them, as if they were ready at hand. For surely that which is present, yeelding it selfe to be touched by us but the least moment of time that is, and immediately passing our senses, seemeth unto fooles to be none of ours, nor any more to concern us. But like as the Roper which is painted in the Temple of *Pluto* or description of Hell, suffereth an asse behind him to gnaw and eate as fast as he twisteth it of the Spart-broome; even so the unthankfull and senseleese oblivion of many ready to catch and devoure all good things as they passe by, yea, and to dissipate and cause to vanish away every honest and notable action, all vertuous deeds, duties, delectable recreations and pleasant pastimes, all good fellowship and mutuall society, and all amiable conversation one with another, will not permit that the life be one and the same, linked (as it were) and chained by the copulation of things passed and present; but dividing yesterday from to day, and this day from the morrow, as if they were sundry parts of our life, bringeth in such a forgetfulnes, as if things once past had never been. As for those verily, who in their disputations and Philosophical discourses admit no augmentation of bodies, affirming that every substance continually fadeth and vanisheth, would make us beleeve in word, that each one of us every houre altereth from himselfe, and no man is the same to day that he was yesterday: but these for fault of memory not able to retaine and keep those things which are done and past, no nor to apprehend and effioones call them againe to mind, but suffer every thing to passe away and run as it were through a sive, do not in word, but in deed and effect, make themselves void and empty every day more than other, depending only upon the morrow, as if those things which were done the yeare past, of late, and yesterday, nothing appertained unto them, nor ever were at all. This is therefore one thing that hindereth and troubleth that æquanimity and repose of spirit which we seek for: and yet there is another that doth it more, and that is this; Like as flies creeping upon the smooth places of glasses or mirrors, cannot hold their feet but must needs fall down but contrariwise they take hold where they meet with any roughnesse, and stick fast to rugged flaws that they can find; even so these men gliding and glansing over all delectable and pleasant occurrences, take hold of any adverse and heavy calamities, those they cleave unto and remember very well; or rather as (by report) there is about the City *Olynthus* a certaine place, into which if any flies called *Beetles* enter in once, they cannot get forth againe, but after they have kept a turning about, and fetching compasses round to no purpose a long time, they die in the end: whereupon it tooke the name of *Cantha-olethros*; semblably, men after they fall to the reckoning up and commemoration of their harmes and calamities past, are not willing to retire back, nor to breath themselves and give over multiplying thereupon still. And yet contrariwise, they ought to do after the manner of Painters, who when they do paint a table, do lay upon the ground, or by a course of dead and duskish colours such as be fresh, gay, and gallant, for to palliate and in some sort to hide the unpleasantnesse of the other, they ought (I say) to smother and keep down the heavinesse of the heart occasioned by some crosse mishaps, with those that have fallen out to their mind; for, to obliterate and wipe them out of their mind quite, and to be freed from them cleane it is not possible: and surely the harmonie of this world is reciprocall and variable, compounded (as it were) of contraries, like as we do see in a harp or bow; neither is any earthly thing under the cope of heaven pure, simple, and sincere without mixture. But as Musick doth consist of base and trebble sounds; and Grammer of letters, which be partly vocall, and partlie mute, to wit, vowels and consonants, and he is not to be counted a Grammarian and Musician, who is offended and displeased with either of those contrarie elements of the Art, but he that affecteth the one as well as the other, and knoweth how to use and mixe both together with skill for to serve his purpose; even so considering that in the occurrences of mans life there be so many contraries, and one weigheth against another in manner of counterpoise; for (according to *Euripides*)

It cannot stand with our affaires,
That good from bad should parted be:
A medley then of mixed paires
Doth well, and serves in each degree.

It is not meet that we should let our hearts fall and be discouraged with the one sort whensoever it hapneth, but we ought according to the rules of harmony in Musick, to stop the point alwaies of the worst with strokes of better, and by overcasting misfortunes (as it were) with a vaile and curtaine of good haps, or by setting one to the other, to make a good composition and a pleasant accord in our life, fitting and sorting our own turnes, For it is not as *Menander* said,

Each

Each man so soon as he is born,
One spirit good or angell hath,
Which him assists both even and morn,
And guides his steps in every path.

But rather according to *Empedocles*: No sooner are we come into the world, but each one of us hath two angels, called *Damones*: two Destinies (I say) are allotted unto us, for to take the charge and government of our life, unto which he attributeth divers and sundry names,

Here Clithonie *was, a downward look that hath,*
Heliope *eke, who turneth to the sun,*
And Deris *she, that loves in bloud to bath,*
Harmonie *smiles ever and anon,*
Calisto *faire, and* Æschre *soule among,*
Thoosa *swift,* Dinæa *stout and strong,*
Nemertes *who is lovely white and pure,*
But Asaphie *with fruit black and obscure.*

Insomuch, as our Nativity receiving the seeds of each of all these passions blended and confused together, and by reason thereof the course of our life not being uniforme, but full of disordered and unequall depositions, a man of good and sound judgement ought to wish and desire at Gods hand the better, to expect and looke for the worse, and to make an use of them both, namely, by abridging and cutting off that which is excessive and too much: For not he only (as *Epicurus* was wont to say) shall come with most delight and pleasure to see the morrow-sun, who made least account thereof on the even; but riches also, glory, authority, and rule doth most rejoyce their hearts who least feared the contrary: for the vehement and ardent desire that a man hath to any of these things doth imprint likewise an exceeding feare of forgoing and losing the same, and thereby maketh the delight of enjoying them to be feeble and nothing firme and constant; even as the blase and flame of the fire which is blown and driven to and fro with the wind. But the man who is so much assisted with reason, that he is able without feare and trembling to say unto Fortune:

ἥκουσ' ἄντι φέρης, ὀλίγον δ' ἄχος ἢν ἀπολείπῃς.
Welcome to me, if good thou bringest ought,
And if thou faile, I will take little thought.

Or thus;

Will mayst thou take from me some joy of mind,
But little griefe, thou shalt me leave behind.

Hath this benefit by his confidence and resolution: that as he taketh most joy of his good fortunes when they are present; so he never feareth the losse of them, as if it were a calamity insuportable. And herein we may as well imitate as admire the disposition and affection of *Anaxagoras*, who when he heard the news of his sons death, I knew full well (quoth he) when I begot him that die he must: and after his example, whensoever any infortunity hapneth to be ready with these and such like speeches: I know that riches were not permanent but transitory and for a day: I never thought other, but that they who conferred these dignities upon me both might and could deprive me of them: I wist, that I had a good wife and vertuous dame, but withall a woman and no more: I was not ignorant that my friend was a man (that is to say) a living creature by nature mutable, as *Plato* used to say. And verily, such preparations and dispositions of our affections as these, if peradventure there shall befall unto us any thing against our intent and mind, but not contrary to our expectation, as they will never admit such passionate words as these, (I never thought it would have fallen out so, I was in great hope of other matters, and little looked I for this) so they shall be able to rid us of all sudden pantings and leapings of the heart, of unquiet and disorderly beating of the pulses, and soon stay and settle the furious and troublesome motions of impatience. *Carneades* was wont in time of greatest prosperity to put men in mind of a change; for that the thing which hapneth contrary to our hope and expectation is that which altogether and wholly doth breed sorrow and griefe. The kingdome of the Macedonians was not an handfull to the Roman Empire and dominion; and yet King *Perseus*, when he had lost *Macedonia*, did not only himself lament his own fortune most piteously, but in the eyes also of the whole world he was reputed a most unfortunate and miserable man. But behold *Paulus Æmylius*, whose hap it was to vanquish the said *Perseus*, when he departed out of that Province, and made over into the hands of another his whole army, with so great command both of land and sea, was crowned with a chaplet of flowers, and so did sacrifice unto the gods with joy and thanksgiving in the judgement of all men, worthily extolled and reputed as happy. For why? when he received first that high Commission and mighty power withall, he knew full well, that he was to give it over and resigne it up when his time was expired; whereas *Perseus* on the contrary side, lost that which he never made account to lose. Certes even the Poet *Homer* hath given us very well to understand how forcible that is which hapneth besides hope and unlooked for, when he bringeth in *Ulysses* upon his returne, weeping for the death of his dog; but when he sate by his own wife, who shed teares plentifully, wept not at all; for that he had long before at his leisure, against this comming home of his prevented and brought into subjection (as it were) by the rule of reason, that passion which otherwise he knew well enough would have broken out; whereas, looking for nothing lesse than the death of his dog, he fell suddenly into it, as having had

had no time before to represse the same. In sum, of all those accidents which light upon us contrarie to our will; some grieve and vexe us by the course and instinct of nature; others (and those be the greater part) we are wont to be offended and discontented with, upon a corrupt opinion and foolish custome that we have taken: and therefore we should do very well, against such temptations as these, to be ready with that sentence of *Menander*:

No harme nor losse thou dost sustaine:
But that thou list so for to faine.

And how (quoth he) can it concerne thee?

For if no flesh without it wound,
Nor soule within, then all is sound.

As for example, the base parentage and birth of thy father, the adultery of thy wife, the losse or repulse of any honour, dignity, or preeminence: for what should let notwithstanding all these crosses, but that thy body and mind both may be in right good plight and excellent estate? And against those accidents which seem naturally to grieve and trouble us, to wit, maladies, paines, and travels; death of deare friends, and toward children, we may oppose another saying of *Euripides* the Poet:

Alas, alas, and well-a-day;
But why alas and well away?
Nought to us hath yet been dealt,
But that which daily men have felt.

For no remonstrance nor reason is so effectuall to restraine and stay this passionate and sensuall part of our mind, when it is ready to slip and be carried headlong away with our affections, as that which calleth to remembrance the common and naturall necessity; by meanes whereof a man, in regard of his body, being mixed and compounded, doth expose and offer this handle (as it were) and vantage whereby fortune is to take hold when she wrestleth against him; for otherwise, in the greatest and most principall things he abideth fast and sure. King *Demetrius* having forced and won the city *Megara*, demanded of *Stilpo* the wise Philosopher, whether he had lost any goods in the sackage and pillage there of? Sir (quoth he) I saw not so much as one man carrying any thing of mine away; semblably, when fortune hath made what spoile she can, and taken from us all other things, yet somewhat there remaineth still within our selves,

Which Greeks do what they can or may,
Shall neither drive nor beare away.

In which regard we ought altogether so to depresse, debase, and throw down our humane nature, as if it had nothing firme, stable and permanent, nothing above the reach and power of fortune: but contrariwise, knowing that it is the least and worst part of man, and the same fraile, brittle, and subject to death, which maketh us to lie open unto fortune and her assaults; whereas in respect of the better part we are masters over her, and have her at command, when there being seated and founded most surely the best and greatest things that we have, to wit, sound and honest Opinions, Arts, and Sciences, good discourses tending to vertue, which be all of a substance incorruptible, and whereof we cannot be robbed: we (I say) knowing thus much, ought in the confidence of our selves to carry a mind invincible and secure against whatsoever shall happen, and be able to say that to the face of Fortune, which *Socrates*, addressing his speech indeed covertly to the Judges, seemed to speake against his two accusers, *Anytus* and *Melitus*: Well may *Anytus* and *Melitus* bring me to my death, but hurt or harme me they shall never be able. And even so Fortune hath power to bring a disease or sickness upon a man, his goods she can take away, raise she may a slander of him to tyrant, prince, or people, and bring him out of grace and favour; but him that is vertuous, honest, valiant and magnanimous, she cannot make wicked, dishoneſt, base-minded, malicious, and envious: and in one word, she hath not power to take from him a good habitude, setled upon wisdome and discretion, which wheresoever it is alwaies present, doth more good unto a man for to guide him how to live, than the pilot at sea for to direct a ship in her course; for surely the pilot, be he never so skilfull, knoweth not how to still the rough and surging billows when he would, he cannot allay the violence of a tempest, or blustering wind, neither put into a safe harbor and haven, or gaine a commodious bay to anchor in at all times, and in every coast, would he never so faine, nor resolutely without feare and trembling, when he is in a tempest, abide the danger and undergo all; thus far forth only his art serveth, so long as he is in no despaire, but that his skill may take place;

To strike main-sail, and down the lee
To set ship hull, untill he see
The foot of mast no more above
The sea: while he doth not remove,
But with one hand in other fast
Quaketh and panteth all agast.

But the disposition and staied mind of a prudent man, over and besides that it bringeth the body into a quiet and calme estate, by dissipating and dispatching for the most part the occasions and preparatives of diseases, and that by continent life, sober diet, moderate exercises, and travels in measure; if happily there chance some little beginning or indisposition to a passion, whereto the mind is ready to run it selfe, as a ship, upon some blind rock under the water, it can quickly turne

turne about his nimble and light crosse-saile yard, as *Asclepiades* was wont to say, and so avoid the danger.

But say there come upon us some great and extraordinary accident, such as neither we looked for, nor be able by all the power we have, either to overcome or endure; the haven is neare at hand, we may swim safely thither out of the body, (as it were) out of a vessell that leaketh and taketh water, and will no longer hold a passenger: as for foolish folke, it is the feare of death, and not the love of life that causeth them to cling and stick so close to the body, hanging and clasping thereunto no otherwise than *Ulysses* to the wild fig tree, when he feared with great horror the gulph *Charybdes* roaring under him;

Whereas the winds would not permit to stay,
Nor suffer him to row or saile away:

Displeased infinitely in the one, and dreading fearefully the other. But he that in some measure, (be it never so little) knoweth the nature of the soule, and casteth this with himselfe: That by death there is a passage out of this life either to a better state, or at leastwise not to a worse: Certes, he is furthished with no meane wayfaring provision to bring him to the security of mind in this life, I meane the feareless contempt of death: for he that may (so long as vertue and the better part of the soule (which indeed is proper unto man) is predominant) live pleasantly; and when the contrary passions, which are enemies to nature, do prevaile, depart resolutely and without feare, saying thus unto himselfe:

God will me suffer to be gone,
When that I will my selfe, anon.

What can we imagine to happen unto a man of this resolution, that should encumber, trouble, or terrifie him? For whosoever he was that said, I have prevented thee (O Fortune) I have stopped up all thy avenews, I have intercepted and choaked all the waies of accesse and entry; surely he fortified himselfe not with bars and barricadoes not with locks and keyes, ne yet with mures and walls, but with Philosophicall and sage lessons, with sententious saws, and with discourses of reason, whereof all men that are willing be capable. Neither ought a man to distredit the truth of these and such like things which are committed in writing, and give no beleefe unto them, but rather to admire, and with an affectionate ravishment of spirit embrace and imitate them: yea, and withall to make a triall and experiment of himselfe; first in smaller matters, proceeding afterwards to greater, untill he reach unto the highest, and in no wise to shake off such meditations, nor to shift off and seek to avoid the exercise of the mind in this kind, and in so doing he shall happily find no such difficulty as he thinketh. For as the effeminate delicacy and niceness of our mind, amused alwaies and loving to be occupied in the most easie objects, and retiring eftsoones from the cogitation of those things that fall out crosse, unto such as tend unto greatest pleasure, causeth it to be soft and tender, and imprinteth a certaine daintinesse not able to abide any exercise; so if the same mind would by custome learne and exercise it selfe in apprehending the imagination of a malady, of paine, travell, and of banishment, and enforce it selfe by reason to withstand and strive against each of these accidents, it will be found and seen by experience, that such things which through an erroneous opinion were thought painefull, grievous, hard, and terrible, are for the most part but vaine, indeed, deceitfull, and contemptible: like as reason will shew the same if a man would consider them each one in particular. Howbeit, the most part mightily feare and have in horror that verse of *Menander*,

No man alive can safely say,
This or se shall never me assay.

As not knowing how materiall it is to the exempting and freeing of a man from all griefe and sorrow, to meditate before-hand, and to be able to looke open-eyed full against fortune, and not to make those apprehensions and imaginations in himselfe soft and effeminate, as if he were fostered and nourished in the shadow under many foolish hopes which ever yeeld to the contrary, and be not able to resist so much as any one. But to come againe unto *Menander*, we have to answer unto him in this manner; True it is indeed, there is no man living able to say, This or this shall never happen unto me; howbeit, thus much may a man that is alive say and affirme: So long as I live I will not do this, to wit, I will not lie: I will never be a couzener nor circumvent any man; I will not defraud any one of his own; neither will I fore-lay and surprise any man by a wile. This lieth in our power to promise and performe and this is no small matter, but a great meanes to procure tranquillity and contentment of mind. Whereas contrariwise, the remorse of conscience when as a man is privy to himselfe, and must needs confesse and say: These and these wicked parts I have committed, festereth in the soule like an ulcer and sore in the flesh, and leaveth behind it repentance in the soule, which fretteth, galleth, gnaweth, and setteth it a bleeding fresh continually. For whereas all other sorrows, griefes, and anguishes, reason doth take away; repentance only it doth breed and engender, which together with shame biteth and punisheth it selfe; for like as they who quiver and shake in the feavers called *Epiols*; or contrariwise burne by occasion of other agues, are more afflicted and more at ease than those who suffer the same accidents by exterior causes, to wit, winters cold or summers heat; even so all mischances and casuall calamities, bring with them lighter dolors and paines as comming from without. But when a man is forced thus to confesse,

My

My self I may well thank for this,
None else for it I lame worthy is.

which is an ordinary speech of them who lamentably bewail their sins from the bottom of their hearts, it causeth grief and sorrow to be so much more heavy, and it is joyned with shame and infamy: whereupon it cometh to passe, that neither house richly and finely furnished, nor heaps of gold and silver; no parentage or nobility of birth, no dignity of estate and authority how high soever, no grace in speech; no force and power of eloquence; can yeeld unto a mans life such a calm (as it were) and peaceable tranquillity; as a soul and conscience, clear from wicked deeds, sinfull cogitations and leand designes, which having the source and fountain of life (I mean the inward disposition of the heart) not troubled and polluted, but clear and cleansed: from whence all good and laudable actions do flow and proceed, and the same do give a lively, cheerfull, and effectuall operation, even by some divine instinct and heavenly inspiration, together with a bold courage and haughty mind, and withall yeeld the remembrance of a vertuous and well led life, more sweet, pleasant, firm and permanent, than is that hope whereof *Pindarus* writeth, the nurse and sostresse of old age: for we must not think, that (as *Carneades* was wont to say) the *Censers or perfuming pannes wherein sweet incense is burned, retain and render the pleasant odour a long time after they be empty, and that the vertuous deeds of a wise and honest man should not alwayes leave behind them in the soul an amiable, delightfull, and fresh remembrance thereof; by means whereof, that inward joy being watered, is ever green, buddeth and flourisheth still, despising the shamefull error of those who with their plaints, moans, and wailings, defame this life of ours; saying: It is a very hell and place of torments, or else a region of confined and exiled souls, into which they were sent away and banished of heaven. And here I connot choose but highly commend that memorable saying of *Diogenes*, who seeing once a certain stranger at *Lacedæmon* dressing and trimming himself very curiously against a feastivall and high-day; What means all this (quoth he) my good friend? to a good and honest man is not every day in the year a feast and holy day? yes verily, and if we be wise we should think all dayes double feasts, and most solemn gaudy-dayes: for surely this world is a right sacred and holy temple, yea, and most divine, beseeming the Majesty of God into which man is inducted and admitted at his nativity, not to gaze and look at statues and images cut and made by mans hand, and such as have no motion of their own, but to behold those works and creatures which that divine spirit and almighty power in worderfull wisedome and providence hath made and shewed unto us sensible: and yet (as *Plato* saith) representing and resembling intelligible powers, from whence proceed the beginnings of life and moving, namely, the Sunne, the Moon, the Starres: what should I speak of the Rivers which continually send out fresh water still; and the earth which bringeth forth nourishment for all living creatures, and yeeldeth nutriment likewise to every plant? Now if our life be the imitation of sacred mysteries, and (as it were) a profession and entrance into so holy a religion of all others most perfect, we must needs esteem it to be full of contentment and continuall joy: neither ought we (as the common multitude doth) attend and wait for the feasts of *Saturn*, *Bacchus*, or *Minerva* and such other high dayes wherein they may solace themselves, make merry and laugh, buying their mirth and joy for money, giving unto players, jesters, dancers, and such like their hire and reward for to make them laugh. In which feasts and solemnities, we use to sit with great contentment of mind, arraied decently according to our degree and calling, (for no man useth to mourn and lament, when he is professed in the mysteries of *Ceres*, and received into that confraternity; no man sorroweth when he doth behold the goodly sights of the *Pythian* games; no man hungreth or fasteth during the *Saturnals*:) what an indignity and shame is it then that in those feasts which God himself hath instituted, and wherein (as a man would say) he leadeth the dance, or is personally himself to give institution and induction, men should contaminate, pollute and profane as they do, dishonoring their life for the most part, with weeping, wailing, sighing and groaning: or at the leastwise in deep thoughts and pensive cares. But the greatest shame of all other is this: that we take pleasure to hear the Organs and instruments of musick sound pleasantly; we delight to hear birds singing sweetly; we behold with right good will, beasts-playing, sporting, dancing, and skipping featly; and contrariwise we are offended when they howl, roar, snarle, and gnash their teeth, as also when they shew a fierce, stern, and hideous look: and all this while seeing our own lives heavy, sad, travailed and oppressed with most unpleasant passions, most intricate and inexplicable affairs, and overwhelmed with infinite and endlesse cares; yet we will not afford our selves some rest and breathing time; nay, (that which more is) we will not admit the speech and remonstrances of our friends and familiars, whom if we would give ear unto, we might without fault-finding receive the present, remember with joy and thanksgiving that which is past, and without distrust, suspition and fear, expect with joyfull light some hope that which is to come.

* Or Rosemarie banks after they be cut down and left void, as some expound.

M Of

Of unseemly and naughty Bashfulnesse.

The Summary.

Although it be needlesse to stand curiously upon the concatenation and coherence of these matters handled by Plutarch, *how they be knit and linked together, considering that he penned these discourses of his at sundry times; and both they who have reduced them into one Volume; and those also who have translated them out of Greek into other languages, have not all followed one order: yet I think verily that this present Treatise, as concerning Naughty Bashfulnes, is fitly joyned next to the former, as touching the repose and tranquillity of the spirit. For one of the greatest shaking cracks that our soul can receive in her tranquillity, is, when she is secretly and by stealth may be lifted from her seat, for to drive a man to those things which may trouble him immediatly, and much more afterwards. Now this evill bashfulnesse hath this vicious and dangerous quality, to know how to seduce and draw us, by faire semblant, and never the lesse to trouble and confound after a strange fashion the contentment of our spirits, as appeareth plainly in this little book, which deserveth to be well perused and considered by all sorts of people. Now after he hath shewed what this evill shamefastnes is; he declareth that it is no lesse pernicious and hurtfull then impudency; adding moreover that we ought to take good heed, lest in avoiding it, we fall into contrary extremities, as they do who are envious, shameless, obstinate, idle and dissolute. Then he proceedeth to teach us, that the first and principall preservative against this poison is, to hold it for to be most dangerous and deadly, which he doth verifie and prove by notable examples. Which done, he prescribeth particularly, and from point to point, the incommodities, perils, and misfortunes that come by naughty bashfulnesse, applying thereto good and proper remedies, giving withall many sage and wise counsels, drawn out of Philosophy tending to this scope and marke; that neither the regard of our friends, kinsfolke and familiars, nor yet the respect of any thing else besides, ought to draw from our thought, our mouth or hands, any thing contray to the duty of an honest man: which both for the present, and also all the rest of our life may leave in our soul, the cicatrice or skar of repentance, sorrow and heavinesse. In conclusion, to the end that we should not commit those deeds in haste, which afterwards we may repent at leasure; he sheweth that we ought to have before our eyes the hurts and inconveniences caused before by evill bashfulnesse: that the consideration thereof might keep us from falling into fresh and new faults.*

Of unseemly and naughty Bashfulnesse.

AMong those plants which the earth bringeth forth, some there are which not onely by their own nature be wilde and savage, and withall bearing no fruit at all: but (that which worse is) in their growth do hurt unto good seeds and fruitfull plants: and yet skilfull gardiners and husbandmen judge them to be arguments and signes not of bad ground, but rather of a kinde and fat soil; semblably the passions and affections of the mind, simply and in themselves are not good, howbeit they spring as buds and flowers from a towardly nature, and such as gently can yeeld it self to be wrought, framed, and brought into order by reason. In this kinde I may range that which the Greeks call Ἀυσωπία, which is as much to say, as a foolish and rustical shamefastnes: no evill signe in it self, howbeit the cause of evill and naughtinesse. For they that be given to bash and shame over-much and when they should not, commit many times the same fault that they do, who are shameless and impudent: here onely is the difference, that they, when they trespasse and do amisse, are displeased with themselves and grieve for the matter; whereas these take delight and pleasure therein: for he that is graceless and past shame, hath no sense or feeling of grief when he hath committed any foul or dishonest act: contrariwise, whosoever be apt to bash and be ashamed quickly, are soon moved and troubled anon even at those things which seem onely dishonest, although they be not indeed. Now, lest the æquivocation of the word might breed any doubt, I meanby *Dyspa*, immoderate bashfulnesse, whereby one blusheth for shame exceedingly and for every thing, whereupon such an one is call'ed in Greek *Dyspetus*, for that his visage and countenance together with his mind changeth, falleth and is cast down: for like as Κατήφεια in Greek is defined to be a sad heavinesse, which causeth a down look; even so, that shame and dismaiedneste which maketh us that we dare not look a man in the face as we should and when we ought, they call Ἀυσωπία. And hereupon it was that the great Orateur *Demosthenes* said of an impudent fellow, that he had in his eyes not κόρας, but πόρνας, *i.e.* harlots playing prettily upon the ambiguity of the word κόρη, which signifieth both the round apple in the eyes, and also a maiden or virgin: but contrariwise the over-bashfull person (whom we speak of) sheweth in his countenance a mind too soft, delicate and effeminate, and yet he flattereth himself herein, and calleth that fault (wherein the impudent person surpasseth him) Shamefastnesse. Now *Cato* was wont to say, That he loved to see young folk rather to look bush than to look pale: as having good reason to acquaint and teach youth to dread shame

shame and reproch more than blame and reproof; yea, and suspition or obloquie, rather than perill or danger.

Howbeit, we must abridge and cut off the excesse and over-much, which is in such timidity and fear of reproch; for that often-times it cometh to passe in some, who dreading no lesse to hear ill and be accused, than to be chastised or punished; for false hearts are frighted from doing their duty, and in no wise can abide to have an hard word spoken of them. But as we are not to neglect these that are so tender, nor ought to feed them in their feebleneste of heart; so again, we must not praise their disposition who are stiff and inflexible: such as the Poet describeth, when he saith:

Who fearlesse is, and bashth not
all men fast to behold;
In whom appears the dogged force
of Anaxarchus *bold:*

but we ought to compound a good mixture and temperate medley of both extremities, which may take away this excessive obstinacy which is impudence, and that immoderate modesty which is meer childishnesse and imbecillity. True it is that the cure of these two maladies is difficult: neither can this excesse both in the one and the other be cut off without danger. For like as the skilfull husbandman when he would rid the ground of some wild bushes and fruitlesse plants, he layeth at them mainely with his grubbing hook or mattock, untill he have fetched them up by the root; or else set fire unto them and so burneth them: but when he comes to point or cut a vine, an apple-tree, or an olive, he carrieth his hand lightly for fear of wounding any of the found wood, in fetching of the superfluous and rank branches, and so kil the heart thereof; even so the Philosopher, entending to pluck out the mind of a young man, either envie, an unkind and savage plant, which hardly or unneth at all may be made gentle and brought to any good nicior the unlealonable and excessive greedinesse of gathering good or dissolute & disordinate lust, he never feareth at al in the cutting therof, to draw blood, to presse and pierce hard to the bottom, yea, and make a large wound and deep scar. But when he fetcheth to the keen-edge of remonstrance and speech, to the tender and delicate part of the soul, for to cut away that which is excessive or overmuch, to wit, wherein is seated this unmeasurable and sheepish bashfulnesse, he hath a great care and regard, lest ere he be aware he cut away therewith, that ingenuous and honest shamefastnesse that is so good and commendable. For we see that even nurses themselves when they think to wipe away the filth of their little infants, and to make them clean; if they rub any thing hard, otherwhiles fetch off the skin withall, make the flesh raw and put them to pain. And therefore we must take heed, that in seeking by all means to do out this excessive bashfulnesse utterly in young people, we make them not brasen-faced, such as care not what is said unto them, and blush thereat no more then a black dog, and in one word standing stiff in any thing that they do; but rather we ought to do, as they, who demolish and pull down the dwelling-houses that be neer unto the temples of the gods; who for fear of touching any thing that is holy or sacred, suffer those ends of the edifices and buildings to stand still, which are next and joyned close thereto: yea, and those they underprop and stay up, that they should not fall down of themselves: even so (I say) beware & fear we must, whiles we be tempering about this immoderate shamefacednesse for to remove it, that we draw not away with it grace & modesty, gentleneſs and debonarity, which be adjacents and lie close unto it; under which qualities lyeth lurking and sticketh close to, the foresaid naughty bashfulnesse, flattering him that is possessed therewith, as if he were full of humanity, courtesie, civility and common sense: not opinionative, severe, inflexible and untractable: which is the reason, that the Stoick Philosophers, when they dispute of this matter, have distinguished by severall names, this aptnes to blush or over-much bashfulnesse, from modesty and shame-facednesse indeed: for fear lest the æquivocation and ambiguity of one common word, might give some occasion and vantage to the vicious passion it self to do some hurt. As for us, they must give us leave to use the tearms without calumniation, or rather permit us to distinguish according to *Homer*, when he saith,

Shame is a thing that do h not mickle harm, and profiteth as much.

neither without good cause is it, that in the former place he putteth down the harm and discommodity thereof: for sure'y it is not profitable but by the means of reason, which cutteth off that which is superfluous, and leaveth a mean behind.

To come then unto the remedies thereof: it behoveth them first & formost: who are given to blushing at every small matter, to beleeve and be perswaded, that he is possessed with such an hurtfull passion: (now there is nothing hurtfull, which is good and honest) neither ought he to take pleasure and delight when he shall be tickled in the ear with praises and commendations, when he shall hear himself called gentle, jolly and courteous, in steed of grave, magnanimous and just: neither let him do as *Pegasus* the horse in *Euripides*, who

When mount his back Bellerophontes *should*,
With trembling stoup'd more than his own self would.

that is to say, give place and yeeld after a base manner to the demands and requests of every man; or object himself to their will and pleasure, for fear (forsooth) lest one should say of him Lo, what a hard man is this? See how inexorable he is. It is reported of *Bacchorus* a King of *Egypt*, that being rough, fel & austere, the goddesse *Isis* sent the serpent called *Aspis*, for to wind and wreath about this head, & so to cast a shadow over him from above, to the end that he might be put in mind to judge

aright: but this excessive shamefastnesse which alwayes overspreadeth and covereth them, vvho are not manly but faint-hearted and effeminate, not suffering them once to dare, to deny, or gainsay any thing, surely, vvould avert and vvithdravv judges from doing justice, close up their mouths, that in counsels and consultations should deliver their opinion frankly; yea and cause them both to say and do many things inconsiderately against their mind, vvhich other vvhiles they vvould not. For look whosoever is most unreasonable and importunate, he will ever tyrannize and domineer over such an one, forcing by his impudency the bashfulnesse of the other: by which means, it cometh to passe that this excessive shame like unto a low piece of soft ground which is ready to receive all the water that comes, and apt to be overflowed and drowned, having no power to withstand and repulse any encounter, nor say a word to the contrary whatsoever is proposed, yeeldeth accesse to lewdest designes, acts and passions that be. An evill gardian and keeper of childhood and young age, is this excessive bashfulnesse, as *Brutus* well said, who was of this mind, that neither he nor she could well and honestly passe the flower of their fresh youth, who had not the heart and face to refuse and deny any thing; even so likewise, a bad governesse it is of the bride-bed and womens chamber, according to that which she said in *Sophocles* to the adulterer, who repented of the fact,

Thy flattering words have me seduced,
And so perswaded, I am abused.

In such sort as this bashfulnesse, over and besides, that it is vicious and faulty it self, spoileth and marreth clean the intemperate and incontinent person, by making no resistance to his appetites and demands, but letting all lie unfortified, unbarrd, and unlockt, yeelding easie accesse and entrance to those that will make assault and give the attempt, who may by great gifts and large offers catch and compasse the wickedest natures that be: but surely by perswasions and inductions, and by the means withall of this excessive bashfulnesse, they oftentimes conquer and get the mastry even of such as are of honest and gentle disposition. Here I passe-by the detriments and damages that this bashfulnesse hath been the cause of, in many matters, and that of profit and commodity: namely, how many men having not the heart to say nay, have put forth and lent their mony even to those whose credit they distrust; have been sureties for such as otherwise they would have been loth and unwilling to engage themselves for, who can approve and commend this golden sentence (written upon the temple of *Apollo*) Be surety thou maist, but make account then to pay: howbeit, they have not the power to do themselves good by that warning, when they come to deal in the world. And how many have come unto their end and died by the means of this foolish quality, it were hard to reckon. For *Creon* in *Euripides* when he spake thus unto *Medea*,

For me Madame, it were much better now
by flat denyall your mind: to discontent,
Than having once thus yeelded you
sigh afterwards full sore, and ay repent.

gave a very good lesson for others to follow: but himself overcome at length through his foolish bashfulnesse, granting one day longer of delay at her request, overthrew his own state, and his whole house. Some there were also who doubting and suspecting that there were laid for, to be bloodily murdered, or made away by poison, yet upon a foolish modesty not refusing to go into the place of danger, came to their death and were soon destroyed. Thus died *Dion*; who notwithstanding he knew well enough that *Callippus* laid wait for him to take away his life, yet (forsooth) abashed he was to distrust his friend and host, and so to stand upon his gard. Thus was *Antipater* the son of *Cassander* massacred; who having first invited *Demetrius* to supper, was bidden the morrow after to his house likewise, and for that he was abashed to mistrust *Demetrius*, who the day before had trusted him, refused not to go, but after supper he was murdered for his labour. Moreover, when *Polysperchon* had undertaken and promised unto *Cassander* for the summe of one hundred talents to kil *Hercules* (a base son of King *Alexander* by lady *Barsine*) he sent & requested the said *Hercules* to sup with him in his lodging, the young gentleman had no liking at all to such bidding, but mistrusting and fearing his curtesie, alledged for his excuse that he was not well at ease: whereupon *Polysperchon* came himself in person unto him, and in this manner began to perswade: Above all things my good child (quoth he) study and endeavour to imitate the humanity and sociable nature of your noble father, unlesse haply you have me in jealousie and suspicion, as if I went about to compasse your death. The youth was abashed to hear him say so, and went with him: well, supper was no sooner ended but they made an end of the young gentleman also, and strangled him outright: so that it is no ridiculous and foolish advertisement (as some let not to say) but a wise and sage advise of *Hesiodus* when he saith;

Thy friend and lover to supper do invite,
Thy foe leave out, for he will thee requite.

Be not in any wise bashfull and ashamed to refuse his offer whom thou knowest to hate thee: but never leave out and reject him once who seemeth to put his trust and confidence in thee: for if thou do invite, thou shalt be invited again; and if thou be bidden to a supper & go, thou canst not choose but bid again; if thou abandon once thy distrust and diffidence, which is the gard of thy satty, and so marre that good tincture and temperature by a foolish shame that thou hast, when thou darest not refuse.

Seeing

Seeing then that this infirmity and malady of the mind, is the cause of many inconveniences, assay we must to chase it away with all the might we have by exercise, beginning at the first like as men do in other exercises, with things that are not very difficult, nor such as a man may boldly have the face to deny: as for example, if at a dinner one chance to drink unto thee; when thou hast drunk sufficiently already; be not abashed to refuse for to pledge him, neither force thy self, but take the cup at his hand and set it down again on the board again, there is another perchance that amids his cups challengeth thee to hazzard or to play at dice; be not ashamed to say him nay, neither fear thou although thou receive a flout and scoff at his hands for deniall: but rather do as *Xenophanes* did, when one *Lasus* the sonne of *Hermiones* called him coward, because he would not play at dice with him: I confesse (quoth he) I am a very dastard in those things that be lewd and naught, and I dare do nothing at all: moreover, say thou fall into the hands of a prattling and talkative busie body, who catcheth hold on thee, hangeth upon thee and will not let thee go: be not sheepish and bashfull; but interrupt and cut his tale short, shake him off I say, but go thou forward and make an end of thy businesse whereabout thou wentest: for such refusals, such repulses, shifts and evasions in small matters, for which men cannot greatly complain of us, exercising us not to blush and be ashamed when there is no cause, do inure and frame us vvell before-hand unto other occasions of greater importance. And here in this place, it vvere not amisse to call unto remembrance a speech of *Demosthenes*: for vvhen the Athenians being solicited and moved to send aid unto *Harpalus*, vvere so forvvard in the action that they had put themselves in armes against King *Alexander*, all on a sodain they discovered upon their own coasts *Philoxenus*, the Lieutenant-generall of the Kings forces, and chief Admirall of his Armado at Sea: now when the people were so astonied upon this unexpected occurrent, that they had not a word to say for very fear: What will these men do (quoth *Demosthenes*) when they shall see the Sun, who are so afraid that they dare not look against a little Lamp; even so I say to thee that art given much to blush and be abashed: What wilt thou be able to do in weighty affairs, namely, when thou shalt be encountred by a King; or if the body of some people or state be earnest with thee to obtain ought at thy hand that is unreasonable: when thou hast not the heart to refuse for to pledge a familiar friend if he chance to drink unto thee and offer thee a cup of wine? or if thou canst not find means to escape and wind thy self out of the company of a babling busie body, that hath fastened and taken hold of thee, but suffer such a vain prating fellow as this to walk and lead thee at his pleasure up and down, having not so much power as to say thus unto him: I will see you again hereafter at some other time, now I have no leysure to talk with you.

Over and besides, the exercise and use of breaking your selves of this bashfulnesse in praising others for small and light matters, will not be unprofitable unto you: as for example: Say, that when you are at a feast of your friends, the harper or minstrell do either play or sing out of tune; or haply an Actor of a Comedie, dearly hired for a good piece of money, by his ill grace in acting, marre the play and disgrace the Author himself *Menander*, & yet nevertheless, the vulgar sort do applaud, clap their hands, and highly commend and admire him for his deed: in mine advice it would be no great pain or difficulty for thee to give him the hearing with patience and silence, without praising him after a servile and flattering manner, otherwise than you think it meet and reason: for if in such things as these, you be not master of your self, how will you be able to hold, when some dear friend of yours shall read unto you either some foolish rime or bad poesie that himself hath composed? if he shall shew unto you some oration of his own foolish and ridiculous penning? you will fall a praising of him, will you nill you will keep a clapping of your hands with other flattering jacks? I would not els. And if you do so, how can you reprove him when he shall commit some grosse fault in greater matters? how shall you be able to admonish him, if he chance to forget himself in the administration of some magistracy, or in his carriage in wedlock, or in politick government? And verily, for mine own part, I do not greatly allow and like of that answer of *Pericles*, who being requested by a friend to bear false witnesse in his behalf, and to binde the same with an oath, whereby he should be forsworn: I am your friend (quoth he) as far as the altar: as if he should have said: Saving my conscience and duty to the gods: for surely he was come too neer already unto him. But he who hath accustomed himself long before, neither to praise against his own mind, one who hath made an oration, nor to applaud unto him who hath sung, nor to laugh heartily at him who came out with some stale or poor jest which had no grace: he will (I trow) never suffer his friend and familiar to proceed so farre, as to demand such a request of him, or once be so bold as to move him (who before had refused in smaller trifles to satisfie his desire) in this manner: Be perjured for me, bear false witnesse for my sake, or pronounce an unjust sentence for the love of me.

After the same manner we ought to be prepared and provided before-hand against those that be instant to borrow mony of us, namely, if we have been used to deny them in matters that neither be of great moment nor hard to be refused. There was one upon a time, who being of this mind, that there was nothing so honest as to crave and receive, begged of *Archelaus* the King of *Macedonie* (as he sate at supper) the cup of gold wherout he drunk himself: the King called unto his page that waited at his trencher, and commanded him to give the said cup unto *Euripides*, who sat at the board: and with all, casting his eye wistly upon the party who craved it: As for you sir (quoth he) worthy you are for your asking to go without: but *Euripides* deserveth to have, though he do not crave.

crave. A worthy speech, importing thus much, that the judgement of reason ought to be the best master and guide to direct us in our gifts and free liberality, and not bashfulnesse and shame to deny. But we contrariwise, neglecting and despising many times those that be honest and modest persons, yea, our very familiar friends, who have need of our help, and seem to request the same, are ready to bestow our bounty upon such as incessantly importune us with their impudent craving, not for any affection that we have to pleasure them, but because we can not finde in our heart to say them nay. Thus did King *Antigonus* the elder to *Bias*, after he had been a long time an importunate begger: Give this *Bias* (quoth he) a talent, for me thinks he will have it perforce: and yet this *Antigonus*, of all Princes and Kings that ever were, had the best grace and most dexterity to put by, and shift off such unreasonable beggers: for when a beggerly Cynicall Philosopher craved once at his hands a drachm: It is not for a King (quoth he) to give a drachm: Why then (quoth the other again) give me a talent: Neither is it meet (quoth the King) for a Cynick to receive a talent. *Diogenes* as he walked otherwhiles along the *Ceranicum* (that is, a street in *Athens*, where stood erected the statues of worthy personages) would ask alms of those images; & when some marvelled at him therefore: I do it (quoth he) to learn how to take a repulse & denial. Semblably, we ought first to be trained in small matters, and to exercise our selves in denying slight requests unto such as wou disseem to demand and have at our hands that which is not fit and requisite, to the end that we may not be to seek for an answer when we would deny them in matters of greater importance: for as *Demosthenes* was wont to say: He who hath spent and bestowed that which he had otherwise than he should, will never employ those things which he hath, nor as he ought, if peradventure he should be furnished again therewith. And look how often we do fail, and be wanting in honest things, and yet abound in superfluities, it is a signe that we are in great fault, and many wayes shame grooveth to us by that means.

Moreover, so it is, that this excessive bashfulnesse is not onely a bad and undiscreet steward to dispense and dispose our money, but also to dispose of our serious affairs and those of great consequence, wherein it will not admit the advice and counsell that reason giveth; for oftentimes it falleth out, that when we be sick, we send not for the best and most expert Physicians, in respect of some friend, whom we favour and reverence so, as we are loth to do otherwise than he would advise us: likewise we chuse for masters and teachers of our children, not those always who are best and meetest, but such as make suite and means unto us for to be enterteined: yea, and many times, when we have a cause to be tried in the law, we choose not always the most sufficient and expert Advocates or Barristers for our counsel to plead for us; but for to gratifie a sonne of some familiar friend or kinsman of our own, we commit the cause to him for to practise and learn to plead in Court to our great cost and losse. To conclude we may see many of those that make profession of Philosophy, to wit, Epicureans, Stoicks, and others, how they follow this or that sect, not upon their own judgement and election; but for that they were importuned by some of their kinsfolk, or friends thereto, whom they were loth to denie. Come on then, let us long before be exercised against such grosse faults in vulgar, small and common occasions of this life: as for example, let us break our selves from using either a barber to trim us, or a * painter to draw our picture, for to satisfie the appetite of our foolish shamefacednesse from lodging also in some bad Inne or Hostelrie where there is a better neer at hand, because haply our host the goodman of the house hath oftentimes saluted us kindely; but rather make we a custome of it, (although there be but small difference and ods between one and another) always to chuse the better: and like as the Pythagoreans observed evermore precisely not to crosse the right legge with the left, neither to take an odde number for an even, though otherwise all things else were equall and indifferent; even so are we to draw this into an ordinary practise, that when we celebrate any solemn sacrifice, or make a wedding dinner, or some great feast, we invite not him, who is wont with reverence to give us the gentle greeting and good morrow, or who seeing us a great way off useth to runne unto us, rather than him whom we know to be an honest man and a well-willer of ours; for whosoever is thus inured and exercised long before, shall be hardly caught and surprised; nay rather he shall never be once assailed and set upon in weighty matters. And thus much may suffice as touching exercise and custome.

* γυμασίῳ, Erasmus seemeth to read γραφίῳ, i.e. a Fuller.

Moreover to come unto other profitable instructions which we have gathered for this purpose, the principall in mine advise is this, which sheweth and teacheth us, that all the passions and maladies of the minde be ordinarily accompanied with those inconveniences which we would seem to avoid by their means: as for example, ambition and desire of honor hath commonly attending upon it dishonor; pain usually followeth the love of pleasures; labour and travell ensueth upon ease and delicacy; repulse, overthrows, and condemnations are the ends that ensue daily upon those that are given to be litigious, contentious, and desirous to cast, foil, and conquer others; semblably it happeth unto excessive bashfulnesse, which seeming to flie and shun the smoke of blame, casteth it self into the very fire and flame of infamie. For those who be abashed to gain-say and denie them, who importune them unreasonably, and will take no nay in things unjust, are constrained afterwards to bear both shame and blame at their hands, who justly call them to their answer and accuse them worthily: and whiles they fear some light check or private rebuke, many times they are fain to incurre and sustain open disgrace and reproch: for being abashed to denie a friend who craveth to borrow money, as being loth to say they have none; within a while after (with shame enough) they blush, when

when they shall be convinced to have had none; and having promised to assist and stand to some who have suit in law, by that meanes are forced to contend with others, and afterwards being ashamed thereof, are driven to hide their heads and flie out of the way. Also there be many whom this foolish modesty hath caused to enter into some disadvantagious promise as touching the marriage either of daughter or sister, and being entangled therewith have been constrained afterwards upon change of mind to breake their word and faile in their promise; as for him who said in old time, that all the inhabitants of *Asia* served as slaves unto one man; for that they knew not how to pronounce one only negative syllable, that is, No; he spake not in earnest, but by way of bourd, and was disposed to jest: but surely these bashfull persons may if they list without one word spoken, by knitting and bending their brows only, or nodding downward to the ground, avoid and escape many offices and absurd inconveniences, which oftentimes they do unwillingly and only upon importunity. For as *Euripides* said very well,

Wise men do know how things to take:
And of silence an answer to make.

And happily we have more cause to take that course with such as be senseleſſe and unreasonable: for to those who be honest, sensible, and of more humanity, we need not feare to make excuse and satisfie them by word of mouth. And for this purpose it were not amisse to be furnished with answers and notable apophthegmes of great and famous persons in times past; and to have them ready at hand to alledge against such importunate and impudent fellows. Such was that saying of *Phocion* to *Antipater*: You cannot have me to be your friend and a flatterer too; likewise the answer which he made unto the Athenians, who were earnest with him to contribute and give somewhat toward the charges of solemnizing a great feast, and withall applauded and clapped their hands: It were a shame (quoth he) that I should give any thing over and above unto you, and not to pay that which I owe to him yonder, pointing therewith to *Callicles* the usurer: for as *Thucydides* said; It is no shame to confesse and acknowledge poverty; but more shamefull it is indeed not to avoid and eschew it. But he who by reason of a faint, feeble, and delicate heart dare not for foolish shame answer thus unto one that demandeth to borrow money,

My friend, I have in house or purse
No silver white for to disburse.

And then suffereth to passe out of his mouth a promise (as it were) an earnest penny or pawne of assurance,

Is tied by foot with fetters not of brasse
Nor iron wrought; but shame, and cannot passe.

But *Perseus*, when he lent forth a summe of money to one of his familiar friends and acquaintance, went into the open market place to passe the contract at the very banke or table of exchangers and usurers; being mindfull of that rule and precept of the Poet *Hesiodus*, which teacheth us in these words,

However thou laugh with brother more or lesse,
With him make no contract without witnesse.

Now when his friend marvelled hereat and said, How now *Perseus*, so formally and according to law? Yea, (quoth he) because I would receive my money againe of you friendly, and not require it by course and suit of law. For many there be, who at the first upon a kind of foolish modesty are abashed to call for assurance and security, but afterward be forced to proceed by order of law, and so make their friends their enemies. Againe, *Cato* sending commendatory letters unto *Denis* the Tyrant in the behalfe and favour of one *Helicona* Cyzicene, as of a kind, modest, and courteous person subscribed in manner of a post-date under his letter thus: That which you read above, take it as written in the commendation of a man, that is to say, of a living creature by nature mutable. Contrariwise *Xenocrates*, although he were otherwise in his behaviour austere, yet being overcome and yeelding to a kind of foolish modesty of his own, recommended in his letters unto *Polysperchon*, a man of no worth or quality, as it proved afterwards by the sequell: Now when as that Macedonian Lord bade the party welcome, and friendly gave him his hand, and withall used some words of course and complement, demanding whether he had need of ought, and bidding him call for what he would: he made no more adoe but craved a whole talent of silver at his hand; which *Polysperchon* caused presently indeed to be weighed out unto him: but he dispatched his letters withall unto *Xenocrates* to this effect: That from thenceforth he should be more circumspect, and consider better whom he recommended unto him: and verily, herein only was the errour of *Xenocrates*, for that he knew not the man for whom he wrote: but we oftentimes knowing well enough that they be lewd and naughty persons, yet are very forward with our commendatory letters; yea, and that which more is, our purse is open unto them; we are ready to put money into their hands to our own hinderance and damage; not with any pleasure that we take, nor upon affection unto them, as they do, who bestow their silver upon curtezans, pleasants, and flatterers to gratifie them; but as displeased and discontented with their impudency, which over-turneth our reason upside down, and forceth us to do against our own judgement, in such sort, that if ever there were cause besides, we may with good reason say unto these bold and shamelesse beggers, that thus take vantage of our bashfulnesse:

I ſee that I muſt for your ſake,
Lewd courſes ever undertake.

Namely, in bearing falſe witneſſe, in pronouncing wrong judgement; in giving my voice at any election for an unworthy and unmeet perſon; or in putting my money into his hands, whom I know unſufficient, and who will never repay it. And therefore of all paſſions, this leud and exceſſive modeſty is that which is accompanied preſently with repentance, and hath it not following afterwards as the reſt: for at the very inſtant when we give away our money, we grieve; when we beare ſuch witneſſe, we bluſh; when we aſſiſt them and ſet to our helping hand, we incur infamy; and if we furniſh them not with that which they require, we are convinced as though we were not able. And foraſmuch as our weakeneſſe is ſuch, that we cannot deny them ſimply that which they would have; we undertake and promiſe many times unto thoſe who do importune and lye upon us unceſſantly, even thoſe things that we are not able to compaſſe and make good; as namely, our commendatory letters for to find favour in Princes courts; to be mediators for them unto great rulers and governors, and to talke with them about their cauſes; as being neither willing, nor ſo hardy as thus to ſay, The King knoweth not us, he regardeth others more, and you were better go to ſuch and ſuch. After this manner, when *Lyſander* had offended King *Ageſilaus*, and incurred his heavy diſpleaſure, and yet was thought worthy to be chiefe in credit above all thoſe that were about him, in regard of the great opinion and reputation that men had of him for his noble acts, he never baſhed to repel and put back thoſe ſuters that came unto him, making excuſe, and bidding them to goe unto others, and aſſay them, who were in greater credit with the King than himſelfe. For it is no ſhame not to be able to effect all things, but for a man to be driven upon a fooliſh modeſty to enterpriſe ſuch matters as he is neither able to compaſſe nor meet to mannage; beſides that it is ſhamefull, I hold alſo a right great corroſive to the heart.

But now to go unto another principle, we ought willingly and with a ready heart to do pleaſure unto thoſe that requeſt at our hands ſuch things as be meet and reaſonable; not as forced thereto by a ruſticall feare of ſhame, but as yeelding unto reaſon and equity. Contrariwiſe, if their demands be hurtfull, abſurd, and without all reaſon, we ought evermore to have the ſaying of *Zeno* in readineſſe, who meeting with a young man one of his acquaintance, walking cloſe under the towne wall ſecretly as if he would not be ſeen; asked of him the cauſe of his being there, and underſtanding by him that it was becauſe he would avoid one of his friends, who had been earneſt with him to beare falſe witneſſe in his behalfe: What ſaieſt thou (quoth *Zeno*) ſot that thou art? Was thy friend ſo bold and ſhameleſſe to require that of thee which is unreaſonable, unjuſt, and hurtfull unto thee? And dareſt thou not ſtand againſt him in that which is juſt and honeſt? For whoſoever he was that ſaid,

A crooked wedge is fit to cleaue
A knotted knurry tree,
It well beſeems againſt lewd folke
With lewdneſſe arm'd to be.

Teacheth us an ill leſſon, to learne to be naught our ſelves when we would be revenged of naughtineſſe. But ſuch as repulſe tho'e who impudently and with a ſhameleſſe face do moleſt and trouble them, not ſuffering themſelves to be overcome with ſhamefacedneſſe, but rather ſhame to grant unto ſhameleſſe beggers thoſe things that be ſhamefull, are wiſe men and well adviſed, doing herein that which is right and juſt. Now as touching thoſe importunate and ſhameleſſe perſons, who otherwiſe are but obſcure, baſe, and of no worth, it is of no great matter to reſiſt them when they be troubleſome unto us. And ſome there be who make no more ado but ſhift them off with laughter or a ſcoffe: like as *Theocritus* ſerved twaine who would ſeeme to borrow of him his rubber or currying combe in the very baine; of which two, the one was a meere ſtranger unto him, the other he knew well enough for a notorious theefe: I know not you (quoth he) to the one; and to the other, I know what you are well enough; and ſo he ſent them both away with a meere frump. *Lyſimache* the Prieſteſſe of *Minerva* in *Athens*, ſurnamed *Polias*, that is, the Patroneſſe of the City; when certaine Muleters who brought ſacrifices unto the temple, called unto her for to powre them out drinke freely: No (quoth ſhe) my good friends, I may not do ſo, for feare you will make a cuſtome of it.

Antigonus had under him in his retinue a young gentleman, whoſe father in times paſt had been a good warriour, and led a band or company of ſouldiers, but himſelfe was a very coward, and of no ſervice, and when he ſued unto him (in regard of his birth) to be advanced unto the place of his father late deceaſed: Young man (quoth he) my manner is to recompence and honour the proweſs and manhood of my ſouldiers, and not their good parentage. But if the party who aſſaileth our modeſty be not a nobleman of might and authority (and ſuch kind of perſons of all other will moſt hardly endure a repulſe and be put off with a deniall or excuſe, and namely, in the caſe of giving ſentence or award in matter of judgement, or in a voice at the election of Magiſtrates) peradventure it may be thought neither eaſie nor neceſſary to do that which *Cato* ſometimes did, being then but of young yeares, unto *Catulus*; Now this *Catulus* was a man of exceeding great authority among the Romans, and for that time bare the Cenſureſhip, who came unto *Cato*, (then Lord high Treaſurer of *Rome* that yeare) as a mediatour and interceſſour for one who had been condemned before by *Cato* in a round fine, preſſing and importuning him ſo hard with earneſt prayer and entreaty, that in the end

end *Cato* ſeeing how urgent and unreaſonable he was, and not able to endure him any longer, was forced to ſay thus unto him: You would thinke it a foule diſgrace and ſhame for you *Catulus*, Cenſour as you are, ſince you will not receive an anſwer and be gone, if my ſerjeants and officers here ſhould take you by the head and ſhoulders and ſend you away: with that *Catulus*, being abaſhed and aſhamed, departed in great anger and diſcontentment. But conſider rather and ſee, whether the anſwer of *Ageſilaus* and that which *Themiſtocles* made were not more modeſt, and ſavoured of greater humanity: for *Ageſilaus*, when his own father willed him to give ſentence in a certaine cauſe that was brought before him, againſt all right, and directly contrary to the laws: Father (quoth he) your ſelfe have taught me from my very child-hood to obey the laws; I will be therefore obedient ſtill to your good precepts, and paſſe no judgement againſt law. As for *Themiſtocles*, when as *Simonides* ſeemed to requeſt of him ſomewhat that was unjuſt and unlawfull: Neither were you *Simonides* (quoth he) a good Poet, if you ſhould keep time and number in your ſong, nor I a good Magiſtrate if I ſhould judge againſt the law. And yet (as *Plato* was wont to ſay) it is not for want of due proportion between the neck and body of the Lute, that one City is at variance with another City, and friends fall out and be at difference, doing what miſchiefe they can one to another, and ſuffering the like againe; but for this rather, that they offend and faile in that which concerneth law and juſtice. Howbeit, you ſhall have ſome, who themſelves obſerving the preciſe rules moſt exactly according to art in Muſick, in Grammaticall Orthography, and in the poeticall quantity of ſyllables and meaſures of feet, can be in hand with others, and requeſt them to neglect and forget that which they ought to do in the adminiſtration of government, in paſſing of judgements, and in their other actions. And therefore with ſuch as theſe be, I would have you take this courſe which I will now tell you: Is there an Advocate or Rhetorician that doth importune you ſitting as judge upon the bench? Or is there an Orator that troubleth you with an unreaſonable ſute as you ſit in counſell? Grant them both that which they requeſt, upon condition that the one in the entry of his plea will commit a ſolœciſme or incongruity, and the other in the beginning of his narration come out with ſome barbariſme: but it is all to nothing, that they will never do ſo, it would be thought ſuch a ſhame; and in very truth, we ſee that ſome of them are ſo fine eared that they cannot abide in a ſpeech or ſentence that two vowels ſhould come together: againe, Is he one of the nobility, or a man of honour and authority, that troubleth you with ſome unhoneſt ſute? Will him likewiſe for your ſake to paſſe thorow the market place hopping and dancing, making mowes, and writhing his mouth; but if he deny ſo to do, then have you good occaſion and fit opportunity to come upon him with this revy, and demand of him, whether of the twaine be more diſhoneſt? To make incongruity in ſpeech, and to make mows, and ſet the mouth awry, or to breake the laws, commit perjury, and beſide all right, equity, and conſcience, to award and adjudge more unto the lewd and wicked, than to good and honeſt perſons. Moreover, like as *Nicoſtratus* the *Argive* anſwered unto *Archidamus*, who ſollicited him with a good ſum of money (promiſing him beſides in marriage what Lady he would himſelfe chuſe in all *Lacedemon*) to betray and render up by treaſon the Town *Cromnum*: I ſee well (quoth he) O *Archidamus*, that you are not deſcended from the race of *Hercules*, for that he travelled thorow the world, killing wicked perſons whom he had vanquiſhed, but your ſtudy is to make them wicked who are good and honeſt; even ſo we ought to ſay unto him who would be thought a man of worth and good marke, and yet commeth to preſſe and force us to commit thoſe deeds which are not befitting, that he doth that which beſeemeth not his nobility or opinion of vertue.

Now if they be meane and baſe perſons to account, who ſhall thus tempt you, go thus to worke with ſuch: If he be a covetous miſer, and one that loveth his money too well; ſee and try whether you can induce and perſwade him by all importunity to credit you with a talent of ſilver upon your bare word without ſchedule, obligation, or ſpecialty for his ſecurity; or if he be an ambitious and vain-glorious perſon, try if you can prevaile with him ſo much, as to give you the upper-hand or higher ſeat in publike place; or if he be one that deſireth to beare rule and office, aſſay him, whether he will give over his poſſibility that he hath to ſuch a Magiſtracy, eſpecially when he is in the ready way to obtaine it? Certes, we may well thinke it a very ſtrange and abſurd thing, that ſuch as they in their vices and paſſions ſhould ſtand and continue ſo ſtiffe, ſo reſolute, and ſo hard to be removed; and we who profeſſe and would be reputed honeſt men, lovers of vertue, juſtice, and equity, cannot be maſters of our ſelves, but ſuffer vertue to be ſubverted, and caſt it at our heeles. For if they, who by their impunity urge our modeſty, do it either for their own reputation, or their authority, it were abſurd and beſide the purpoſe for us to augment the honour, credit, and authority of another, and to diſhonour, diſcredit, and diſgrace our ſelves; like unto thoſe who be in an ill name, and incur the obloquie of the world, who either in publike and ſolemne games defraud thoſe of the prizes and rewards who have atchieved victory, or who at the election of Magiſtrates deprive thoſe of their right of ſuffrages and voices to whom it doth belong, for to gratifie others that deſerve it not, thereby to procure to the one ſort the honour of ſitting in high places, and to the other the glory of wearing coronets, and ſo by doing pleaſure unto others, falſifie their own faith, defame themſelves, and loſe the opinion and reputation they had of honeſty and good conſcience. Now if we ſee that it is for his own lucre and gaine that any one urge us beyond all reaſon to do a thing; how is it that we do not preſently conſider, that it is abſurd and without all ſenſe to hazard and put to compromiſe (as it were) our own reputation and vertue for another

man,

man to the end that the purſe of ſome one (I know not who) ſhould thereby be more weighty and heavy?

But certainly many there be unto whom ſuch conſiderations as theſe are preſented, and who are not ignorant that they read aſide and do amiſſe: much like to them, who being challenged to drink off great bowls full of wine, take pains to pledge them with much ado, even ſo long till their eyes be ready to ſtart out of their heads, changing their countenance, and panting for want of wind, and all to pleaſure thoſe that put them to it. But ſurely this feebleneſſe of mind and faint heart of theirs reſembleth the weake conſtitution and temperature of the body, which cannot away either with ſcorching heat or chilling cold. For be they praiſed by thoſe who ſet upon them thus impudently, they are ready to leape out of their skins for joy; and ſay, they doubt for to be accuſed, checked, rebuked, or ſuſpected, if happily they deny, then they are ready to die for woe and feare. But we ought to be well defended and fortified againſt the one and the other, that we yeeld neither to them that terrifie us, nor to thoſe that flatter us. *Thucydides* verily ſuppoſing it impoſſible for one to be great or in high place and not envied, ſaith, That the man is well adviſed and led by good counſell who ſhooteth at the greateſt and higheſt affairs, if he muſt be ſubject unto envy. For mine own part, thinking as I do, that it is no hard matter to eſcape envy, but to avoid all complaints, and to keep our ſelves from being moleſted by ſome one or other that converſe with us and keep our company, a thing impoſſible: I ſuppoſe it good counſell for us, and the beſt thing we can do for our own ſafety, to incur rather the ill-will and diſpleaſure of lewd, importunate, and unreaſonable people, than of thoſe who have juſt cauſe to blame and accuſe us, it againſt all right and juſtice we ſatisfie their minds, and be ready to do them ſervice and pleaſure: as for the praiſes and commendations which proceed from ſuch lewd and ſhameleſſe perſons, being as they are in every reſpect counterfeit and ſophiſticall, we ought to beware and take heed of; neither muſt we ſuffer our ſelves as ſwine to be rubbed, ſcratched or tickled, and all the whiles ſtand ſtill and gently, letting them do with us what they will, untill they may with eaſe lay us all along, when we have once yeelded to be ſo handled at their pleaſure: for ſurely they that give eare to flatterers, differ in no reſpect from thoſe who ſet out their legs of purpoſe to be ſupplanted and to have their heeles tripped up from under them; ſave only in this, that thoſe are worſe foiled and catch the more ſhamefull fall, I meane as well ſuch as remit puniſhment to naughty perſons, becauſe forſooth they love to be called mercifull, mild, and gentle: as thoſe on the contrary ſide, who being perſwaded by ſuch as praiſe them, do ſubmit themſelves to enmities and accuſations needleſſe, but yet perilous; as being born in hand and made beleeve that they were the only men, and ſuch alone as ſtood invincible againſt all flattery, yea, and thoſe whom they ſtick not to terme their very mouths and voices; and therefore *Bion* likened them moſt aptly to veſſels that had two eares, for that they might be carried ſo eaſily by the eares which way a man would: like as it is reported of one *Alexinus* a Sophiſter, who upon a time as he walked with others in the gallery *Peripatos*, ſpake all that naught was of *Stilpo* the *Megarean*: and when one of the company ſaid unto him, what meane you by this, conſidering that of late, and no longer ſince than the other day, he gave out of you all the good that may be: I wot well (quoth he) for he is a right honeſt gentleman, and the moſt curious perſon in the world. Contrariwiſe, *Menedemus* when he heard that *Alexinus* had praiſed him many a time: But I (quoth he) do never ſpeake well of *Alexinus*; and therefore a bad man he muſt needs be, that either praiſeth a naughty perſon, or is diſpraiſed of an honeſt man: So hard it was to turne or catch him by any ſuch meanes; as making uſe and practiſing that precept which *Hercules Antiſthenes* taught his children, when he admoniſhed and warned them that they ſhould never con thoſe thanke who praiſed them: and this was nothing elſe, but not to ſuffer a mans ſelfe to be overcome by fooliſh modeſty, nor to flatter them againe who praiſed him. For this may ſuffice, in my opinion, which *Pindarus* anſwered upon a time to one who ſaid unto him: That in every place, and to all men he never ceaſed to commend him: Grand mercy (quoth he) and I will do this favour unto you againe that you may be a true man of your word and be thought to have ſpoken nothing but the truth.

To conclude, that which is good and expedient againſt all other affections and paſſions, they ought ſurely to remember who are eaſily overcome by this hurtfull modeſty, whenſoever they giving place ſoone to the violence of this paſſion do commit a fault and tread awry againſt their mind: namely, to call to remembrance the markes and prints of remorſe and repentance ſticking faſt in their mind, and to repeat eftſoones and keep the ſame a long time. For like as waifaring men, after they have once ſtumbled upon a ſtone: or pilots at ſea when they have once ſplit their ſhip upon a rock and ſuffered ſhipwrack, if they call theſe accidents to remembrance, for ever after do feare and take heed not only of the ſame, but of ſuch like; even ſo they that ſet before their eyes continually the diſhonours and damages which they have received by this hurtfull and exceſſive modeſty, and repreſent the ſame to their mind once wounded and bitten with remorſe and repentance, will in the like afterwards reclaime themſelves, and not ſo eaſily another time be perverted and ſeduced out of the right way.

Of

Of Brotherly Love or Amity.

The Summary.

A Man ſhould have profited but badly in the ſchoole of vertue, if endeavouring to carry himſelfe honeſtly toward his friends and familiars, yea, and his very enemies, he continue ſtill in evill demeanour with his own brethren, unto whom he is joyned naturally by the ſtreighteſt line and linke that can be deviſed. But for that ever ſince the beginning of the world, this proverbiall ſentence from time to time hath been currant and found true: that the Unity of Brethren is a rare thing: Plutarch *after he had complained in the very entrance of this little book, that ſuch a malady as this reigned mightily in his time, goeth about afterwards to apply a remedy thereto. And to this effect he ſheweth, that ſince brotherly amity is taught and preſcribed by nature, thoſe who love not their brethren be blockiſh, unnaturall, enemies to their own ſelves; yea, and the greateſt Atheiſts that may be found. And albeit the obligation wherein we are bound to our parents amounteth to ſo high a ſum as we are never able fully to diſcharge; he proveth notwithſtanding, that brotherly love may ſtand for one very good paiment toward that debt: whereupon he concludeth, that hatred between brethren ought to be baniſhed; for that if it once creepe in and get between, it will be a very hard matter to rejoyne and reconcile them againe. Afterwards he teacheth a ready and compendious way, how a man ought to mannage and uſe a brother ill-diſpoſed. In what manner brethren ſhould carry themſelves one to another, both during the life of their father, and alſo after his deceaſe; diſcourſing at large upon the duty of thoſe who are the elder, or higher advanced in other reſpects; as alſo, what they ſhould do who are the younger; namely, that as they are not equall to their other brethren in yeares, ſo they be their inferiours in place of honour and in wealth; likewiſe what meanes as well the one as the other are to follow for to avoid envy and jealouſie. Which done, he teacheth brethren who in age come very neare, their naturall duty and kindneſſe that they ought to ſhew one unto another; to which purpoſe he produceth proper examples of brotherly amity among the Pagans: In the end, ſince he cannot poſſibly effect thus much, that brethren ſhould evermore accord well together, he ſetteth down what courſe they are to take in their differences and diſagreements; and how their friends ought to be common between them; and for a finall concluſion, he treateth of the honeſt care and reſpective regard one of another that they ought to have, and eſpecially of their kinſfolke, which he enricheth with two other notable examples.*

Of Brotherly Love and Amity.

THoſe ancient ſtatues repreſenting the two brethren *Caſtor* and *Pollux*, the inhabitants of the City *Sparta*, were wont in their language to call Δίοσκουροι. And two paralell pieces of timber they are of an equall diſtance aſunder, united and joyned together by other peeces overthwart: now it ſhould ſeeme, that this was a device fitting very well and agreeable to the brotherly amity of the ſaid two gods, for to ſhew that undiviſible union which was between them: and even ſo, I alſo do offer and dedicate unto you, O *Nigrinus* and *Quintus*, this little treatiſe as touching the amity of brethren, a gift common unto you both as thoſe who are worthy of the ſame: for ſeeing, that of your own accord you practice that already, which it teacheth and exhorteth unto, you ſhall be thought not ſo much to be admoniſhed thereby, as by your example to confirme and teſtifie the ſame which therein is delivered; and the joy which you ſhall conceive to ſee that approved and commended which yourſelves do, ſhall give unto your judgement a farther aſſurance to continue therein; as if your actions were allowed and praiſed by vertuous and honeſt beholders of the ſame.

Ariſtarchus verily, the father of *Theodectes*, ſcoffing at the great number of thoſe Sophiſters or of counterfeit ſages in his daies, ſaid: That in old time hardly could be found ſeven wiſe men throughout the world; but in our daies (quoth he) much adoe there is to find ſo many fooles or ignorant perſons. But I may very well and truly ſay: That I ſee in this age wherein we live, the amity of Brethren to be as rare, as their hatred was in times paſt. The examples whereof, being ſo few as they were among our ancients, were thought, by men in thoſe daies living, notable arguments to furniſh Tragedies and Theaters with, as matters very ſtrange, and in a manner fabulous. But contrariwiſe, all they that live in this age, if happily they meet with two brethren that be good and kind one to another, wonder and marvell thereat as much as if they ſaw thoſe *Molionides*, (of whom *Homer* ſpeaketh) whoſe bodies ſeemed to grow together in one: and as incredible and miraculous do they thinke it, that brethren ſhould uſe in common the patrimony, goods, friends, and ſlaves, which their fathers left behind unto them, as if one and the ſame ſoule alone ruled the feet, hands, and eyes of two bodies. And yet Nature her ſelfe hath ſet down a lively example of that mutuall behaviour and carriage that ought to be among brethren, and the ſame not far off, but even within our own bodies, wherein ſhe hath framed and deviſed for the moſt part thoſe members double, and as a man would

would say, brethren-like and twins, which be necessary, to wit, two hands, two feet, two eyes, two ears, and two nostrils; shewing thereby, that she hath thus distinguished them all, not only for their naturall health and safety, but also for a mutuall and reciprocall help, and not for to quarrell and fight one with another. As for the hands, when she parted them into many fingers, and those of unequall length and bignesse, she hath made them of all other organicall parts, the most proper, artificious, and workman-like instruments; insomuch as that ancient Philosopher *Anaxagoras* ascribed the very cause of mans wisdome and understanding unto the hands. Howbeit, the contrary unto this should seem rather to be true; for man was not the wisest of al other living creatures in regard of his hands, but because by nature being endued with reason, given to be witty, and capable of Arts & Sciences, he was likewise naturally furnished with such instruments as these. Morover, this is well known unto every man, that Nature hath formed of one and the same seed, as of one principle of life, two, three, and more brethren; not to the end that they should be at debate and variance, but that being apart and asunder they might the better and more commodiously help one another. For those men with three bodies and a hundred armes apeece, which the Poets describe unto us (if ever there were any such) being joyned and grown together in all their parts, were not able to do any thing at all when they were parted asunder, or, as it were, without themselves: which brethren can do well enough, namely, dwell and keep within house and go abroad together, meddle in affaires of State, exercise husbandry and tillage one with another, in case they preserve and keep well that principle of amity and benevolence which nature hath given them. For otherwise they should (I suppose) nothing differ from those feet which are ready to trip or supplant one another, and cause them to catch a fall: or they should resemble those hands and fingers which enfolded and claspe one another untowardly against the course of nature. But rather according as in one and the same body, the cold, the hot, the dry, and the moist, participating likewise in one and the same nature and nourishment, if they do accord and agree well together, engender an excellent temperature and most pleasant harmony, to wit, the health of body, without which, neither all the wealth of the world, as men say,

Nor power of royall Majesty,
Which equall is to deity,

have any pleasure, grace, or profit: but in case these principall elements of our life, covet to have more than their just proportion, and thereupon breake out into a kind of civill sedition, seeking one to surcrease and over-grow another, soone there ensueth a filthy corruption and confusion which overthroweth the state of the body and the creature it selfe; semblably, by the concord of brethren, the whole race and house is in good case and flourisheth, the friends and familiars belonging to them (like a melodious quire of musicians) make a sweet consent and harmony: for neither they do, nor say, nor thinke any thing that jarreth or is contrary one to the other,

Whereas in discord such, and taking part,
The worst estsoones do speed, whiles better smart.

To wit, some ill-tongued varlet, and pick-thanke carry-tale within the house, or some flattering claw-back comming between, and entring into the house, or else some envious and malicious neighbour in the City. For like as diseases do ingender in those bodies which neither receive nor stand well affected to their proper and familiar nourishment, many appetites of strange and hurtfull meats; even so, a slanderous calumniation of jealousie being gotten once among those of a bloud and kindred, doth draw and bring withall evill words and naughty speeches, which from without are alwaies ready enough to run thither, whereas a breach lieth open, and where there is some fault already. That divine Master and soothsayer of *Arcadie*, of whom *Herodotus* writeth, when he had lost one of his own naturall feet, was forced upon necessity to make himselfe another of wood: but a brother being fallen out and at war with a brother, and constrained to get some stranger to be his companion, either out of the market place and common hall of the City as he walketh there, or from the publike place of exercise, where he useth to behold the wrestlers and others: in my conceit doth nothing else but willingly cut off a part or limbe of his own body made of flesh, & engraffed fast unto him, for to set another in the place, which is of another kind and altogether a stranger. For even necessity it selfe which doth entertaine, approve, and seeke for friendship and mutuall acquaintance, teacheth us to honour, cherish, and preserve that which is of the same nature and kind: for that without friends, society, and fellowship we are not able to live solitary and alone as most savage beasts, neither will our nature endure it: and therefore in *Menander* he saith very well and wisely:

By jolly cheer and l aukets day by day,
Think we to finde (O father) trusty friends,
To whom our selves and life commit we may?
No speciall thing for cost to make amends,
I found he hath, who by that means hath met
With shade of friends; for such I count no bet.

For to say a truth, most of our friendships be but shadowes, semblances and images of that first amity which nature hath imprinted and engraffed the children toward their parents, in brethren toward their brethren: and he who doth not reverence nor honor it, how can he perswade and make strangers beleeve that he beareth sound and faithfull good will unto strangers. Or what man is he who

who in his familiar greetings and salutations, or in his letters will call his friend and companion Brother, and cannot find in his heart so much as to go with his brother in the same way? For as it were a point of great folly and madnesse, to adorn the statue of a brother, and in the mean time to beat and maim his body; even so, to reverence and honor the name of a brother in others, & withal to shun, hate and disdain a brother indeed, were the case of one that were out of his wits, and who never conceived in his heart and minde that Nature is the most sacred and holy thing, in the world. And here in this place, I cannot choose but call to minde, how at *Rome* upon a time I took upon me to be umpire between two brethren, of whom the one seemed to make profession of Philosophie; but he was (as after it appeared) not only unlearned and ignorant: In that you say (ignorant (quoth he) I hold well with you, and I avow it a truth; but as for Brother, I take it for no such great and venerable matter, to have spring from the same loins, or to have come forth of one womb. Well (said I again) It appears that you make no great account to issue out of the same naturall members; but all men else besides you, if they do not think and imagine so in their hearts; yet I am sure they do both sing and say that Nature first, and then Law (which doth preserve and maintain Nature) have given the chief place of reverence and honor next after the gods, unto father and mother; neither can men perform any service more acceptable unto the gods than to pay willingly, readily and affectionately unto parents who begat and brought them forth, unto nurses and fosters that reared them up the interest and usury for the old thanks, besides the new which are due unto them. And on the other side again, there is not a more certain sign and mark of a very Atheist; than either to neglect parents, or to be any wayes ungracious or defective in duty unto them; and therefore whereas we are forbidden in expresse terms by the Law to do wrong or hurt unto other men: if one do not behave himself to father and mother both in word and deed, so as they may have (I do not say no discontentment and displeasure, but) joy & comfort thereby, men esteem him to be profane, godlesse and irreligious. Tell me now, what action, what grace, what disposition of children towards their parents, can be more agreeable and yeeld them greater contentment than to see good will, kinde affection, fast and assured love between brethren? the which a man may easily gather by the contrarie in other smaller matters. For seeing that fathers and mothers be displeased otherwhiles with their sonnes, if they misuse or hardly intreat some home-born slave whom they set much store by: if I say, they be vexed and angry, when they see them to make no reckoning and care of their woods and grounds wherein they took some joy and delight; considering also that the good kind-hearted old folk of a gentle and loving affection that they have be offended if some hound or dog bred up within house, or an horse be not well tended and looked unto; last of all, if they grieve when they perceive their children to mock, find fault with, or despise the lectures, narrations, sports, sights, wrestlers, and others that exercise feats of activity, which themselves sometime highly esteemed: Is there any likelihood that they in any measure can indure to see their children hate one another? to entertain braules and quarrels continually? to be ever snarling, railing and reviling one another? and in all enterprises and actions alwayes crossing, thwarting and supplanting one another? I suppose there is no man will so say. Then on the contrary side, if brethren love together and be ready one to do for another; if they draw in one line and carry the like affection with them; follow the same studies and take the same courses; and how much nature hath divided & separated them in body, so much to joyn for it again in mind; lending one another their helping hands in all their negotiations and affairs; following the same exercises; repairing to the same disputations, and frequenting the same plaies, games and pastimes, so as they agree and communicate in all things: certainly this great love and amity among brethren, must needs yeeld sweet joy and happy comfort to their father and mother in their old age: and therefore parents take nothing so much pleasure, when their children prove eloquent orators, wealthy men, or advanced to promotions and high places of dignitie; as loving and kind one to another; like as a man shall never see a father so desirous of eloquence, of riches, or of honor, as he is loving to his own children. It is reported of Queen *Apollonis* the Cyzicen, mother to King *Eumenes*, and to three other Princes, to wit, *Attalus*, *Philetærus* and *Athenæus*, that she reputed and reported her self to be right happy, and rendred thanks unto the immortall gods, not for her riches, nor royall port and majesty; but that it was her good fortune to see those three younger sonnes of hers, serving as Pensioners and Esquires of the body to *Eumenes* their elder brother, and himself living fearlesse and in security in the midst of them, standing about his person with their pollaxes, halberds, and partisanes in their hands, and girded with swords by their sides. On the other side, King *Xerxes* perceiving, that his sonne *Ochus* set an ambush and laid trains to murder his brethren, died for very sorrow and anguish of heart. Terrible and grievous are the warres, said *Euripides*, between brethren; but unto their parents above all others most grievous; for that whosoever hateth his own brother, and may not vouchsafe him a good eye and kind look, cannot choose but in his heart blame the father that begat him, and the mother that bare him. We read that *Pisistratus* married his second wife, when his sons whom he had by the former were now men grown, saying, That since he saw them prove so good and towardly, he gladly would be the father of many more that might grow up like them: even so, good and loyall children will not onely affect and love one another for their parents sakes, but also love their parents so much the more, in regard of their mutuall kindnesse, as making this account, thinking also and saying thus,

to themselves; That they are obliged and bounden unto them in many respects, but principally for their brethren, as being the most precious heritage, the sweetest and most pleasant possession that they inherit by them. And therefore *Homer* did very well, when he brought in *Telemachus* among other calamities of his, reckoning this for one, that he had no brother at all; and saying thus:

For Jupiter my fathers race in me alone,
Now ended hath, and given me brother none.

As for *Hesiodus* he did not well to wish and give advice to have an only begotten sonne, to be the full heir and universall inheritor of a patrimonie: even that *Hesiodus* who was the disciple of those Muses, whom men have named φίλους, as it were ὅμου ἴους, for that by reason of their mutuall affection and sister-like love they keep alwayes together. Certes, the amity of brethren is so respective to parents, that it is both a certain demonstration that they love father and mother, and also such an example and lesson unto their children to love together, as there is none other like unto it, but contrariwise, they take an ill president to hate their own brethren from the first originall of their father: for he that liveth continually and waxeth old in suits of law, in quarrels and dissensions with his own brethren, and afterward shall seem to preach unto his children for to live friendly and lovingly together, doth as much as he, who according to the common proverb:

The sores of others will seem to heal and cure,
And is himself if ulcers full impure.

and so by his own deeds doth weaken the efficacy of his words. If then *Eteocles* the Thebane, when he had once said unto his brother *Polynices*, in *Euripides*,

To Starres about Sunne-rising would I mount,
And under earth descend as farre again,
By these attempts, if I might make account
This soveraign roialty of gods to gain.

should come afterwards again unto his sonnes, and admonish them

For to maintain and honour equall state,
Which knits friends ay in perfect unity,
And keeps those link'e who are confederate,
Preserving cities in league and amity:
For nothing more procures security,
In all the world, than doth equality.

who would not mock him and despise his admonition? And what kinde of man would *Atreus* have been reputed, if after he had let such a supper as he did before his brother, he should in this manner have spoken sentences and given instruction to his own children?

When great misshap and crosse calamity
Upon a man is fallen suddenly,
The onely meed is found by amity
Of those whom blood hath joyned perfectly.

Banish therefore we must, and rid away clean, all hatred from among brethren, as a thing which is a bad nurse to parents in their old age, and a worse foster to children in their youth; besides, it giveth occasion of slander, calumniation and obloquie among their fellow-citizens and neighbours, for thus do men conceive and deem of it: That brethren having been nourished and brought up together so familiarly from their very cradle, it cannot be that they should fall out and grow to such terms of enmity and hostility, unlesse they were privy one to another of some wicked plots and most mischievous practises. For great causes they must be, that are able to undo great friendship and amity, by means whereof hardly or unneth afterwards they can be reconciled and surely knit again. For like as sundry pieces which have been once artificially joined together by the means of glue or soder, if the joynt be loose or open, may be rejoined or sodered again: but if an entire body that naturally is united and grown in one, chance to be broken or cut and slit asunder, it will be an hard piece of work to find any glew or soder so strong as to reunite the same and make it whole and sound, even so those mutuall amities which either for profit or upon some need were first knit between men, happen to cleave and part in twain it is an easie matter to reduce them close together; but brethren if they be once alienated and estranged, so as that the naturall bond of love cannot hold them together, hardly will they piece again, or agree ever after: and say they be made friends and brought to attonement, certainly such reconciliation maketh in the former rent or breach an ill-favoured and filthy scar, as being alwayes full of jealousie, distrust, and suspicion. True it is that all jars and enmities between man and man, entring into the heart, together with those passions which be most troublesome and dangerous of all others, to wit, a peevish humor of contention, choler, envie and remembrance of injuries done and past, do breed grief, pain, and vexation; but surely that which is fallen between brother and brother, who of necessity are to communicate together in all sacrifices & religious ceremonies belonging to their fathers house, who are to be interred another day in one and the same sepulchre, and live in the mean time otherwhiles under one roof, and dwell in the same house, and enjoy possessions, lands, and tenements confining one upon another, doth continually present unto the eye that which tormenteth the heart, it putteth them in mind

mind daily and howerly of their folly and madnesse: for by means thereof that face and countenance which should be most sweet, best known, and of all other likest, is become most strange, hideous, and unpleasant to the eye; that voice which was wont to be even from the cradle friendly and familiar, is now become most fearful and terrible to the ear; and whereas they see many other brethren cohabit together in one house, sit at one table to take their repast, occupie the same lands, and use the same servants, without dividing them: what a grief is it, that they thus fallen out, should part their friends, their hoasts and guests, and in one word, make all things, that be common among other brethren private, and whatsoever should be familiar and acceptable, to be one contrarie and odious? Over and besides, here is another inconvenience and mischief, which there is no man so simple, but he must needs conceive and understand: That ordinary friends and table companions may be gotten and stollen (as it were) from others; alliance and acquaintance there may be had new, if the former be lost, even as armour, weapons and tools may be repaired, if they be worn, or new made, if the first be gone; but to recover a brother that is lost, it is not possible, no more than to make a new head, if one be cut away, or to set another eye in the place of that which is plucked out of the head: and therefore well said that Persian Lady, when she chose rather to save the life of her brethren than of her children: For children (quoth she) I may have more, but sith my father and mother be both dead, brother shall I never have.

But what is to be done, will some man say, in case one be matched with a bad brother? First, this we ought evermore to remember, that in all sorts of amities there is to be found some badnesse, and most true is that saying of *Sophocles*;

Who list to search throughout mankind,
More bad than good is sure to find.

No kinred there is, no society, no fellowship, no amity and love, that can be found sincere, sound, pure and clear from all faults. The Lacedæmonian who had married a wife of little stature: We must (quoth he) of evils chuse ever the least: even so in mine advise a man may very well and wisely give counsell unto brethren, to bear rather with the most domesticall imperfections: and the infirmities of their own blood, than to trie those of strangers: for as the one is blameless, because it is necessary, so the other is blame-worthy, for that it is voluntary: for neither table-friend and fellow-gamester, nor play-fere of the same age, ne yet hoast or guest

Is bound with links (of brasse ly hand not wrought)
Which shame by kind hath forg'd, and cost us nought,

but rather that friend, who is the same blood, who had his nourishment and bringing up with us, begotten of one father, and who lay in the same mothers womb: unto whom it seemeth that Vertue her self doth allow conniveney and pardon of some faults, so as a man may say unto a brother when he doth a fault,

Wilt thou, dark naught, yea, wretched though thou be,
Yet can I not forsake and cast off thee.

lest that (ere I be well aware) I might seem in my hatred towards thee, for to punish sharply, cruelly and unnaturally in thy person, some infirmity or vice of mine own father or mother, instilled into thee by their feed. As for strangers and such as are not of our blood, we ought not to love first, and afterwards make triall and judgement of them; but first we must trie and then trust and love them afterwards: whereas contrariwise nature hath not given unto proof and experience the precedence and prerogative to go before love, neither doth she expect according to that common proverb: That a man should eat a bushell of two or salt with one whom he minded to love and make his friend; but even from our nativity hath bred in us and with us the very principle and cause of amity in which regard we ought not to be bitter unto such, nor to search too neerly into their faults and infirmities.

But what will you say now if contrariwise some there be, who if meer aliens and strangers otherwise, yet if they take a foolish love and like unto them either at the tavern or at some game and pastime, or fall acquainted with them at the wrestling or fencing schoole, can be content to wink at their faults, be ready to excuse and justifie them, yea, and take delight and pleasure therein: but if their brethren do amisse, they be exceeding rigorous unto them and inexorable; nay, you shall have many such who can abide to love churlish dogs, and skittish horses, yea, and finde in their hearts to feed and make much of fell ounces, shrewd cats, curst unhappy apes, and terrible lions; but they cannot endure the hasty and choleriek humor, the error & ignorance or some little ambitious humor of a brother. Others again there be, who urto their concubines and harlots will not stick to assigne over and passe away goodly houses and fair lands lying thereto; but with their brethren they will wrangle and go to law, nay, they will be ready to enter the lists and combat for a plot of ground whereupon a house standeth, about some corner of a messuage or end of a little tenement, and afterwards attributing unto this their hatred of brethren the colourable name of hating sin and wickednesse, they go up and down cursing, detesting and reproching them for their vices, whiles in others they are never offended nor discontented therewith, but are willing enough daily to frequent and haunt their company. Thus much in general of termes by way of preamble or proeme of this whole treatise.

It remaineth now that I should enter into the doctrine and instructions thereto belonging wherein I would not begin as others have done at the partition of their heritage or patrimonie; but

at

* i.e. Minerva. Odyss. v. 331.

* Medimnous is a measure containing 6 modii, which is about 6 pecks with us.

at the naughty emulation, heart-burning and jealousy which ariseth between them during the life of their parents. *Agesilaus* King of *Lacedamon* was wont alwayes to send as a present unto each one of the ancients of the City, even as they were created Senators, a good oxe, in testimony that he honored their vertue: at length the lords called *Ephori*, who were the censurers and overseers of each mans behaviour, condemned him for this in a fine to be paid unto the State, subscribing and adding a reason withall; for that by these gifts and largesses he went about to steal away their hearts and favors to himself alone, which ought indifferently to regard the whole body of the City; even so a man may do well to give this counsel unto a sonne, in such wise to respect and honour his father and mother, that he seek not thereby to gain their whole love, nor seem to turn away their favour and affection from other children wholy unto himself; by which practise many do prevent, undermine and supplant their brethren, and thus under a colourable and honest pretense in shew, but indeed unjust and unequall, cloke and cover their avarice and covetous desire for after a cautelous and subtill manner they insinuate themselves and get between them and home, and so defraud and couseh them ungentlemanly of their parents love, which is the greatest and fairest portion of their inheritance, who espying their time, and taking the opportunity and vantage when their brethren be otherwise employed, and least doubt of their practises, then they best ir them most, and shew themselves in best order, obsequious, double-diligent, sober and modest, and namely, in such things as their other brethren do either fail or seem to be slack and forgetfull. But brethren ought to do clean contrary, for if they perceive their father to be angry and displeased with one of them, they should interpose themselves and undergo some part of the heavy load, they ought to ease their brother, and by bearing a part, help to make the burden lighter; then (I say) must they by their service and ministery gratifie their brother so much, as to bring him in some sort in grace and favour again with their father, and when he hath failed so far forth in neglecting the opportunity of time, or omitting some other businesse which hardly will afford excuse, they lay the fault and blame upon his very nature and disposition, as being more meet and fitted for other matters. And hereto accordeth well that speech of *Agamemnon* in *Homer*,

He faulted not through idleneſſe,
nor yet for want of wit,
But look't on me, and did expect
my motive unto it.

even so one good brother may excuse another and say: He thought I should have done it, and left this duty for me to do: neither are fathers themselves strait laced, but willingly enough to admit such transtations and gentle inversions of names as these; they can be content to beleeve their children, when they term the supine negligence of their brethren plain simplicity, their stupidity and blockishnesse, upright dealing and a good conscience: their quarrelous and litigious nature, a mind loth to be troden under-foot and utterly despised. In this manner he that will proceed with an intent only to appease his fathers wrath, shall gain thus much moreover; That not only his fathers choler wil thereby be much diminished toward his brother, but his love also much more encreased unto himself: howbeit, afterwards when he hath thus made all well, and satisfied his father to his good contentment: then must he turn and addresse himself to his brother apart, touch him to the quick, spare him never a whit, but with all liberty of language tell him roundly of his fault, and rebuke him for this trespasse, for surely it is not good to use indulgency and connivency to a brother, no more than to insult over him too much, and tread him under foot if he have done amisse, (for as this bewraieth a joy that one taketh at his fall: so that implieth a guiltinesse with him in the same transgression: but in this rebuke and reproof, such measure would be kept, that it may testifie a care to do him good, and yet a displeasure for his fault; for commonly he that hath been a most earnest advocate and affectionat intercessor for him to his father and mother, will be his sharpest accuser afterwards when he hath him alone by himself. But put the case, that a brother having not all offended, be blamed notwithstanding and accused to father and mother, howsoever in other things, it is the part of humanity and dutifull kindnesse to sustain and bear all anger and forward displeasure of parents; yet in this case, the allegations and defences of one brother in the justification of an other, when he is innocent, unjustly traduced, or hardly used or wronged by his parents, are not to be blamed, but allowable and grounded upon honesty: neither need a brother fear to hear that reproch in *Sophocles*:

Thou graceleſſe imp, ſo farre grown out of kind,
As with thy Sire, a counter plea to find.

when frankly and freely he speaketh in the behalf of his brother, seeming to be unjustly condemned and oppressed. For surely by this manner of processe and pleading, they that are convicted take more joy in being overthrown, than if they had gathered the victory and better hand.

Now after that a father is deceased, it is well beseeming and fit, that brethren should more affectionally love than before, and stick more close together: for then presently their naturall love unto their father which is common to them all, ought to appear indifferently in mourning together and lamenting for his death: then are they to reject and cast behind them all suspicions surmized or buzzed into their heads by varlets and servants, all slanderous calumniations and false reports, brought unto them by pick-thanks and carry-tales on both sides, who would gladly sow some dissension between them: then are they to give ear unto that which fables do report of the reciprocall love of *Castor* and *Pollux*; and namely, how it is said, That *Pollux* killed one with his fist for rounding him in the ear, and whispering a tale against his brother *Castor*. Afterwards, when they shall come to the parting of their patrimonie and fathers goods among them, they ought not (as it were) to give defiance and denounce war one against another, as many there be who come prepared for that purpose ready to encounter, singing this note,

O Alal Alala, now hearken and come sight,
Who art of warre ſo fell, the daughter right.

But that very day of all others they ought to regard and observe most, as being the time which to them is the beginning either of mortall warre and enmity irreconcileable, or else of perfect friendship and amity perdurable: at which instant they ought among themselves alone, to divide their portions if it be possible; if not, then to do it in the presence of one indifferent and common friend between them, who may be a witnes to their whole order and proceeding; and so when after a loving and kind manner, and as becometh honest and well disposed persons, they have by casting lots gotten each one that which is his right; by which course (as *Plato* said) they ought to think that there is given and received that which is meet and agreeable for every one, and so to hold themselves therewith contented: this done, I say they are to make account that the ordering, managing, and administration onely of the goods and heritage is parted and divided; but the enjoying, use and possession of all remaineth yet whole in common between them. But those that in this partition and distribution of goods, pluck one from another the nurses that gave them suck, or such youths as were fostered and brought up together with them of infants, and with whom alwayes they had lived and loved familiarly; well may they prevail so farre forth with eager pursuing their wilfulnesse, as to go away with the gain of a slave perhaps of greater price: but in stead thereof they lose the greatest and most precious things in all their patrimonie and inheritance, and utterly betray the love of a brother, and the confidence that otherwise they might have had in him. Some also we have known, who upon a peevish wilfulnesse onely, and a quarrelous humour, and without any gain at all, have in the partition of their fathers goods, carried themselves no better nor with greater modesty and respect, than if it had been some booty or pillage gotten in war. Such were *Charicles* and *Antiochus*, of the City *Opus*, two brethren, who ever as they met with a piece of silver plate, made no more ado, but cut it quite thorough the mids, and if there came a garment into their hands, in two pieces it went, slit as neer (as they could aim) just in the middle, and so they went either of them away with his part, dividing (as it were) upon some tragicall curse and execration,

Their houſe and all the goods therein
By edge of ſword ſo ſharp and keen.

Others there be who make their boast and report with joy unto others, how in the partition of their patrimony they have by cunning casts conny-catched their brethren, and over-wrought them so by their cautelous circumvention fine wit and slie policies, as that they have gone away with the better part by odds: whereas indeed they should rejoyce rather and please themselves, if in modesty, courtesie, kindnesse, and yeelding of their own right they had surpassed and gone beyond their brethren. In which regard *Athenodorus* deserveth to be remembred in this place; and indeed there is not one here in these parts but remembreth him well enough. This *Athenodorus* had one brother elder than himself named *Zenon*, who having taken upon him the management of the patrimonie, left unto them both by their father, had imbezeld and made away a good part of it; and in the end (for that by force he had carried away a woman and married her, was condemned for a rape, and lost all his own and his brothers goods, which by order of law was forfeit and confiscate to the Exchequer of the Emperor: now was *Athenodorus* above said, a very beardlesse boy still, without any hair on his face; and when by equity and the Court of conscience, his portion out of his fathers goods was awarded and restored unto him, he forsook not his brother, but brought all abroad and parted the one half thereof with him again; and notwithstanding that he knew well enough that his brother had used no fair play, but cunningly defrauded him of much in the division thereof, yet was he never angry with him nor repented of his kindnesse, but mildly, cheerfully, and patiently endured that unthankfulness and folly of his brother, so much divulged and talked of throughout all *Greece*. As for *Solon* when he pronounced sentence and determined in this manner as touching the government of the weal-publick; That equality never bred sedition; seemed very confused y to bring in the proportion Arithmeticall which is popular, in place of that other fair and good proportion called Geometricall. But he that in an house or family would advise brethren (as *Plato* did the Citizens of his Common-wealth) above all if possible it were to take away these words; *Mine* and *Thine*; *Mine* and not *Mine*; or at least wise (if that may not be) to stand contented with an egall portion, and to maintain and preserve equality: certes, he should lay a notable and singular foundation of amity, concord and peace, and alwayes build thereupon the famous examples of most noble and renowned personages, such as *Pittacus* was, who when the King of *Lydia* demanded of him whether he had money and goods enough? I may have (quoth he) more by one half if I would, by occasion of my brothers death whose heir I am.

But forasmuch as not onely in the possession, augmentation and diminishing of goods, the lesse is evermore set as an adverse and crosse enemy to the more, but also (as *Plato* said) simply and universally there is alwayes motion and stirring in equality, unbut rest and repose in equality; and so all uni-

even dealing and unequall partition is dangerous for breeding diſſenſion among brethren: and unpoſſible it is, that in all reſpects they ſhould be even and equall; for that either Nature at firſt from their very nativity, or Fortune afterwards, hath not divided with even hand their ſeverall graces and favours among them, whereupon proceed envie and jealouſie, which are pernicious maladies and deadly plagues, aſwel to houſes & families, as alſo to ſtates and Cities: in theſe regards (I ſay) therfore, a great regard and heed would be taken, both to prevent and alſo to remedie ſuch miſchiefs with all ſpeed, when they begin firſt to ingender. As for him who is indued with better gifts, and hath the vantage over his other brethren, it were not amiſſe to give him counſell, firſt to communicate unto them thoſe gifts wherein he ſeemeth to excell and go beyond them; namely, in graſing and honouring them aſwell as himſelf by his credit and reputation, in advancing them by the means of his great friends, and drawing them unto their acquaintance; and in caſe he be more eloquent than they, to offer them the uſe thereof, which although it be employed (as it were) in common, is yet nevertheleſs his own ſtill: then let him not ſhew any ſigne of pride and arrogancy, as though he diſdained them, but ratherin ſome meaſure by abaſing, ſubmitting and yeelding a little to them in his behaviour, to preſerve himſelf from envie, unto which his excellent parts do lie open; and in one word, to reduce that inequality which fortune hath made, unto ſome equality, as farre forth as poſſible it is to do, by the moderate carriage of his mind. *Lucullus* verily would never dain to accept of any dignity or place of rule before his brother, notwithſtanding he was his elder; but letting his own time ſlip, expecting the turn & courſe of his brother. Neither would *Pollux* take upon him to be a god alone by himſelf, but choſe rather with his brother *Caſtor* to be a demy-god, and for to communicate unto him his own immortality, thought it no diſgrace to participate with his mortal condition; and even ſo may a man ſay unto one whom he would admoniſh: My good friend, it lies in you without diminiſhing one whit of thoſe good things which you have at this preſent, to make your brother equall unto your ſelf, and to joyn him in honour with you, giving him leave to enjoy (as it were) your greatneſſe, your glory, your vertue, and your fortune; like as *Plato* did in times paſt, who by putting down in writing, the names of his brethren, and bringing them in as perſons ſpeaking in his moſt noble and excellent Treatiſes, cauſed them by that means to be famous and renowned in the World. Thus he graced *Glaucus* and *Adamantus* in his books of Policy: thus he honoured *Antiphon* the youngeſt of them all, in his Dialogue named *Parmenides*.

Moreover, as it is an ordinary thing to obſerve great difference and oddes in the natures and fortunes of brethren; ſo it is in manner impoſſible, that in all things and in every reſpect any one of them ſhould excell the reſt. For true it is, that the four elements, which they lay were created of one and the ſame matter, have powers and qualities altogether contrary; but ſurely it was never yet ſeen, that of two brethren by one father and mother, the one ſhould be like unto that wiſe man, whom the Stoicks do fain and imagine, to wit, fair, lovely, bountifull, honourable, rich, eloquent, ſtudious, civill and courteous; and the other, foul, ill-favoured, contemptible, illiberall, needy, not able to ſpeak and deliver his mind, unraught, ignorant, uncivill and unſociable. But even in thoſe that are more obſcure, baſe and abject than others, there is after a ſort ſome ſpark of grace, of valour, of aptneſſe and inclination to one good thing or other: for as the common proverb goeth;

With Calthrap thiſtles, rough and keen, with Prickyreſt-harow,
Cloſe Sions fair and ſoft-yea. White-wallflowers are ſeen to grow.

Theſe good parts therefore, be they more or leſſe in others, if he that ſeemeth to have them in farre better and in greater meaſure, do not debaſe, ſmother, hide and hinder them, nor deject his brother (as in ſome ſolemnity of games for the prize) from all the principall honours, but rather yeeld reciprocally unto him in ſome points, and acknowledge openly that in many things he is more excellent, and hath a greater dexterity than himſelf, withdrawing alwayes cloſely all occaſions and matter of envie, as it were fewell from the fire, ſhall either quench all debate, or rather not ſuffer it at all to breed or grow to any head and ſubſtance. Now he that alwayes taketh his brother as a colleague, counſeller and coadjutor with him, in thoſe cauſes wherein himſelf is taken to be his ſuperiour: as for example: If he be a profeſſed Rhetorician & Orator, uſing his brother to plead cauſes: if he be a Politician, asking his advice in government; if a man greatly friended, imploying him in actions and affairs abroad; and in one word, in no matter of conſequence and which may win credit and reputation, leaving not his brother out, but making him his fellow and companion in all great and honorable occaſions, and ſo giving out of him, taking his counſell if he be preſent, and expecting his preſence if he be abſent; and generally, making it known that he is a man not of leſſe execution than himſelf, but one rather that loveth not much to put himſelf forth, nor ſtands ſo much upon winning reputation in the world, and ſeeking to be advanced in credit; by this means he ſhall loſe nothing of his own, but gain much unto his brother. Theſe be the precepts and advertiſements that a man may give unto him that is the better and ſuperiour.

To come now to him who is the inferiour, he ought thus to think in his mind; That his brother is not alone that hath no fellow, nor the onely man in the world who is richer, better learned, or more renowned and glorious than himſelf, but that often-times he alſo is inferiour to a great number yea, and to many millions of us men,

Who on the earth ſo large do breed,
Upon her fruits who live and feed.

but if he be ſuch an one as either goeth up and down, bearing envie unto all the world; or if he be of

of ſo ill a nature, as that among ſo many men that are fortunate, he alone and none but he troubleth him, who ought of all other to be deareſt, and is moſt neerly joyned unto him by the obligation of blood, a man may well ſay of him: That he is unhappy in the higheſt degree, and hath not left unto another man living, any means to go beyond him in wretchedneſſe. As *Metellus* therefore thought that the Romans were bound to render thanks unto the gods in heaven, for that *Scipio* ſo noble and brave a man was born in *Rome*, & not in any other City; ſo every man is to wiſh and pray unto the gods, that himſelf may ſurmount all in proſperity, if not, yet that he might have a brother at leaſt-wiſe to attain unto that power and authority ſo much deſired: but ſome there be ſo unfortunate and unlucky by nature, in reſpect of any goodneſſe in them, that they can rejoyce and take a great glory in this, to have their friends advanced unto high places of honor, or to ſee their hoaſts and gueſts abroad, princes, rulers, rich and mighty men, but the reſplendent glory of their brethren they think doth eclypſe and darken their own renown; they delight and joy to hear the fortunate exploits of their fathers recounted, or how their great grandſires long ago had the conduct of armies, and were lord prætours and generals in the fields, wherein they themſelves had never any part, nor received thereby either honor or profit; but if there have fallen unto their brethren any great heritages or poſſeſſions, if they have riſen unto high eſtate and atchieved honorable dignities, if they are advanced by rich and noble marriages, then they are caſt down and their hearts be done. And yet it had behoved and right meet it were in the firſt place, to be envious to no man at all; but if that may not be, the next way were to turn their envie outward, and eye-bite ſtrangers; and ſo ſhew our ſpite unto aliens who are abroad, after the manner of thoſe who to rid themſelves from civill ſeditions at home, turn the ſame upon their enemies without, and ſet them together by the ears, and like as *Diomedes* in *Homer* ſaid unto *Glaucus*,

Of Trojans and their allies both,
Who aide them for good will
Right many are beſide your ſelfe
For me in fight to kill:
And you likewiſe have Greeks enough
With whom in bloudy field
You may your proweſſe try, and not
Meet me with ſpeare and ſhield.

Even ſo it may be ſaid unto them: There be a number beſides of concurrents upon whom they may exerciſe their envy and jealouſie, and not with their naturall brethren: for a brother ought not to be like unto one of the ballance-ſcales, which doth alwaies contrary unto his fellow, for as one riſeth the other falleth; but as ſmall numbers do multiply the greater, and ſerve to make both them bigger, and their ſelves too; even ſo an inferiour brother by multiplying the ſtate of his brother who is his ſuperior, ſhall both augment him and alſo increaſe and grow himſelfe together with him in all good things: marke the fingers of your hand, that which holdeth not the pen in writing, or ſtriketh the ſtring of a lute in playing (for that it is not able ſo to do, nor diſpoſed & made naturally for thoſe uſes) is never a whit the worſe for all that, nor ſerveth leſſe otherwiſe, but they all ſtir & move together, yea, and in ſome ſort they help one another in their actions, as being framed for the nonce, unequall and one bigger and longer than another, that by their oppoſition and meeting (as it were) round together, they might comprehend, claſpe, and hold any thing more ſure, ſtrong, and faſt. Thus *Craterus* being the naturall brother of King *Antigonus* who reigned and ſwaid the ſcepter: Thus *Perilaus* alſo the brother of *Caſſander* who wore the Crown, gave their minds to be brave warriers, and to lead armies under their brethren, or elſe applied themſelves to governe their houſes at home in their abſence; whereas on the contrary ſide the *Antiochi* and *Seleuci*, as alſo certaine *Grypi* and *Ciziceni*, and ſuch others, having not learned to beare a lower ſaile than their brethren, and who could not content themſelves to ſing a lower note, nor to reſt in a ſecond place, but aſpiring to the enſigns and ornaments of royall dignitie, to wit, the purple mantle of eſtate with Crowne, Diadem, and Scepter, filled themſelves and one another with many calamities, yea, and heaped as many troubles upon all *Aſia* throughout. Now foraſmuch as thoſe eſpecially who by nature are ambitious and diſpoſed to thirſt after glory, be for the moſt part envious and jealous toward thoſe who are more honoured and renowned than they; it were very expedient for brethren, if they would avoid this inconvenience, not to ſeeke for to attaine either honour, or authority, and credit, all by the ſame meanes, but ſome by one thing, and ſome by another: for we ſee by daily experience it is an ordinary matter that wild beaſts do fight and war one with another, namely, when they feed in one and the ſame paſture; and among Champions, and ſuch as ſtrive for the maſtery in feats of activity, we count thoſe for their adverſaries and concurrents only, who profeſſe and practiſe the ſame kind of game or exerciſe; for thoſe that go to it with fiſts and buffets are commonly friends good enough to ſuch ſword-fencers as fight at ſharpe to the utterance, and well-willers to the champions called *Pancratiaſtæ*: likewiſe the runners in a race agree full-well with wreſtlers: theſe I ſay, are ready to aid, aſſiſt, and favour one another, which is the reaſon, that of the two ſons of *Tyndarus*, *Pollux* wan the prize alwaies at buffers, but *Caſtor* his brother went away with the victory in the race. And *Homer* very well in his Poem feigned that *Teucer* was an excellent archer, and became famous thereby, but his brother *Ajax* was beſt at cloſe fight and hand-ſtrokes, ſtanding to it heavily armed at all peeces,

And

And with his shield so bright and wide,
His brother Teucer *he did hide.*

And thus it is with them that governe a State and Common-weale; those that be men of armes, and mannage martiall affaires, never lightly do envy them much who deale in civill causes and use to make speeches unto the people; likewise among those that professe Rhetoricke and eloquence, advocates who plead at bar, never fall out with those Sophisters that read lectures of oratory; among professors of Physick, they that cure by diet envy not the Chirurgions who worke by hand; whereas they who endeavour and seek to win credit and estimation by the same art, or by their facunity and sufficiency in any one thing, do as much (especially if they be badly minded withall) as those rivals who loving one mistris, would be better welcome, and find more grace and favour at her hands one than another. True it is I must needs confesse, that they who go divers waies do no good one to another; but surely such as choose sundry courses of life do not only avoid the occasions of envy, but also by that meanes the rather have mutuall help one by the other: thus *Demosthenes* and *Charas* sorted well together; *Æschines* likewise and *Eubulus* accorded; *Hyperides* also and *Leosthenes* were lovers and friends; in every which couple the former imployed themselves in pleading and speaking before the people, and were writers and pen-men, whereas the other conducted armies, were warriers and men of action. Brethren therefore who cannot communicate in glory and credit together without envy, ought to set their desires and ambitious minds as far remote one from another, and turne them full as contrary as they can, if they would find comfort, and not receive displeasure by the prosperity and happy successe one of another: but above all, a principall care and regard they must have of their kindred and alliance yea, and otherwhiles of their very wives, and namely, when they be ready with their perillous speeches many times to blow more coales, and thereby enkindle their ambitious humour. Your brother (quoth one) doth wonders; he carrieth all before him; he beareth the sway; no talke there is but of him; he is admired, and every man maketh court to him: whereas, there is no resort to you; no man commeth toward you; nothing is there in you that men regard or set by. When these suggestions shall be thus whispered a brother that is wise and well minded may well say thus againe: I have a brother indeed whose name is up and carrieth a great sade; and verily the greatest part of his credit and authority is mine, and at my commandement. For *Socrates* was wont to say that he would choose rather to have *Darius* his friend than his *Dariks*. And a brother who is of sound and good judgement will thinke that he hath no lesse benefit when his brother is placed in great estate of government, blessed with riches, or advanced to credit and reputation by his gift of eloquence, than if himselfe were ruler, wealthy learned, and eloquent. Thus you may see the best and readiest meanes that are to qualifie and mitigate this unequality between brethren. Now there be other disagreements besides, that grow quickly between, especially if they want good bringing up, and are not well taught, and namely, in regard of their age. For commonly the elder, who thinke that by good right they ought to have the command, rule, and government of their younger brethren in every thing, and who hold it great reason that they should be honoured, and have power and authority alwaies above them, commonly do use them hardly, and are nothing kind and lightsome unto them: the younger againe being stubborne, wilfull, and unruly ready also to shake off the bridle, are wont to make no reckoning of their elder brethrens prerogative, but set them at naught and despise them; whereby it commeth to passe, that as the younger of one side envied are held down with envy, and kept under alwaies by their elder brethren, and so shun their rebukes, and some their admonitions; so these on the other side desirous to hold their own, and maintaine their preeminence and soveraignty over them, stand alwaies in dread lest their younger brethren should grow too much, as if the rising of them were their fall. But like as the case standeth in a benefit or good turne that is done, men say it is meet that the receiver should esteeme the thing greater than it is, and the giver make the least of it; even so, he that can perswade the elder, that the time whereby he hath the vantage of his other brethren is no great thing: and likewise the younger, that he should reckon the same birthright for no small matter, he shall do a good deed between them, in delivering the one from disdaine, contempt, and suspition, and the other from irreverence and negligence. Now forasmuch as it is meet that the elder should take care and charge, teach and instruct, admonish and reprove the younger; and as fit likewise the younger should honour, imitate, and follow the elder: I could wish that the sollicitude and care of the elder favoured rather of a companion and fellow, than of a father; that himself also would seem not so much to command as to perswade, and to be more prompt and ready to joy for his younger brothers well-doing, and to praise him for it, than in any wise take pleasure in reprehending and blaming him if happily he have forgotten his duty; and in one word, to do the one not only more willingly, but also with greater humanity than the other. Moreover, the zeale and emulation in the younger ought rather to be of the nature of an imitation than either of jealousie or contention; for that imitation presupposeth an opinion of admiration, whereas jealousie and contention implieth envy, which is the reason that they affect and love those who endeavour to resemble, and be like unto them; but contrariwise, they are offended at those and keep them down who strive to be their equals. Now among many honours, which it beseemeth the younger to render unto his elder, obedience is that which deserveth most commendation, and worketh a more assured and hearty affection, accompanied with a certaine reverence, which causeth the elder reciprocally, and by way of requitall to yeeld the like, and to give place unto him. Thus *Cato*, having

*An ancient piece of coin with his image, worth 2. shillings 4. pence, or a Tetradrachm Attick.

having from his infancy honoured and reverenced his elder brother *Capion*, by all manner of obeisance and silence before him, in the end gained thus much by it, that when they were both men grown, he had so won him and filled him (as it were) with so great a respect and reverence of him, that he would neither say nor do ought without his privity and knowledge. For it is reported, that when *Capion* had one day signed and sealed with his own signet a certaine letter testimoniall, *Cato* his brother comming afterwards would not let to his seale; which when *Capion* understood, he called for the foretaid testimoniall and pluckt away his own seale, before he had once demanded for what occasion his brother would not beleeve the deed, but suspected his testimony. It seemeth likewise, that the brethren of *Epicurus* shewed great respect and reverence unto him, in regard of the love and carefull good-will that he bare unto them; which appeared in this, that as to all other things else of his, so to his Philosophy especially they were so wedded, as if they had been inspired therewith. For albeit they were seduced and deceived in their opinion, giving out, and holding alwaies (as they did) from their infancy that never was any man so deep a clarke, nor so great a Philosopher as their brother *Epicurus*: yet it was wonderful to consider as well him that could so frame and dispose them, as themselves also for being so disposed and affectionate unto him. And verily, even among the more moderne Philosophers of latter time, *Apollonius* the Peripatetick, had convinced him of untruth (whosoever he was) that said Lordship and glory could like no fellowship, for he made his brother *Sotion* more famous and renowned than himselfe. For mine own part, to say somewhat of my selfe; albeit that fortune hath done me many favours, in regard whereof I am bound to render unto her much thankes; there is not any one for which I take my selfe so much obliged and beholding unto her, as for the love that my brother *Timon* hath alwaies shewed and doth yet shew unto me; a thing that no man is able to deny, who hath never so little been in our company, and you least of all others doubt who have conversed so familiarly with us.

Now there be other occasions of trouble which ought to be taken heed of, among those brethren which are of like age or somewhat neare in years; small passions (I wot well) they be, but many they are, and those ordinary and continuall; by meanes whereof they bring with them an evill custome of vexing, fretting and angering one another ever and anon for small things, which in the end turne into hatred and enmity irreconcileable: for when they have begun to quarrell one with another at their games and pastimes, about the feeding and fighting of some little creatures that they keep, to wit, quailes or cocks, and afterwards about the wrestling or their boies and pages at the schoole, or the hunting of their hounds in the chase, or the caparison of their horses; they cannot more hold and refraine (when as they be men) their contentious veine and ambition in matters of more importance: thus the greatest and mightiest men among the Greeks in our time, banding at the first one against another in taking parts with their dancers, and then in siding with their minstrels, afterwards by comparing one with another who had the better ponds or bathing pooles in the territory of *Edepsus*, who had the fairer galleries and walking places, the statelier halls and places of pleasure, evermore changing and exchanging, and fighting (as it were) for the vantage of a place, striving still by way of odious comparison, cutting and diverting another way the conduct pipes of fountaines, are become so much exasperate one against another, that in the meane time they are utterly undone; for the tyrant is come, and hath taken all from them; banished they are out of their own native country; they wander as poore vagabonds thorow the world, and I may be bold (well neare) to say, they are so far changed from that they were before, that they be others quite, this only excepted, that they be the same still in hatred one to another. Thus it appeareth evidently, that brethren ought not a little to resist the jealousie and contentions which breed among them upon small trifles, even in the very beeginnig, and that by accustoming themselves to yeeld and give place reciprocally one to another, suffering themselves to be overcome and take the foile and joying rather to pleasure and content one another, than to win the better hand one of another: for the victory which in old time they called the Cadmian victory, was nothing else but that victory between brethren about the City of *Thebes*, which is of all other the most wicked and mischievous.

What shall we say moreover? Do not the affaires of this life minister many occasions of disagreement and debate even among those brethren which are most kind and loving of all other? Yes verily. But even therein also, we must be carefull to let the said affaires to combate alone by themselves, and not to put thereto any passion of contention or anger, as an anchor or hook to catch hold of the parties, and pull them together for to quarrell and enter into debate; but as it were in a ballance to look joyntly together on whether side right and equity doth encline and bend, and so soon as ever we can, to put matters in question to the arbitrement and judgement of some good and indifferent persons, to purge and make cleare all, before they are grown so far, as that they have gotten a staine or tincture of cankered malice, which afterwards will never be washed or scoured out: which done we are to imitate the Pythagoreans, who being neither joyned in kindred or consanguinity, nor yet allied by affinity, but the schollers in one schoole, and the fellows of one and the same discipline if peradventure at any time they were so far carried away with choler, that they fell to enterchange reproachfull and reviling taunts, yet before the sun was gone down they would shake hands kisse, and embrace one another, be reconciled, and become good friends againe. For like as if there be a feaver, occasioned by a botch or rising in the share there is no danger thereof; but if when the said botch is gone the feaver still continue, then it seemeth to be a malady proceeding.

ding from some more inward, secret, and deeper cause: even so the variance between two brethren, when it ceaseth together with the deciding of a businesse, we must thinke dependeth upon the same businesse and upon nothing else, but if the difference remaine still when the controverse is ended, surely then it was but a colourable pretence thereof, and there was within some root of secret malice which caused it. And here in this place it would serve our purpose very well to heare the manner of proceeding in the decision of a controversie between two brethren of a barbarous nation, and the same not for some little parcell of land, nor about poore slaves or silly sheep, but for no lesse than the kingdome of *Persia*: for after the death of *Darius* some of the Persians would have had *Ariamenes* to succeed and weare the Crown, as being the eldest son of the King late deceased; others againe stood earnestly for *Xerxes*, as well for that he had to his mother *Atossa* the daughter of that great *Cyrus*, as because he was begotten by *Darius* when he was a crowned King. *Ariamenes* then came down out of *Media* to claime his right, not in armes, as one that minded to make warr, but simply and peaceably attended only with his ordinary traine and retinue, minding to enter upon the Kingdome by justice and order of law. *Xerxes* in the meane while, and before his brother came, being present in place, ruled as King, and exercised all those functions that appertained thereto: his brother was no sooner arrived, but he took willingly the diadem or royall frontler from his head, and the Princely chaplet or coronet which the Persian Kings are wont to weare upright, he laid down, and went toward his brother to meet him upon the way, and with kind greeting embraced him: he sent also certaine presents unto him, with commandement unto those that carried them to say thus: *Xerxes*, thy brother honoureth thee now with these presents here, but if by the sentence and judgement of the Peeres and Lords of *Persia* he shall be declared King, his will and pleasure is, that thou shalt be the second person in the Realme, and next unto him. *Ariamenes* answered the message in this wise: These presents I receive kindly from my brother, but I am perswaded that the Kingdome of *Persia* by right belongeth unto me; as for my brethren, I will reserve that honour which is meet and due unto them next after my selfe, and *Xerxes* shall be the first & chiefe of them all. Now when the great day of judgment was at hand, when this weighty matter should be determined, the Persians by one generall and common consent declared *Artabanius* the brother of *Darius* late departed to be the umpire and competent judge: for to decide and end this cause. *Xerxes* was unwilling to stand to his award, being but one man, as who reposed more trust and confidence in the number of the Princes and Nobles of the Realme; but his mother *Atossa* reproving him for it: Tell me (quoth she) my son, wherefore refuseth thou *Artabanus* to be thy judge who is your uncle, and besides, the best man of all the Persians? And why doth thou feare so much the issue of his judgement, considering that if thou misse, yet the second place is most honourable, namely, to be called the Kings brother of *Persia*? Then *Xerxes*, perswaded by his mother, yeelded: and after many allegations brought and pleaded on both sides judicially, *Artabanus* at length pronounced definitely that the Kingdome of *Persia* appertained unto *Xerxes*: with that *Ariamenes* incontinently leapt from his seat, went and did homage unto his brother, and taking him by the right hand enthronized and enstalled him King: from which time forward he was alwaies the greatest person next unto his brother, and shewed himselfe so loving and affectionate unto him, that in his quarrel he fought most valiantly in the navall battell before *Salamina*, where, in his service, and for his honour, he lost his life. This example may serve for an original patterne of true benevolence and magnanimity, so pure and uncorrupt, as it cannot in any one point be blamed or stained. As for *Antiochus*, as a man may reprehend in him his ambitious mind and excessive desire of rule, so he may as well wonder that, considering his vaine-glorious spirit, all brotherly love was not in him utterly extinct; for being himselfe the younger, he waged war with *Selecus* for the crown, and kept his mother sure enough for to side with him and take his part: now it happened that during this war, and when it was at the hottest, *Selecus* strucke a battell with the *Galatians*, lost the field, and was him selfe not to be found, but supposed certainly to have been slaine and cut in peeces, together with his whole army, which by the Barbarians were put to the sword and massacred; when news came unto *Antiochus* of this desfeature, he laid away his purple robes, put on black, caused the coure gates to be shut and mourned heavily for his brother, as if he had been dead: but being afterwards advertised that he was alive, safe, and sound, and that he went about to gather new forces and make head againe, he came abroad, sacrificed with thanksgiving unto the gods, and commanded all those cities and states which were under his dominion to keep holiday, to sacrifice and weare chaplets of flowers upon their heads in token of publike joy. The Athenians when they had devised an absurd and ridiculous fable as touching the quarrel between *Neptune* and *Minerva*, intermedled withall another invention, which foundeth to some reason, tending to the correction of the same, and as it were to make amends for that absurdity, for they suppresse alwaies the second of *August*, upon which day happened (by their saying) that debate aforesaid between *Neptune* and *Minerva*. What should let and hinder us likewise, if it chance that we enter into any quarrel or debate with our allies and kinsfolke in bloud, to condemne that day to perpetuall oblivion, and to repute and reckon it among the curled and dismall daies: but in no wise by occasion of one such unhappy day to forget so many other good and joyfull daies wherein we have lived and been brought up together; for either it is for nothing and in vaine that nature hath endued us with meeknesse, and harmlesse long-sufferance or patience the daughter of modesty and mediocrity, or else surely we ought to use these vertues and good gifts of her principally to her allies and kinsfolke; and verily to crave and receive par-

pardon of them when we our selves have offended and done amisse, declareth no lesse love and natturall affection than to forgive them if they have trespassed against us. And therefore we ought not to neglect them if they be angry and displeased; nor to be straight laced and stiffely stand against them when they come to justifie or excuse themselves; but rather both when our selves have faulted, oftentimes to prevent their anger by excuse, making or asking forgivenesse, and also by pardoning them before they come to excuse if we have been wronged by them. And therefore *Euclides* that great Scholar of *Socrates* is much renowned and famous in all schooles of Philosophy, for that when he heard his brother breake out into these beastly and wicked words against him, The foule ill take me if I be not revenged and meet with thee; and a mischiefe come to me also (quoth he againe) if I appease not thine anger, and perswade thee to love me well as ever thou didst. But King *Eumenes* not in word, but in deed and effect surpassed all others in meeknesse and patience: for *Perseus* King of the Macedonians being his mortall enemy, had secretly addressed an ambush, and set certaine men of purpose to murder him about *Delphos*, espying their time when they saw him going from the seaside to the said town for to consult with the oracle of *Apollo*: now when he was gone a little past the ambush, they began to assaile him from behind, tumbling down and throwing mighty stones upon his head and neck, wherewith he was so astonished that his sight failed, and he fell withall, in that manner as he was taken for dead: now the rumour hereof ran into all parts, insomuch as certaine of his servitours and friends made speed to the city *Pergamus*, reporting the tidings of this occurrent, as if they had been present and seen all done; whereupon *Attalus* the eldest brother next unto himselfe, an honest and kind hearted man, one also who alwaies had carried himselfe most faithfully and loyally unto *Eumenes*, was not only declared King, and crowned with the royall diadem; but that which more is, espoused and married Queen *Stratonice* his said brothers wife, and lay with her. But afterwards when counter-news came that *Eumenes* was alive and comming homeward againe, *Attalus* laid aside his diadem, and taking a partisan or javelin in his hand (as his manner before time was) with other pensioners and squires of the body he went to meet his brother: King *Eumenes* received him right graciously, tooke him lovingly by the hand, embraced the Queen with all honour, and of a princely and magnanimous spirit put up all; yea, and when he had lived a long time after without any complaint, suspition, and jealousie at all, in the end at his death made over and assigned both the Crown and the Queen his wife unto his brother the aforesaid *Attalus*: and what did *Attalus* now after his brothers decease? He would not foster and bring up (as heire apparant) so much as one child that he had by *Stratonice* his wife, although the bare unto him many: but he nourished and carefully cherished the son of his brother departed, untill he was come to full age, and then himselfe in his life-time with his own hands set the imperiall Diadem and royall Crown upon his head, and proclaimed him King. But *Cambyses* contrariwise frighted upon a vaine dreame which he had, that his brother was come to usurpe the Kingdome of *Asia*, without expecting any proofe or presumption thereof, put him to death for it; by occasion whereof the succession in the Empire went out of the race of *Cyrus* upon his decease, and was devolved upon the line of *Darius* who raigned after him: a Prince who knew how to communicate the government of his affairs, and his regall authority, not only with his brethren, but also with his friends.

Moreover, this one point more is to be remembred and observed diligently in all variances and debates that are risen between brethren: namely, then especially, and more than at any time else, to converse and keep company with their friends; and on the other side to avoid their enemies and evill-willers, and not to be willing so much as to vouchsafe them any speech or entertainment. Following herein the fashion of the Candiots, who being oftentimes fallen out and in civill dissension among themselves, yea, and warring hot one with another, no sooner heare news of forreine enemies comming against them, but they ranke themselves, banding joyntly together against them; and this combination is that which thereupon is called *Syncretismos*. For some there be that, (like as water runneth alwaies to the lower ground, and to places that chinke or cleave asunder) are ready to side with those brethren or friends that be fallen out, and by their suggestions buzzed into their eares ruinate and overthrow all acquaintance, kindred and amity, hating indeed both parties, but seeming to beare rather upon the weaker side, and to settle upon him, who of imbecillity soone yeeldeth and giveth place. And verily those that be simple and harmelesse friends, such as commonly young folke are, apply themselves commonly to him that affecteth a brother, helping and increasing that love what he may; but the most malicious enemies are they, who espying when one brother is angry or fallen out with another, seeme to be angry and offended together with him for company; and these do most hurt of all others. Like as the hen therefore in *Æsope* answered unto the cat making semblance as though he heard her say she was sick, and therefore in kindnesse and love asking how she did? I am well enough (quoth shee) I thanke you, so that you were farther off; even so, unto such a man as is inquisitive and entreth into talke as touching the debate of brethren to sound and search into some secrets between them, one ought to answer thus: Surely there would be no quarrell between my brother and me, if neither I nor he would give eare to carry-tales and pick-thanks between us. But now it commeth to passe (I wot not how) that when our eyes be sore and in paine, we turne away our sight unto those bodies and colours which make no reverberation or repercussion back againe upon it; but when we have some complaint and quarrell, or conceive anger or suspition against our brethren, we take pleasure to heare those that make all worse, and are apt enough to take any colour and infection, presented to us by them, where it were more needfull and expedient

expedient at such time to avoid their enemies and ill-willers, and to keep our selves out of the way from them; and contrariwise to converse with their allies, familiars, and friends; and with them to bear company especially, yea, and to enter into their own houses for to complain and blame them before their very wives frankly and with liberty of speech. And yet it is a common saying, That brethren when they walke together should not so much as let a stone to be betwixt them; nay, they are discontented and displeased in mind in case a dog chance to run overthwart them: and a number of such other things they feare, whereof there is not one able to make any breach or division between brethren; but in the mean while, they perceive not how they receive into the midst of them, and suffer to traverse and crosse them, men of a currish and dogged nature, who can do nothing else but bark between, and sow false rumors and calumniations between one and another, for to provoke them to jar and fall together by the eares; and therefore to great reason and very well to this purpose said *Theophrastus*, That if all things (according to the old proverb) should be common among friends, then most of all they ought to entertain friends in common; for private familiarities and acquaintances apart one from another are great means to disjoyn and turn away their hearts: for if they fall to love others, and make choice of other familiar friends, it must needs follow by consequence to take pleasure and delight in other companies, to esteem and affect others, yea, and to suffer themselves to be ruled and led by others. For friendships and amities frame the natures and dispositions of men: neither is there a more certain and assured sign of different humors and divers natures than the choice and election of different friends, in such sort as neither to eate and drink, nor to play, nor to pass and spend whole daies together in good fellowship and company is so effectuall to hold and maintaine the concord and good will of brethren, as to hate and love the same persons; to joy in the same acquaintance; and contrariwise to abhor and shun the same company; for when brethren have friends common between them, the said friends will never suffer any surmises, calumniations and quarrels to grow between; and say that peradventure there do arise some sudden heat of choler or grudging fit of complaint, presently it is cooled, quenched, and suppressed by the mediation of common friends, for ready they will be to take up the quarrell and scatter it so as it shall vanish away to nothing if they be indifferently affectionate to them both. and that their love incline no more to the one side than to the other: for like as tin-sodder doth knit and rejoyne a crackt peece of brasse, in touching and taking hold of both sides and edges of the broken peeces, for that it agreeth and sorteth as well to the one as to the other, and suffereth from them both alike; even so ought a friend to be fitted and suitable indifferently unto both brethren, if he would knit surely, and confirme strongly their mutuall benevolence and good will. But such as are unequall, and cannot intermeddle and go between the one as well as the other, make a separation and disjunction. and not a sound joynt, like as certaine notes or discords in musick. And therefore it may well be doubted and question made whether *Hesiodus* did well or no when he said,

Make not a feere I thee advise
Thy brothers peere in any wise.

For a discreet and sober companion, common to both (as I said) before, or rather incorporate (as it were) into them, shall ever be a sure knot to fasten brotherly love. But *Hesiodus* (as it should seem) meant and feared this in the ordinary and vulgar sort of men, who are many of them naught, by reason that so customably they be given to jealousie and suspition, yea, and to selfe-love, which if we consider and observe, it is well; but with this regard alwaies, that although a man yeeld equal goodwill unto a friend as unto a brother; yet nevertheleese in case of concurrence, he ought to reserve ever the preeminence and first place for his brother, whether it be in preferring him in any election of Magistrates, or to the managing of State-affaires; or in bidding and inviting him to a solemne feast, or publike assembly to consult and debate of weighty causes; or in recommending him to Princes and great Lords. For in such cases which in the common opinion of the world are reputed matters of honour and credit, a man ought to render the dignity, honour, and reward, which is beseeming and due to bloud by the course of nature. For in these things the advantage and prerogative will not purchase so much glory and reputation to a friend, as the repulse and putting by bring disgrace, discredit and dishonour unto a brother. Well, as touching this old saying and sentence of *Hesiodus*, I have treated more at large elsewhere; but the sententious saying of *Menander* suit wisely set down in these words:

No man who loves another shall you see
Well pleas'd, himself neglected for to be,

putteth us in mind and teacheth us to have good regard and care of our brethren, and not to presume so much upon the obligation of nature, as to despise them. For the horse is a beast by nature loving to a man, and the dog loves his master; but in case you never thinke upon them, nor see unto them (as you ought) they will forgo that kind affection, estrange themselves and take no knowledge of you. The body also is more neerly knit and united to the soule by the greatest bond of nature that can be; but in case it be neglected and contemned by her, or not cherished so tenderly as it looketh to be, unwilling shall you see it to help and assist her, nay, full untowardly will it execute, or rather give over it will altogether every action. Now to come more neere and to particularise upon this point honest and good is that care and diligence which is employed and shewed to thy brethren themselves alone; but better it would be far, if thy love and kind affections be extended as far as to their wives, fathers and daughters husbands, by carrying a friendly mind and ready will to pleasure

sure them likewise, and to do for them in all their occasions; if they be courteous and affable in saluting their servants, such especially as they love and favour; thankfull and beholding to their Physicians who had them in cure during sickneese and were diligent about them; acknowledging themselves bound unto their faithfull and trusty friends, or to such as were willing and forward to take such part as they did in any long voyage and expedition, or to bear them company in warfare. And as for the wedded wife of a brother whom he is to reverence, repute and honor no lesse than a most sacred and holy relique or monument, if at any time he happen to see her, it will become him to speak all honour and good of her husband before her; or to be offended and complain (as well as the) of her husband, if he set not that store by her as he ought, and when she is angred to appease and still her. Say also that she have done some light fault, and offended her husband, to reconcile him again unto her and entreat him to be content and to pardon her; and likewise if there be some particular and private cause of difference between him and his brother, to acquaint the wife therewith, and by her means to complain thereof, that she may take up the matter by composition and end the quarrell.

Lives thy brother a batcheler and hath no children? thou oughtest in good earnest to be angry with him for it, to sollicite him to marriage, yea with chiding, rating, and by all means urge him to leave this single life, and by entring into wedlock to be linked in lawfull alliance and affinity: hath he children? then you are to shew your good will and affection more manifestly, as well toward him as his wife, in honouring him more than ever before, in loving his children as if they were your own, yea, and shewing your self more indulgent, kinde and affable unto them; that if it chance they do faults and shrewd turns, (as little ones are wont) they run not away, nor retire into some blind and solitary corner for fear of father and mother, or by that means light into some light, unhappy and ungracious company, but may have recourse and refuge unto their uncle, where they may be admonished lovingly, and find an intercessor, to make their excuse and get their pardon. Thus *Plato* reclaimed his brothers son or nephew *Speusippus*, from his loose life and dissolute riot, without doing any harm or giving him foul words, but by winning him with fair and gentle language (whereas his father and mother did nothing but rate and crie out upon him continually, which caused him to runne way and keep out of their sight) he imprinted in his heart a great reverence of him, and a fervent zeal to imitate him, and to set his mind to the study of Philosophie, notwithstanding many of his friends thought hardly of him and blamed him not a little, for that he took not a course with the untoward youth, namely, to rebuke, check, and chastice him sharply; but this was evermore his answer unto them: That he reproved and took him down sufficiently, by shewing unto him by his own life and carriage, what difference there was between vice and vertue, between things honest and dishoneſt. *Alenas* sometime King of *Thessalie*, was hardly used and overawed by his father, for that he was insolent proud, and violent withall: but contrariwise, his uncle by the fathers side, would give him entertainment, bear him out and make much of him; Now when upon a time the Thessalians sent unto *Delphos* certain lots, to know by the oracle of god *Apollo* who should be their King? The foresaid uncle of *Alenas* unwitting to his brother put in one for him: Then *Pythia* the Prophetesse gave answer from *Apollo* and pronounced, That *Alenas* should be King: The father of *Alenas* denied, and said that he had cast in no lot for him; and it seemed unto every man that there was some error in writing of those billes or names for the lottery; where upon new messengers were dispatched to the oracle for to cleer this doubt; and then *Pythia* in confirmation of the former choise answered:

I mean that youth with reddish hair,
Whom danae Archedice *in womb did bear.*

Thus *Alenas* declared and elected King of *Thessalie*, by the oracle of *Apollo*, and by the means withall of his fathers brother, both proved himself afterward a most noble prince, excelling all his progenitours and predecessours, and also raised the whole Nation and his Countrey a great name and mighty puissance.

Furthermore, it is seemly and convenient by joying and taking a glory in the advancement, prosperity, honours and dignities of brothers children, to augment the same, and to encourage and animate them to vertue, and when they do well to praise them to the full. Haply it might be thought an odious and unseemly thing for a man to commend much his own sonne, but surely to praise a brothers sonne is an honourable thing, and since it proceedeth not from the love of a mans self, it cannot be thought but right, honest and (in truth) *divine: for surely me thinks the very name it self (of Uncle) is sufficient to draw brethren to affect and love deerly one another, and so consequently their nephewes: and thus we ought to propose unto our selves, for to imitate the better sort, and such as have been immortalised and deified in times past: for so *Hercules* notwithstanding he had 70. soines within twain of his own, yet he loved *Iolaus* his brothers sonne no lesse then any of them; insomuch as even at this day in most places there is but one altar erected for him and his said nephew together, and men pray joyntly unto *Hercules* and *Iolaus*. Also when his brother *Iphitus* was slain in that famous battel which was fought neer *Lacedamon*, he was so exceedingly displeased, and took such indignation thereat, that he departed out of *Peloponnesus*, & left the whole Country. As for *Leucothea*, when her sister was dead she nourished and brought up her child, and together with her, ranged it among the Heavenly Saints: whereupon the Romane dames even at this day, when they celebrate the feast of *Leucothea* (wom they name *Matuta*) carry in their arms and cherish tenderly their sisters children, and not their own.

* θεῖος signifieth divine and an uncle.

Of intemperate Speech or Garrulity.

The Summary.

THat which is commonly said, All extremities be naught, *requireth otherwhiles an expoſition, and namely, in that vertue which we call Temperance, one of the kinds or branches whereof conſiſteth in the right uſe of the tongue, which is as much to ſay, as the skill and knowledge how to ſpeak as it becometh: now the moderation of ſpeech hath for the two extreams, Silence (a thing more often praiſe-worthy than reprochable) and Babble; againſt which, this Diſcourſe is addreſſed. Conſidering then, that ſilence is an aſſured reward unto wiſe men, and oppoſite directly unto much pratling, and comely and ſeemly ſpeech is in the mids, we call not ſilence a vice, but ſay, That a man never findeth harm by holding his peace. But as touching Garrulity or intemperate Speech, the Author ſheweth in the very beginning of his Treatiſe, that it is a malady incurable and againſt nature; for it doth fruſtrate the talkative perſon of his greateſt deſire; to wit, for to have audience and credit given him; alſo that it maketh a man inconſiderate, importune and malepart, ridiculous, mocked and hated, plunging him ordinarily into danger, as many events have proved by experience. For to diſcover this matter the better, he ſaith conſequently: That the nature of vertuous men and thoſe who have noble bringing up, is directly oppoſite unto that of long-tongued perſons: and joyning the reaſons by which a man ought not bewray his ſecret, together with thoſe evils and inconveniences which curioſity and much babble do bring, and confirming all by fine ſimilitudes and notable examples: afterwards, taking in hand again his former ſpeech and argument, he compareth a traitor and buſie talker together, to the end that all men ſhould ſo much the rather deteſt the vice of Garrulity: then he proceedeth immediatly to diſcover and apply the remedies of this miſchief, wilking us, in the firſt place and generally to conſider the calamities and miſeries that much babbling cauſeth; as alſo the good and commodity which proceedeth of ſilence: which done, he diſcourſeth of thoſe particular remedies, which import thus much in effect: That a man ought to frame and accuſtome himſelf, either to be ſilent, or elſe to ſpeak laſt; to avoid all haſtineſſe in making his anſwer; to ſay nothing, but that which is either needfull or civill; to ſhun and forbear thoſe diſcourſes which pleaſe us moſt; and wherein we may be ſoon overſeen and proceed too farre; to find buſie praters occupied apart from them; to provide them the company of men who are of authority and aged; In ſumme, to conſider whether that which a man hath ſaid, be convenient, meet and profitable, and nevertheleſſe, to think alwayes of this: That otherwhiles a man may repent of ſome words ſpoken, but never of keeping ſilence.*

Of intemperate Speech or Garrulity.

A Very hard and troubleſome cure it is that Philoſophie hath undertaken, namely, To heal the diſeaſe of much prating: for that the medicine and remedie which ſhe uſeth, be words that muſt be received by hearing; and theſe great talkers will abide to hear no man, for that they have all the words themſelves, and talk continually; ſo that the firſt miſchief of thoſe who can not hold their tongue and keep ſilence, is this; That they neither can nor will give ear to another, inſomuch as it is a wilfull kind of deafneſſe in men, who ſeem thereby to controll nature, and complain of her, in that where ſhe hath allowed them two ears, ſhe hath given them but one tongue. If then *Euripides* ſaid very well unto a fooliſh auditour of his,

Pour I wiſe words, and counſell what I can
With all my skill, into a ſottiſh man,
Unneth ſhall I be able him to fill,
If hold and keep the ſame he never will.

a man may more truely and juſtly ſay unto (or rather of) a prating fellow,

Powr I wiſe words, and counſell what I can
With all my skull unto a ſottiſh man,
Unneth I ſhall be able him to fill,
In caſe receive the ſame he never will.

and in truth, more properly it may be ſaid: That one powreth good advertiſements about ſuch an one and beſide him rather, than into him, ſo long as he either ſpeaketh unto him that liſteneth not, or giveth no ear unto them that ſpeak: for if a pratling fellow chance to hear ſome ſhort and little tale ſuch in the nature of this diſeaſe called Garrulity, that his hearing, is but a kind of taking his winde new, to babble it forth again immediatly, much more then it was, or like a whirlpool which whatſoever it taketh once, the ſame it ſendeth up again very often with the vantage. Within the City *Olympia* there was a porch or gallery called *Heptaphonos*, for that from one voice by ſundry reflections and reverberations it rendred ſeven ecchoes: but if ſome ſpeech come to the ears of a babler, and enter never ſo little in, by and by it reſoundeth again on every ſide.

And

And ſtirres the ſtrings of ſecret heart within,
Which ſhould lie ſtill, and not be moov'd therein.

inſomuch, as a man may well ſay, That the conducts and paſſages of their hearing reach not to the brain where their ſoul and mind is ſeated, but onely to their tongue: by reaſon whereof, whereas in others, the words that be heard do reſt in their underſtanding, in pratlers they avoid away and runne out preſently, and afterwards they go up and down like empty veſſels, void of ſenſe and full of ſound. Well, as incurable as ſuch ſeem to be, yet if it may be thought availeable to leave no experiment untried for to do ſuch good, we may begin our cure, and ſay thus unto a buſie pratler:

Peace my good ſonne, for Taciturnity
Brings ay with it much commodity.

But among the reſt, theſe be the two chief and principall, namely: To hear and to be heard: of which twain, our importunate talkers can attain neither the one nor the other, ſo unhappy they are as to be fruſtrate of that which they ſo much deſire. As for other paſſions and maladies of the ſoul namely, Avarice, Ambition, Love, and Voluptuouneſſe, they do all of them in ſome ſort enjoy their deſire; but the thing that troubleth and tormenteth theſe babbling fellows moſt, is this: That ſeeking for audience ſo much as they do, and nothing more, they can never meet with it, but every man ſhunneth their company, and flieth away as faſt as his legs will carry him: or whether men be ſet together in a knot, ſadly talking in their round chaires, or walking in company, let them eſpie one of theſe pratlers comming toward them, away they go every one, that a man would ſay the retreat were ſounded, ſo quickly they retire. And like as when in ſome aſſembly if all be huſht on a ſudden ſo as there is not a word, we uſe to ſay that *Mercurie* is come among them: even ſo when a prating fool entreth into a place where friends either are ſet at the board to make merry, or otherwiſe met together in counſell, every man ſtraightwayes is ſilent and holdeth his peace, as being unwilling to minifter occaſion unto him of talk; but if himſelf begin firſt to open his lips, up they riſe all and are ſoon gone, as mariners ſuſpecting, and doubting by the whiſtling northern wind from the top of craggy rocks, and promontories, ſome rough ſea, and fearing to be ſtomack-ſick, retire betimes into a bay for harbor: whereby it cometh to paſſe alſo, that neither at ſupper can he meet with gueſts willing to eat and drink with him, nor yet companions to lodge with him, either in journey by land, or voiage by ſea, unleſſe it be by conſtreint. For ſo importunate he is alwayes, that onewhile he is ready to hang upon a mans cloak whereſoever he goes, another while he takes hold on the ſide of his beard, as if he knocked at the door with his hand to force him to ſpeak: in which caſe well fare a good pair of legs, for they are worth much mony at ſuch a time: as *Archilochus* was wont to ſay, yea, & *Ariſtotle* alſo that wiſe Philoſopher: for when upon a time he was much troubled with one of theſe buſie praters, who haunted and wearied him out of meaſure with cavilling tales and many fooliſh and abſurd diſcourſes, iterating eftſoons theſe words: And is not this a wonderfull thing *Ariſtotle*? No iwis (quoth he again) but this were a wonder rather, if a man that hath feet of his own ſhould ſtand ſtill and abide to hear you thus prate. Unto another alſo of the ſame ſtamp, who after much pritle pratle and a long diſcourſe, ſaid thus unto him: I doubt I have bin tedious unto you Philoſopher with my many words; No in good ſooth (quoth *Ariſtotle* unto him:) for I gave no ear at all unto you. For if otherwhiles men cannot ſhake ſuch praters off, but muſt of neceſſity let their tongues walk, this benefit he hath by the ſoul, that ſhe retireth inwardly all the while lending the outward ears onely for them to beat upon, and daſh as it were all about with their jangling bibble babble; for ſhe in the mean time is otherwiſe occupied, and diſcourſeth to her ſelf of divers matters within: by which means ſuch fellowes can meet with no hearers that take heed what they ſay, or beleeve their words. For as it is generally held, that the natural ſeed of ſuch as are lecherous and much given to the company of women is unfruitfull and of no force to engender: even ſo the talk of theſe great praters is vain, barren, and altogether fruitleſſe. And yet there is no part or member of our body that nature hath ſo ſurely defended (as it were) with a ſtrong rampart, as the tongue: for before it ſhe hath ſet a pallaiſado of ſharp teeth, to the end that if peradventure it will not obey reaſon, which within holdeth it hard as with a ſtrait bridle, but it will blatter out and not tarry within, we might bite it until it bleed again, and ſo reſtrain the intemperance thereof. For *Euripides* ſaid not, that houſes unbolted;

But tongues and mouth's unbrid'led if they be
Shall find in th'end miſhap and miſery.

And thoſe in my conceit who ſay that houſes without dores, and purſes without ſtrings, ſerve their maſters in no ſtead: and yet in the mean time, neither ſet hatch nor lock unto their mouths, but ſuffer them to run out & overflow continually, like unto the mouth of the ſea *Pontus*, theſe I ſay in mine opinion ſeem to make no other account of words than of the baſeſt thing in the world; whereby they are never beleeved (ſay what they will) and yet this is the proper end and ſcope that all ſpeech tendeth to, namely, to winne credit with the hearers: and no man will ever beleeve theſe great talkers, no not when they ſpeak the truth. For like as wheat if it be incloſed within ſome dank or moiſt veſſell, doth ſwell and yeeld more in meaſure, but for uſe is found to be worſe; even ſo it is with the talk of a pratling perſon: well may he multiply and augment it with lying, but by that means it leeſeth all the force of perſwaſion. Moreover, what modeſt, civil, and honeſt man is there, who would not very carefully take heed of drunkenneſſe? for anger, (as ſome ſay) may well be ranged with

* *In favour of brevity left.*

with rage and madneſſe; and drunkenneſſe doth lodge and dwell with her, or rather is * madneſs it ſelf, onely in circumſtance of time it may be counted leſſe, for that it continueth leſſe while, but ſurely in regard of cauſe it is greater, for that it is voluntary, and we run wilfully into it, and without any conſtraint. Now there is no one thing for which drunkenneſſe is ſo much blamed and accuſed as for intemperate ſpeech and talk without end: for as the Poet ſaith,

Wine makes a man who is both wiſe and grave
To ſing and chant, to laugh full wantonly,
It cauſeth him to dance, and eke to rave,
And many things to do undecently.

for the greateſt and worſt matter that enſueth thereupon is not ſinging, laughing and dancing; there is another inconvenience in compariſon whereof all theſe are nothing, and that is,

To blurt abroad, and thoſe words to reveal,
Which better were within for to conceal.

This is (I ſay) the miſchief moſt dangerous of all the reſt: and it may be that the Poet covenly would aſſoil that queſtion which the Philoſophers have propounded and diſputed upon; namely, what difference there might be, between liberal drinking of wine, and ſtark drunkenneſſe? in attributing unto the former mirth and jocundneſſe extraordinary, and to the latter much babling and fooliſh prattle: for according to the common proverb that which is ſeated in the heart and thought of a ſober perſon, lieth aloft in the mouth and tongue of a drunkard. And therefore wiſely anſwered the Philoſopher *Bias* unto one of theſe jangling and prating companions: for when he ſeemed to mock him for ſitting ſtill, and ſaying nothing at a feaſt, inſomuch as he gave him the lob and fool for it: And how is it poſſible (quoth he) that a fool ſhould hold his peace at the table? There was upon a time a Citizen of *Athens* who feaſted the Embaſſadors of the King of *Perſia*, and for that he perceived that theſe great Lords would take delight in the company of learned men and Philoſophers, upon a brave mind that he carried in it they were all and met there together: now when all the reſt began to diſcourſe in general, and every man ſeemed to put in ſome vie for himſelf, and to hold and maintain one theam or other, *Zeno* who ſate among them was onely ſilent and ſpake not a word; whereupon the ſaid Embaſſadors and Strangers of *Perſia* began to be merry with him and to drink unto him round, ſaying in the end: And what ſhall we report of you Sir *Zeno* unto the King our maſter? Marie (quoth he) no more but this, that there is an ancient man at *Athens*, who can ſit at the board and ſay nothing. Thus you ſee that ſilence argueth deep and profound Wiſedomes: it implieth ſobriety, and is a myſtical ſecret and divine vertue; whereas drunkenneſſe is talkative, full of words, void of ſenſe and reaſon: and indeed thereupon multiplieth ſo many words, and is ever jangling. And in truth the Philoſophers themſelves when they define drunkenneſſe ſay: That it is a kind of raving and ſpeaking idlely at the table upon drinking too much wine: whereby it is evident, that they do not ſimply condemn drinking, ſo that a man keep himſelf within the bounds of modeſty and ſilence; but it is exceſſive and fooliſh talk, that of drinking wine maketh drunkenneſſe. Thus the drunkard raveth and talketh idlely when he is cup-ſhotten at the board; but the prattler and man of many words doth it always and in every place, in the market and common hal, at the theatre, in the publick galleries and walking places by day and by night. If he be a Phyſician and viſit his patient, certes he is more grievous, and doth more hurt in his cure than the maladie it ſelf: if he be a paſſenger with others in a ſhip, all the company had rather be ſea-ſick than hear him prateſ: if he ſet to praiſe thee, thou wert better to be diſpraiſed by another: and in a word, a man ſhal have more pleaſure and delight to converſe and commune with lewd perſons, ſo they be diſcreet in their ſpeech than with others that be buſie-talkers though otherwiſe they be good honeſt men. True it is indeed that old *Nſtor* in a Tragedy of *Sophocles* ſpeaking unto *Ajax* (who overſhot himſelf in ſome hot and haſty words) for to appeaſe and pacifie him, ſaith thus after a mild and gracious manner,

I blame not you ſir Ajax *for your ſpeech,*
Naught though it be, your deeds are nothing leech.

But ſurely we are not ſo well affected unto a vain-prating fellow; for his importunate and unſeaſonable words, marre all his good works, and make them to loſe their grace. *Lyſias* upon a time, at the requeſt of one who had a cauſe to plead unto at the barre, penned an oration for his purpoſe and gave it him. The party after he had read and read it over again, came unto *Lyſias* heavy and ill-appayed, ſaying: The firſt time that I peruſed your oration, me thought it was excellently well written, and I wondred at it; but when I took it a ſecond and third time in hand, it ſeemed very ſimply endited and carried no forcible and effectuall ſtile with it: Why (quoth *Lyſias*, and ſmiled withall) know you not that you are to pronounce it but once before the judges? and yet ſee and mark withal the perſwaſive eloquence and ſweet grace that is in the writing of *Lyſias*, for I may be bold to ſay and affirm of him, that

The Muſes with their broided violet hair,
Grac'd him with flowr much and beauty fair,

And among thoſe ſingular commendations that are given out of any Poet: moſt true it is that *Homer* is he alone of all that ever were, who overcame all fatiety of the reader: ſeeming evermore new and freſh, flouriſhing always in the prime of lovely grace, and appearing young ſtill and amiable to win favour: howbeit in ſpeaking and profeſſing thus much of himſelf,

It

It greeves me much for to rehearſe again
A tale that once delivered hath been plain.

He ſheweth ſufficiently that he avoideth what he can, and feareth that tedious ſatiety which followeth hard at heels, and layeth wait (as it were) unto all long trains of ſpeech; in which regard he leadeth the reader and hearer of his Poemes from one diſcourſe and narration to another, and evermore with novelties doth ſo refreſh and recreate him, that he thinketh he hath never enough; whereas our long-tongued charterers do after a ſort wound and weary the ears of their hearers by their tautologies and vain repetitions of the ſame things, as they that ſoil and ſlurry writing tables when they be fair ſcoured and cleniſed: and therefore let us let this firſt and formoſt before their eyes, that like as they who force men to drink wine out of meaſure and undelaied with water, are the cauſe that the good bleſſing which was given us to rejoyce our hearts and make us pleaſant and merry driveth ſome into ſadneſſe, and others into drunkenneſſe and violence: even ſo they that beyond all reaſon and to no purpoſe uſe their ſpeech (which is a thing otherwiſe counted the moſt delightſome and amiable means of conference and ſociety that men have together) cauſed to be inhumane and unſociable, diſpleaſing thoſe whom they thought to pleaſe, making them to be mocked at their hands, of whom they looked to be well eſteemed, and to have their evill will and diſpleaſure, whoſe love and amity they make reckoning of. And even as he be by good right may be eſteemed uncourteous and altogether uncivil who with the girdle and tiſſue of *Venus*, wherein are all ſorts of kind and amiable allurements, ſhould repell and drive from him as many as deſire his company; ſo he that with his ſpeech maketh others heavy and himſelf hateſull, may well be held and reputed for a graceleſs man and of no bringing up in the world. As for other paſſions and maladies of the mind, ſome are dangerous, others odious, and ſome again ridiculous and expoſed to mockery; but Garrulity is ſubject unto all theſe in conveniences at once. For ſuch folk as are noted for their laviſh tongue, are a meer laughing ſtock, and in every common and ordinary report of theirs, they miniſter occaſion of laughter; hated they be for their relation of ill newes, and in danger they are becauſe they cannot conceal and keep cloſe their own ſecrets; hereupon *Anacharſis* being invited one day and feaſted by *Solon*, was reputed wiſe, for that being aſleep he was found and ſeen holding his right hand to his mouth, and his left upon his privies and natural parts: for good reaſon he had to think, that the tongue required and needed the ſtronger bridle and bit to reſtrain it: and in very truth it were a hard matter to reckon ſo many perſons undone & overthrown by their intemperate & looſe life, as there have been Cities and mighty States ruinated and ſubverted utterly, by the revealing and opening of ſome ſecrets. It fortuned that whiles *Sylla* did inleaguer before the City of *Athens*, and had not leaſure to ſtay there long and continue the ſiege, by reaſon of other affairs and troubles preſſed him ſore, for of one ſide King *Mithridates* invaded and harried *Aſia*, and on the other ſide the faction of *Marius* gathered ſtrength; & having gotten head, prevailed much within *Rome*: certain old fellowes being met in a Barbars ſhop within the City of *Athens*, who were blabs of their tongues, clattered it out in their talk together, that a certain quarter of the City named *Heptacalchon* was not ſufficiently guarded, and therefore the Town in danger to be ſurpriſed by that part; which talk of theirs was over-heard by certain eſpies, who advertiſed *Sylla* ſo much; whereupon immediately he brought all his forces to that ſide, and about midnight gave an hot aſſault, made entry & went within a very little of forcing the City, and being maſter of it all, for he filled the whole ſtreet called *Ceramicum* with ſlaughter and dead carcaſſes, inſomuch as the channels ran down with blood. Now was he cruelly bent againſt the Athenians more for their hard language which they gave him, than for any offence or injury otherwiſe that they did unto him, for they had flouted and mocked *Sylla*, together with his wife *Metella*; and for that purpoſe they would get upon the walles and ſay; *Sylla*, is a Sycamoor or Mulbery, beſtrewed all over with duſty-meals beſides many other ſuch fooliſh jibes and taunts; and ſo for the lighteſt thing in the world (as *Plato* ſaith) to wit, words which are but wind, they brought upon their heads a moſt heavy and grievous penalty. The garrulity and over-much talk of one man, was the only hinderance that the City of *Rome* was not ſet free and delivered from the tyranny of *Nero*. For there was but one night between the time that *Nero* ſhould have been murthered on the morrow, and all things were ready and prepared for the purpoſe: but he, who had undertaken the execution of that feat, as he went toward the Theatre, eſpied one of thoſe perſons who were condemned to die, bound and pinnioned at the priſon door, and ready to be led and brought before *Nero*; who hearing him to make piteous moan and lamenting his miſerable fortune, ſteps to him and rounding him ſoftly in the ear: Pray to God poor man (quoth he) that this one day may paſſe over thy head, and that thou die not to day, for to morrow thou ſhalt con me thanks. The poor priſoner taking hold preſently of this ænigmatical and dirk ſpeech, and thinking (as I ſuppoſe) that one bird in hand is better than two in buſh, and according to the common ſaying, that

A fool is he who leaving that
which ready is and ſure,
Doth follow after things that be
unready and unſure.

made choice of ſaving his life by the ſurer way, rather than by the juſter means: for he diſcovered unto *Nero* that which the man had whiſpered ſecretly unto him: whereupon preſently the party was apprehended and carried away to the place of torture, where by racking, ſcorching and ſcourging,

he was urged miserable wretch, to confesse and speak out that perforce, which of himself he had revealed without any traint at all. *Zeno* the Philosopher fearing that when his body was put to dolorous and horrible torments, he should be forced even against his will to bewray and disclose some secret plot: bit off his tongue with his own teeth and spit it in the Tyrants face. Notable is the example of *Leæna*, and the reward which she had for containing and ruling her tongue is singular. An hetærae she was and very familiar with *Harmeditus* and *Aristogiton*; by means of which inward acquaintance privy she was, and party as farre forth as a woman might be to that conspiracy which they had compotted against the usurping Tyrants of *Athens*, and the hopes that they builded upon (Drunk she had out of that fair cup of Love, and thereby vowed never to reveal the secrets of god *Cupid*.) Now after that these two paramours and lovers of her had failed of their enterprise and were put to death; she was called into question and put to torture, and therewith commanded to declare the rest of the complices in that conspiracy, who as yet were unknown and not brought to light: but so constant and resolute she was, that she would not detect so much as one, but endures all pains and extremities whatsoever; whereby she shewed that those two younggentlemen had done nothing unfitting their persons, and nobility, in making choise to be enamoured of her. In regard of which rare secrecy of hers, the Athenians caused a Lioness to be made of brasse without a tongue, and the same in memorial of her to be erected and set up at the very gate and entry of their Citadell; giving posterity to understand by the generosity of that beast, what an undaunted and invincible heart she had; and likewise of what taciturnity and trust in keeping secrets, by taking it tongueless: and to say a truth, never any word spoken served to so good stead as many concealed and held in, have profited. For why? A man may one time or other utter that which he once kept in; but being spoken, it cannot possibly be recalled and unsaid, for out it is gone already and spread abroad sundry wayes. And hereupon it is (I suppose) that we have men to teach us for to speak, but we learn of the gods to hold our peace. For in sacrifices, religious mysteries, and ceremonies of divine service we receive by tradition, a custome to keep silence. And even so, the Poet *Homer* feigned *Ulysses* (whose eloquence otherwise was so sweet) to be of all men most silent and of fewest words: his son likewise, his wife and nurse, whom you may hear thus speaking:

As soon shall flock of sturdy oak it tell,
Or iron so strong, as I will it reveal.

And *Ulysses* himself sitting by *Penelope*, before he would be known unto her who he was,

Griev'd in his mind, and pitied to behold
His wife by tears to shew what heart did feel,
But all the while his eyes he stiff did hold,
Which stird no more than horn or sturdy steel;

so full was his tongue of patience, and his lips of continence. For why? reason had all the parts of his body so obeisant and ready at command, that it gave order to the eyes not to shed tears; to the tongue not to utter a word; to heart not to pant or tremble, nor so much as to sob or sigh:

Thus unto reason obeisant was his heart,
Perswaded all to take in letter part.

yea his reason had gotten the mastery of those inward and secret motions which are void and incapable of reason, as having under her hand the very blood and vitall spirits in all obeisance: his people also and train about him were for the most part of that disposition; for that wanted this of constancy and loyalty to their lord in the highest degree, to suffer themselves to be pulled and haled, to be tugged and tossed, yea and dashed against the hard ground under foot by the gyant *Cyclops*, rather than to utter one word against *Ulysses*, or to bewray that lodg of wood which was burnt at the one end and an instrument made ready for to put out his onely eye that he had? nay, they endured rather to be eaten and devoured raw by him, than to disclose any of *Ulysses* his secrets. *Pittacus* therefore did not amisse, who when the King of *Egypt* had sent unto him a beast for sacrifice, and willed him withal to take out and lay apart the best and worst piece thereof, plucked out the tongue and sent it unto him, as being the organ of many good things, and no lesse instrument of the worst that be in the world. And Lady *Ino* in *Euripides* speaking freely of her self, saith that she knew the time,

When that she ought her tongue to hold,
And when to speak she might be bold.

For certainly those who have had noble and princely bringing up indeed, learn first to keep silence, and afterwards how to speak. And therefore king *Antigonus* the Great, when his sonne upon a time asked him, When they should dislodge and break up the camp: What sonne (quoth he) art thou alone afraid, that when the time comes thou shalt not hear the Trumpet sound the remove? Lo, how he would not trust him with a word of secrecy, unto whom he was to leave his Kingdom in succession! teaching him thereby, that he also another day should in such cases be wary and spare his speech. Old *Metellus* likewise, being asked such another secret as touching the army and setting forward of some expedition: If I wist (quoth he) that my shirt which is next to my skinne, knew this my inward intent and secret purpose, I would put it off and fling it into the fire. King *Eumenes* being advertised that *Craterus* was coming against him with his forces, kept it to himself, and would not acquaint any of his neerest friends therewith, but made semblance and gave it out (though

(though untruly) that it was *Neoptolemus* who had the leading of that power; for him did his soldiers contemne and make no reckoning of, whereas the glory and renown of *Craterus* they had in admiration, and loved his vertue and valour: now when no man else but himselfe knew of *Craterus* his being in the field, they gave him battell, vanquished him, slew him before they were aware, neither tooke they knowledge of him before they found him dead on the ground. See how by a stratagem of secrecy and silence the victory was atchieved, only by concealing so hardy and terrible an enemy; insomuch, as his very friends about him admired more his wisdome in keeping this secret from them, than complained of his diffidence and distrust of them. And say that a man should complaine of thee in such a case, better it were yet to be challenged and blamed for distrusting, all the while thou remainest safe and obtaine a victory by that meanes, than to be justly accused after an overthrow, for being so open and tattling so easily. Moreover, how darest thou confidently and boldly blame and reprove another for not keeping that secret, which thou thy selfe hast revealed? For if it was behoovefull and expedient that it should not be known, why hast thou told it to another? But in case when thou hast let flie a secret from thy selfe unto a man, thou wouldst have him to hold it in, and not blurt it out, surely it cannot be but thou hast better confidence in another than thy selfe: now if he be like thy selfe, who will pitty thee in thou come by a mischiefe? Is he better, and so by that means taketh thee harmelesse beyond all reason and ordinary course; then hast thou met with one more faithfull to thee than thou art thy selfe: but haply thou wilt say, He is my very good friend; so hath he another friend (be sure) whom he will do as much for, and disclose the same secret unto, and that friend (no doubt) hath another. Thus one word will get more still, it will grow and multiply by a sute and sequence linked and hanging to an intemperate tongue: for like as unity, so long as she passeth not her bounds, but continueth and remaineth still in her selfe is one and no more, in which respect she is called in Greek, *Monas*, that is to say, Alone; whereas the number of twaine is the beginning of a diversity (as it were) and difference, and therefore indefinite; for straightwaies is Unity passed forth of it selfe by doubling, and so turneth to a plurality; even so a word or speech, all the while it abideth enclosed in him who first knew it, is truly and properly called a Secret, but after it is once gotten forth, and set a going, so that it is come unto another it beginneth to take the name of a common brute and rumour: for as the Poet very well saith, *Words have wings*. A bird, if she be let flie once out of our hands, it is much ado to catch againe, and even so, when a word hath passed out of a mans mouth, hardly or unneth may we with-hold or recover; for it flieth amaine, it flappeth her light wings, fetching many a round compasse, and spreadeth every way from one quarter to another: well may marriners stay a ship with cables and anchors when the violence of the wind is ready to drive and carry her an end, or at least-wise they may moderate her swift and flight course; but if a word be issued out of the mouth, as out of her haven, and have gotten sea-roome, there is no bay nor harbour to ride in, there is no casting of anchor will serve the turne, away she goes with a mighty noise and hurry, untill in the end she runs upon some rock and is split, or else into a great and deep gulph, to the present danger of him who set her forth;

For in small time, and with a little sparke
Of fire, a man may burne the forrest all
Of Ida mount; ev'n so (who list to marke)
All town will heare, a word to one let fall.

The Senate of *Rome* upon a time sate in sad and serious counsell many daies together, about a matter of great secrecy: now the thing being so much the more suspected and hearkened after as it was lesse apparant and known abroad; a certaine Romane dame, otherwise a good sober and wise matron (howbeit a woman) importuned her husband and instantly besought him, of all loves to tell her what this secret matter might be upon which they did sit so close in consultation? protesting with many an oath and execrable curse to keep silence, and not to utter it to any creature in the world: you must thinke also, that she had teares at command, lamenting and complaining withall, what an unhappy woman she was in case her husband would not trust her so much as with a word: the Roman Senatour her husband minding to try and reprove her folly: Thou hast overcome me (sweet heart, quoth he) and though shine importunity, thou shalt heare of a strange and terrible occurrent that troubleth us all. So it is, that we are advertised by our Priests, that there hath been a larke of late seen flying in the aire with a golden cope or crest on her head in manner of an helmet, and with all bearing a javelin: hereupon we do confer and consult with our Soothsayers and Diviners, desirous to be certified out of their learning whether this prodigious token portend good or hurt to the Common-weale? But keep it to thy selfe (as thou lovest me) and tell it no body. When he had thus said, he went forth toward the Common Hall and Marker-place: his wife incontinently had no sooner spied one of her waiting-maids comming into the roome, but she drew her apart, began to beat and knock her own brest, to rent and teare the haire off her head, and therewith: Ah, woe is me (quoth she) for my poore husband, my sweet native country; alas and welladay, what shall we do, and what will become of us all; as if she taught her maid and were desirous that she should say thus unto her againe: Why, what is the matter Mistris? Now when the maiden thereupon asked her, What news? she set tale an end and told all mary she forgate not the common and ordinary burden or clause, that all blabs of their tongue use to come in with: But in any case (quoth she) say nothing, but keep it to thy selfe. Scarce was she gone out of her Mistris sight, but seeing

seeing one of her fellows whom she found most at leisure, and doing little or nothing, to her she imparted all. That wen.h againe made no more ado, but to her lover she goes, who haply then was come to visit her, and telleth him as much. By this meanes the tale was bruted abroad, and passed roundly from one to another; insomuch as the rumour thereof was run into the market place, and there went current before the first author and deviser thereof himselfe was gotten thither. For there meets with him one of his familiars and friends: How now (quoth he) are you come but now directly from your house to the market place: No (quoth he againe) I am but newly come: Why then belike (saith the other) you have heard no news? News (quoth he) what news should I heare? And what tidings can you tell me of? Why man (answered he againe) there hath been of late a Larke seen with a golden cop or creſt on her head, and carrying beside a javelin; and the Conſuls with other Magiſtrates are ready to call a Senate houſe for to ſit upon this ſtrange occurrent. With that the Senatour beforeſaid, turning aſide and ſmiling, thus ſaid to himſelfe: Well done wife, I con thee thanke for thy quickneſſe and celerity, thou haſt quit thy ſelfe well indeed, that the word which erewhile I uttered unto thee is gotten before me into the market-place. Well, the firſt thing that he did was this, To the Magiſtrates he went ſtraightwaies, ſignified unto them the occaſion of this ſpee.h, and freed them from all feare and trouble: but when he was come home to his own houſe he ſell in hand to chaſtiſe his wife: How now Dame (quoth he) how is this come to paſſe? You have undone me for ever; for it is found and known for a truth, that this ſecret and matter of counſell which I imparted to you is divulged and publiſhed abroad, and that out of my houſe: and thus your unbrid.ed tongue is the cauſe that I muſt abandon and flie my countrey, and forthwith depart into exile. Now when at the firſt ſhe would have denied the thing ſtoutly, and alledged for her excuſe and defence, ſaying, Are not there three hundred Senatours beſides your ſelfe, who heard it as well as you? No marvell then if it be known abroad. What tell you me of three hundred (quoth he?) Upon your importunate inſtance I deviſed it of mine own head, in mirth to try your ſilence, and whether you could keep counſell. Certes, this Senatour was a wiſe man, and went ſafely and warily to worke, who to make proofe of his wife, whom he took to be no ſounder nor ſurer than a crackt and rotten veſſell, would not poure into it either wine or oile, but water only, to ſee if it would leake and run out. But *Fulvius*, one of the favorites and minions of *Auguſtus* the Emperour, when he was now well ſtepped in yeares, having heard him toward his latter daies, lamenting and bewailing the deſolate eſtate of his houſe, in that he had no children of his own body begotten, and that of his three nephews or ſiſters children two were dead, and *Poſthumius* (who only remained alive) upon an imputation charged upon him confined, and living in baniſhment, whereupon he was enforced to bring in his wives ſon, and declared him heire apparant to ſucceed him in the Empire: notwithſtanding upon a tender compaſſion he was otherwhiles in deliberation with himſelfe, and minded to recall his foreſaid ſiſters ſon from exile, and the place whereunto he was confined. *Fulvius* (I ſay) being privy to theſe moanes and deſignes of his, went home and told his wife all that he had heard. She could not hold but goes to the Empreſſe *Livia*, wife of *Auguſtus*, and reported what her husband *Fulvius* had told her. Whereupon *Livia* taking great indignation, ſharply did conteſt and expoſtulate with *Ceſar* in theſe termes: That ſeeing it is ſo (quoth ſhe) that you had ſo long before projected and determined ſuch a thing, as to call home againe your Nephew aforeſaid; why ſent you not for him at the firſt, but expoſed me to hatred, enmity, and war with him, who another day ſhould weare the Diadem and be Emperour after your deceaſe? Well the next morning betimes, when *Fulvius* came, as his manner was, to ſalute *Ceſar*, and give him good morrow, after he had ſaid unto him χαῖρε Καῖσαρ; that is, God ſave you *Ceſar*. He reſaluted him no otherwiſe but this. ὑγιαινε φίλβις; that is God make you wiſe *Fulvius*. *Fulvius* ſoone found him and conceived preſently what he meant thereby; whereupon he retired home to his houſe with all ſpeed and called for his wife; unto whom, *Ceſar* (quoth he) is come to the knowledge that I have not kept his counſell nor concealed his ſecrets; and therefore I am reſolved to make my ſelfe away with mine own hands. And well worthy (quoth ſhe) for juſtly you have deſerved death, who having lived ſo long with me knew not the incontinence of my tongue all this while, nor would take heed and beware of it; but yet ſuffer me firſt to dye upon your ſword; and with that catching hold thereof, killed her ſelfe before her husband. And therefore *Phillipides* the Comædian, did very wiſely in his anſwer to King *Lyſimachus*, who by way of all courteſie making much of him, and minding to do him honour, demanded of him thus: What wouldſt thou have me to impart unto thee of all other treaſure and riches that I have? What it ſhall pleaſe your Majeſty (quoth he) my gracious Lord, ſo it be none of your ſecrets.

Moreover, there is adjoyned ordinarily unto Garrulity, another vice no leſſe than it; namely, Buſie intermedling and Curioſity, for men deſire to heare and know much news, becauſe they may report and blaze the ſame abroad, and eſpecially if they be ſecrets. Thus go they up and down liſtening, enquiring, and ſearching if they can find and diſcover ſome cloſe and hidden ſpeeches, adding as it were ſome old ſurcharge of odious matters to their toies and fooleries; which maketh them afterwards to be like unto little boies, who neither can hold yce in their hands, nor yet will let it go; or to ſay more truly, they claſpe and containe in their boſomes ſecret ſpeeches, reſembling ſerpents, which they are not able to hold and keep long, but are eaten and gnawn by them. It is ſaid that certaine fiſhes called the Sea-needles, yea, and the vipers do cleave and burſt when they bring forth their young; and even ſo, ſecrets when they be let fall out of their mouths who cannot containe them, undo

undo and overthrow thoſe that reveale them. King *Seleucus* (him I meane who was ſurnamed *Callinicus*, that is, the victorious Conqueror) in one battell againſt the Galatians, was defeated he and his whole power; whereupon he tooke from his head the Diadem or Royall band that he ware, and rode away on the ſpur on horſeback with three or foure in his company, wandring through deſarts and by-waies unknown ſo long, untill both horſe and man were done, and ready to faint for wearineſſe: at length he came unto a countrey kearnes or peaſants cottage; and finding (by good fortune) the good man of the houſe within, asked for bread and water; which the ſaid peaſant or cottier gave unto him; and not that only, but look what the field would afford elſe beſides, he imparted unto him and his company with a willing heart and in great plenty, making them the beſt cheere that he could deviſe: in the end he knew the Kings face, whereupon he took ſuch joy, in that his hap was to entertaine the King in his neceſſity, that he could not containe himſelfe, nor ſecond the King in diſſembling his knowledge, who deſired nothing more than to be unknown: when he had therefore brought the King onward on his way, and was to take his leave of him: Adieu (quoth he) King *Seleucus*: with that the King reached forth his hand, and drew him toward him, as if he would have kiſſed him, and withall beckned to one of his followers, and gave him a ſecret token to take his ſword and make the man ſhorter by the head.

Thus whiles he ſpeake (I wot not what) his head
Off goes, and lies in duſt when he was dead.

Whereas, if he could have held his tongue a little while longer, and maſtered himſelfe, when the King afterwards had better fortune and recovered his greatneſſe and puiſſance, he ſhould in my conceit have gotten more thanks at his hands, and been better rewarded for keeping ſilence than for all the courteſie and hoſpitality that he ſhewed. And yet this fellow had in ſome ſort a colourable excuſe for this intemperate tongue of his, to wit, his own hopes and the good will that he bare unto the King: but the moſt part of theſe pratlers undo themſelves without any cauſe or pretence at all of reaſon: like as it befell unto *Denys* the tyrants barber: for when (upon a time) there were ſome talking in his ſhop as touching his tyrannicall government and eſtate, how aſſured it was, and as hard to be ruined or overthrown, as it is to break the Diamond: the ſaid barbar laughing thereat: I marvell (quoth he) that you ſhould ſay ſo of *Denys*, who is ſo often under my hands, and at whoſe throat in a manner every day I hold my razor: theſe words were ſoon carried to the tyrant *Denys*, who faire crucified this barber and hanged him for his fooliſh words. And to ſay a truth, all the ſort of theſe barbers be commonly buſie fellows with their tongue; and no marvell, for lightly the greateſt praters and idleſt perſons in a countrey frequent the barbers ſhop, and ſit in his chaire, where they keep ſuch chat, that it cannot be but by hearing them prate ſo cuſtomably, his tongue alſo muſt walke with them. And therefore King *Archelaus* anſwered very pleaſantly unto a barber of his, that was a man of no few words, who when he had caſt his linnen cloath about his ſhoulders, ſaid unto him: Sir, may it pleaſe your Highneſſe to tell me how I ſhall cut or ſhave you: Mary (quoth he) holding thy tongue, and ſaying not a word. A barber it was who firſt reported in the City of *Athens* the news of that great diſcomfiture and overthrow which the Athenians received in *Sicily*; for keeping his ſhop (as he did) in that end of the ſuburbs called *Pyræum*, he had no ſooner heard the ſaid unluckie news of a certaine ſlave who fled from thence out of the field, when it was loſt, but leaving ſhop and all at ſixe and ſeven, ran directly into the city, and never reſted to bring the ſaid tidings whiles they were freſh and fire-new;

For feare ſome elſe might all the honour win,
And he too late or ſecond, ſhould come in.

Now upon the broaching of theſe unwelcome tidings, a man may well thinke (and not without good cauſe) that there was a great ſtir within the City: inſomuch, as the people aſſembled together into the Market-place or Common hall, and ſearch was made for the author of this rumour: hereupon the ſaid barber was haled and brought before the body of the people, and examined; who knew not ſo much as the name of the party of whom he heard this news; But well aſſured I am (quoth he) that one ſaid ſo, many who it was, or what his name might be I cannot tell. Thus it was taken for an headleſſe tale, and the whole Theatre or Aſſembly was ſo moved to anger, that they cried out with one voice; Away with the villaine, have the varlet to the rack, ſet the knave upon the wheele, he it is only that hath made all on his own fingers ends. this hath he, and none but he, deviſed; for who elſe hath heard it or who beſides him hath believed it? Well, the wheele was brought, and upon it was the barber ſtretched: meane while, and even as the poore wretch was hoyſed thereupon, behold there arrived and came to the City thoſe who brought certaine news indeed of the ſaid defeature, even they who made a ſhift to eſcape out of that unfortunate field: then brake up the aſſembly, and every man departed and retired home to his own houſe for to bewaile his own private loſſe and calamity, leaving the ſilly barber lying along bound to the wheele, and racked out to the length, and there remained he untill it was very late in the evening, at what time he was let looſe: & no ſooner was he at liberty but he muſt needs enquire newes of the executioner, & namely, what they heard abroad of the General himſelf *Nicias*, & in what ſort he was ſlain? So inexpugnable and incorrigible a vice is this, gotten by cuſtome of much talke, that a man cannot leave it though he were going to the gallowes, nor keep in thoſe tidings which no man is willing to heare: for certes, like as they who have dranke bitter potions, or unſavoury medicines, cannot away with the very cups wherein they were; even ſo, they that bring evill and heavy tidings, are ordinarily hated and deteſted

detested of those unto whom they report the same. And therefore *Sophocles* the Poet hath very finely distinguished upon this point in these verses:

Messenger.
Is it your heart, or else your eare,
That this offends, which you do heare?
Creon.
And why dost thou search my disease
To know what griefe doth me displease?
Messenger.
His deeds (I see) offend your heart,
But my words cause your eares to smart.

Well then, those who tell us any wofull news be as odious as they who work our woe; and yet for all that there is no restraint and bridling of an untemperate tongue that is given to walke and overreach. It fortuned one day at *Lacedæmon*, that the temple of *Juno*, called there *Chalciacos*, was robbed, and within it was found a certaine empty flagon or stone bottle for wine: great running there was and concourse of the people thither, and men could not tell what to make of that flagon: at last one of them that stood by; My masters (quoth he) if you will give me leave, I shall tell you what my conceit is of that flagon, for my mind gives me (saith he) that these Church-robbers who projected to execute so perilous an enterprize, had first dranke the juyce of hemlock before they entred into the action, and afterwards brought wine with them in this bottle, to the end that if they were not surprised nor taken in the manner, they might save their lives by drinking each of them a good draught of meere wine; the nature and vertue whereof (as you know well enough) is to quench as it were and dissolve the vigour and strength of that poyson, and so go their waies safe enough, but if it chance that they were taken in the deed doing, then they by means of that hemlock which they had dranke die an easie death, and without any great paine and torment before that they were put to torture by the Magistrate. He had no sooner delivered this speech, but the whole company who heard his words thought verily that such a contrived devise, and so deep a reach as this never came from one that suspected such a matter, but rather knew that it was so indeed; whereupon they flocked round about, and hemmed him in, and on every side each one had a saying unto him: And what art thou (quoth one?) From whence art thou saith another? Here comes one and asketh, who knew him? There sets upon him another, saying, And how commest thou by the light of all this that thou hast delivered? To be short, they handled the matter so well that they forced him to bewray himselfe in the end, and to confesse that he was one of them that committed the sacriledge. Were not they also who murdered the Poet *Ibycus*, discovered and taken after the same manner? It hapned that the said murderers were set at a Theatre to behold the plaies and pastimes which were exhibited; and seeing a flight of Cranes over their heads, they whispered one to another: Loe these be they that will revenge the death of *Ibycus*. Now had not *Ibycus* been a long time before seen, and much search was made after him because he was out of the way and missed; whereupon they that sate next unto these men, over-hearing those words of theirs, and well poting the speech, went directly to the Magistrates and Justices to give intelligence and information of their words. Then were they attached and examined; and thus being convicted suffered punishment in the end, not by meanes of those Cranes that they talked of, but surely by their own blab-tongues; as if some hellish fury had forced them to disclose that murder which they had committed. For like as in our bodies the members diseased and in paine draw humours continually unto them, and all the corruption of the parts neare unto them flow thither; even so, the tongue of a babling fellow, being never without an inflammation and a feaverous pulse, draweth alwaies and gathereth to it one secret and hidden thing or other. In which regard it ought to be well fenced with a rampart, and the bulwarke of reason should be evermore set against it, which like unto a bar may stay and stop that overflowing and inconstant lubricity which it hath; that we be not more undiscreet and foolish beasts than geese are, who when they be to take a flight into *Cilicia* over the mountaine *Taurus*, which is full of eagles, take up every one in their bill a good big stone, which serveth them instead of a lock or bridle to restraine their gagling; by which devise they may passe all night long without any noise, and not be heard at all or descried by the said eagles.

Now if one should demand and aske of me, what person of all others is most mischievous and dangerous? I beleeve very well there is no man would name any other but a traitour. And yet *Euthycrates* (as saith *Demosthenes*) by his treason covered his own house with a roofe made of timber that he had out of *Macedonia*. *Philocrates* also lived richly and gallant of that great masse of gold and silver which he had of King *Philip* for betraying his country, and therewith furnished himselfe with brave harlots, gallant concubines, and dainty fishes. *Euphorbius* also and *Philagrus*, who betrayed *Eretria* were endowed by the King with faire lands and possessions: but a prater is a traitor voluntary and for nothing he demandeth no hire at all, neither looketh he to be sollicited, but offereth himselfe and his service; nor betrayeth unto the enemies either horses or walls, but revealeth hidden secrets, and discloseth speeches which are to be concealed whether it be in judiciall matters of law, or in seditious discords, or in managing of State-affaires, it makes no matter, and no man conneth him thanks; nay, he will thinke himselfe beholding to others if they will vouchsafe to give him audience. And therefore, that which is commonly said to a prodigall person, who foolishly misspendeth and vainly wasteth his substance he cares not how to gratifie every man; Thou art not liberall, this is no curtesie; a vice it is rather that thou art disposed unto, thus to take pleasure in nothing, but giving and giving still. The same rebuke and reprehension serveth very fitly for a babler: Thou art no friend nor well-willer of mine, thus to come and discover these things unto me; this is thy fault, and a disease which thou art sick of, that loveth to be clattering, and hast no mind but of chatting.

Now would I have the Reader to thinke that I write not all this so much to accuse and blame the vice and malady of garrulity, as to cure and heale the same. For by judgement and exercise we surmount and overcome the vices and passions of the mind; but judgement, that is to say, knowledge must go before: for no man accustometh himselfe to void, and (as it were) to weed them out of the soule, unlesse he hate and detest them first. Now then, and never before, I egin we to take an hatred to vices, when by the light of reason we consider and weigh the shame and losse that commeth unto us by them; as for example, we know and see that these great praters, whiles they desire to win love, gaine hatred; thinking to do a pleasure, they displease looking to be well esteemed, are mocked and derided; they lay for lucre, and get nothing; they hurt their friends, aide their enemies, and undo themselves.

So then, let this be the first receit and medicine for to cure this malady; even the consideration and reckoning up of the shamefull infamies and painefull inconveniencies that proceed and ensue thereof. The second remedy is, to take a survey of the contrary; that is to say, to heare alwaies, to remember and have ready at hand the praises and commendations of silence, the majesty (I say) the mysticall gravity and holinesse of taciturnity, to represent alwaies unto our mind and understanding how much more admired, how much more loved, and how far wiser they are reputed, who speake roundly at once, and in few words, their mind pithily; who in a short and compendious speech comprehend more good matter and substance a great deale than these great talkers, whose tongues are unbridled and run at randome. Those (I say) be they whom *Plato* so highly esteemeth, comparing them to skilfull and well practised Archers and Darters, who have the feat of shooting arrows and launcing darts; for they know how and when to speake graciously, and bitterly, soundly, pithily, and compactly. And verily, wise *Lycurgus* framed and exercised his Citizens immediately from their childhood by keeping them down at the first with silence to this short and sententious kind of speech, whereby they spake alwaies compendiously, and knit up much in a little. For like as they of *Biskay* or *Celtiberia* do make their steele of iron, by enterring it and letting it lie first within the ground, and then by purging and refining it from the grosse, terrene, and earthly substance that it hath; even so the Laconians speech hath no outward barke (as a man would say) or crust upon it, but when all the superfluity thereof is taken away, it is steeled (as it were) and tempered, yea, and hath an edge upon it fit for to worke withall and to pierce: and verily that apophthegmaticall and powerfull speech of theirs, that grace which they had to answer sententiously and with such gravity, together with a quick and ready gift to meet at every turne with all objections, they attained unto by nothing else but by their much silence. Wherefore it was very expedient to set ever before the eyes of these great praters those short and witty speeches, that they may see what grace and gravity both they have: as for example, The Lacedæmonians unto *Philip* greeting: *Dionysius* in *Corinth*: Also another time, when *Philip* had written unto them to this effect: If I enter once into the confines of *Laconia*, I will destroy you utterly that you shall never rise againe. They returned this answer againe in writing, Αἴκα: that is, If. Likewise when King *Demetrius* in great displeasure and indignation cried out aloud in these words: *The Lacedemonians have sent me an embassador alone, and who hath no fellow*; Meaning that there came but one: the said embassadour nothing daunted at his words, answered readily: *One for one*. Certes, they that used to speake short and sententiously were highly esteemed long ago with our ancients and forefathers. And hereupon it was that the *Amphyctiones*, that is to say, the Deputies or States for the generall counsell of all *Greece*, gave order, that there should be written over the doore of the Temple of *Apollo Pythius*, not the Odysses or Iliads of *Homer*; ne yet the Canticles or Pæans of *Pindarus*; but these briefe sentences: Γνῶθι σαυτὸν; that is, Know thy selfe. Μηδὲν ἄγαν; that is, Too much of nothing. Also Ἔγγυα, πάρα δ' ἄτα; That is, Be surety and make account to pay: so highly esteemed they a plaine, simple, and round manner of speaking, which compriseth few words much matter, and a sentence massie and sound: and no marvell for *Apollo* himselfe loveth brevity, and is in his oracles very succinct and pithy; wherefore elsse is he surnamed *Loxias*? But because he chooseth rather to avoid plurality than obscurity of words. They also who without word uttered at all signifie the conceptions of their mind by certaine symbolicall devises, and after that manner deliver good lessons unto us; are they not sundry waies commended and admired exceedingly? Thus *Heraclitus* in times past, being requested by his neighbours and fellow-citizens to make a sententious speech unto them, and deliver his opinion as touching civill unity and concord, mounted up into the pulpit, and taking a cup of cold water in his hand, bespiced it (as it were) with some meale, and with a sprig or two of the herbe Penniroyall, shook all together: which done he drank it off, and so came down and went his way: giving them by this demonstration thus much to understand; that if men would take up with a little, and be content with things at hand, without desiring costly superfluities, it were the next way to keep and preserve Cities in peace and concord.

Scylurus a King of the Scythians left behind him fourscore sons; and when the houre of his death

death drew neare, he called for a bundle of darts, or a sheafe of arrows to be brought unto him, which he put into his childrens hands one after another, and willed each one to breake and burst the same in peeces, bound as it was entire and whole together: which when they had assayed to do, and putting all their strength unto it, could not, but gave over: himselfe tooke out of the sheafe or knitch the darts aforesaid one by one, and knapt them in twaine single as they were with facility: declaring by this device, that so long as they held together their union and agreement would be strong and invincible; but their discord and dilunion would make them feeble, and be an occasion that they should not long continue. He then that continually shall have these and such like precedents in his mouth, and ordinarily repeat and remember the same, will peradventure take no great pleasure and delight in idle and superfluous words. For mine own part, surely I am abashed mightily at the example of that domesticall servant at *Rome*, when I consider with my selfe what a great matter it is to be well advised before a man speaketh, and constantly to hold and maintaine the resolution of any purpose. *Publius Piso* the great Orator and Rhetorician, becouse he would provide that his people and servitours about him should not trouble his head with much prattle, gave order and commandement unto them, that they should make answer unto his demands only, and no more: now being minded one day to entertaine *Clodius* the chiefe ruler of the City at his house, he bad him to supper, and called him to be sent for and called at the time accordingly; for a stately and royall feast he had provided, by all likelihood, and as any man would think no lesse: now when supper time was come, the rest of the invited guests were present, *Clodius* only they stayed & looked for; meane while, *Piso* had sent out oftentimes unto him one of his servitours who was wont ordinarily to bid his guests: for to see whether he were comming or would come to supper or no? But when it grew late in the evening, so that there was no hope now that he would be there: Now Firrah (quoth *Piso* to his man aforesaid) didst thou not invite and bid him? Yes iwis Sir: Why then comes he not said the make master againe? Forsooth (quoth he) because he denied to come: And why toldst thou not me this immediately? Because sir you never asked me the question. Well this was a Romane servitour; but an Athenian servant I trow whiles he is digging and delving, will tell his master news, and namely, what be the articles and capitulations in the treaty and composition of peace. So powerfull and forcible is use and custome in all things, whereof I purpose now to treat; for that there is no bit nor bridle that is able to represse, tame, and keep in a talkative tongue, but it is custome that must do the deed, and conquer this malady.

First and formost therefore, when in company there shall be any question propounded by them that are about thee, frame and use thy selfe to hold thy tongue and be silent, untill thou see that every man else refuseth to speake and make answer: for according to *Sophocles*,

> *To counsell and to ruin a course in race*
> *Have not both twaine one end, to haste apace.*

No more verily doth a voice and an answer shoot at the same marke that running aimeth at: for there; to wit, in a race, he winneth the prize that getteth to be formost; but here, if another man have delivered a sufficient answer, it will be well enough, by praising and approving his speech, to gaine the opinion and reputation of a courteous person; if not, then will it not be thought impertinent neither can envy or hatred come of it, in case a man do gently shew and open that wherein the other was ignorant, and so after a mild and civill manner supply the defect of the former answer: but above all, this regard would be had: That when a question or demand is addressed and directed unto another, we take it not upon our selves; and so anticipate and prevent his answer; and peradventure, neither in this nor in any thing else is it decent and commendable to offer and put forth our selves too forward before we be required; and in this case, when another man is asked a question, our own intrusion, with the putting by of him is not seemly; for we may be thought (in so doing) both to injurie and discredit the party demanded, as if he were not able to performe that which was put upon him, and also to reproach the demandant, as though he had little skill and discretion to aske a thing of him who could not give the same: and that which more is, such malapert boldnesse and heady hastinesse in rash answering, importeth (most of all) exceeding arrogancy and presumption: for it seemeth, that he who taketh the answer out of his mouth of whom the question is demanded, would say thus much in effect: What need have we of him? What can he say unto it? What skill or knowledge hath he? When I am in place no man ought to aske any other of these matters but my selfe only. And yet many times we propose questions unto some, not of any great desire that we have to heare their answers, but only becouse we would find talke and minister occasion of discourse, seeking thereby to draw from them some words that may yeeld matter of mirth and pleasant conference: after which sort, *Socrates* used to provoke *Theaetetus* and *Charmides*. To prevent therefore the answer of another, to turne away mens eares, to divert their eyes, and draw their cogitations from him to our selves, is as much as if we should run before and make haste to kisse one first, who was minded to be kissed of another, or to enforce him to looke upon us, whose eyes were set and fixed upon another; considering, that although the party unto whom the demand was made be either not able nor willing to make answer, it were befitting for a man, after some little pause made, to present himselfe in all modesty and reverence, and then to frame and accommodate his speech as neare unto that as may be, which he thinketh will content the mind of him that made the demand and so answer (as it were) in the name of the other: for if they who are demanded a question make no good and sufficient answer, great reason they have to be pardoned and held excused: but he who intrudeth himself, and taking the words out of anothers mouth, is ready to speak before he be spoken unto, by good right is odious, although he answer otherwise sufficiently; but if he fail, and make no good answer, certes he maketh himself ridiculous, and a very laughing stock to the whole company.

The second point of exercise and meditation, is in a mans own particular answers, wherein he ought especially to be carefull and take heed who is given to over-much talk, to the end that they who would provoke him to speak, and all to make themselves merry and to laugh at him, may well know that he answereth not he knows not what inconsiderately, but with good advice and seriously to the point: for such there be in the world, who for no need at all, but only for to passe time in mirth, devise certain questions for the nonce, and in that manner propound them to such persons for no other end, but to provoke them to prattle; and therefore they ought to have a good eye and regard before them, not to leap out and run all on a sudden hastily to their answer, as if they were well pleased and beholden unto them for to have such an occasion of speech; but with mature deliberation to consider the nature and behaviour of him that putteth out the question, together with the necessity thereof, and the profit that may ensue thereby: and if it appear indeed, that the party be in good earnest, and desirous to learn and be instructed, then he must accustome himself to represse his tongue and take some pause, allowing a competent space of time between the demand and the answer: during which silence, both the demander may have while to bethink himself and add somewhat thereto, if he list, and also the demandé time to think of an answer, and not let his tongue run before his wit, and so huddle upon a confused answer before the question be fully propounded: for oftentimes it falleth out, that for very haste they take no heed of those things which were demanded, but answer him kam, and one thing for another. True it is (I must needs say) that *Pythia* the priestess of *Apolle's* Temple, is wont to give answer by oracle at the same instant that the question is demanded, yea, and oftentimes before it be asked; for why? the god whom she serveth

> *Doth understand the dumb, who cannot speak,*
> *And knowes ones mind, before the tongue it break.*

but among men, he that would wisely and to purpose answer, ought to stay untill he conceive the thought, and fully understand the intent of him that proposeth a question, lest that befall unto him which is said in the common proverb:

> *Above an hook, I question made,*
> *And they gave answer of a spade.*

and otherwise also, if that inconvenience were not, yet are we to bridle this lavish and hasty tongue of ours, and restrain the inordinate and hungry appetite which we have to be talking; lest it be thought that we had a flux (as it were) of humors gathered a long time about the tongue, and grown into an impostume, which we are very well content should be let out, and have issue made by a question tendered unto us, and so by that means be discharged thereof. *Socrates* was wont in this manner to restrain and represse his thirst, after that he had enchafed his body and set himself into an heat, either by wrestling, or running, or such like exercises; he would not permit himself to drink before he had powred out the first bucket of water that he had drawn out of the Pit or Well, acquainting this his sensuall appetite to attend the fit and convenient time that reason appointed.

Moreover, this would be noted, that there be three kinds of answers unto interrogations; the first necessary, the second civill, and the third needlesse and superfluous: as for example; If one should ask whether *Socrates* be within or no; he that is unwilling and not ready and forward with his tongue, would make answer and say: He is not within, but if he disposed to laconize a little, and speak more brief, he would leave out the word (within) and say: He is not; or yet more short than so, pronouncing onely the negative Adverb, and saying no more but No. Thus the Lacedæmonians dealt once by *Philip*; for when he had dispatched his letters unto them to this effect; To know whether they would receive him into their City or no: they wrote back again, in fair great capitall letters, within a sheet of paper, no more but O Y; that is to say, No: and so sent it unto him: but he that would make answer to the former question of *Socrates* a little more civilly and courteously, would say thus: He is not within sir, for he is gone to the Bank or Exchange: and to give yet a somwhat better measure, he might perhaps adde moreover and say: He looketh there for certain strangers and friends of his. But a vain prating fellow, and one that loves many words, especially if his hap hath been to read the book of *Antimachus* the Colophonian, will make answer to the demand aforesaid in this wise: He is not within sir gone he is to the Burse or Exchange, for there he expecteth certain strangers out of *Ionia*, of whom and in whose behalf *Alcibiades* wrote unto him, who now maketh his abode within the City of *Miletus*, so journeth with *Tissaphernes*, one of the Lieutenants generall of the great King of *Persia*; who before time was in league with the Lacedæmonians, stood their friend, and sent them aid; but not for the love of *Alcibiades*, he is turned from them and is sided with the Athenians: for *Alcibiades* being desirous to return into his own Country, hath prevailed so much that he hath altered *Tissaphernes* his mind, and drawn him away from our part: and thus shall you have him rehearse in good earnest the whole eight book (in manner) of *Thucydides* his story, untill he have overwhelmed a man with a multitude of narrations, and made him beleeve that in *Miletus* there is some great sedition; that it is ready to be lost, and *Alcibiades* to be banished a second time. Herein then ought a man principally to set his foot and stay his overmuch language, so as the center and circumference of the answer be that, which he who maketh the demand desireth and

hath need to know. *Carneades* before he had any great name, disputed one day in the publick Schools and places appointed for exercise: Unto whom the Master or President of the place sent before hand, and gave him warning to moderate his voice (for he spake naturally exceeding big and loud, so as the Schools rung again therewith:) Give me then (quoth he) a gage and measure for my voice; upon whom the said Master replyed thus not unproperly: Let him that disputeth with thee be the measure and rule to moderate thy voice by; even so a man may in this case say: The measure that he ought to keep who answereth, is the very will and mind of him that proposeth the question. Moreover, like as *Socrates* forbad those meats which drew men on to eat when they are not hungry; and likewise those drinks which caused them to drink who are not athirst, even so should a man who is given to much prattle, be afraid of those discourses wherein he delighteth most, and which he is wont to use and take greatest pleasure in; and in case he perceive them to run willingly upon him for to withstand the same, and not give them intertainment. As for example, martiall men and warriours love to discourse and tell of battells; which is the reason that the Poet *Homer* bringeth in * *Nestor* eftsoons recounting his own prowesse and feats of armes: and ordinary it is with them who in judiciall trials have had the upper hand of their adversaries, or who beyond the hope and opinion of every man have obteined grace and favour with Kings and Princes, to be subject unto this malady that evermore followeth them, namely, to report and recount eftsoons the manner how they came in place; after what sort they were brought in the order of their pleading; how they argued the case; how they convinced their accusers, and overthrew their adversaries; last of all, how they were praised and commended: for to say a truth, joy and mirth is much more talkative than that old *Agryppina* which the Poets do feign and devise in their comædies: for it rouseth and stirreth up, it reneweth and refresheth it self ever and anon, with many discourses and narrations; whereupon ready they are to fall into such speeches upon every light and colourable occasion: for not onely is it true which the common proverb saith:

Look where a man doth feel his pain and grief,
His hand will soon be there to yeeld relief.

but also joy and contentment draweth unto it the voice. it leadeth the tongue alwayes about with it, and is evermore willing to be remembred and related. Thus we see that amorous lovers passe the greater part of their time in rehearsing certain words which may renew the remembrance of their loves. insomuch that if they cannot meet with one person or other to relate the same unto, they will devise and talk of them with such things as have neither sense nor life: like as we read of one who brake forth into these words:

O dainty bed, most sweet and pleasant couch,
O blessed lamp, O happy candle light,
No lesse than God doth Bacchis you avouch
nay, God you are the mightiest in her sight.

And verily a busie prater is altogether (as one would say) a white line or strake in regard of all words, to wit, without discretion he speaketh indifferently of all matters; howbeit if he be affected more to some than to others, he ought to take heed thereof, and abstain from them; he is (I say) to withdraw & write himself from thence: for that by reason of the contentment which he may there-in take, and the pleasure that he receiveth thereby, they may lead him wide and carry him every while very farre out of the way: the same inclination to overshoot themselves in prating, they finde also when they discourse of those matters wherin they suppose themselves to have better experience, and a more excellent habit than others: such an one I say being a self-lover and ambitious withall,

Most part of all the day in this doth spend,
Himself to passe, and others to transcend.

As for example, in histories if he hath read much, in artificiall stile and couching of his words, he that is a Grammarian; in relation of strange reports and news, who hath been a great Traveller and wandred through many forren Countries: hereof therefore great heed would be taken; for garrulity being therein fleshed and baited, willingly runneth to the old and usuall haunt, like as every beast seeketh out the ordinary and accustomed pasture. And in this point was the young Prince *Cyrus* of a wonderfull and excellent nature, who would never challenge his play-fellowes and consorts in age unto any exercise wherein he knew himself to be superiour, and to surpasse, but alwayes to such feats wherein he was lesse practised than they; which he did as well because he would not grieve their hearts in winning the prize from them, as also for that he would profit thereby, and learn to do that wherein he was more raw and unready than they. But a talkative fellow contrariwise, if there be a matter proposed whereby he may hear and learn somewhat that he knew not before, rejecteth and refuseth it: he cannot for his life hold his tongue and keep silence a little while, to gain thereby some hire and reward. but casting and rolling his thought round about, he never rests untill he light upon some old ragged rapsodies and overworn discourses, which he hath patched and tacked together a thousand times. Such a one there was among us, who hapned by chance to have perused two or three books of *Ephorus*: whereby he took himself to be so great a Clerk and so well read, that he wearied every mans ears who heard him talk; there was no assembly nor feast unto which he came. but he would force the company to arise and depart with his unmeasurable prating of the battel of *Leuctres*, and the occurrents that ensued thereupon, insomuch as he got himself a by-name, and

* *Hi. Ilia.* rather as some read.

and every man called him *Epaminondas*. But this is the least inconvenience of all others that followeth this infirmity of much babling: and surely one good means it is to cure thereof; To turn the same from other matters to such as these: for thereby shall their tongue be lesse troublesome and offensive, when it passeth the bounds in the tearms onely of literature.

Over and besides, for the remedy of this their disease, they shall do well to inure and accustome themselves to write somewhat, and to dispute of questions apart. Thus did *Antipater* the Stoick, who as it may be thought, being not able nor willing to hold out in disputation hand to hand with *Carneades*, who with a violent stream (as it were) of his forcible wit and eloquence refuted the sect of the Stoicks, answered the said *Carneades* by writing, and filled whole books with contradictorie assertions and arguments against him: insomuch as thereupon he was surnamed *Calamobous*, which is as much to say, as the lusty Crier with his pen: and so by all likelihood this manner of fighting with a shadow and lowd exclaiming in secret, and apart by themselves, training these stout praters every day by little and little from the frequency and multitude of people, may make them in the end more sociable and fitter for company. Thus curst curres after they have spent and discharged their choler and anger upon the cudgels or stones which have been thrown at them, become thereby more gentle and tractable to men. But above all, it were very expedient and profitable for them to be alwayes neer unto personages for yeers elder, and in authority greater than themselves, and with those to converse: for the reverent regard and fear that they have in respect of their dignity and gravity, may induce and direct them in time and by custome to keep silence: and evermore among those exercises heretofore by us specified, this advice would be mingled and interlaced; That when we are about to speak, and that words be ready to runne out of our mouth, we say thus unto our selves by way of reasoning: What manner of speech is this that is so urgent and presseth so hard to be gone? What ails my tongue, that it is so willing to be walking? What good may come by the utterance thereof? What harm may ensue by concealing it in and holding my peace? For we must not think that our words be like an heavy burden over-loading us, and whereof we should think our selves well eased when we are discharged of them: for speech remaineth still as well when it is uttered as before: but men ought to speak, either in the behalf of themselves when they stand in need of some thing, or to benefit others, or else to pleasure and recreat one another by pleasant devises and discourses, (as it were) with salt to mitigate the painfull travels in actions and worldly affairs, or rather to make the same more savory whiles we are employed therein. Now if a speech be neither profitable to him that delivereth it, nor necessary for him that heareth it, ne yet carry therewith any grace or pleasure; what need is there that it should be uttered? For surely, a man may as soon speak a word in vain, as do a thing to no purpose. But above and after all other good advertisements in this case, we ought alwayes to have in readinesse and remembrance this wise saying of *Simonides*: A man (quoth he) may repent many a time for words spoken, but never for a word kept in: this also we must think: That exercise is all in all: and a matter of that moment and efficacy, that it is able to master and conquer every thing: considering that men will take great pains and be carefull; yea they will endure much sorrow for to be rid of an old cough; to chase away the troublesome yex or hicket. Besides, Taciturnity hath not onely this one fair property and good vertue, that (as *Hippocrates* saith) it never breedeth thirst: but also that it engendreth no pain, no grief nor displeasure, neither is any man bound to render an account thereof.

Of Avarice or Covetousnesse.

The Summary.

IF there be any excesse in the World that troubleth the repose and tranquillity of the spirit, causing our life to be wretched and miserable, it is Avarice; against which the Sages and wise men of all ages from time to time have framed sharp and terrible invectives, which in sum and effect do shew thus much;

That this Coveteousnesse and greedy desire of gathering goods is (as it were) the capitall City and Scat-town of all wickednesses the very sink of sinne and receptacle of all vices. Now albeit all men with one voice, yea, and the most covetous persons of all others do confesse as much; yet the heart of man is so affectionate a friend to the earth, that needfull it is to propose and set down divers instructions for to avert the same from thence, and to cause it to range and sort with other occupations and affairs, more beseeming it self than is the over curious searching after transitory and corruptible things. This is the reason, that those Philosophers who have handled the doctrine as touching manners are employed herein: and Plutarch *among the rest, who teacheth us here in few words, with what considerations we ought to be furnished and fortified, that we do not permit such a pestilent plague as this to seize upon our souls, and therewith he sheweth the miseries that befall unto Avarice; whereof this is the first and principall: That in stead of giving contentment, it maketh her slave most wretched, and putteth him to the greatest pain and torture in the world. And*

hereupon he interlaceth and inserteth a description of three sorts of Covetous persons. First, of those who covet things rare and dangerous, whereas they should seek after necessaries. Secondly, of such as spend nothing, have much, and yet desire more and more; and these he depainteth in all their colours. Thirdly, of them that be niggards and base minded pinch-pennies. Which done, he discovereth the second misery of Covetous wretches, to wit: That Avarice doth tyrannize over her caitive and slave, not suffering him to use that which she commanded him to winne and get. The third is this; That it causeth him to gather and heap up riches, for some promoter or catch-poll, or else for a tyrant; or else for some wicked and graceless heir, whose nature and properties he doth represent and describe very lively. Afterwards having concluded that Covetous persons are herein especially miserable: for that the one sort of them use not their goods at all, and other abuse the same: he prescribeth three remedies against this mischievous maladie. The first: That these who greedily gape after riches, have no more in effect than they who stand contented with that which is necessary for nature. The second; That we are not to count them happy, who be richly furnished with things unprofitable. And the last; That it is vertue, wherein we ought to ground and seek for contentment; for there it is to be found and not in riches.

Of Avarice or Covetousnesse.

Hippomachus, a great master of wrestling and such exercises of the body, hearing some to praise a certain tall man, high of stature, and having long arms and hands, commending him for a singular champion, and fit to a fight at buffets: A proper fellow he were (quoth he) if the garland or prize of the victory were hung on high, for to be reached with the hand; semblably it may be said unto them who esteem so highly and repute it a great felicity to be possessed of much fair lands, to have many great and stately houses, to be furnished with mighty masses and summes of money, in case felicity were to be bought and sold for coin. And yet a man shall see many in the world, chuse rather to be rich and wretched withall, than to give their silver for to be happy and blessed: but surely it is not silver nor gold that can purchase either repose of spirit void of grief and anguish, or magnanimity, ne yet setled constancy and resolution, confidence and sufficiance, or contentment with our own estate. Be a man never so rich, he cannot skill thereby to contemn riches, no more than the possession of more than enough worketh this in us; That we want not still, and desire even things that be superfluous. What other evill and malady then doeth our wealth and riches rid us from, if it delivereth us not from avarice? By drink men quench their thirst by meat they slake their hunger. And he that said:

Give Hipponax *a cloak to keep him warm,*
For cold extreams I shake, and may take harm.

if there were many clothes hung or cast upon him, would be offended therewith and fling them from him; but this their strong desire and love of money, it is neither silver nor gold that is able to quench: and let a man have never so much, yet he covereth nevertheless to have more still. And well it may be verified of riches which one said sometime to an ignorant and deceitfull Physician:

Your drugs and salves augment my sore,
They make me sicker than before.

For riches verily, after that men have once met therewith, (whereas before they stood in need of bread, of a competent house to put in their heads, of mean raiment and any viands that come next hand) fill them now with an impatient desire of gold, silver, ivory, emerauds, horses and hounds; changing and transporting their natural appetite of things needfull and necessary, into a disordinate lust to things dangerous, rare, hard to be gotten, and unprofitable when they to be had. For never is any man poor in regard of such things as suffice nature: never doeth he take up money upon usury, for to buy himself meat, cheese, bread or olives; but one indebteth himself for to build a sumptuous and stately house; another runnes in debt, because he would purchase a grove of olive-trees that joyneth to his own land; one is engaged deeply in the usurers books, by laying corn-grounds and wheat-fields to his own demains, another, because he would be possessed of fruitfull vineyards; some are endebted with buying mules of *Galatia*, and others, because they would be masters

Of lusty steeds, to win the prize
by running in a race,
With rattling noise of empty coach,
When it is drawen apace,

have cast themselves into the bottomlesse gulf of obligations, conditions, covenants, interests, statutes, real gages and pawns: and afterwards it cometh to passe, that like as they who drink when they be not drie, and eat without a stomack, many times cast up by vomit, even that which they did eat & drink when they were hungry and thirsty: even so, when they will needs have such things as be superfluous and to no use, do not enjoy the benefit of those things that are needfull and necessary indeed. Lo what kinde of people these be!

As

As for those who are at no cost, nor will lay out any thing, and notwithstanding they have much, yet ever covet more; a man may rather marvell and wonder at them, if he would but remember that which *Aristippus* was wont to say: He that eateth much (quoth he) and drinketh likewise much, and is never satisfied nor full, goeth to the Physicians, asketh their opinion what his disease and strange indisposition of the body might be, and withall craveth their counsell for the cure and remedie thereof: but if one who hath five fair beds teds already with the furniture thereto belonging, & seeketh to make them ten; and having ten Tables with their cupboards of plate, will needs buy ten more; and for all that he is possessed of fair mannours and goodly lands, have his bags and coffers full of money, is never the better satisfied, but still gapeth after more, breaketh his sleeps, devising and casting as he lyeth awake, how to compasse the same, and when he hath all, yet is he not full: such an one (I say) never thinks that he hath need of a Physician to cure his maladie or to discourse unto him from what cause all this doth proceed. And verily a man may look, that of those who are thirsty ordinarily, he that hath not drunk, will be delivered of his thirst so soon as he meeteth with drink; but in case such an one as evermore drinketh and powreth in still, never giving over, yet nevertheless continueth dry and thirsty, we judge him to have no need of repletion, but rather of purging and evacuation: him (I say) we appoint for to vomit, as being not troubled and distempered upon any want, but with some extraordinary heat or unkind acrimonies of humours that be with him; even so it is with those that seek to get and gather goods: he that is bare and poor indeed, will haply give over seeking so soon as he hath got him an house to dwell in, or found some treasure, or met with a good friend to help him to a sum of money to make clear with the usurer, and to be crossed out of his book: but he that hath already more than enough and sufficient, and yet craveth more, surely it is neither gold nor silver, that will cure him, neither horses, nor sheep, nor yet beeves will serve his turn: need had he of purgation and evacuation, for poverty is not his disease, but covetousnesse and an unsatiable desire of riches, proceeding from false judgement and a corrupt opinion that he hath, which if a man doth not rid away out of his mind, as a winding gulf or whirl-pool that is crossed and overthwart in their way, they will never cease to hunt after superfluities, and seem to stand in need thereof (that is to say) to covet those things which they know not what to do with. When a Physician commeth into the chamber of a Patient, whom he findeth lying along in his bed groaning and refusing all food, he taketh him by the hand, feeleth his pulse, asketh him certain questions, and finding that he hath no ague: This is a disease (quoth he) of the mind, and so goeth his way; even so, when we see a wordly minded man altogether set upon his gets and gains, pining away, and even consumed with the greedy worm of gathering goods, weeping, whining and sighing at expenses, and when any money is to go out of his purse, sticking at no pain and trouble, sparing for no indignity, no unhoneſt and indirect means whatsoever; nor caring which way he goes to work, whether it be by hook or crook, so that he may gain and profit thereby; having choice of houses and tenements, lands lying in every Countrey, droves, herds and flocks of cattell, a number of slaves, wardrobes of apparell and clothes of all sorts: what shall we say that this man is sick of, unlesse it be the poverty of the soul? As for want of money and goods, one friend (as *Menander* saith) may cure and help with his bountifull hand; but that penury and needinesse of the soul all the men in the world, that either live at this day, or ever were before time, are not able to satisfie and suffice: and therefore of such *Solon* said very well,

No limit set, nor certain bound, men have
Of their desire to goods, but still they crave.

For, those who are wise and of sound judgement are content with that measure and portion which nature hath set down and assigned for them; such men know an end, and keep themselves within the center and circumference of their need and necessity onely. But this is a peculiar property that avarice hath by it self. For a covetous desire it is, even repugnant to satiety, and hindereth it self that it never can have sufficient, whereas all other desires and lusts are aiding and helpfull thereto. For no man (I trow) that is a glutton, forbeareth to eat a good morcel of meat for gormandise, nor drunkard abstaineth from drinking wine upon an appetite and love that he hath to wine; as these covetous wretches do, who spare their money and will not touch it, through a desire onely that they have of money. And how can we otherwise think, but it were a piteous and lamentable case, yea, and disease next cousin to meer madnesse, if a man should therefore spare the wearing of a garment, because he is ready to chill and quake for cold, or forbear to touch bread, for that he is almost hunger-starved; and even so not to handle his goods because he loveth them: certes, such a one is in the same plight and piteous perplexity that *Thrasonides* was, who in a certain comedie describeth his own miseries:

At home it is within my power,
I may enjoy it every hower:
I wish a thing as if I were
In raging love, yet I forbeare:
When I have lockt and seal'd up all,
Or else put forth by count and tale,
My coin to brokers for the use,
Or other factours whom I chuse,

I plod and plonder still for more,
I hunt, I seek to seich in store,
I chide and braul with servants mine,
The husbandman and eke the hine
I bring to count; and then anon
My debters all I call upon:
By Dan Apollo *now I swear,*
Was any man that earth did bear,
Whom thou hest ever known or seen,
In love more wretched to have been?

Sophocles being on a time demanded familiarly by one of his friends, whether he could yet keep company with a woman if need were: God blesse me (quoth he) my good friend, talk no more of that I pray you, I am free from those matters long since, and by the benefit of mine old age, I have escaped the servitude of such violent and furious mistresses. And verily it is a good and gracious gift, that our lusts and appetites should end together with our strength and ability, especially in those delights and pleasures, which as *Alcæus* saith neither man nor woman can well avoid. But this is not to be found in avarice and desire of riches; for she like a curst, sharp and shrewd quean, forceth indeed a man to get and gather, but she forbiddeth him withall to use and enjoy the same: she stirreth up and provoketh his lusts, but she denieth him all pleasure. I remember that in old time *Stratonicus* taxed and mocked the Rhodians for their wastfull and superfluous expences in this manner: They build sumptuously (quoth he) as if they were immortall and should never die; but they fare at their boards as though they had but a small while to live. But these covetous misers gather wealth together like mighty magnificoes, but they spend like beggerly mechanicals; they endure the pain and travell of getting, and taste no pleasure of the enjoying.

Demades the Orator came one day to visit *Phocion*, and found him at dinner; but seeing but a little meat before him upon the Table, and the same nothing fine and dainty, but course and simple: I marvell (quoth he) O *Phocion* how you can take up with so short a dinner and so small a pittance, considering the pains you do endure in managing the affairs of State and Common-wealth. As for *Demades* he dealt indeed with government, and was a great man in the City with the people, but it was all for his belly, and to furnish a plentifull board, insomuch as, supposing that the City of *Athens* could not yeeld him revenew & provision sufficient for to maintain his excessive gormandise, he laid for cates and victuals out of *Macedon*, whereupon *Antipater* when he saw him an old man with a wrinkled and withered face, said pleasantly: That he had nothing left now but his paunch and his tongue, much like unto a Sheep, or some other beast killed for a sacrifice when all is eaten besides. But thou must unhappy and wretched miser, who would not make a wonder at thee, considering that thou canst lead so base and beggerly a life, without society of men or courtesie to thy neighbours, nor giving ought to any person, shewing no kindnesse to thy friends, no bounty nor magnificence to the common-wealth, yet still dost afflict thy poor self, lie awake all the night long, toil and moil like a drudge and hireling thy self, hire other labourers for day-wages, lie in the wind for inheritances, speak men fair in hope to be their heir, and debase thy self to all the world, and care not to whom thou cap and knee for gain, having I say so sufficient means otherwise to live at ease (to wit, thy niggardise and pinching parsimonie) whereby thou maist be dispensed for doing just nothing. It is reported of a certain Bizantine, who finding an adulterer in bed with his wife, who though she were but foul, yet was ill-favoured enough, said unto him: O miserable catife, what necessity hath driven thee thus to do? what needs *Sapraora* as dowry? well, go to: thou takest great pains poor wretch, thou fillest & stirrest the lead, thou kindlest the fire also underneath it. Necessary it is in some sort, that Kings and Princes should seek for wealth and riches, that these Governours also and Deputies under them should be great gatherers, yea, and those also who reach at the highest places and aspire to rule and soveraign dignities in great States and Cities: all these (I say) have need perforce to heap up grosse sums of money, to the end that for their ambition, their proud port, pomp, and vainglorious humour, they might make sumptuous feasts, give largesses, retain a guard about their persons, send presents abroad to other States, maintain and wage whole armies, buy slaves to combat and fight at sharp to the outrance: but thou makest thy self so much ado, thou troublest and tormentest both body and mind, living like an Oister or a shell-snail, and for to pinch and spare, art content to undergo and indure all pain and travell, taking no pleasure nor delight in the world afterwards, no more than the Bain-keepers poor Asse which carrying billets and fagots of drie brush and sticks to kindle fire and to heat the stouphes is evermore full of smoak, soot, ashes, and cinders; but hath no benefit at all of the bain, and is never bathed, washed, warmed, rubbed, scoured, and made clean. Thus much I speak in reproch and disdain of this miserable asse-like avarice, this base raping and scraping together in manner of ants or pismires.

Now there is another kind of covetousnesse more savage and beast-like, which they professe who backbite and slander, raise malicious imputations forge false wils and testaments, lie in wait for heritages, cog and cozen, and intermeddle in all matters, will be seen in every thing, know all mens states, busie themselves with many cares and troubles, count upon their fingers how many friends they have yet living, and when they have all done, receive no fruition or benefit by all the goods which they have

have gotten together from all parts with their cunning casts and subtill shifts. And therefore like as we have in greater hatred and detestation vipers, the venemous flies Cantharides, and the stinging spiders called Philangia and Tarantale, than either beares or lions, for that they kill folke and sting them to death; but receive no good or benefit at all by them when they are dead; even so be these wretches more odious and worthy to be hated of us, who by their miserable parsimony and pinching do mischiefe, than those who by their riot and wastefulnesse be hurtfull to a Common-weale, because they take and catch from others that which they themselves neither will nor know how to use. Whereupon it is that such as these when they have gotten abundance, and are in manner full, rest them for a while, and do no more violence as it were in time of truce and surcease of hostility; much after the manner as *Demosthenes* said unto them who thought that *Demades* had given over all his lewdnesse and knavery: O (quoth he) you see him now full as lions are, who when they have filled their bellies, prey no more for the lice untill they be hungry again; but such covetous wretches as be imployed in government of civill affaires, and that for no profit nor pleasure at all which they intend, those I say never rest nor make holiday, they allow themselves no truce nor cessation from gathering and heaping more together still, as being evermore empty, and have alwaies need of all things though they have all. But some man perhaps will say: These men (I assure you) do save and lay up goods in store for their children and heirs after their death, unto whom whiles they live they will part with nothing: If that be so, I can compare them very well to those mice and cats in gold mines, which feed upon the gold-ore, and lick up the golden sand that the mines yeeld, so that men cannot come by the gold there, before they be dead & cut up all in manner of anatomies. But tell me (I pray you) wherefore are these so willing to treasure up so much money, and so great substance, and leave the same to their children, inheritors, and successors after them? I verily beleeve to this end, that those children and heires also of theirs should keep the same still for others likewise, and so to passe from hand to hand by descent of many degrees; like as earthen conduit-pipes by which water is conveyed into some cisterne, withhold and reteine none of all the water that passeth through them, but do transmit and send all away from them, each one to that which is next, and reserve none to themselves; thus do they untill some arise from without, a meere stranger to the house, one that is a sycophant or very tyrant, who shall cut off this keeper of that great stock and treasure, and when he hath dispatched and made a hand of him, drive and turne the course of all this wealth and riches out of the usuall channell another way; or at least-wise untill it fall into the hands (as commonly men say it doth) of the most wicked and ungracious impe of that race, who will disperse and scatter that which others have gathered, who will consume and devour all unthriftily, which his predecessors have gotten and spared wickedly: for not only as *Euripides* saith,

These children waste full prove and bad,
Who for vile slaves for parents had.

but also covetous carles and pinching penny-fathers leave children behind them that be loose and riotous and spend-thrifts; like as *Diogenes* by way of mockery said upon a time; That it were better to be a Megarians ram than his son; for wherein they would seeme to instruct and informe their children, they spoile and mar them cleane, ingrafting into their hearts a desire and love of money, teaching them to be covetous and base-minded pinch-pennies, laying the foundation (as it were) in their heires of some strong place or fort, wherein they may surely guard and keep their inheritance. And what good lessons and precepts be these which they teach them: Gaine and spare, my son, get and save; thinke with this selfe and make thine account that thou shalt be esteemed in the world according to thy wealth & not otherwise. But surely this is not to instruct a child, but rather to knit up fast or sow up the mouth of a purse that it may hold and keep the better what soever is put into it. This only only is the difference that a purse or money-bag becommeth soule, sullied, and ill-savouring after that silver is put into it; but the children of covetous persons before they receive their patrimonies or attaine to any riches, are filled already even by their fathers with avarice, and a hungry desire after their substance; and verily such children thus nurtured reward their parents again for their schooling with a condigne fallary and recompence, in that they love them not because they shall receive much one day by them, but hate them rather for that they have nothing from them in present possession already, for having learned this lesson of them; To esteeme nothing in the world in comparison of wealth and riches, and to aime at nought else in the whole course of their life, but to gather a deale of goods together, they repute the lives of their parents to be a block in their way, they wish in their hearts that their heads were well laid, they do what they can to shorten their lives, making this reckoning; That how much time is added to their old age, so much they lose of their youthfull yeares. And this is the reason, why, during the life of their fathers, secretly and underhand they steale (after a sort, by snatches) their pleasure and enjoy the same: They will make semblance as if it came from other, when they give away money and distribute it among their friends, or otherwise spend it in their delights; whiles they catch it privily from under the very wing of their parents, and when they go to heare and take out their lessons, they will be sure to pick their purses if they can before they go away; but after their parents be dead and gone, when they have gotten into their hands the keyes of their coffers and signets of their bags, then the case is altered, and they enter into another course and fashion of life: you shall have my young masters then put on a grave and austere countenance, they will not seeme to laugh, nor be spoken to or acquainted with any body; there is no talke now of annointing the body for any exercise, the racket is cast aside, the tennis

court

court no more haunted, no wrestling practised, no going to the schooles either of the Academy or *Lyceum*, to heare the lectures and disputations of Professors and Philosophers. But now the officers and servants be called to an audit and account; now they are examined what they have under their hands; now the writings, bills, obligations, and deeds are sought up and perused; now they fall to argue and reason with their receivers, stewards, factors, and debtors; so sharpe-set they are to their negotiations and affaires; so full of cares and businesse, that they have no leisure to take their dinners or noon-meales; and if they sup they cannot intend to go into the baine or hot-house before it be late in the night; the bodily exercises wherein they were brought up and trained in be laid down; no swimming nor bathing any more in the river *Dirce*; all such matters be cast behind and cleane forgotten. Now if a man say to one of these: Will you go and heare such a Philosopher read a lecture, or make a sermon: How can I go? (will he say againe) I have no while since my fathers death. O miserable and wretched man, what hath he left unto thee of all his goods, comparable to that which he hath bereaved thee of, to wit, Repose and Liberty: but is it not thy father so much, as his riches flowing round about thee, that environeth and compasseth thee so, as it hath gotten the mastery over thee? this hath set foot upon thy throat, this hath conquered thee; like unto that shrewd wife in *Hesiodus*,

Who burnes a man without a match
Or brand of scorching fire,
And driveth him to gray-old age
Before that time require.

Causing thy soule (as it were) to be full of rivels and hoary haires before time, bringing with it carking cares and tedious travels proceeding from the love of money, and a world of affaires without any repose, whereby that alacrity, cheerefulnesse, worship and sociable courtesie which ought to be in a man, are decayed and faded cleane to nothing.

But what meane you sir by all this? (will some one haply say unto me) See you not how there be some that bestow their wealth liberally with credit and reputation? Unto whom Ianiwer thus: Have you never heard what *Aristotle* said: That as some there are who have no use at all of their goods, so there be others who abuse the same; as if he should say? Neither the one nor other was seemely and as it ought to be: for as those get neither profit nor honour by their riches, so these sustaine losse and shame thereby. But let us consider a little what is the use of these riches which are thus much eReemed: Is it not (I pray you) to have those things which are necessary for nature? But these who are so rich and wealthy above the rest, what have they more to content nature than those who live in a meane and competent estate? Certes riches (as *Theophrastus* saith) is not so great a matter that we should love and admire it so much, if it be true that *Callias* the wealthiest person in all *Athens* and *Ismenias* the richest citizen of *Thebes*, use the same things that *Socrates* and *Epaminondas* did. For like as *Agathon* banished the flute, cornet, and such other pipes from the solemne feasts of men, and sent them to women in their solemnities, suppoSing that the discourses of men who are present at the table are sufficient to entertaine mirth; even so may he as well rid away out of houses hangings, coverlets and carpets of purple, costly and sumptuous tables, and all such superfluities, who seeth that the great rich worldlings use the very same that poorer men do. I would not as *Hesiodus* saith;

That plough or helme should hang in smoake to drie,
Or painfull tillage now be laid aside,
Nor works of oxe and mule for ever die,
Who serve our turnes to draw, to till, to ride;

But rather that these goldsmiths, turners, gravers, perfumers, and cooks would be chased and sent away, so as much as this were indeed an honest and civill banishment of unprofitable artificers, as forreiners, that may be spared out of a city. Now if it be so, that things requisite for the necessity of nature be common as well to the poore as rich, and that riches do vaunt and stand so much upon nothing else but superfluities, and that *Scopas* the Thessalian is worthily commended in this; That being requested to give away and part with somewhat of his household stuffe which he might spare and have no need of: Why (quoth he) in what things else consisteth the felicity of those who are reputed happy and fortunate in this world above other men, but in these superfluities that you seem to aske at my hands, and not in such as be necessary and requisite? If it be so I say, see that you be not like unto him that praiseth a pompe and solemne shew of plaies and games more than life indeed, which standeth upon things necessary. The procession and solemnity of the Bacchanales which was exhibited in our country, was wont in old time to be performed after a plaine and homely manner, merrily, and with great joy: You should have seen there one carrying a little barrell of wine, another a branch of a vine tree; after him comes one drawing and plucking after him a goat; then followeth another with a basket of dried figs; and last of all one that bare in shew *Priapus*, that is to say, the resemblance of the genitall member of a man: but now adaies all these ceremonies are despised, neglected, and in a manner not at all to be seene, such a traine there is of those that carry vessels of gold and silver, so many sumptuous and costly robes, such stately chariots, richly set out, are driven and drawn with brave steeds most gallantly dight, besides the pageants, dumbeshews, and maskes, that they hide and obscure the ancient and true pompe according to the first institution; and even so it is in riches; the things that be necessary and serve for use and profit are overwhelmed

overwhelmed and covered with needlesse toies and superfluous vanities, and I assure you the most part of us be like unto young *Telemachus*, who for want of knowledge and experience, or rather indeed for default of judgement and discretion when he beheld *Nestors* house furnished with beds, tables, hangings, tapistry, apparell, and well provided also of sweet and pleasant wines, never reckoned the master of the house happy for having such good provision of such necessary and profitable things: but being in *Menelaus* his house, and seeing there store of Ivory, gold, and silver, and the metall *Electrum*, he was ravished and in an extasie with admiration thereof, and brake out in these words:

Like unto this the pallace all
Within I judge to be,
Of Jupiter that mighty god
Who dwels in azure skie:
How rich, how faire, how infinite
Are all things which I see!
My heart, as I do them behold,
Is ravisht d'wond. ronsly.

But *Socrates* and *Diogenes* would have said thus rather:

How many wretched things are here?
How needlesse all and vaine?
When I them view, I laugh thereat,
Of them I am not faine.

And what saiest thou foolish and vaine sot as thou art? Whereas thou shouldst have taken from thy very wife her purple, her jewels and gaudy ornaments, to the end that she might no more long for such superfluity, nor run a madding after forreine vanities, far fetcht and deare bought; dost thou contrariwise embellish and adorne thy house like a theatre, scaffold, and stage to make a goodly sight for those that come into the Shew-place? Loe wherein lieth the felicity and happinesse that riches bringeth, making a trim shew before those, who gaze upon them, and to testifie and report to others what they have seen; set this aside (that they be not shewed to all the world) there is nothing at all therein to reckon. But it is not so with temperance, with philosophy, with the true knowledge of the gods, so far forth as is meet and behoovefull to be known, for these are the same still and all one, although every man attaine not thereto, but all others be ignorant thereof. This piety (I say) and religion hath alwaies a great light of her own, and resplendant beames proper to it selfe, wherewith it doth shine in the soule, evermore accompanied with a certaine joy that never ceaseth to take contentment in her own good within, whether any one see it or no, whether it be unknown to gods and men or no, it skilleth not. Of this kind and nature is vertue indeed, and truth, the beauty also of the Mathematicall sciences, to wit Geometry, and Astrology; unto which who will thinke that the gorgeous trappings and caparisons, the brooches, collars, and carkans of riches are any waies comparable, which (to say a truth) are no better than jewels and ornaments good to trim young brides, and set out maidens forto be seen and looked at? For riches, if no man do regard, behold, and set their eyes on them (to say a truth) is a blind thing of it selfe, and sendeth no light at all nor raies from it; for certainly say: That a rich man dine and sup privately alone, or with his wife and some inward and familiar friends, he troubleth not himselfe about furnishing of his table with many services, dainty dishes, and festivall fare; he stands not so much upon his golden cups and goblets, but useth those things which be ordinary, which go about every day and come next hand, as well vessels as viands; his wife sits by his side and beares him company, not decked and hung with jewels and spangles of gold, not arrayed in purple, but in plaine attire and simply clad; but when he makes a feast (that is to say) sets out a theater, wherein the pompes and shews are to meet and make a jangling noise together, when the plaies are to be represented of his riches, and the solemne traine thereof to be brought in place; then comes abroad his brave furniture indeed; then he fetcheth out of the ship his faire chaufers and goodly pots; then bringeth he forth his rich three-footed tables; then come abroad the Lampes, Candlesticke, and Branches of silver; the lights are disposed in order about the cups; the cup-bearers, skinkers, and tasters are changed; all places are newly dight and covered; all things are then stirred and removed that saw no sun long before; the silver plate, the golden vessels, and those that be set and enriched with precious stones; to conclude, now there is no shew else but of riches; at such a time they will confesse themselves and be known wealthy. But all this while whether a rich man sup alone, or make a feast, temperance is away and true contentment.

Of the naturall Love or Kindneſſe of Parents to their Children.

The Summary.

VVIſely ſaid one, (whoſoever it was) *That to baniſh amity and friendſhip from among men, were as great hurt to the ſociety of mankind, as to deprive them of the light and heat of the Sun: which being verified and found true in the whole courſe of this life, and in the maintenance of all eſtates; not without great cauſe Nature hath caſt and ſprinkled the ſeed thereof in the generation and nouriſhment of a race and linage, whereof ſhe giveth evident teſtimonies in brute beaſts, the better to move and incite us to our duty. That we may ſee therefore this precious ſeed and graine of amity, how it doth flower and fructifie in the world, we muſt begin at the love and naturall kindneſſe of fathers and mothers to their children: For if this be well kept and maintained, there proceed from it an infinite number of contentments which do much aſſwage and eaſe the inconveniences and diſcommodities of our life. And* Plutarch *entring into this matter, ſheweth firſt in generality: That men learne (as it were) in the ſchoole of brute beaſts, with what affection they ſhould beget, nouriſh, and bring up their children: afterwards he doth particulariſe thereof, and enrich the ſame argument by divers examples. But for that he would not have us thinke that he extolled dumbe beaſts above man and woman, he obſerveth and ſetteth down very well the difference that is of amities, diſcourſing in good and modeſt termes as touching the generation and nurture of children, and briefly by the way repreſenteth unto us the miſerable entrance of man into this race upon earth, where he is to run his courſe. Which done, he proveth that the nouriſhing of infants hath no other cauſe and reaſon but the love of fathers and mothers; he diſcovereth the ſource of this affection; and for a concluſion, ſheweth that what defect and fault ſoever may come between and be medled among, yet it cannot altogether aboliſh the ſame.*

Of the naturall Love or Kindneſſe of Parents to their Children.

THat which moved the Greeks at firſt to put over the deciſion of their controverſies to forraine judges, and to bring into their countrey ſtrangers to be their Umpires, was the diſtruſt and diffidence that they had one in another, as if they confeſſed thereby that juſtice was indeed a thing neceſſary for mans life, but it grew not among them: And is not the caſe even ſo as touching certaine queſtions diſputable in Philoſophy? For the determining whereof, Philoſophers (by reaſon of the ſundry and divers opinions which are among them) have appealed to the nature of brute beaſts, as it were into a ſtrange city, and remitted the deciding thereof to their properties and affections, according to kind, as being neither ſubject to partiall favour, nor yet corrupt, depraved, and polluted. Now ſurely, a common reproach this muſt needs be to mans naughty nature and lewd behaviour; That when we are in doubtfull queſtions concerning the greateſt and moſt neceſſary points pertaining to this preſent life of ours, we ſhould go and ſearch into the nature of horſes, dogs, and birds for reſolution; namely, how we ought to make our marriages, how to get children, and how to reare and nouriſh them after they be born and as if there were no ſigne (in a manner) or token of nature imprinted in our ſelves, we muſt be faine to alledge the paſſions, properties and affections of brute beaſts, and to produce them for witneſſes, to argue and prove how much in our life we tranſgreſſe and go aſide from the rule of nature, when at our firſt beginning and entrance into this world we find ſuch trouble, diſorder, and confuſion; for in thoſe dumbe beaſts beforeſaid, nature doth retaine and keep that which is her own and proper, ſimple, entire, without corruption or alteration by any ſtrange mixture; whereas contrariwiſe, it ſeemeth that the nature of man by diſcourſe of their reaſon and cuſtome together, is mingled and confuſed with ſo many extravagant opinions & judgements fet from all parts abroad (much like unto oyle that commeth into perfumers hands) that thereby it is become manifold variable, and in every one ſeverall and particular, and doth not retaine that which is its own indeed proper and peculiar to it ſelf; neither ought we to thinke it a ſtrange matter and a wonderfull that brute beaſts, void of reaſon, ſhould come nearer unto nature and follow her ſteps better, than men endued with the gift of reaſon: for ſurely, the very ſenſeleſſe plants herein ſurpaſſe thoſe beaſts beforeſaid and obſerve better the inſtinct of nature: for conſidering that they neither conceive any thing by imagination nor have any motion, affection, or inclination at all; ſo verily their appetite (ſuch as it is) varieth not, nor ſtirreth to and fro out of the compaſſe of nature, by meanes whereof, they continue and abide as if they were kept in and bound within cloſe-priſon, holding on ſtill in one and the ſame courſe, and not ſtepping once out of that way wherein nature doth lead and conduct them: as for beaſts, they have not any ſuch great portion

portion of reaſon to temper and mollifie their naturall properties, neither any great ſubtilty of ſenſe and conceit, nor much deſire of liberty; but having many inſtincts, inclinations, and appetites, not ruled by reaſon, they breake out by the meanes thereof otherwhiles, wandring aſtray, and running up and down, to and fro, howbeit, for the moſt part, not very far out of order, but they take ſure hold of nature; much like a ſhip which lieth in the rode at anchor, well may ſhe dance and be rocked up and down, but ſhe is not carried away into the deep at the pleaſure of the winds and waves; or much after the manner of an aſſe or hackney, travelling with bit and bridle, which go not out of the right and ſtreight way, wherein the maſter or rider guideth them; whereas in man, even reaſon her ſelfe, the miſtris that ruleth and commandeth all, findeth out new cuts (as it were) and by-waies, making many ſtarts and excurſions at her pleaſure to and fro, now here, now there; whereupon it is that ſhe leaveth no plaine and apparant print of natures tracts and footing.

Conſider I pray you in the firſt place the marriages (if I may ſo terme them) of dumbe beaſts and reaſonleſſe creatures; and namely, how therein they follow preciſely the rule and direction of nature. To begin withal, they ſtand not upon thoſe laws that provide againſt ſuch as marry not, but lead a ſingle life; neither make they reckoning of the acts which lay a penalty upon thoſe that be late ere they enter into wedlock, like as the citizens under *Lycurgus* and *Solon*, who ſtood in awe of the ſaid ſtatutes; they feare not to incur the infamy which followed thoſe perſons that were barren and never had children; neither do they regard and ſeeke after the honours and prerogatives which they attained, who were fathers of three children, like as many of the Romans do at this day, who enter into the ſtate of matrimony, wed wives, and beget children, not to the end that they might have heires to inherit their lands and goods, but that they might themſelves be inheritors and capable of dignities and immunities. But to proceed unto more particulars, the male doth afterwards deale with the female in the act of generation not at all times; for that the end of their conjunction and going together is not groſſe pleaſure ſo much, as the engendring of young and the propagation of their kind: and therefore at a certaine ſeaſon of the year, to wit, the very prime of the ſpring, when as the pleaſant winds ſo apt for generation do gently blow, and the temperature of the aire is friendly unto breeders, commeth the female full lovingly and kindly toward her fellow the male, even of her own accord and motion (as it were) trained by the hand of that ſecret inſtinct and deſire in nature; and for her own part, ſhe doth what ſhe can to wooe and ſollicite him to regard her, as well by the ſweet ſent of her fleſh, as alſo by a ſpeciall and peculiar ornament and beauty of her body, ſhewing her ſelfe freſh and cheerefull, full of dew and verdure of greene herbes, pure and neat I warrant you; in this manner doth ſhe preſent her ſelfe unto the male and courteth him: now when ſhe perceives once that ſhe is ſped and hath conceived by him, ſhe leaveth him and retireth apart in good ſort full decently; and then her whole care is to provide for that which ſhe goeth withall, forecaſting how to be delivered of it in due time, and bethinking how to ſave, preſerve, and reare it when it is fallen and brought forth. And certes it is not poſſible to expreſſe ſufficiently and worthily the particulars that are done by theſe dumbe creatures (but only this, that every thing proceedeth from the tender love and affection which they have to their young ones) in providence, in patience, in abſtinence.

We all acknowledge the Bee to be wiſe, we call her ſo, we celebrate her name for producing and working ſo diligently that yellow honey, yea, and we flatter in praiſing her, feeling as we do the ſweetneſſe of the ſaid honey, how it tickleth and contenteth our tongue and taſte; and all this while what one is there of us that maketh any account of the wiſdome, wit, and artificiall ſubtilty that other creatures ſhew, as well in the bringing forth their young, as the foſtering and nurture of them? For firſt and formoſt do but conſider the ſea-bird called Alcyon, no ſooner doth ſhe perceive her ſelfe to be knit with egge, but ſhe falleth preſently to build her neſt, ſhe gathereth together the chine-bones of a certaine ſea-fiſh, which the Greeks call Βελόνη, that is to ſay, the ſea-needle, theſe ſhe coucheth, plaiteth, windeth, and interlaceth one within another, ſo artificially working the ſame and weaving them cloſe together in a round and large forme, after the manner of a fiſhers leape or weele net; and when ſhe hath knit and fortified the ſame exactly with many courſes of the ſaid bones driven and united joyntly together in good order, ſhe expoſeth it full againſt inundation and daſhing of the ſea-waves, to the end that the ſuperficiall out-ſide of the worke beaten upon gently and by little and little with the water, being thickned and felted thereby might be more ſolid and firme, and ſo it proveth indeed; for ſo hard it groweth by this meanes that ſcarcely any ſtone can cruſh it, or edged inſtrument of iron cleave it; but that which is yet more wonderfull, the mouth and entry of the ſaid neſt is compoſed and wrought proportionably juſt to the meaſure and bigneſſe of the bird Alcyon aforeſaid, ſo as no creature bigger or leſſe than her ſelfe, no nor the very ſea (as men ſay) nor the leaſt thing in the world can get into it. And will you ſee more over what kindneſſe and naturall affection the ſea-weeſils or ſea-dogs do ſhew unto their little ones? They breed their young whelpes or kitlings alive within their bellies, and when they liſt let them forth and ſuffer them to run abroad for reliefe and to get their food, and afterwards receive them into their bodies againe, enclоſing them whiles they be aſleep themſelves, cheriſhing them couched in their bowels and wombe. The ſhe-beare, a moſt fell, ſavage, and cruell beaſt, bringeth forth her young whelps, without forme or faſhion, unknit and unjoynted, having no diſtinct limbs or members to be ſeene; howbeit with her tongue, as it were with a toole and inſtrument for the purpoſe, ſhe keepeth ſuch a licking of them, ſhe formeth and faſhioneth thoſe membranes wherein they were lapped in her wombe

wombe in such sort, that she seemeth not only to have brought forth her young, but also to have wrought them afterwards workeman-like to their shape and proportion. As for that lion which *Homer* describeth in this wise,

Who leading forth his tender whelps
To seeke abroad for prey
In forrest wide; no sooner meets
With hunters in the way,
But looking sterne with bended brows
Which cover both his eyes,
He makes a stand, and them affronts
In fierce and threatning wise.

Thinke you not by this description that he resembleth one who is bent to capitulate and stand upon termes of composition with the hunters for to save the life of his little ones? To speake in a word, this tender love and affection of beasts toward their young, maketh them that otherwise be timorous, hardy, and bold; those that be slow and idle by nature, laborious, and painfull; and such as of themselves are greedy and ravenous, to be spare and temperate in their feeding, like as the bird whereof the same *Homer* speaketh,

Which brings in mouth unto her nest,
Such food as she abroad
Could get to feed her naked young,
And doth her selfe defraud.

For content she is even with her own hunger to nourish her little ones, and the same food or bait that she hath for them, being so neere as it is unto her own craw and gesier, she holdeth close and fast in her bill, for feare lest she might swallow it down the throat ere she were aware;

Or like the bitch running about
Her young whelps, at the sight
Of strangers, barks and barkes apace,
And ready is to fight.

No doubt the feare which she hath left her little ones should take harm redoubleth her courage, and maketh her more hardy and angry than before: as for the partridges when they be laid for by the fowler, together with their covie of young birds, they suffer them to flie away as well as they can, and make shift to save themselves, but the old rowens full subtilly seeme to wait the comming of the said hunters, abiding untill they approach neare unto them, and by keeping about their feet, traine them still away after them ready ever as it were to be caught; now when the fowler shall seeme to reach unto them with his hand, they will run a little, or take a short flight from him, and then they stay againe, putting him in new hope of his prey and booty, which every foot he thinketh to take with his hand: thus they play mock-holiday with the fowlers, and yet with some danger to themselves for the safety of their young, untill they have trained them a great way off who fought for their lives. Our hens, which we keep about our houses so ordinarily, and have daily in our eyes, how carefully do they look unto their young chickens whiles they receive some under their wings, which they spread and hold open for the nonce that they may creep in; others they suffer to mount upon their backs, gently giving them leave to climbe and get up on every side, and they do not without great joy and contentment, which they testifie by a kind of clocking and speciall noise that they make at such a time; if when they be alone without their chickens, and have no feare but for themselves a dog or a serpent come in their way, they flie from them; let their brood be about them when such danger is presented, it is wonderfull how ready they will be to defend the same, yea, and to fight for them, even above their power. Do we thinke now that nature hath imprinted such affections and passions in these living creatures, for the great care that she hath to maintaine the race and posterity (as it were) of hens, dogs, or beares; or do we not rather make this construction of it, that she shameth, pricketh, and woundeth men thereby when we reason and discourse thus within our selves, that these things be good examples for as many as follow them, and the reproaches of those that have no sense or feeling of naturall affection; by which no doubt they do blame and accuse the nature of man only, as if she alone were not affectionate without some hire and reward, nor could skill of love but for gaine and profit? for admired he was in the theaters that thus spake first:

For hope of gaine one man will love another,
Take it away, what one will love his brother?

This is the reason (according to the opinion and doctrine of *Epicurus*) that the father affecteth his son, the mother is tender over her child, and children likewise are kind unto their parents: but set case that brute beasts could both speake and understand language, in some open theater and that one called to meet together a sufficient assembly of beefes, horses, dogs, and fowles, certes if their voices were demanded upon this point now in question, he would set down in writing, and openly pronounce, that neither bitches loved their whelpes, nor mares their foles, hens their chickens, and other foules their little birds in respect of any reward but freely & by the instinct of nature: and this would be found a true verdict of his, justified and verified by all those passions and affections which are observed in them: and what a shame and infamy unto mankind is this to grant and avouch, that

that the act of generation in brute beasts, their conception, their breeding, their painfull delivery of their young, and the carefull feeding and cherishing of them be natures works meerly, and duties of gratuity; and contrariwise that in men they be pawns given them for security of interest, hires, gages, and earnest pennies respective to some profit and gain which they draw after them? But surely as this project is not true, so it is not worth the hearing, for nature verily as in savage plants and trees, to wit, wild vines, wild figge-trees, and wild olives she doth ingenerate certain raw and unperfect rudiments, (such as they be) of good and kind fruits; so she hath created in brute beasts a naturall love and affection to their young, though the same be not absolute nor fully answerable to the rule of justice, ne yet able to passe farther than the bonds and limits of necessity. As for man, a living creature, endued and adorned with reason, created and made for a civill society, whom she hath brought into the world for to observe lawes and justice, to serve, honour and worship the gods, to found Cities and govern Common-wealths, and therein to exercise and perform all offices of bounty; him she hath bestowed upon noble, generous, fair and fruitfull seeds of all these things, to wit, a kind love and tender affection toward his children; and these she followeth still, and perfiseth therein, which she infused together with the first principles and elements that went to the frame of his body and soul: for nature being every way perfect and exquisite, and namely, in this inbred love toward infants, wherein there wanteth nothing that is necessary, neither from it is ought to be taken away as superfluous: It hath nothing (as *Erasistratus* was wont to say) vain, frivolous and unprofitable, nothing inconstant, and shaking to and fro, inclining now one way, and then another. For in the first place, as touching the generation of man, who is able to expresse her prudence sufficiently? neither haply may it stand with the rule of decent modesty to be over-curious and exquisite in delivering the proper names and tearms thereto belonging: for those naturall parts serving in that act of generation and conception secret as they be and hidden, so they neither can well, nor would willingly be named, but the composition and framing thereof, so aptly made for the purpose, the disposition and situation likewise so convenient, we ought rather to conceive in our mind than utter in speech.

Leaving therefore those privy members to our private thoughts, passe we to the confection, disposition and distribution of the milk, which is sufficient to shew most evidently her providence, industry and diligence: for the superfluous portion of blood which remaineth in a womans body, over and above that which serveth for the use whereunto it is ordained, floting up and down within her afterwards, for defect or feeblenesse of spirits wandereth (as it were) to and fro, and is a burden to her body: but at certain set-times and dayes, to wit, in every monthly revolution, nature is carefull and diligent to open certain sluces and conducts, by which the said superfluous blood doth void and passe away, whereupon she doth not onely purge and lighten all the body besides, but also cleanseth the matrice, and maketh it like of a piece of ground brought in order and temper, apt to receive the plough, & desirous of the seed after it in due season; now when it hath once conceived and retained the said seed, so as the same take root and be knit, presently it draweth it self strait and close together round, and holdeth the conception within it; for the navill (as *Democritus* saith) being the first thing framed within the matrice, & serving in stead of an anchor against the waving and wandering of it to and fro, holdeth sure the fruit conceived, which both now groweth and hereafter is to be delivered (as it were) by a sure cable and strong bough, then also it stoppeth and shutteth up the said rivulets and passages of those monethly purgations: and taking the foresaid blood, which otherwise would run and void by those pipes and conducts, it makes use thereof for to nourish, and (as it were) to water the infant, which beginneth by this time to take some consistence and receive shape and form, so long, untill a certain number of dayes which are necessary for the full growth the reof within be expired; at which time it hath need to remove from thence for a kind of nutriment elsewhere in another place; and then diverting the said course of blood with all dexterity and a skilfull hand (no gardener nor fountainer in drawing of his trenches and channels with all his cunning so artificiall) and employing it from one use to another, shee hath certain cesterns (as it were) or fountain-heads, prepared of purpose from a running source most ready to receive that liquor of blood quickly, and not without some sense of pleasure and contentment; but withall, when it is received, they have a power and faculty, by a mild heat of the naturall spirits within them, and with a delicate and fœminine tendernesse, to concoct, digest, change and convert it into another nature and quality, for that the paps have within them naturally, the like temperature and disposition answerable unto it: now these teats which spout out milk from the cocks of a conduct, are so framed and disposed, that it floweth not forth all at once, neither do they send it away suddenly: but nature hath so placed the dug, that as it endeth one way in a spongeous kind of flesh full of small pipes, and made of purpose to transmit the milk, and let it distill gently by many little pores and secret passages, so it yeeldeth a nipple in manner of a faucet, very fit and ready for the little babes mouth; about which to nuzzle and nudgel with it pretty lips it taketh pleasure, & loveth to be tugging & lugging of it; but to no purpose and without any fruit of profit at all, had nature provided such tools and instruments for to engender and bring forth a child; to no end (I say) had she taken so good order, used so great industry, diligence and forecast, if withall she had not imprinted in the heart of mothers a wonderfull love and affection, yea, and an extraordinary care over the fruit of their womb, when it is born into the world: for

Of creatures all which breath and walk
upon the earth in sight,
None is there wretched more than man
new born into this light.

And whosoever saith thus of a young infant newly coming forth of the mothers womb, maketh no lie at all, but speaketh truth; for nothing is there so imperfect, so indigent and poor, so naked, so deformed, so foul and impure, than is man to see presently upon his birth, considering that to him (in manner alone) nature hath not given so much as a clean passage and way into his light; so furred he is all over and polluted with blood, so full of filth and ordure, when he entreth into the world resembling rather a creature fresh killed and slain, than newly born; that no body is willing to touch, to take up, to handle, dandle, kisse and clip it, but such as by nature are lead to love it: and therefore, whereas in all other living creatures, nature hath provided that their udders and paps should be set beneath under their bellies, in a woman onely, she hath seated them aloft in her breasts, as a very proper and convenient place, where she may more readily kisse, embrace, cosl and huggle her babe while it sucketh; willing thereby to let us understand, that the end of breeding, bearing and rearing children, is not gain and profit, but pure love and meer affection. Now, if you would see this more plainly proved unto you, propose (if you please) and call to remembrance the women and men both in the old world, whose hap was either first to bear children, or to see an infant newly born; there was no law then to command and compell them to nourish and bring up their young babes; no hope at all of reciprocall pleasure or thanks at their hands that induced them: no expectance of reward and recompence another day to be payed from them, as due debt for their care, pains and cost about them: nay, if you go to that, I might say rather: That mothers had some reason to deal hardly with their young infants, and to bear in minde the injuries that they have done them, in that they endured such dangers and so great pains for them:

As namely, when the painfull throwes
as sharp as any dart,
In travell pinch a woman neer,
and pierce her to the heart:
Which midwives, Junoes daughters then,
do put her to, poor wretch,
With many a pang; when with their hand
they make her body stretch.

But our women say: It was never *Homerus* (surely) who wrote this; but *Homeris* rather: that is to say, some Poetresse or woman of his Poeticall vein, who had been her self at such a businesse, and felt the dolorous pangs of child-birth, or else was even then in labour, and upon the point to be delivered, feeling a mixture of bitter and sharp throwes in her back, belly and flanks, when she powred out these verses: but yet, for all the sorrow and dear bargain that a mother hath of it, this kind and naturall love doth still so bend, incline and lead her, that notwithstanding she be in a heat still upon her travell, full of pains and after-throwes, panting, trembling and shaking for very anguish, yet she neglecteth not her sweet babe, nor windeth or shrinketh away from it: but she turneth toward it, she maketh to it, she smileth and laugheth upon it, she taketh it into her arms, she hugleth it in her bosome, and kisseth it full kindly: neither all this whiles gathereth she any fruits or pleasure or profit, but painfully (God wot) and carefully

She lapps it then in raggs full soft,
With swadling bands she wrapt it oft,
By turns she cools and keeps it warm,
Loth is she that it should take harm:
And thus as well by night as day,
Pains after pains she taketh ay.

Now tell me (I pray you) what reward, recompense and profit do women reap for all this trouble and painfull hand about their little ones? None at all (surely) for the present, and as little in future expectance another day, considering their hopes are so farre off, and the same so uncertain. The husbandman that diggeth and laboureth about his vine at the Æquinox in the Spring, presseth grapes out of it and maketh his vintage at the Æquinox of the Autumn. He that soweth his corn when the starres called *Pleiades*, do couch and go down, reapeth and hath his harvest afterwards when they rise and appear again; kine calve, mares foal, hennes hatch, and soon after there cometh profit of their calves, their colts and their chickens: but the rearing and education of a man is laborious, his growth is very slow and late; and whereas long it is ere he cometh to proof and make any shew of vertue, commonly most fathers die before that day. *Neocles* lived not to see the noble victorie before *Salamis* that *Themistocles* his sonne atchieved: neither saw *Miltiades* the happy day wherein *Cimon* his sonne won the field at the famous battell neer the river *Eurymedon*: *Xantippus*, was not so happy as to hear *Pericles* his sonne, out of the Pulpit preaching and making orations to the people; neither was it the good fortune of *Ariston* to be at any of his sonne *Plato's* lectures and disputations in Philosophie: the fathers of *Euripides* and *Sophocles*, two renowmed Poets, never knew of the victories which they obteined, for pronouncing and rehearsing their Tragedies in open Theater,

ter, they might hear them peradventure when they were little ones to stammer, to lispe, to spel and put syllables together, or to speak broken Greek, and that was all. But ordinary it is that men live to see, hear, and know when their children fall to gaming, revelling, masking, and banquetting, to drunkennesse, wanton love, whoring, and such like misdemeanors. So as in this regard this one Mot of *Ennius* in an Epigram of his, deserveth to be praised and remembred,

See how great pains all fathers undergo,
What daily griefs their children put them to:

And yet for all this, fathers cease not still to nourish and bring up children, and such most of all who stand least in need of their children another day; for a meer mockery it were, and a ridiculous thing if a man should suppose; that rich and wealthy men do sacrifice unto the gods and make great joy at the nativity and birth of their children, because that one day they shall feed and sustain them in their old age, and interre them after they be dead; unlesse perhaps it may be said, they rejoyce thus and be so glad to have and bring up children, for that otherwise they should leave none heirs behind them: as who would say, it were so hard a matter to find out and meet with those that would be willing to inherite the lands and goods of strangers. Certes the sands of the sea, the little motes in the sunne raised of dust, the feathers of birds, together with their variable notes, be not so many in number, as there be men that gape after heritages, and be ready to succeed others in their livings. *Danaus* (who as they say was the father of 50. daughters) if his fortune had been to be childlesse, I doubt not but he should have had more heirs than so to have parted his goods and state among them, and those verily after another sort than the heirs of his own body. For children yeeld their parents no thanks at all for being their inheritours, neither in regard thereof do they any service, duty, or honour unto them: for why? they expect and look for the inheritance as a thing due of right belonging unto them: but contrariwise you hear how those strangers that hang and hunt about a man who hath no children, much like to those in the Comœdies singing this song,

O sir, no wight shall do you any harm,
I will revenge your wrongs and quarrels ay:
Hold here three-half-pence good to keep you warm;
Purse it, drink it, sing wo and care away.

As for that which *Euripides* saith,

These worldly goods procure mens friends to chuse,
And credit most who then will them refuse?

It is not simply and generally true, unlesse it be to those that have no children; for such indeed are sure to be invited and feasted by the rich: lords and rulers will make court and be serviceable to such, for them great Oratours and Advocates will plead at the bar without fee, and give their counsell gratis,

How mighty is a rich man with each one,
So long as his next heir is known to none?

whereas you shall see many in the world, who before time having a number of friends and honour enough, and no sooner had a little child born unto them, but they lost all their friends, credit, and reputation at once, so that by this reckoning the having of children maketh nothing at all to the authority of their parents, so that in regard thereof, it is not that they do so love their children; but surely the cause of this their kindnesse & affection proceedeth altogether from nature and appeareth no lesse in mankind than in wild beasts: Howbeit otherwhiles this naturall love as well as many other good qualities in men, are blemished and obscured by occasion of vice that budded up afterwards; like as we see wilde briers, bushes and brambles to spring up and grow among good and kind seeds, for otherwise we might as well collect and say, that men love not themselves because many cut their own throats, or wilfully fall down head-long from steep rocks and high places. For *Oedipus*

With bloody hand his own eie-lids did force,
And plucked out his eies upon remorce.

Hegesias disputing and discoursing upon a time of abstinence, caused many of his auditours and scholars to pine themselves to death.

Such accidents of many sorts there be,
Permitted by the gods we daily see.

But all of them like as those other passions and maladies of the mind before named, transport a man out of his own nature, and put him beside himself, so as they testifie against themselves, that this is true, and that they do amisse herein; for if a Sow having farrowed a little Pigge, devour it when she hath done, or a Bitch chance to tear in pieces a Puppy or whelp of her own litter, presently men are amazed at the sight thereof, and wonderfully affrighted, whereupon they sacrifice unto the gods certain expiatory sacrifices, for to divert the sinister prælages thereof, as taking it to be a prodigious wonder; confessing thereby, that it is a property given to all living creatures, even by the instinct and institution of nature; To love, foster and cherish the fruit of their own bodies: so farre is it from them to destroy the same. And yet, notwithstanding her corruption and depravation in this behalf: Like as in mines, the gold (although it be mixed with much clay, and furred all over with earth)

shineth and glittereth thorow the same, and is to be seen afarre off: given so nature amid the most depravate manners and corrupt passions that we have, sheweth a certain love and tender affection to their little ones. To conclude, whereas the poor many times make no care at all to nourish and rear up their children, it is for nothing else but because they fear, lest having not so good bringing up nor so civill education as they ought, they should proove servile in behaviour, unaught, unmannerly rude, and void of all good parts: and judging (as they do) poverty to be the extremity of all miseries that can befall to man, their heart will not serve them to leave unto their children this hereditary calamity, as a most grievous and dangerous disease.

Of the Plurality of Friends.

The Summary.

IN certain discourses going before, it appeareth what a benefit and good thing friendship is. And now Plutarch *addeth thereto a certain correction very necessary, in regard of our nature which is given alwaies to bind unto extremities, and not able long to hold the golden meane. Like as therefore it beinayeth a miserable wretched, and cursed mind, to be desirous for to lead a life without acquaintance and familiarity with any person; even so to make friends (as they say) hand over head, and upon every occasion is peradventure unpossible, but surely not expedient. Our Author therefore, willing to reforme this disordinate affection that is in many, who because they hould have a number of friends, oftentimes have not one assured, sheweth that it is farre better for a man to get one fast and faithfull friend, than a great multitude of whom he cannot make any certaine account; propounding as a remedy for this covetous mind of entertaining such a plurality of friends, the examples of those who are contented with few, and by that meanes thinke their estate more sure and stedfast. After this, he treateth of the choice of friends, but especially of one. Then discourseth he of that which is requisite in true friendship, annexing thereto many proper and apt similitudes, which represent as well the benefit that sincere affection bringeth, as the hurt which commeth of fained and counterfeit amity. This done, he proveth, that to entertaine a number of friends, is a very hard matter, yea, and unpossible; for that a man is not able to converse with them, nor to frame and sort with them all, but that he shall procure himselfe enemies in all sides: and when he hath enriched and adorned the same with notable examples, he proceedeth to describe, what use a man is to make of friendship, and with what sort and condition of men he ought to joyne in amity: but this is the conclusion; That an honest and vertuous man cannot quit himselfe well, and performe his devoirs unto many friends at once.*

Of the Plurality of Friends.

Socrates upon a time demanded of *Menon* the Thessalian, who was esteemed very sufficient all literature, and a great schoole-man, exercised in long practice of disputations, and named to be one (as *Empedocles* saith) who had attained to the very height and perfection of wisdome and learning, what vertue was; and when he had answered readily and boldly enough, in this wise: There is a vertue (quoth he) of a young child, and of an old gray beard; of a man, and of a woman; of a magistrate, and of a private person; of a master, and of a servant: I con you thank (quoth *Socrates* againe, replying unto him) you have done it very well: I asked you but of one vertue, and you have raised and let flie a whole swarme (as it were) of vertues, guessing and collecting not amisse by such an answer, that this deep clarke, who had named thus many vertues, knew noth so much as one. And might not a man seem to scorn and mock us well enough, who having not yet gotten one friendship and amity certaine, are afraid (forsooth) lest ere we be aware, we fall into a multitude and plurality of friends: for this were even as much as if one that is maimed and stark blind, should feare to become either *Briareus* the giant, with an hundred armes and hands, or *Argus*, who had eyes all over his body. And yet we praise and commend excessively and beyond all measure the young man in *Menander*, when he saith:

> *Of all the goods which I do hold,*
> *To thinke each one (I would be bold)*
> *Right wonderfull, If I might find*
> *The shadow only of a friend.*

But certainly this is one cause among many others, and the same not the least, that we cannot be possessed of any one assured amity, because we covet to have so many much like unto these common strumpets and harlots, who for that they prostitute their bodies so often and to so many men, cannot make any reckoning to hold and retain any one paramor or lover fast and sure unto them; for that the first commers seeing themselves neglected and cast off by the entertainment of new, retire and fall away

away from them, and seeke elsewhere; or rather much after the manner of that * foster-child of Lady *Hypsiphyle*,

> *Who being set in meadow greene*
> *With pleasant flowers all faire beseene,*
> *One after other crept them still,*
> *Hunting this game with right good will:*
> *For why, his heart tooke great content*
> *In their gay hew and sweety sent:*
> *So little wit and small* * *discretion*
> *The infant had, and no* * *repletion.*

* *Opheltes* or *Archemorus.*

* νήπιον ἔοργεν ἔχων: or νήπιον ἄπλητον ἔχων: as it is read elsewhere.

Even so every one of us for the desire of novelty, and upon a satiety and fulnesse of that which is present and at hand, suffereth himselfe ever to be carried away with a new-come friend that is fresh and flowring; which fickle and inconstant affection causeth us to change often, and to begin many friendships and finish none; to enter still into new amities and bring none to perfection: and for the love of the new which we pursue and seeke after, we passe by that which we held already and let it go. To begin then first and formost at antiquity (as it were) from the goddesse *Vesta* (according to the old proverbe) let us examine and consider the common fame of mans life, which hath been delivered unto us from hand to hand time out of mind, by the succession and progresse of so many ages from the old world unto this day, and take the same for a witnesse and counseller both in this matter, we shall find in all the yeares past these only couples and paires of renowned friends, to wit, *Theseus* and *Pirithous*; *Achilles* and *Patroclus*; *Orestes* and *Pylades*; *Pythias* and *Damon*; *Epaminondas* and *Pelopidas*. For friendship is indeed (as I may so say) one of these cattell that love company and desire to feed and pasture with fellows; but it cannot abide herds and droves, it may not away with these great flocks, as jayes, dawes, and coughes do. And whereas it is commonly said and thought, that a friend is another own-selfe, and men give unto him the name of ἑταῖρος or ἕταρος in Greeke, as if a man should say, ἕταρος, that is, such another: what implieth all this, but that friendship should be reduced within the measure and compasse of the duall number, that is, of twaine. Well, this is certaine, we can buy neither many slaves nor purchase many friends with a small piece of coine: but what may be this piece of money that will fetch friends? Surely, kind affection or good will, and a lovely grace joyned with vertue, things I may tell you so rare, as look thorowout the world, and the whole course of nature, you shall find nothing more geason. No marvell then, if it be unpossible either to love many, or to be loved of many perfectly and in the height of affection. But like as great rivers, if they be divided into many channels, and cut into sundry rivulets, carry but an ebbe water, and run with no strong streame; even so a vehement and affectionate love planted in the mind, if it be parted many and divers waies becommeth enervate and feeble, and commeth in manner to nothing. This is the reason in nature, that those creatures which bring forth but one and no more, love their young more tenderly and entirely than others do theirs. *Homer* also when he would signifie a child most dearely beloved, calleth it μοῦνον τηλύγετον, that is to say, only begotten and toward old age, to wit, when the parents have no more between them, nor ever are like or do looke to have another: for mine own part, I would not desire to have that μοῦνον, that is to say, one friend, and no more; but surely, I could wish that with other he were τηλύγετος, yea, and ἀλίγονος, that is to say, long and late first ere he be gotten, like as a son which is borne toward the latter daies of his parents, yea, and such a one, as (who according to that proverbe so common in every mans mouth) hath eaten with me a measure of salt. And are not many now adaies called friends? What else? If they have but drunke once together at the taverne, or met in the tennis court, or else turned into a tabling house, and played at dice and hazzard one with the other, or haply light in company at one hostelry and lodged together, and in one word, they do contract and gather friends in this manner out of common Innes, wrestling places, and ordinary walkes in the markets or publike galleries. And verily, the common sort, when they see every morning in the houses of rich men and mighty rulers a great multitude and concourse of people, with much ado and hurry giving attendance there to salute them and bid them good morrow, kissing their right hands, and glad if they may touch them, accompanying them in manner of a guard when they go out of their lodging; Oh, they imagine and repute such potentates wondrous happy, as being furnished with such numbers of friends; and yet surely, as many as they be, they shall see more flies ordinarily in their kitchins: and to say a truth, like as these flies will be gone if no cates and viands be stirring; so these friends will tarry no longer than gaine and profit is to be gotten.

Certes, true and perfect friendship requireth these three things especially; Vertue, as being honest and commendable; Society, which is pleasant and delectable; and Profit, which is needfull and necessary: for a man must admit and receive a friend upon judgement, and after triall made he ought to delight and joy in his company, and he is to make use of him as occasion serveth: all which three are contrary unto plurality of friends, but especially that which is principall, to wit, judgement upon a triall: and to prove this to be true, see first and formost whether it be possible in a small time to make proofe and triall of singing-men and queristers, that they may keep a good consent and harmony together in their song; or to make choise of oare-men, who shall agree in their rowing, to rise and fall with their oares just together; or of houshold servants such as we purpose to make the bailifes and stewards of our goods, or the governours and bringers up of our

children? Much more unlikely than is it, that we should have proofe of many friends in a little space, who will be ready to enter the triall with us of all manner of fortune, and of whom every one will be prest and willing

Of his welfare to yeeld even part to thee,
And beare like part of thy calamity.

For neither is a ship shot or haled into the sea against so many stormes and tempests; nor men do set and pitch so many stakes in a palisado for the defence of any place; or in havens raise bankes, and oppose damms, against the like dangers, or in fear of so many perils, as friendship promiseth succour and refuge for, if it be founded surely and aright upon good proofe and sufficient experience. As for such as before triall and experiment made do intrude themselves comming and going for friends, such when they be put to the triall and touch indeed, and then found like evill money, counterfeit or light, they that go without them be glad in their mind, and as many as have them, wish with all their heart, and pray to God for to be rid of them. But surely this is a troublesome and combersome thing neither is it an easie matter to void and cast off such a friendship as this, so displeasant and offensive: for like as if some kind of bad meat do trouble and offend the stomack a man can neither retein e and hold it still, but it will put him to paine and breed hurt and corruption nor yet put it off and send it out in such sort as it went in, but all filthy and loathsome, as being furred over with slime, and mixed confusedly with other humours, and wholly altered from the former state; even so an ill friend either tarrieth with us still to his own griefe and ours both, or else away he goeth perforce with ill-will, malice and enmity like bitter choler that is vomited out of the stomack. It is not good therefore to receive and admit of friends over-lightly and over-soone, nor to set our minds and knit our affections to those that come next hand, and present themselves first, ne yet love those incontinently that seeke to us and follow us: but rather to seek after them and follow them our selves that are worthy of friendship: for we must not alwaies choose that which is easie to be had, and willing to be gotten; for we put by gorse and furzen bushes; we tread under foot briers and brambles though they catch hold of us, and hang unto us as we walke whether we will or no; whereas we go forward to the olive tree and the vine; and even so it is not alwaies decent and good to entertaine into our familiarity one that is ready to embrace and hang about us: but rather such ought we our selves affectionately to embrace whom we have tried to be profitable unto us, and who deserve that we should love and make account of them. And like as *Xeuxis* the painter answered sometime to those who found fault with him for his slow hand in painting: I confesse indeed (quoth he) that I am long in drawing a picture, for I purpose that my worke should continue long; and even so that friendship and familiarity is like to last and be preserved long which was a good while in proofe and triall. Is it then no easie matter to make tryall and choise of many friends together? And is it no hard thing to converse and keep company with many at once, or rather is this also impossible? For surely it is conversation and fellowship, whereby we enjoy the benefit of friendship, and the most sweet and pleasant fruit of amity consisteth in keeping continuall society, and daily frequenting one anothers company, like unto those who uttered these words,

For during life we will not sit
In counsell from our friends,
Nor yet resolve of doubtfull points
Before we know their minds.

As *Homer* reporteth in one place: and in another *Menelaus* speaking of *Ulysses*, saith thus,

Nought else us twaine your mutuall love,
And pleasures shall depart,
Untill death close up both our eyes
And strike us to the heart.

But this plurality of friends whereof we now speake, seemeth to do cleane contrary; for whereas the simple amity of twain draweth us together, holdeth and uniteth us by frequent and continuall conversation, fellowship, and duties of kindnesse,

Much like as when the fig tree juyce,
You put white milke among,
It curdles, knits and winds the same,
No lesse than rennet strong.

According to the words of *Empedocles*; and surely desirous it is to make the semblable union and concorporation: this friendship of many separateth, distracteth, and diverteth us, calling and transporting us sundry waies, not permitting the commixture and sodering (as it were) of good will and kind affection to grow into one, and make a perfect joynt by familiar conversation, enclosing and fastening every part together. But the same anon bringeth with all a great inequality in offices and reciprocall services meet for friends, and breedeth a certaine foolish bashfulnesse and straining of curtesie in the performance thereof, for by occasion of many friends those parts in amity, which otherwise are easie and commodious become difficult and incommodious: And why?

All men do not agree in humour one
Their thought their cares how diversly each one.

And no marvell, for our very natures do not all incline in affection the same way; neither are we at all times conversant and acquainted with the like fortunes and adventures. To say nothing of their sundry

sundry occasions and occurrences which serve not indifferently for all our actions; but like as the winds unto sailers, they are with some and against others; sometimes on our backs and other whiles full in our face. And say that it may fall out so, that all our friends at once do stand in need, and be desirous of one and the same help and ministery at our hands, it were very hard to fit all their turnes and satisfie them to their content; whether it be in taking our advice and counsell in any negotiations, or in treating about State matters, or in suit after dignities, places of government, or in feasting and entertaining strangers in their houses; But suppose that at one and the same instant, our friends being diversly affected and troubled with sundry affaires, request all of them together our helping hand; as for example, one that is going to sea for to have our company in that voyage; another who being defendant and to answer for himselfe in the law to assist him in the court; and a third that is a plaintife, to second him in his plea; a fourth who either is to buy or sell, for to help him to make his markets; a fifth who is to marry, for to sacrifice with him, and be at his wedding dinner; and a sixth, who is to interre a dead corps, for to mourne and solemnize the funerals with him: in such a medley and confusion as this, as if according to *Sophocles*:

A city smok'd with incense sweet,
And ring with songs for mirth so meet,
With plaints also and groanes resound,
And all in one and selfe same stound.

Certes having so many friends to assist and gratifie them all were impossible, to pleasure more were absurd, and in serving ones turne to reject many others, were offensive and hurtfull: for this is a rule:

Who to his friend is well affected,
Loves not himselfe to be neglected.

And yet commonly such negligences and forgetfull defaults of friends, we take with more patience, and put up with lesse anger and displeasure, when they shall come to excuse themselves by oblivion, making these and such like answers. Surely, you were but forgotten; it was out of my head, and I never thought of it: but he that shall alledge thus and say: I was not your assistant in the court, nor stood to you in your cause, by reason that I attended another friend of mine in a triall of his; or I came not to visite you whiles you had an ague, for that I was busily employed at a feast, that such a one made to one of his friends; excusing his negligence to one friend, by his diligence to others; surely he maketh no satisfaction for the offence already taken, but increaseth the same and maketh it worse than before, by reason of jealousie added thereto; howbeit most men as it should seeme aime at nothing else but at the profit and commodity which friendship bringeth and yeeldeth from without, and never regard what care it doth imprint and worke within; neither remember they that he whose turne hath been served by many friends must likewise reciprocally be ready to help them as their need requireth. Like as therefore the giant *Briareus* with his 100 hands feeding 50 bellies, had no more sustenance for his whole body than we, who with two hands furnish and fill one belly; even so the commodity that we have by many friends bringeth this discommodity withall, that we are to be employed also to many, in taking part with them of their griefes and passions, in travelling and in being troubled together with them in all their negotiations and affaires: for we are not to give eare unto *Euripides* the Poet when he saith thus,

In mutuall love men ought a meane to keep,
That it touch not heart root nor marrow deep,
Affections for to change it well besits,
To rise and fall, now hot, now coole, by fits.

Giving us to understand that friendship is to be used according as need requireth more or lesse, like to the helme of a ship, which both holdeth it hard, and also giveth head, or the tackling which spread and draw, hoise and strike saile, as occasion serveth. But contrariwise, rather (good *Euripides*) we may turne this speech of yours to enmity, and admonish men that their quarrels and contentions be moderate and enter not to the heart and inward marrow (as it were) of the soule, that hated (I say) and malice, that anger, offences, defiances, and suspitions, be so entertained as that they may be soone appeased, laid down and forgotten. A better precept is that yet of *Pythagoras*, when he teacheth us not to give our right hand to many; that is to say, not to make many men our friends, nor to affect that popular amity common to all, and exposed or offered to every one that commeth, which no doubt cannot chuse but bring many passions with it into the heart, among which, to be disquieted for a friend, to condole or grieve with him, to enter into troubles, and to plunge ones selfe into perils for his sake, are not very easie matters to be borne by those that carry an ingenious mind with them, and be kind-hearted: but the saying of wise *Chilon*, a professour of Philosophy, is most true, who answering unto a man that vaunted how he had not an enemy; It should seeme then (quoth he) that thou hast never a friend; for certainly enmities ensue presently upon amities, nay, they are both interlaced together; neither is it the part of a friend not to feele the injuries done unto a friend, nor to participate with him in all ignominies, hatred, and quarrels that he incurreth; and one enemy evermore will be sure to suspect the friend of another, yea, and be ready to malice him; as for friends, oftentimes they envy their own friends, they have them in jealousie, and traduce them every way. The oracle answered unto *Timesias* when he consulted about the planting and peopling of a new colony in this wise:

Thou

Thou think'st to lead a swarme of bees full kind,
But angry waspes, thou shalt them shortly find.

Semblably they that seeke after a bee-hive (as it were) of friends, light ere they be aware upon a waspes nest of enemies: where there is a great ods and difference even in this, that the revenging remembrance of an enemy for wrong done, over-weigheth much the thankfull memory of a friend for a benefit received: and whether this be true or no, consider in what manner *Alexander* the Great entreated the friends of *Philotas* and *Parmenio*; how *Dionysius* the tyrant used the familiars of *Dion*; after what sort *Nero* the Emperour dealt by the acquaintance of *Plautus*; or *Tiberius Cæsar* by the well-willers of *Sejanus*, whom they caused all to be racked, tortured, and put to death in the end. And like as the costly jewels of gold, and the rich apparell of King *Creons* daughter, served him in no stead at all, but the fire that tooke hold thereof, flaming light out suddenly, burned him when he ran unto her to take her in his armes, and so consumed father and daughter together; even so you shall have some, who having never received any benefit at all by the prosperity of their friends, are entangled notwithstanding in their calamities, and perish together with them for company; a thing that ordinarily and most of all they are subject unto, who be men of profession, great clarkes, and honourable personages. Thus *Theseus*, when *Perithous* his friend was punished and lay bound in prison

With fetters sure to him tied was
Far stronger than of iron or brasse.

Thucydides also writeth; That in the great pestilence at *Athens*, the best men and such as made greatest profession of vertue, were they who died most with their friends that lay sick of the plague: for that they never spared themselves, but went to visite and look to all those whom they loved and were familiarly acquainted with. And therefore it is not meet to make so little regard and reckoning of vertue, as to hang and fasten it upon others, without respect, and (as they say) hand over head, but to reserve the communication thereof to those who be worthy; that is to say, unto such who are able to love reciprocally, and know how to impart the like againe. And verily, this is the greatest contrariety and opposition which crosseth plurality of friends, in that amity indeed is bred by similitude and conformity: for considering that the very brute beasts not endued with reason, if a man would have to ingender with those that are of divers kinds, are brought to it by force, and thereto compelled, insomuch, as they shrinke, they couch down upon their knees, and be ready to flee one from another; whereas contrariwise, they take pleasure and delight to be coupled with their like, and of the same kind, receiving willingly, and entertaining their company in the act of generation with gentlenesse and good contentment: how is it possible that any found and perfect friendship should grow between those who are in behaviour quite different, in affections divers, in conditions opposite, and whose course of life tendeth to contrary or sundry ends? True it is, that the harmony of musick whether it be in song or instrument, hath symphony by antiphony (that is to say) the accord ariseth from discord, and of contrary notes is composed a sweet tune, so as the treble and the base concur after a sort, (I wot not how) and meet together, bringing forth by their agreement that sound which pleaseth the eare: but in this consonance and harmony of friendship there ought to be no part unlike or unequall, nothing obscure and doubtfull, but the same should be composed of all things agreeable, to wit, the same will, the same opinion, the same counsell, the same affection, as if one soule were parted into many bodies. And what man is he, so laborious, so mutable, so variable, and apt to take every fashion and forme? Who is able to frame unto all patterns, and accommodate himselfe to so many natures, and will not rather be ready to laugh at the Poet *Theognis*, who giveth this lesson:

Put on a mind (I thee do wish)
As varia Ix as Polype fish,
Who aye resemble will the roch,
To which he neerly doth approach.

And yet this change and transmutation of the said polype or pourtcuttle fish entreth not deeply in, but appeareth superficially in the skin, which by the cloieneſſe or laxity thereof, as he draws it in, or lets it out, receiveth the defluxions of the colours from those bodies that are near unto it; whereas amities do require that the manners, natures, passions, speeches, studies, desires, and inclinations may be conformable; for otherwise to do, were the propertie of a *Proteus*, who was neither fortunate nor yet very good and honest, but who by inchantment and sorcery could ere long transforme himselfe from one shape to another in one and the same instant; and even so he that entertaineth many friends must of necessity be conformable to them all; namely, with the learned and studious, to be ever reading; with professours of wrestling, to beat rew his body with dust (as they do for to wrestle; with hunters, to hunt; with drunkards, to quaffe and carouse; with ambitious citizens to sue and munge for offices, without any settled mansion (as it were) of his own nature for his conditions to make abode in. And like as naturall Philosophers do hold: That the substance or matter that hath neither forme nor any colour, which they call *Materia prima*, is a subject capable of all formes, and of its own nature so apt to alter and change, that sometimes it is ardent and burning, otherwhiles it is liquid and moist; now rare and of an airy substance, and afterwards againe grosse and thick resembling the nature of earth; even so must the mind, applied to this multiplicity of friends, be subject to many passions, sundry conditions, divers affections pliable, variable, and apt to change from one fashion to another. Contrariwise, simple friendship and amity between twaine requireth a staid mind, a firme and constant nature, permanent and abiding alwaies in one place, and retaining still the same fashions; which is the reason that a fast and assured friend is very geason and hard to be found.

Of Fortune.

The Summary.

Long time hath this Proverbe been currant, That there is nothing in this world but good fortune and misfortune. Some have expounded and taken in thus: as if all things were carried by meere chance and aventure, or moved and driven by inconstant fortune, an idoll forged in their braine, for that they were ignorant in the providence of the True God, who conducteth ordinarily all things in this world by second causes and subalterne meanes, yea, the very motion, will and works of men, for the execution of his ordinance and purpose. Now Plutarch *not able to arise and reach up to this divine and heavenly wisdome bidden from his knowledge, stayeth below; and yet poore Pagan and Ethnicke though he were, he confuteth that dangerous opinion of Fortune; shewing that it taketh away all distinction of good and evill, quencheth and putteth out the light of mans life, blending and confounding vice and vertue together. Afterwards he proveth that prudence and wisdome over-ruleth this blind fortune, by considering the mastery and dominion that man hath above beasts: the Arts also and Sciences whereof he maketh profession, together with his judgement and will directly opposite and contrary to all casualties and changes.*

Of Fortune.

Blind fortune rules mans life alway,
Sage counsell therein beares no sway,

Said one (whoever it was) that thought all humane actions depended upon meere casualty, and were not guided by wisdome. What? And hath justice and equity no place at all in this world? Can temperance and modesty do nothing in the direction and managing of our affaires? Came it from fortune, and was it indeed by meere chance that *Aristides* made choise to continue in poverty, when it was in his power to make himselfe a Lord of much wealth and many goods? Or that *Scipio* when he had forced *Carthage*, took not to himself, nor so much as saw any part of all that pillage? and was it long of Fortune, or by casualty, that *Phrocrates* having received of King *Philip* a great sum of gold bought therewith harlots and dainty fishes? Or that *Lasthenes* and *Eurybiades* betrailed the City *Olynthus*, measuring soveraigne good and felicity of man by belly-cheere, and those pleasures which of all other be most dishonest and infamous? And shall we say it was a work of Fortune that *Alexander*, son of *Philip*, not only himselfe forbare to touch the bodies of the captive women taken in war, but also punished all such as offered them violence and injury? And contrariwise, came it by ill-luck and unhappy fortune that another *Alexander* the son of King *Priamus*, slept and lay with his friends wife, when he lodged and entertained him in his house, and not only so, but carried her away with him, and by that occasion brought all manner of calamity upon two maine parts of the Continent, to wit, *Europe*, and *Asia*, and filled them both with those miseries that follow wars?

If we grant that all these occurrents came by Fortune, what should let us, but we might as well say, that Cats, Goats, and Apes be likewise by fortune given to be alwaies lickorous, lecherous, shrewd, and sawcy? But in case it be true (as true it is) that the world hath in it temperance, justice, and fortitude; what reason is there to say, that there is no prudence and wisdome therein? Now if it be yeelded that the world is not void of prudence: how can it be maintained that there should not be in it sage counsell? For temperance (as some say) is a kind of prudence; and most certaine it is, that justice should be assisted by prudence; or to say more truly, ought to have it present with her continually. Certes, sage counsell and wisdome in the good use of pleasures and delights, whereby we continue honest, we ordinarily do call continence and temperance; the same in dangers and travels, we terme tolerance, patience, and fortitude: in contracts and management of State-affaires, we give the name of loyalty, equity, and justice; whereby it commeth to passe, that if we will attribute the effects of counsell and wisdome unto fortune, we must likewise ascribe unto her the works of justice and temperance. And so (beleeve me) to rob, and steale, to cut purses, and to keep whores, must proceed from fortune; which if it be so, let us abandon all discourse of our reason, and betake our selves wholly to fortune, to be driven and carried to and fro at her pleasure like to dust, chaffe, or sweepings of the floore, by the puffs of some great wind. Take away sage and discreet counsell; farewell then all consultations as touching affaires, away with deliberation, consideration, and inquisition

inquisition into that which is behovefull and expedient: for surely then *Sophocles* talked idlely, and knew not what he spake in saying thus:

Seeke, and be sure to find with diligence,
But lose, what you for-let by negligence.

And in another place where dividing the affaires of man he saith in this wise:

What may be taught, I strive to learne;
What may likewise be found
I seeke, for wishes all I pray,
And would to God be bound.

Now would I gladly know, what is it that men may find, and what can they learne, in case all things in the world be directed by fortune? What Senate house of City would not be dissolved and abolished? What Councell chamber of Prince should not be overthrown and put down, if all were at the disposition of of Fortune? We do her wrong in reproaching her for blindnesse, when we run upon her as we do, blind, and debasing our selves unto her; for how can we chuse but stumble upon her indeed, if we pluck out our own eyes, to wit, our wisdome and dexterity of counsell, and take a blind guide to lead us by the hand in the course of this our life? Certes, this were even as much, as if some one of us should say, the action of those that see is fortune, and not sight of eyes, which *Plato* calleth φανοφόρα, that is, Light-bearers: the action likewise of them that heare is nothing else but fortune, and not a naturall power and faculty to receive the stroke or repercussion of the aire, carried by the eare to the braine. But better it were (I trow) and so will every wise body thinke to take heed how to discredit our senses so, as to submit them to fortune: For why? Nature hath bestowed upon us sight, hearing, taste, and smelling, with all the parts of the body endued with the rest of their powers and faculties, as ministers of counsell and wisdome. For it is the soule that seeth, it is the soule and under standing that heareth, all the rest are deafe and blind: and like as if there were no sun at all, we should (for all the stars besides) live in perpetuall night, as *Heraclitus* saith: even so, if man had not reason and intelligence, notwithstanding all his other senses, he should not differ in the whole race of his life from brute and wild beasts; but now in that we excell and rule them all, it is not by chance and fortune: but *Prometheus* (that is to say) the use and discourse of reason is the very cause that hath given us in recompence

Both horse and asse, with breed of beefs so strong
To carry us, and ease our labour long.

According as we read in *Æschylus* the Poet. For asmuch as otherwise fortune and nature both have been more favourable, and beneficiall to most of the brute beasts in their entrance into this life, than unto man; for armed they be with hornes, tusks, spurs, and stings; moreover as *Empedocles* saith,

The Urchin strikes with many a pricke,
Which grow on backe both sharpe and thicke.

Again, there be many beasts clad and covered with scales and shag haire; shod also with claws and hard hooses: only man, as *Plato* saith, is abandoned and forsaken by nature, all naked, unarmed, unshod, and without any vesture whatsoever,

But by one gift which she hath given,
Amends she makes, and all is even.

And that is the use of reason, industry, and providence.

For strength of mortall man is small,
His limbs but weake and sinews all:
Yet by his wit and quick conceit,
By cunning casts and subtile sleight,
No beast in sea, or mount, so fell,
So wild, or flie, but he doth quell.

What beast more nimble, more light and swift than is the horse; but for man it is that he runneth in the race: the dog is couragious and eager in fight, but it is in the defence of man: fishes yeeld a most delicate and sweet meat, and swine be full of good flesh, but both of them serve for viands for the food and nourishment of man: what creature is bigger or more terrible to see to than is the elephant? howbeit he maketh man sport and pastime, he is shewed as a goodly sight in festivall solemnities where people be assembled, he is taught to friske and dance his measures, to fall upon his knees likewise and do reverence: and verily these and such like sleights and examples are exhibited not in vaine, nor without good profit, but to this end, that thereby we may know how far forth reason and wisdome doth advance and lift up a man above what things it maketh him surmount, and how by meanes thereof he ruleth all, and surpasseth all:

At fight with fists we are not good,
Nor yet in tripping feet,
In wrestling we may well be blam'd,
Our running is not fleet.

But in all these feats we are inferiour to brute beasts, howbeit for experience, memory, wisdome, and artificiall sleights (as *Anaxagoras* said) we go beyond them all, and thereby we have the mastery and use of them, making them to serve our turnes: we straine honey out of the combes of bees; we presse

presse milke out of beasts udders; we rob and spoile them, we drive and carry them away and whatsoever they have, insomuch as in all this there is nothing that can be justly attributed to fortune, but all proceeds from counsell and forecast.

Furthermore, the works of carpenters are done by hand of man, so are they also of smiths and brasiers, of masons, builders, gravers, and imagers: in all which there is nothing to be seen, that a man can say is done by chance or fortune, at least wise when it is wrought absolutely and as it should be. And say that it may fall out otherwhiles that a good artisan, whether he be a cutter in brasse or a mason, a smith, or a carpenter, may meet with fortune and do some little thing by chance; yet the greatest peeces of worke, and the most number are wrought and finished respectively by their arts, which a certaine Poet hath given us secretly to understand by these verses;

Marke on your way each artisan
Who love upon your handy-craft,
On forth I say in comely traine,
Your sacred banniers beare aloft;
You that Ergane the mild and faire
The daughter grim of Jupiter.

For this *Ergane* (that is to say *Minerva*) all artisans and artificers acknowledge and honour for their patronesse, and not fortune. True it is that the report goes of a certaine painter, who drawing the picture of an horse, had done very well in all respects, both in portraiture and also colours, save only that he pleased not himselfe in painting the foame and swelling froth which useth to gather about the bit as he champeth upon the same, and so falleth from his mouth when he snuffeth and bloweth: this I say he liked not, neither thought he it workmanly done, insomuch as he wiped it out many times and began it anew; but never was it to his mind; at last in a pelting chafe, because it would frame no better, he takes me his spunge full as it was of colours, and flung it against the table wherein he wrought: but see the wonderful chance; this spunge lighting as it did upon the right place, gave such a print, and dashed so, as that it represented the froth that he so much desired most lively: and to my remembrance there is not in any history set down an artificiall thing but this that fortune ever did.

Artificers use altogether in every piece of worke, their squares, their rules, their lines and levels; they go by measures and numbers, to the end that in all their works there should not be any thing found done either rashly or at aventure. And verily these arts are petty kinds of Prudence and so called; or rils and rivulets flowing from Prudence, or certaine parcels rather of it, sprinkled and dispersed among the necessities of this life: and thus much is covertly signified by the fable of the fire that *Prometheus* divided by sparkles, which flew some here, some there; for semblably, the small parcels and fragments of wisdome, being cut into sundry portions, are ranged into their severall rankes and become arts. A wonderfull thing how these arts and sciences should have no dealing with Fortune, nor need her help, for to attaine unto their proper ends; and yet Prudence which is the greatest soveraigne and most perfect of them all, yea, and the very height of all the glory, reputation, and goodnesse of man, should be just nothing. In the winding up and letting down of the strings of an instrument, there is one kind of wisdome, and that is called Musick; in the dressing and ordering of meats and viands there is another, which they name Cookery; in washing and scouring of cloaths and garments there is a third, to wit, the fullers craft. As for our little children, we teach them to draw on their shooes, to make them ready and dresse themselves in their cloaths decently, to take meat in their right hand, and to hold bread in the left; an evident argument and proofe, that even such small matters as these depend not of chance and fortune, but require skill and heed-taking. Shall we say then that the greatest and most principall things that are, even those that be most materiall and necessary for mans felicity, use not wisdome, nor participate one whit with providence and the judgement of reason? There is no man so blockish and void of understanding, that after he hath tempered clay and water together, lets it alone and goeth his way when he hath so done, looking that of its own accord, or by fortune there will be bricks or tiles made thereof: neither is any one such a sot, as when he hath bought wooll and leather, sits him down and prates unto fortune that thereof he may have garments of shooes: and is there any man so foolish, thinke you? who having gathered together a great masse of gold and silver, gotten about him a mighty retinue of slaves and servants, and being possessed of divers faire and stately houses with many a doore within and without, and those surely locked on every side, having before him in his eye-sight a sort of sumptuous beds with their rich and costly furniture, and of tables most precious, will repose soveraigne felicity therein, or thinke that all this can make him to live happily, without paine, without griefe, secure of change and alteration if he have not wisdome withall?

There was one that cavilled upon a time with Ciptaine *Iphicrates*, and by way of reproach and minding to prove that he was of no reckoning, demanded what he was? For (quoth he) you are not a man at armes, nor archer, nor yet targetter: I am not indeed I confesse (quoth *Iphicrates*) but I am he who command all these, and employ them as occasion serveth: even so wildome is neither gold nor silver, it is not glory nor riches, it is not health, it is not strength, it is not beauty: What is it then? Surely even that which can skill how to use all these, and by meanes whereof each of these things is pleasant, honourable, and profitable; and contrariwise, without which they are displeasant, hurtfull and dangerous, working his destruction and dishonour who possesseth them. And there-

therefore right good counsell gave *Prometheus* in *Hesiodus* to his brother *Epimetheus* in this one point:

Receive no gifts at any time,
Which heavenly Jove shall send:
But see thou do refuse them all,
And back again them send.

Meaning thereby these outward goods of fortunes gift, as if he would have said: Go not about to play upon a Flute, if thou have no knowledge in Musick; nor to read if thou know never a letter in the book; mount not on horse back, unlesse thou canst tell how to sit him and ride; and even so he advised him thereby, not to seeke for office and place of government in common-weale, wanting wit as he did: nor to lay for riches, so long as he bare a covetous mind and wist not how to be liberall; nor to marry a wife for to be his master, and to lead him by the nose: for not only wealth and prosperity hapning above desert unto unadvised folke, giveth occasion (as *Demosthenes* said) unto them for to commit many follies; but also worldly happinesse beyond all reason and demerit, causeth such as are not wise, to become unhappy and miserable in the end.

Of Envy and Hatred.

The Summary.

IN this briefe Treatise concerning Envy and Hatred, Plutarch *after he hath shewed in generall termes, that they be two different vices, and declared withall the properties of the one and the other, proveth this difference by divers reasons and arguments ranged in their order: he discovereth the nature of envious persons and malicious; and sheweth by a proper similitude that the greatest personages in the world be secured from the claws and paws of envious persons, and yet for all that cease not to have many enemies. And verily it seemeth that the author began this little worke, especially for to beat down envy, and that the infamy thereof might so much more appeare in comparing and matching it with another detestable vice, the which notwithstanding he saith is lesse enormous than it.*

Of Envy and Hatred.

IT seemeth at the first sight, that there is no difference between envy and hatred, but that they be both one. For vice (to speake in generall) having (as it were) many hooks or crotchets, by meanes thereof as it stirreth to and fro, it yeeldeth unto those passions which hang thereto many occasions and opportunities to catch hold one of another, and so to be knit and enterlaced one within the other; and the same verily (like unto diseases of the body) have a sympathy and fellow-feeling one of anothers distemperature and inflammation: for thus it commeth to passe, that a malicious and spightfull man is as much grieved and offended at the prosperity of another, as the envious person: and so we hold that benevolence and good-will is opposite unto them both, for that it is an affection of a man, wishing good unto his neighbour: and envy in this respect resembleth hatred, for that they have both a will and intention quite contrary unto love: but forasmuch as no things like be the same, and the resemblances between them be not so effectuall to make them all one, as the differences to distinguish them asunder; let us search and examine the said differences, beginning at the very source and originall of these passions.

Hatred then is ingendred and ariseth in our heart upon an imagination and deep apprehension that we conceive of him whom we hate, that either he is naught and wicked in generall to every man, or else intending mischiefe particularly unto our selves: for commonly it falleth out, that those who thinke they have received some injury at such an ones hand, are disposed to hate him, yea, and those whom otherwise they know to be maliciously bent and wont to hurt others, although they have not wronged them, yet they hate and cannot abide to looke upon them with patience; whereas ordinarily they beare envy unto such only as seeme to prosper and to live in better state than their neighbours: by which reckoning it should seeme that envy is a thing indefinite, much like unto the disease of the eyes *Ophthalmia*, which is offended with the brightnesse of any light whatsoever; whereas hatred is determinate, being alwaies grounded upon some certaine subject matters respective to it selfe, and on them it worketh. Secondly, our hatred doth extend even to brute beasts; for some you shall have, who naturally abhor and cannot abide to see cats, nor the flies cantharides, nor todes, nor yet snakes, and any such serpents. As for *Germanicus Cæsar*, he could not of all things abide either to see a cock, or to heare him crow. The Sages of *Persia* called their *Magi*, killed all their mice and rats, as well for that themselves could not away with them, but detested them, as also because the god (forsooth) whom they worshipped had them in horror. And in truth, all the Arabians

bians and Æthiopians generally, hold them abominable. But envy properly is between man and man; neither is there any likelihood at all, that there should be imprinted envy in savage creatures one against another; because they have not this imagination and apprehension, that another is either fortunate or unfortunate, neither be they touched with any sense of honour or dishonour; which is the thing that principally and most of all other giveth an edge, and whetteth on envy; whereas it is evident that they hate one another, they bear malice and maintein enmity, nay, they go to war as against those that be disloiall, treacherous, and such as are not to be trusted: for in this wise do eagles war with dragons, crowes with owles, and the little nonnet or tit-mouse fighteth with the linnet, insomuch, as by report, the very blood of them after they be killed, will not mingle together, and that which is more, if you seem to mix them, they will separate and run apart again one from the other: and by all likelihood the hatred that the lion hath to the cock, and the elephant also unto an hogge, proceedeth from fear: for lightly that which creatures naturally fear, the same they also hate; so that herein also a man may assigne and note the difference between envy and hatred, for that the nature of beasts is capable of the one but not of the other.

Over and besides, no man deserveth justly to be envied, for to be in prosperity and in better state than another, is no wrong or injurie offered to any person: and yet this is it for which men be envied; whereas contrariwise, many are hated worthily, such as those whom in Greek we call ἀξιομίσητοι, that is to say, worthy of publick hatred: as also as many as do not flie from such, detest them not, nor abhor their company. And a great argument to verifie this point, may be gathered from hence, namely, in that some there be who confesse and take it upon them, that they hate many; but no man will be known that he envieth any: for in truth, the hatred of wicked persons and of wickednesse, is commended as a quality in men praise-worthy. And to this purpose serveth well that which was said of *Charillus*, who reigned in *Sparta*, and was *Lycurgus* his brothers sonne, whom when there were certain that commended for a man of mild behaviour and of a relenting & gentle nature: And how can it be (quoth he was joined with him in the royall government) that *Charillus* should be good, seeing he is not sharp and rigorous to the wicked. And the Poet *Homer* describing the deformity of *Thersites* his body, depainted his defects and imperfections in sundry parts of his person, and by many circumlocutions; but his perverse nature and crooked conditions he set down briefly and in one word in this wise:

Worthy Achilles *of all the host*
And sage Ulysses, *he hated most.*

for he could not chuse but be stark naught and wicked in the highest degree, who was so full of hatred unto the best men. As for those who deny that they are envious, in case they be convinced manifestly therein, they have a thousand pretenses and excuses therefore, alledging that they are angry with the man or stand in fear of him whom indeed they bear envie unto, or that they hate him, colouring and cloaking this passion of envie with the vail of any other whatsoever for to hide and cover it, as if it were the only malady of the soul, that would be concealed and dissembled. It cannot chuse therefore, but that these two passions be nourished and grow as plants of one kind, by the same means considering that naturally they succeed one the other: howbeit, we rather hate those that be given more to lewdnesse and wickednesse, and we envy such rather who seem to excel others in vertue. And therefore *Themistocles* (being but a youth) gave out and said, that he had done nothing notable, because as yet he was not envied: for like as the flies cantharides settle principally upon that wheat which is the fairest and come to full perfection: and likewise stick unto the roses that are most out, and in the very pride of their flowring: even so envie taketh commonly unto the best conditioned persons, and to such as are growing to the height of vertue and honour: whereas contrariwise the lewdest qualities that be, and wicked in the highest degree do mightily move and augment hatred: and hereupon it was that the Athenians had them in such detestable hatred, and abhorred them so deadly, who by their slanderous imputations brought good *Socrates* their fellow-citizen to his death, insomuch as they would not vouchsafe either to give them a coal or two of fire or light their candles, or dein them an answer when they asked a question; nay, they would not wash or bathe together with them in the same water, but commanded those servitours in the bains which were called *Parachyta*, that is to say, drawers and laders of water into the bathing vessels, to let forth that as polluted and defiled, wherein they had washed: whereupon they seeing themselves thus excommunicate and not able to endure this publike hatred which they had incurred, being weary of their lives, hung and strangled themselves. On the contrary side it is often seen, that the excellency of vertue, honor and glory, and the extraordinary successe of men is so much, that it doth extinguish and quench all envie. For it is not a likely or credible matter that any man bare envie unto *Cyrus* or *Alexander* the Great, after they were become the onely lords and monarchs of the whole world: but like as the sunne when he is directly and plumb over the head or top of any thing, causeth either no shadow at all, or the same very small and short by the reason that his light overspreadeth round about; even so when the prosperity of a man is come to the highest point, and have gotten over the head of envie, then the said envy retireth and is either gone altogether, or else drawne within a little room by reason of that brightnesse over-spreading it: but contrariwise the grandeur of fortune and puissance in the enemies, doth not one jot abbreviate or allay the hatred of their evill willers; and that this is true, may appear by the example of *Alexander* above named, who had not one that envied him, but many enemies he found and those malicious, and by them in the end he was traiterously sot-layed and murdered.

Semblably, adversities may well stay envy and cause it cease, but enmity and hatred they do not abolish: for men never give over to despite their enemies, no not when they are brought lowd and oppressed with calamities; whereas you shall not see one in misery envied. But most true is that saying found of a certain sophister or great professour in our dayes: That envious persons of all other be ever pitifull and delight most in commiseration: so that herein lyeth one of the greatest differences between these two passions: that hatred departeth not from those persons of whom it hath once taken hold, neither in the prosperity nor adversity of those whom they hate; whereas envie doth avoid and vanish away to nothing upon extremity aswell of the one as the other.

Over and besides we may the better discover the difference also of them by the contraries: for hatred, enmity, and malice cease presently so soon as a man is perswaded that he hath caught no harm nor sustained injury by the party: or when he hath conceived an opinion that such as he hated for their lewdnesse are reformed and become honest men; or thirdly, if he have received some pleasure or good turn at their hand: for evermore the last favor that is shewed (as *Thucydides* saith) though it be lesse than many others, yet if it come in season and a good time, is able to do out a greater offence taken before. Now of these three causes before specified, the first doth not wash away envy; for say that men were perswaded at the first that they received no wrong at all: yet they give not over for all that to bear envy still: and as for the two later they do irritate and provoke it the rather: for such as they esteem men of quality and good worth: those they do eye-bite more than before, as having vertue the greatest good that is: and notwithstanding that they do reap commodity and find favour at their hands, who prosper more than they: yet they grieve and vex thereat, envying them still both for their good mind to benefit them, and for their might and ability to perform the same; for that the one proceedeth from vertue, and the other from an happy estate, both which are good things.

We may therefore conclude, that envy is a passion farre different from hatred, since it is so that wherewith the one is appeased and mollified, the other is made more exasperate and grievous. But let us consider a little in the end the scope and intention aswell of the one as the other: Certes the man that is malicious, purposeth fully to do him a mischief whom he hateth; so that this passion is defined to be a disposition and forward will to spie out an occasion and opportunity to wait another a shrewd turn; but surely this is not in envy: for many there be who have an envious eye to their kinsfolk and companions, whom they would not for all the good in the world see either to perish or to fail into any grievous calamity; onely they are grieved to see them in such prosperity, and would impeach what they can their power, and ecclypse the brightnesse of their glory; many they would not procure nor desire they utter overthrow, nor any distresses remediless or extream miseries; but it would content and suffice them to take down their height, and as it were the upmost garret or turret of an high house which overlooketh them.

How a Man may receive Profit by his Enemies.

The Summary.

AMong the dangerous effects of envy and harred, this is not the least nor one of the last, that they shoot (as it were) from within our adversaries, for to slide and enter into us and take possession in our hearts, making us beleeve that we shall impeach one evill by another: which is as much as to desire to cleanse one ordure by a new, and to quench a great fire by putting into it plenty of oil. As for hatred it hath another effect: nothing lesse pernicious, in that it maketh us blind, and causeth us that we cannot tell at which end or turning to take our enemies, nor know our selves how to re-enter into the way of vertue. Plutarch *willing to cut off such effects by the help of morall Philosophie, taketh occasion to begin this discourse with a sentence of* Xenophon: *and proveth in the first place by divers similitudes: That a man may take profit by his enemies: and this he teacheth abroad in particulars, shewing that their ambushes and inquisitions serve us in very great stead. After this, he teacheth us the true way how to be revenged of those that hate us, and what we ought to consider in blaming another. Now for as much as our life is subject to many injuries and calumniations, he instructeth us how a man may turn all to his own commodity: which done, he presenteth four remedies and expedient means against their slanderous language, and how we should confound our enemies: The first is, To contain our own tongues, without rendring evill for evill: the second is, To do them good, to love and praise their vertues: the third, To out-go them in well-doing: and the last, To provide that vertue remain always on our side, in such sort, that if our enemies be vicious, yet we persist in doing good: and if they carry some shew and apparence of goodnesse, we endeavour to be indeed and without all comparison better than they.*

How

How a Man may receive Profit by his Enemies.

I See that you have chosen by your self (O *Cornelius Pulcher*) the meerest course that may be in the government of a common-wealth: wherein having a principal regard unto the weal-publik: you shew your self most gracious and courteous in private to all those that have accesse and repair unto you. Now for as much as a man may well find some countrey in the world, wherein there is no venemous beast, as it is written of *Candie*, but the management and administration of State affairs was never known yet to this day clear from envie, jealousie, emulation and contention, passions of all other most apt to engender and breed enmities, unto which it is subject; for that if there were nothing else, even amity and friendship it self is enough to entangle and encumber us with enmities: which wise *Chilon* the Sage knowing well enough, demanded upon a time of one (who vaunted that he had no enemies) whether he had not a friend. In regard hereof a man of State and policy, in mine opinion (among many other things wherein he ought to be well studied) should also thorowly know what belongeth to the having of enemies and give good ear unto the saying of *Xenophon*, namely, That a man of wit and understanding is to make his profit and benefit by his enemies. And therefore having gathered into a pretty Treatise, that which came into my mind of late to discourse and dispute upon this matter, I have sent unto you written and penned in the very same tearms as they were delivered, having this eye and regard as much as possible I could, not to repeat any thing of that which heretofore I had written touching the politick precepts of governing the weal-publick, for that I see that you have that book often in your hand.

Our fore-fathers in the old world contented themselves in this: That they might not be wounded or hurt by strange and savage beasts brought from forrein countreys, and this was the end of all those combates that they had against such wild beasts; but those who came after, have learned moreover, how to make use of them: not onely to take order to keep themselves from receiving any harm or dammage by them: but (that which more is) have the skil to draw some commodity from them, feeding of their flesh, clothing their bodies with their wool and hair, curing and healing their maladies with their gall and renner, arming themselves with their hide and skinnes: insomuch as now from henceforth, it is to be feared (and not without good cause) lest if beasts should fail, and that there were none to be found of men, their life should become brutish, poor, needy and savage. And since it is so, that whereas other men, think it sufficient not to be offended or wronged by their enemies, *Xenophon* writeth: That the wise reap commodity by their adversaries; we have no reason to derogate any thing from his credit, but to beleeve him in so saying, yea & we ought to fear h for the method and art to attain and reach unto that benefit, as many of us (at least wise) as cannot possibly live in this world without enemies. The husbandman is not able with al his skil to make all sort of trees to cast off their wild nature, and become gentle and domesticall. The hunter cannot with all his cunning, make tame and tractable al the savage beasts, of the forrests; and therfore they have sought and devised other means and uses to make the best of them; the one finding good in barren and fruitlesse plants, the other in wild and savage beasts. The water of the sea is not potable, but brackish and hurtfull unto us, howbeit, fishes are nourished therewith, and it serveth mans turn also to transport passengers (as in a waggon) into all parts, and carry whatsoever a man will. When the Satyre would have kissed and embraced fire the first time that ever he saw it, *Prometheus* admonished him and said:

Thou wilt bewail thy goats-beard soon,
If thou it touch, 'twill burn anon.

but it yeeldeth light and heat, and is an instrument serving all arts, to as many as do know how to use it well; semblably, let us consider and see whether an enemy being otherwise harmefull and intractable, or at least-wise hard to be handled may not in some sort yeeld as it were a handle to take hold by, for to touch and use him so as he may serve our turn and minister unto us some commodity. For many things there are besides, which be odious, troublesome, cumberous, hurtfull and contrary unto those that have them or come neer unto them; and yet you see that the very maladies of the body give good occasion unto some for to live at rest and repose: I mean sequestred from affairs abroad, and the travailes presented unto others by fortune, have so exercised them, that they are become thereby strong and hardy: and to say more yet, banishment and losse of goods, hath been the occasion unto divers, yea, and singular means to give themselves to their quiet study and to Philosophie: like as *Diogenes* and *Crates* did in times past. *Zeno* himself when newes came unto him that his ship wherein he did venture and traffick was split and cast away: Thou hast done well by me fortune (quoth he) to drive me again to my scholars weed. For like as those living creatures which are of a most sound and healthfull constitution, and have besides strong stomacks, are able to concoct and digest the serpents and scorpions which they devour: nay, some of them there be which are nourished of stones, scales, and shels, converting the same into their nutriment by the strength and vehement heat of their spirits; whereas such as be delicate, tender, soft, and crasie, are ready to cast and vomit if they taste a little bread onely, or do but sip of wine; even so foolish folk do marre

and corrupt even friendship and amity; but those that are wise can skill how to use enmities to their commodity, and make them serve their turnes. First and formost therefore in my conceit, that which in enmity is most hurtfull, may turn to be most profitable unto such as be weary and can take good heed: and what is that you will say? Thine enemy as thou knowest well enough watcheth continually, spying and prying into all thine actions, he goeth about viewing thy whole life, to see where he may finde any vantage to take hold of thee, and where thou liest open that he may assail and surprise thee; his sight is so quick that it pierceth not onely through an oke, as *Lynceus* did, or stones and shels; but also it goeth quite through thy friend, thy domestical servants, yea, & every familiar of thine with whom thou daily doest converse, for to dite over so much as possibly he can what thou doest or goest about; he soundeth and searcheth by undermining and secret ways what thy designes and purposes be. As for our friends, it chanceth many times that they fall extreme sick, yea, and die thereupon before we know of it, whiles we defer and put off from day to day, to go and visit them or make small reckoning of them: but as touching our enemies, we are so observant, that we curiously enquire and hearken even after their very dreames: the diseases, the debts, the hard usage of men to their own wives, and the untoward life between them, are many times more unknown unto those whom they touch and concern than unto their enemy: but above all, he sticketh close unto thy faults, inquisitive he is after them, and those he traceth especially: and like as the geirs ar vultures flie unto the stinking sent of dead carions and putrified carcases, but they have no smell or sent at all of bodies found and whole; even so those parts of our life which are diseased, naught and ill affected, be they that move an enemy; to these leap they in great haste who are our ill willers, these they seize upon and are ready to worry and pluck in pieces; and this it is that profiteth us most, in that it compelleth us to live orderly, to look unto our steps that we tread not awry, that we neither do or say ought in considerat ly or rashly: but alwayes keep our life unblameable, as if we observed a most strict and exquisite diet: and verily this heedfull caution repressing the violent passions of our mind in this sort and keeping reason at home within doores, engendreth a certain studious desire, an intention and will to live uprightly and without touch: for like as those Cities by ordinary wars with their neighbour Cities, and by continuall expeditions and voiages, learning to be wise, take a love at length unto good lawes and sound government of state; even so they that by occasion of enmity be forced to live soberly, to save themselves from the imputation of idlenesse and negligence, yea, and to do every thing with discretion and to a good and profitable end, through use and custome shall be brought by little and little (ere they be aware) unto a certain setled habit that they cannot lightly trip and do amisse, having their manners framed in passing good order, with the least helping hand of reason and knowledge beside: for they who have evermore readily before their eyes this sentence:

This were alone for Priamus,
and his sonnes likewise all,
Oh how would they rejoyce at heart,
in case this should befall.

certes would quickly be diverted, turned and withdrawn from such things, whereat their enemies are wont to joy and laugh a good: see we not many times stage plaiers, chanters, musicians and such artificers in open theaters, who serve for the celebration of any solemnity unto *Bacchus* or other gods, to play their parts carelessely, to come unprovided, and to carry themselves I know not how negligently, nothing forward to shew their cunning and do their best, when they are by themselves alone and no other of their own profession in place? but if it chance that there be emulation and contention between them and other concurrents who shall do best; then you shall see them not onely to come better prepared themselves, but also with their instruments in very good order: then shall you perceive how they will bestir themselves in trying their strings, in tuning their instruments more exactly, and in fitting every thing about their flutes and pipes, and assaying them. He then who knoweth that he hath an enemy ready and provided to be the concurrent in his life, and the rivall of his honour and reputation, will look better to his wayes and stand upon his own guard; he will (I say) sit fast and look circumspectly about him to all matters, ordering his life and behaviour in better sort: for this is one of the properties of vice, that when we have offended and trespassed, we have more reverence and stand rather in awe of our enemies lest we be shamed by them than of our friends. And therefore *Scipio Nasica* when some there were that both thought and gave out that the Romane estate was now setled and in safety, considering that the Carthaginians who were wont to make head against them and keep them occupied, were now vanquished and defeated, the Athenians likewise subdued and brought under subjection: Nay mary (quoth he) for it is clean contrary, and even now are we in greatest danger, being at this passe that we have left our selves none to fear, none to reverence.

And hereto moreover, accordeth well the answer that *Diogenes* made, like a Philosopher and a man of State indeed: One asked him how he should be revenged of his enemy: Marie (quoth he) by being a vertuous and honest man thy self. Men seeing the horses of their enemies highly accounted of, or their hounds praised and commended do grieve thereat, if they perceive also their land well tilled and husbanded, or their gardens in good order, fresh and flowring, they fetch a sigh and sorrow for the matter. What (think you then) will your enemy do? how will he fare, when you shall be seen a just man, wise and prudent, honest and sober, in words well advised and commendable, in deeds pure and clean, in diet neat and decent? *Reaping the fruit of wisdome and prudence,*
Sowne in deep furrow of heart and conscience,
From whence there spring and bud continually
Counsels full sage, with fruit abundantly.

Pindarus the Poet said: That those who are vanquished and put to foil, are so tongue-tied, that they cannot say a word: howbeit, this is not simply true, nor holdeth in all, but in such as perceive themselves overcome by their enemies, in diligence, goodnesse, magnanimity, humanity, bounty and beneficence: for these be the things (as *Demosthenes* saith) which stent the tongue, close up the mouth, stop the wind-pipes and the breath, and in one word, cause men to be silent and dumb.

Resemble not lewd folk, but them out-go
In vertuous deeds, for this thou maist well do.

Wouldest thou do thine enemy who hateth thee a great displeasure indeed? Never call him by way of reproch, buggerer, wanton, lascivious, ruffian, scurrile scoffer, or covetous micher; but take order with thy self to be an honest man every way, chaste, continent, true indeed & word, courteous and just, to all those that deal with thee: but if thou be driven to let fall an opprobrious speech, and to revile thine enemy, then take thou great heed afterwards that thou come not neer in any wise to those vices which thou reprocheth him with, enter into thy self, and examine thine own conscience, search all the corners therof, look that there be not in thy soul some putrified matter and rotten corruption, for fear lest thine own vice within may hit thee home, and requite thee again with this verse out of the tragicall Poet:

A leech he is, others to cure,
Pestred himself with sores impure.

If thou chance to upbraid thine enemy with ignorance, and call him unlearned, take thou greater pains at thy book, love thou thy study better, and get more learning: if thou twit him with cowardise, and name him dastard, stirre up the vigour of thine own courage the rather, and shew thy self a man so much the more: hast thou given him the tearms of beastly whore-master or lascivious lecher, wipe out of thy heart the least taint and spot that remaineth hidden therein of concupiscence and sensuality; for nothing is there more shamefull or causeth greater grief of heart, than an opprobrious and reprochfull speech returned justly upon the author thereof. And as it seemeth that the reverberation of a light doth more offence unto the feeble eyes; even so those reproches which are retorted and sent back again by the truth, upon a man that blazed them before, are more offensive: for no lesse than the North-east wind *Cacias* doth gather unto it clouds: so doth a bad life draw unto it opprobrious speeches; which *Plato* knowing well enough, whensoever he was present in place, and saw other men do any unseemly or dishoneſt thing, was wont to retire apart, and say thus secretly unto himself: *Do not I also labour other-while of this disease?* Moreover, he that hath blamed and reproched the life of another, if presently withall he would go and examine his own reforming the same accordingly, redressing and amending all that he findes amisse, untill he have brought it to a better state, shall receive some profit by that reproving and reviling of his; otherwise it may both seem (as it is no lesse indeed) a vain and unprofitable thing. Commonly men cannot choose but laugh when they see either a bald-pate or a bunch-back, to taunt and scoffe at others for the same defects or deformities; and so in truth, it were a ridiculous thing and a meer mockery, to blame or reproch another in that, for which he may be mocked and reproched himself. Thus *Leo* the Byzantine cut one home that was crumpt-shoulder'd and buncht-backt, when he seemed to hit him in the teeth with his dim and feeble eye-sight: Doest thou twit me (quoth he) by any imperfection of nature incident unto a man, when as thy self art marked from heaven, and carriest the divine vengeance upon thy back? Never then reprove thou an adulterer, if thy self be an unclean wanton with boies; nor seem thou to upbraid one with prodigality, if thou be a covetous miser thy self. *Alcmæon* reviled *Adrastus* (upon a time) in this wise: Thou

A sister hest by parents twain,
Whose hands her husband deare have slain.

But what answered *Adrastus*? He objected not unto him the crime of another, but payeth him home with his own, after this manner:

But thou thy self hast murdered
Thine own kinde mother, who thee bred.

In like sort, when *Domitius* (upon a time) seemed to reproch *Crassus*, saying: Is it not true, that when your lamprey was dead which was kept full daintily for you in a stew, you wept therfore? *Crassus* presently came upon him again with this bitter reply: And is it not true that you when you followed three wives of yours one after another to their funerall fire, never shed tear for the matter? It is not so requisit or necessary iwis (as the vulgar sort do think) that he who checketh and rebuketh another, should have a ready wit of his own, and a naturall gift in doing it, or a loud and big voice, or an audacious and bold face; no, but such an one he ought to be, that cannot be noted and taxed with any vice: for it should seem that *Apollo* addressed this precept of his [*Know thy self*] to no person so much as to him who would blame and find fault with another; for fear lest such men, in speaking to others what they would, hear that again which they would not. For it happeneth ordinarily as *Sophocles* saith: That such an one

Who lets his tongue run foolishly,
In noting others bitterly,
Shall hear himself (unwillingly)
The words he gave so wilfully.

Lo what commodity and profit ensueth upon reproching an enemy.

Neither cometh there lesse good and advantage unto a man by being reproched by another, and hearing himself reviled by his enemies: and therefore it was very well and truly said of *Antisthenes*, that such men as would be saved and become honest another day, ought of necessity to have either good friends, or most spitefull and bitter enemies: for as they with their kind remonstrances and admonitions; so these with their reprochfull tearms were like to reform their sinfull life. But forasmuch as amity and friendship now adayes speaketh with a small and low voice when faults should freely be reproved, and is very audible and full of words in flattering, altogether mute and dumb in rebukes and chastisements; but what remaineth now but that we should hear the truth from the mouth of our enemies? much like unto *Telephus*, who for default of a Physician that was a friend to cure him, was forced to commit his wound or ulcer to the iron head of his enemies spear for to be healed; and even so those that have no well-willers that dare freely reprove their faults, must perforce endure with patience the stinging tongue of their enemy and evill-willer in chastizing and rebuking their vices, not regarding so much the intent & meaning of the ill-speaker, as the thing it self, and the matter that he speaketh; and look how he who enterprised the killing of *Prometheus* the Thessalian, ran him so deep with his sword into the impostume or swelling botch which he had about him, that he let forth the corruption, and saved his life by the breaking and issue thereof; even so for all the world it falleth out many times, that a reprochfull speech delivered in anger or upon evill will is the cause of healing some malady of the soul, either hidden or unknown altogether, or else neglected: but the most part of those who are in this manner reproched, never consider whether the vice wherewith they are touched be in them or no, but they look rather if they can finde some other vice to object unto him, who hath thus challenged them: and much like unto wrestlers, they never wipe away their own dust, that is to say, the reproches that be fastned upon themselves, and wherewith they be defamed, but they bestrew one another with dust, and afterwards trip up one anothers heels, and tumble down one upon another, weltering in the same, and soiling one another therewith: whereas indeed it behoved rather that a man when he findeth himself tainted by his enemy, to endevour for to do away that vice wherewith he is noted and defamed, much rather than to fetch out any spot or stein out of his garment, which hath been shewed him: and although there be charged upon us some slanderous imputation that is not true; yet nevertheless we are to search into the occasion whereupon such an opprobrious speech might arise and proceed, yea, and take heed we must and fear, lest ere we be aware we commit the like or come neer unto that which hath been objected unto us. Thus for example sake *Lacydes* King of the Argives, for that he did wear his hair curiously set, in manner of a perruke, and because his gate or manner of going, seemed more delicate and nice than ordinary, grew into an ill name and obloquie of effeminate wantonnesse. And *Pompeius* the great could not avoid the like suspicion, because he used otherwhiles to scratch his head with one finger onely, and yet otherwise he was so farre from feminine wantonnesse and incontinence as any man in the world. *Crassus* was accused for to have had carnall company with one of the religious nuns or votaries of *Vesta*, for that being desirous to purchase of her a fair piece of land and house of pleasure which she had, he resorted ostentimes privately unto her, spake with her apart, and perhaps made court unto her for to have her good will in that respect onely. *Posthumia* likewise another vestall virgin, for that she was much given to laugh upon a small occasion, and withall would not stick to entertain talk with men, more boldly peradventure than became a maiden of her profession, was so deeply suspected of incontinence, that she was brought judicially into question about it, howbeit found uniguilty, and acquit she was: but when *Spurius Minutius* the high-priest for the the time being, assoiled her and pronounced the sentence of her absolution, minding to dismisse her of the Court, he gave her a gentle admonition by the way, that from thence forward she should forbear to use any words lesse modest and chaste then the carriage of her life was. *Themistocles* likewise, notwithstanding he was most innocent indeed, was called into question for treason, because he intertained amity with *Pausanias*, sent and wrote oftentimes unto him, and so by that meanes gave suspicion that he minded to betray all *Greece*. When as therefore thou art charged with a false crimination by thine enemie, thou must not neglect it and make smal account thereof, because it is not true, but rather look about thee and examine what hath been done or said, either by thee or any one of those who affect and love thee, or converse with thee, sounding and tending any way to that imputation which might give occasion or likelihood thereof, and carefully to beware and avoid the same: for if by adverse and heavy fortune whereunto others have inconsiderately fallen, they are deerly taught what is good for them, as *Merope* saith in one Tragedie:

Fortune hath taken for her salarie,
My dearest goods of which I am bereft,
But me she taught by that great miserie
For to be wise, and so she hath me left.

What should let or hinder us, but that we may learn by a master that costeth us nought, nor taketh nothing

nothing for his teaching (even our enemy) to profit and learne somewhat that we knew not before? for an enemy perceiveth and findeth in us many things more than a friend, by reason that (as *Plato* saith) That which loveth is alwaies blind in the thing that is loved; whereas he who hateth us, besides that he is very curious and inquisitive into our imperfections, he is not meale-mouthed (as they say) nor will not spare to speake, but is ready enough to divulge and blaze all abroad. King *Hiero* chanced upon a time, being at words with one of his enemies, to be told in reproachfull manner by him of his stinking breath; whereupon being somewhat dismaied in himselfe, he was no sooner returned home to his own house but he chid his wife: How comes this to passe (quoth he?) What say you to it? How hapneth it that you never told me of it? The woman being a simple, chaste, and harmeleſse dame: Sir (saith she) I thought all mens breath had smelled so. Thus it is plaine, that such faults as be object and evident to senses, grosse, and corporall, or otherwise notorious to the world, we know by our enemies sooner than by our friends and familiars.

Over and besides, as touching the continence and holding of the tongue, which is not the least point of vertue, it is not possible for a man to rule it alwaies, and bring it within the compasse and obedience of reason, unlesse by use and exercise, by long custome, and painfull labour he have tamed and mastered the worst passions of the soule, such as anger is: for a word that hath escaped us against our wils, which we would gladly have kept in; of which *Homer* saith thus:

Out of the mouth a word did fly
For all the range of teeth fest-by.

And a speech that we let at aventure (a thing happning often-times, and especially unto those whose spirits are not well exercised, and who want experience, who run out, as it were, and breake forth into passions) this (I say) is ordinary with such as be hasty and cholerick, whose judgement is not seeled and staied, or who are given to a licentious course of life: for such a word, being (as divine *Plato* saith) the lightest thing in the world, both gods and men have many a time payed a most grievous and heavy penalty; whereas Silence is not only (as *Hippocrates* saith) good against thirst, but also is never called to account, nor amerced to pay any fine; and that which more is, in the bearing and putting up of taunts and reproaches, there is observed in it a kind of gravity beseeming the person of *Socrates*, or rather the magnanimity of *Hercules*, if it be true that the Poet said of him:

Of bitter words he lesse account did make
Than doth the flie, which no regard doth take.

Neither verily is there a thing of greater gravity, or simply better, than to heare a malicious enemy to revile, and yet not to be moved nor grow into passions therewith,

But to passe by a man that loves to raile,
As rock in sea, by which we swim or saile.

Moreover, a greater effect will ensue upon this exercise of patience, if thou canst accustome thy selfe to heare with silence thine enemy whiles he doth revile, for being acquainted therewith, thou shalt the better endure the violent fits of a curst and shrewd wife chiding at home; to heare also without trouble the sharpe words of friend or brother; and if it chance that father or mother let fly bitter rebukes at thee, or beat thee, thou wilt suffer all, and never shew thy selfe displeased and angry with them. For *Socrates* was wont to abide at home *Xantippe* his wife, a perillous shrewd woman and hard to be pleased, to the end that he might with more ease converse with others, being used to endure her curstnesse. But much better it were for a man to come with a mind prepared and exercised before-hand with hearing the scoffes, railing language, angry taunts, outragious and foule words of enemies and strangers, and that without anger and shew of disquietnesse, than of his domesticall people within his own house. Thus you see how a man may shew his meeknesse and patience in enmities; and as for simplicity, magnanimity, and a good nature indeed, it is more seene here than in friendship: for it is not so honest and commendable to do good unto a friend, as dishonest, not to succour him when he standeth in need and requesteth it.

Moreover, to forbeare to be avenged of an enemy if opportunity and occasion is offered, and to let him go when he is in thy hands, is a point of great humanity and curtesie; but him that hath compassion of him when he is fallen into adversity, succoureth him in distresse, at his request is ready for to shew good will to his children and an affection to sustaine the state of his house and family being in affliction; whosoever doth not love for this kindnesse, nor praise the goodnesse of his nature.

Of colour black (no doubt) and tincture sweart,
Wrought of stiffe steele or iron he hath an heart,
Or rather forg'd out of the Diament,
Which will not stir hereat, nor once relent.

Cæsar commanded that the statues erected in the honour of *Pompeius*, which had been beaten down and overthrown, should be set up againe; for which act *Cicero* said thus unto him: In rearing the images of *Pompeius*, O *Cæsar*, thou hast pitched and erected thine owne. And therefore we ought not to be spary of praise & honour in the behalfe of an enemy especially when he deserveth the same; for by this meanes the party that praiseth shall win the greater praise himselfe; and besides, if it happen againe that he blame the said enemy, his accusation shall be the better taken, and carry the more credit, for that he shall be thought not so much to hate the person as disallow and mislike his action.

But

But the most profitable and goodliest matter of all, is this: That he who is accustomed to praise his enemies, and neither to grieve or envy at their well-fare, shall the better abide the prosperity of his friend, and be furthest off from envying his familiars in any good successe or honour that by well-doing they have atchieved. And is there any other exercise in the world that can bring greater profit unto our soules, or worke a better disposition and habit in them, than that which riddeth us of emulation and the humour of envy? For like as in a City, wherein there be many things necessary, though otherwise simply evill, after they have once taken sure footing, and are by custome established in manner of a law, men shall hardly remove and abolish, although they have been hurt and endammaged thereby; even so enmity, together with hatred and malice, bringeth in envy, jealousie, contentment and pleasure in the harme of an enemy, remembrance of wrongs received, and offences passed, which it leaveth behind in the soule, when it selfe is gone; over and besides, cunning practises, fraud, guile, deceit, and secret forlayings or ambushes, which seeme against our enemies nothing ill at all, nor unjustly used, after they be once setled and have taken root in our hearts, remaine there fast, and hardly or unneth are removed; insomuch as if men take not heed how they use them against enemies, they shall be so inured to them, that they will be ready afterwards to practice the same with their very friends. If therefore *Pythagoras* did well and wisely in acquainting his Scholars to forbeare cruelty and injustice, even as farre as to dumbe and brute beasts; whereupon he misliked fowlers, and would request them to let those birds flie againe which they had caught; yea, and buy of fishers whole drafts of fishes, and give order unto his disciples to put them alive into the water againe, insomuch as he expressely forbad the killing of any tame beast whatsoever: certes it is much more grave and decent, that in quarrels, debates, and contentions among men; an enemy that is of a generous mind, just, true, and nothing treacherous, should represse, keepe down, and hold underfoot the wicked, malicious, cautelous, base, and ungentleman-like passions; to the end that afterwards in all contracts and dealings with his friend they breake not out, but that his heart being cleare of them, he may abstaine from all mischievous practises. *Scaurus* was a professed enemy, and an accuser of *Domitius* judicially; now there was a domesticall servant belonging to the said *Domitius*, who before the day of tryall and judgement, came unto *Scaurus*, saying, That he would discover unto him a thing that he knew not of, that which might serve him in good stead when he should plead against his master: but *Scaurus* would not so much as give him the hearing; nay, he laid hold on the party, and sent him away bound unto his Lord and Master. *Cato* (the younger) charged *Murana*, and indited him in open Court for popularity and ambition, and declaring against him that he sought indirectly to gaine the peoples favour and their voices to be chosen Consull; now as he went up and downe to collect arguments and proofes thereof, and according to the manner and custome of the Romans, was attended upon by certaine persons who followed him in the behalfe of the defendant, to observe what was done for his better instruction in the proceste and suit commenced; these fellowes would oftentimes be in hand with him and aske whether he would to day search for ought, or negotiate any thing in the matter and cause concerning *Murana*? If he said, No; such credit and trust they reposed in the man that they would rest in that answer, and go their waies; a singular argument this was of all other to prove his reputation, and what opinion men conceived of him for his justice; but sure a farre greater testimony is this, and that passeth all the rest, to prove that if we be accustomed to deale justly by our very enemies, we shall never shew our selves unjust, cautelous, and deceitfull with our friends. But forasmuch as every larke (as *Simonides* was wont to say) must needs have a cop or crest growing upon her head; and so likewise all men by nature do carry in their head I wot not what jealousie, emulation, and envy, which is if I may use the words of *Pindarus*,

A mate and fellow (to be plaine)
Of brain-sick fooles and persons vaine.

A man should not reape a small benefit and commodity by discharging these passions upon his enemies, to purge and cleanse himselfe quite thereof, and as it were by certaine gutters or channels, to derive and dreine them as far as possibly he can from his friends and familiar acquaintance; whereof I suppose *Onomademus* a great Politician, and wise States-man in the Isle *Chios* was well advised, who in a civill distention being sided to that faction which was superiour, and had gotten the head of the other; counselled the rest of his part not to chase and banish out of the City all their adversaries, but to leave some of them still behind: For feare (quoth he) lest having no enemies to quarrell withall, we our selves begin to fall out and go together by the eares; semblably if we spend these vicious passions of ours upon our enemies, the lesse are they like to trouble and molest our friends: for it ought not thus to be as *Hesiodus* saith, That the potter should envy the potter; or one Minstrell or Musician spite another; neither is it necessary that one neighbour should be in jealousie of another; or cousens and brethren be concurrents and have emulation one at another, either striving to be rich or speeding better in their affaires: for if there be no other way or meanes to be delivered wholly from contentions, envies, jealousies, and emulations, acquaint thy selfe at leastwise to be stung and bitten at the good successe of thine enemies; whet the edge and sharpen the point (as it were) of thy quarrellous and contentious humour, and turne it upon them and spare not: for like as the most skilfull and best gardeners are of this opinion, that they shall have the sweeter roses and more pleasant violets, if they set garlick or sow onions neare unto them, for

for that all the strong and stinking savour in the juyce that feedeth and nourisheth the said flowers is purged away and goeth to the said garlick and onions; even so an enemy drawing unto himselfe and receiving all our envy and malice, will cause us to be better affected to our friends in their prosperity, and lesse offended if they out-go us in their estate; and therefore in this regard we must contend and strive with our enemies about honour, dignities, government, and lawfull meanes of advancing our own estates, and not only to be grieved and vexed to see them have the better and the vantage of us, but also to marke and observe every thing whereby they become our superiours, and so to straine and endeavour by carefull diligence, by labour and travell, by parsimony, temperance, and looking nearely to our selves, to surpasse and go beyond them; like as *Themistocles* was wont to say: That the victory which *Miltiades* atchieved in the Plaine of *Marathon* brake his sleepe, and would not let him take his nights rest: for he who thinketh that his enemy surmounteth him in dignities, in patronage of high matters and pleading of great causes, in management of state affaires, or in credit and authority with mighty men and grand Seigniors, and instead of striving to enterprise and do some great matter by way of emulation, betaketh himselfe to envy only, and so sits still doing nothing, and loseth all his courage, surely he bewrayeth that he is possessed with naught else but an idle, vaine, and enervate kind of envy. But he that is not blinded with the regard and sight of him whom he hateth, but with a right and just eye doth behold and consider all his life, his manners, designs, words, and deeds, shall soone perceive and find that the most part of those things which he envieth were atchieved and gotten by such as have them, with their diligence, wisdome, forecast, and vertuous deeds: he thereupon bending all his spirits and whole mind thereto, will exercise (I trow) and sharpen his own desire of honour, glory, and honesty, yea, and cut off contrariwise that yawning drowsinesse and idle sloath that is in his heart. Set case moreover, that our enemies by flattery, by cautelous shifts and cunning practises, by pleading of cases at the bar, or by their mercenary and illiberall service in unhonest and foule matters, seeme to have gotten some power, either with Princes in courts, or with the people in States and Cities; let the same never trouble us, but contrariwise cheere up our hearts and make us glad in regard of our own liberty, the pureneſſe of our life and innocency unreproachable, which we may oppose against those indirect courses and unlawfull meanes. For all the gold that is either above ground or underneath (according as *Plato* saith) is not able to weigh against vertue. And evermore this sentence of *Solon* we ought to have in readinesse:

Many a wicked man is rich,
And vertuous men are many poore:
But change we never will with sich
Nor give our goodnesse for their store,
And why? vertue is durable,
Whereas their wealth is mutable.

Much lesse then, will we exchange the acclamations and shouts of a popular multitude in theaters, which are won with a feast; nor the honours and prerogatives to sit uppermost at a table neare unto the chamberlaines, minions, favorites, concubines, or lieutenant generall of Kings and Princes. For nothing is desirable, nothing to be affected, nothing indeed honest that proceedeth from an unhonest cause: But he that loveth (according as *Plato* saith) is alwaies blinded by the thing which is loved, and sooner do we perceive and marke any unseemely thing that our enemies do. Howbeit to conclude, neither our joy and contentment conceived by observing them to do amisse, nor our griefe and displeasure in seeing them do well, ought to be idle and unprofitable unto us; but this reckoning and account we are to make of both; that in taking heed how we fall into their faults, we may become better, and in imitating their good parts not worse than they.

How a man may perceive his own proceeding and going forward in Vertue.

The Summary.

HArdly can it be defined, whether of these two extremities is more to be feared, to wit, blockish stupidity, or vaine presumption, considering the dangerous effects proceeding as well from the one as the other: And contrariwise, an excellent matter it is to be able for to teach men the meanes to avoid both extreames, and to hold the meane between. And this is the very thing that our Author doth in this present Treatise: for as he laboureth to disrobe, as it were, the lovers of vertue, and turne them out of their habit of perverse ignorance, wherewith most part of the world is alwaies clad; so he is desirous to keep them from putting on the habiliment and garments of pride and vaine ostentation, that they might be arrayed with the apparell of vertue: in such sort, that in taking knowledge of that good whereof they have already some part, they might endeavour and do what they can to get a greater portion from day to day, untill they come unto an assured contentment wherein they may rest. Then teacheth he how to know what a man hath profited in the schoole and exercise of vertue, shewing that he ought to consider first, whether he recule from vice by little and little; wherein he confuteth the opinion of the Stoicks, who imagined that no man was good, unlesse he became vertuous all at once. This done, he adjoyneth foure rules to know the said profit and progresse in vertue, to wit, When we perceive our heart to tend unto good without any intermission: When our affection redeemeth and regaineth the time that is lost, growing so much the more as it was before staied and hindered: When we begin to take our whole pleasure and delight therein: Lastly, When we surmount and overcome all impeachments that might turne us aside out of the way of vertue. After all this he entreth into the matter more specially, and sheweth how a man is to employ himselfe in the study of wisdome; what vices he ought to flie; wherein his mind and spirits should be occupied; and the profit that he is to reape and gather from Philosophers, Poets, and Historians. Item, with what affection we ought to speake in the presence of our neighbours, whether it be publikely, or in private; of what sort our actions should be; and to what end and scope we are to addresse and direct them, giving a lustre unto all these discourses by excellent similitudes; taxing and reproving the faults committed ordinarily by them who make a certaine semblance and outward shew of aspiring unto vertue. Having thus discoursed of these points aforesaid, he proposeth and setteth down againe diverse rules which may resolve us in this advancement and proceeding forward of ours in goodnesse, namely, That we ought to love reprehensions; to take heed even unto our dreames; to examine our passions, and so to hope well, if we perceive that they waxe mild and gentle to imitate good things; in no wise to heare any speech of evill; to take example by the best persons, to rejoyce and be glad, to have witnesses and beholders of our good will and intention; and not to esteeme any sins or trespasses small but to avoid and shun them all: last of all, he closeth up his treatise with an elegant similitude, wherein he discovereth and layeth open the nature as well of the vicious as the vertuous, thereby to make the meanes of aspiring and attaining unto vertue, so much the more amiable to each person.

How a man may perceive his own proceeding and going forward in Vertue.

IT is not possible (my good friend *Sossius Senecio*) that a man by any meanes should have a feeling in himselfe, and a conscience of his own amendment and progresse in vertue, if those good proceedings do not daily make some diminution of his folly, but that the vice in him weighing in equall ballance against them all, do hold him down

Like as the lead plucks down the net,
Which for to catch the fish was set.

For so verily in the art of Musick or Grammar, a man shall never know how far he is proceeded, so long as in the studying and learning thereof, he diminish no part of his ignorance in those arts, but still findeth himselfe as unmusicall and unlettered as he was before; neither the cure which the Physician employeth about his patient, if it worke no amendment at all, nor alleviation of the disease seeming in some sort to yeeld unto medicines and to slake, can procure any sensible difference and change unto a better state. before that the contrary disposition and habit be restored perfectly to the former health. and the body made sound and strong againe. But certainly, as in these cases there is no amendment to be accounted of, if those that seeme to amend do not perceive the change by the diminution and remission of that which weighed them down and find themselves to encline and bend (as it were) in a ballance to the contrary; even so it fareth with those that make profession of philosophy; it cannot be granted that there is any progresse or sense at all of profiting, so long as the soule cast not off by little and little, and purge away her folly, but untill such time as she can attaine (forsooth) unto the soveraign and perfect good, continueth in the meane while fully possessed of vice and sin in the highest degree; for by this meanes it would follow, if at one instant and moment of time a wise man should passe from extreame wickednesse unto the supreame and highest disposition of vertue: That he had all at once and in the minute of an houre shed vice and cast it from him fully, whereof in a long time before he was not able to be rid of one little portion. But you know full well already, that those who hold such extravagant opinions as these, make themselves worke enough, and raise great doubts and questions about this point, namely, How a man should not perceive and feele himselfe when he is become wise, and be either ignorant or doubtful that this growth and increase commeth in long processe of time by little and a little, partly by addition of some thing, and partly by substraction of other, untill one arrive gently unto vertue, before he can perceive that he is going toward it. Now if there were so quick and sudden a mutation, as that he who was to day morning most vicious, should become in the evening as vertuous; and if there ever were known to happen unto any man such a change that going to bed a very foole, and so sleeping, should awake and rise a wise man, and taking his leave of yesterdaies follies, errours, and deceits, say unto them:

My lying dreames so vaine, edity, adity,
Nought worth you were, I now both see and say.

Is it possible that such a one (I say) should be ignorant of this sudden change, and not perceive so great a difference in himselfe, nor feele how wisdome all at once hath thus lightened and illuminated his soule; For mine own part, I would rather thinke, that one upon earnest prayer transformed by the power of the gods from a woman to a man (as the tale goes of *Caenus*) should be ignorant of this Metamorphosis, than he who of a coward, a foole & a dissolute or loose person become hardy, wise, sober and temperate; or being transported from a sensuall and beastly life unto a divine and heavenly life, should not mark the very instant wherein such a change did befall. But well it was said in old time: That the stone is to be applyed and framed unto the rule, and not the rule or square unto the stone. And they (the Stoicks I meane) who are not willing to accommodate their opinions unto het things indeed, but wrest and force against the course of nature things unto their own conceits and suppositions, have filled all philosophy with great difficulties and doubtful ambiguities: of which this is the greatest: In that they will seeme to comprise all men, excepting him only whom they imagine perfect, under one and the same vice in generall: which strange supposition of theirs hath caused that this progress and proceeding to vertue, called Προκοπή, seemeth to be a darke and obscure riddle unto them, or a meer fiction little wanting of extreame folly; and those who by the means of this amendment be delivered from all passions and vices that be, are held thereby to be in no better state, nor lesse wretched and miserable, than those who are not free from any one of the most enormious vices in the world; and yet they refuse and condemne their own selves; for in the disputations which they hold in their schooles, they set the injustice of *Aristides* in equall ballance to that of *Phalaris*; they make the cowardise and feare of *Brasides*, all one with that of *Dolon*; yea, and compare the folly or errour of *Melitus* and *Plato* together, as in no respect different; howbeit, in the whole course of their life, and management of their affaires, they decline and avoid those as implacable and intractable; but these they use and trust in their most important businesse, as persons of great worth and regard: but we who know and see that in every kind of sin or vice, but principally in the inordinate and confused state of the soule there be degrees according to more or lesse; and that herein differ our proceedings and amendments, according as reason by little and little doth illuminate, purge, and cleanse the soule in abating and diminishing evermore the vitiosity thereof, which is the shadow that darkneth it, are likewise fully perswaded that it is not without reason to be assured, that men may have an evident sense and perceivance of this mutation, but as if they were raised out of some deep and darke pit, that the same amendment may be reckoned by degrees in what order it goeth forward. In which computation we may go first and formost directly after this manner, and consider, whether like as they who under saile set their course in the maine and vaste ocean, by observing together with the length and space of time, the force of the wind that driveth them, do cast and measure how far they have gone forward in their voyage, namely, by a probable conjecture how much in such a time, and with such a gale of wind it is like that they may passe; so also in philosophy a man may give a guesse and conjecture of his proceeding and going forward, namely, what he may gaine by continual marching on still, without stay or intermission other whiles in the midst of the way, and then beginning afresh again to leap forward, but alwaies keeping one pace gaining and getting ground still by the guidance of reason. For this rule,

If little still to little thou do add,
A heape at length, and mickle well be had.

Was not given respectively to the encrease of sums of money alone, and in that point truly spoken, but it may likewise extend and reach to other things, and namely, to the augmentation of vertue, to wit, when with reason and doctrine continuall use and custome is joyned, which maketh mastery and is effectual to bring any worke to end and perfection; whereas these intermissions at times without order and equality, and these coole affections of those that stupy philosophy, make not

not only many ſtaies and lets in proceeding forward (as it were) in a journey, but that which is worſe, cauſe going backward, by reaſon that vice which evermore lies in wait to ſet upon a man that idlely ſtandeth ſtill never ſo little haleth him a contrary way. True it is that the Mathematicians do call the Planets Stationarie, and ſay they ſtand ſtill, while they ceaſe to move forward; but in our progreſſe and proceeding in Philoſophy, that is to ſay, in the correction of our life and manners, there can be admitted no intervall, no pauſe or ceſſation, for that our wit naturally being in perpetuall motion in manner of a ballance, alwaies caſteth with the leaſt thing that is, one way or other, willing of it ſelfe either to encline with the better, or elſe is forcibly carried by the contrary to the worſe. If then according to the oracle delivered unto the inhabitants of *Cirrha*, which willed them it they minded afterwards to live in peace, they ſhould make war both night and day without intermiſſion; thou find in thy ſelfe and thine own conſcience, that thou haſt fought continually with vice as well by night as by day, or at leaſtwiſe that thou haſt not often left thy ward, and abandoned thy ſtation in the garriſon, nor continually admitted the heralds or meſſengers between, comming from far (as it were) to parly and compound, to wit, pleaſures, delights, negligences, and amuſements upon other matters, by all likelihood thou maieſt with confidence and alacrity be aſſured to go forward and make an end of thy courſe behind.

Moreover, ſay that there fall out ſome interruptions and ſtaies between, that thou live not altogether canonically and like a philoſopher; yet if thy latter proceedings be more conſtant than the former, and the freſh courſes that thou takeſt longer than the other, it is no bad ſign, but it teſtifieth, that by labour and exerciſe idleneſſe is conquered, and ſloath utterly chaſed away; whereas the contrary is a very ill ſign, to wit, if by reaſon of many ceſſations, and thoſe comming thick one after another, the heat of the former affection be cooled, languiſh, and weareth to nothing: for like as the ſhoot of a cane or reed, whiles it hath the full ſtrength and greateſt force, putteth forth the firſt ſtem reaching out in length, ſtreight, even, ſmooth, and united in the beginning, admitting few knots in great diſtances between, to ſtay and put back the growth and riſing thereof in height; but afterwards as if it were checked to mount up aloft by reaſon of ſhort wind and failing of the breath, it is held down by many knots, and thoſe neare one to another, as if the ſpirit therein which coveteth upward ſound ſome impeachment by the way, ſmiting it back, and cauſing it as it were to pant and tremble: even ſo as many as at firſt tooke long courſes and made haſt unto Philoſophy or amendment of life, and then afterwards meet eftſoones with ſtumbling blocks, continually turning them out of the direct way, or other means to diſtract and pluck them aſide, finding no proceeding at all to better them, in the end are weary, give over, and come ſhort of their journeys end; whereas the other above-ſaid hath his wings growing ſtill to help his flight, and by reaſon of the fruit which he findeth in his courſe goeth on apace, cutteth off all pretences of excuſe, breaketh through all lets, (which ſtand as a multitude in the way to hinder his paſſage) which he doth by fine force and with an induſtrious affection to attaine unto the end of his enterpriſe. And like as to joy and delight in beholding of beauty preſent is not a ſign of love beginning, for a vulgar and common thing this is, but rather to be grieved and vexed when the ſame is gone or taken away; even ſo many there be who conceive pleaſure in philoſophy, and make ſemblance as if they had a fervent deſire to the ſtudy thereof: but if it chance that they be a little retired from it by occaſion of other buſineſſe and affaires, that firſt affection which they tooke unto it vaniſheth away, and they can well abide to be without Philoſophy;

But he who feeles indeed the prick,
Of love that pierceth neare the quick,

as one Poet ſaith; will ſeeme unto thee moderate and nothing hot in frequenting the philoſophicall ſchoole and conferring together with thee about Philoſophy; but let him be plucked from it, and drawn apart from thee, thou ſhalt ſee him enflamed in the love thereof, impatient, and weary of all other affaires and occupations; thou ſhalt perceive him even to forget his own friends, ſuch a paſſionate deſire he will have to philoſophy. For we ought not ſo much to delight in learning and philoſophy whiles we are in place, as we do in ſweet odours, perfumes, and ointments, and when we are away and ſeparated therefro, never grieve thereat, nor ſeeke after it any more; but it muſt imprint in our hearts a certaine paſſion like to hunger and thirſt when it is taken from us, if we will profit in good earneſt and perceive our own progreſſe and amendment; whether it be that marriage, riches, ſome friendſhip, expedition or warfare come between, that may drive him away and make ſeparation, for the greater that the fruit is which he gathered by Philoſophy, ſo much the more will the griefe be to leave and forgo it. To this firſt ſigne of progreſſe in Philoſophy may be added another of great antiquity out of *Heſiodus*; which if it be not the very ſame, certes it commeth neare unto it, and this he deſcribeth after this ſort, namely, When a man findeth the way no more difficult, rough and craggy, nor exceeding ſteep and upright, but eaſie, plaine, with a gentle deſcent, as being indeed laid even and ſmooth by exerciſe, and wherein now there begins light clearely to appeare and ſhine out of darkneſſe, inſtead of doubts, ambiguities, errours, and thoſe repentances and changes of mind incident unto thoſe who firſt betake themſelves to the ſtudy of Philoſophy; after the manner of them who having left behind them a land which they know well enough, are troubled whiles they cannot deſcry and diſcover that for which they ſet ſaile and bend their courſe; for even ſo it is with theſe perſons, who when they have abandoned theſe common and familiar ſtudies whereof

whereto they were inured before they came, to learne, apprehend, and enjoy better, oftentimes in the very middle of their courſe are carried round about, and driven to returne back againe the ſame way they came. Like as it is reported of *Sextius* a nobleman of *Rome*, who having given over the honourable offices and magiſtracies in the City, for love of Philoſophy, afterwards finding himſelfe much troubled in that ſtudy, and not able at the beginning to brooke and digeſt the reaſons and diſcourſes thereof, was ſo perplexed, that he went very neare to have thrown himſelfe into the ſea out of a Galley.

The ſemblable example we read in hiſtories, of *Diogenes* the Sinopian, when he firſt went to the ſtudy and profeſſion of Philoſophy: for when about the ſame time it chanced that the Athenians celebrated a publike ſolemnity with great feaſting and ſumptuous fare, with theatricall plaies and paſtimes, meeting in companies and aſſemblies to make merry one with another with revels and dances all night long, himſelf in an odde corner of the market place lay lapped round in his cloaths, purpoſing to take a nap and ſleep; where and when he fell into certaine fantaſticall imaginations which did not a little turne and trouble his braines, yea, and breake his heart, diſcourſing thus in his head: That he upon no conſtraint or neceſſity, ſhould thus wilfully betake himſelfe to a laborious and ſtrange courſe of painfull life, ſitting thus by himſelfe mopiſh, ſequeſtred from all the world, and deprived of all earthly goods; In which thoughts and conceits of his, he eſpied (as the report goeth) a little mouſe creeping and running towards the crums that were fallen from his loafe of bread, and was very buſie about them, whereupon he tooke heart againe, reproved and blamed his own feeble courage, ſaying thus to himſelfe: What faieſt thou *Diogenes*? Seeſt thou not this ſilly creature what good cheare it maketh with thy leavings? How merry ſhe is whiles ſhe feedeth thereupon? And thou (like a trim man indeed as thou art) doſt waile, weepe, and lament, that thou drinkeſt not thy ſelf drunk as thoſe do yonder; nor lie in ſoft and delicate beds richly ſet out with gay and coſtly furniture. Now when ſuch temptations and diſtractions as theſe be, returne not often, but the rule and diſcourſe of reaſon preſently riſeth up againſt them, maketh head, turneth upon them ſuddenly againe (as it were) in the chaſe, and purſued in the rout by enemies, and ſo quickly diſcomfiteth and diſpatcheth the anxiety and deſpaire of the mind, then a man may be aſſured that he hath profited indeed in the ſchoole of Philoſophy, and is well ſetled and confirmed therein. But foraſmuch as the occaſions which do thus ſhake men that are given to Philoſophy, yea, and otherwhiles plucke them a contrary way, do not only proceed from themſelves by reaſon of their own infirmity and ſo gather ſtrength; but the ſad and ſerious counſels alſo of friends, together with the reproofes and contradictory aſſaults made upon them by adverſaries, between good earneſt and game, do mollifie their tender hearts, and make them to bow, bend, and yeeld, which otherwhiles have been able in the end to drive ſome altogether from Philoſophy, who were well entred therein: It may be thought no ſmall ſigne of good proceeding, if one can endure the ſame meekely without being moved with ſuch temptations, or any waies troubled and pinched when he ſhall heare the names and ſurnames of ſuch and ſuch companions and equals otherwiſe of his, who are come to great credit and wealth in Princes Courts; or be advanced by marriages, matching with wives who brought them good dowries and portions; or who are wont to go into the Common Hall of a City, attended upon and accompanied with a traine and troupe of the multitude, either to attaine unto ſome place of government, or to plead ſome notable cauſe of great conſequence: for he that is not diſquieted, aſtonied, or overcome with ſuch aſſaults; certaine it is, and we may be bold to conclude that he is arreſted (as it were) and held ſure as he ought to be by Philoſophy. For it is not poſſible for any to ceaſe affecting and loving thoſe things, which the multitude do ſo highly honour and adore, unleſſe they be ſuch as admire nothing elſe in the world but vertue. For to brave it out, to conteſt, and make head againſt men, is a thing incident unto ſome by occaſion of choler, unto others by reaſon of folly; but to contemne and deſpiſe that which others eſteeme with admiration, no man is able to performe, without a great meaſure of true and reſolute magnanimity: In which reſpect ſuch perſons comparing their ſtate with others magnifie themſelves, as *Solon* did in theſe words:

Many a wicked man is rich,
And good men there be many poore:
But we will not exchange with ſich,
Nor give our goodneſſe for their ſtore.
For vertue aye is durable,
Whereas riches be mutable.

And *Diogenes* compared his peregrination and flitting from the City of *Corinth* to *Athens*, and againe his removing from *Thebes* to *Corinth*, unto the progreſſes and changes of abode that the great King of *Perſia* was wont to make; who in the Spring ſeaſon held his Court at *Suſis*; in Winter, kept houſe at *Babylon*; and during Summer, paſſed the time and ſojourned in *Media*. *Ageſilaus* hearing upon a time the ſaid King of *Perſia* to be named, The Great King: And why (quoth he) is he greater than my ſelfe? Unleſſe it be that he is more juſt and righteous. And *Ariſtotle* writing unto *Antipater* as touching *Alexander* the Great, ſaid, That it became not him only to vaunt much and glorifie himſelfe for that his dominions were ſo great, but alſo any man elſe hath no leſſe cauſe who is inſtructed in the true knowledge of the gods. And *Zeno* ſeeing *Theophraſtus* in great admiration, becauſe he had many ſcholars: Indeed (quoth he) his auditory or quire is greater than mine,

but mine accordeth better and makes sweeter harmony than his. When as therefore thou hast so grounded and established in thine heart that affection unto Vertue, which is able to encounter and stand against all externall things, when thou hast voided out of thy soule all envies, jealousies, and what affections soever are wont either to tickle or to fret, or otherwise to depresse and cast downe the minds of many that have begun to professe Philosophy; this may serve for a great argument and token that thou art well advanced forward, and hast profited much; neither is it a small signe thereof, if thou perceive thy language to be changed from that it was wont to be; for all those who are newly entred into the schoole of Philosophy (to speake generally) affect a kind of speech or stile which aimeth at glory and vaine ostentation: some you shall heare crowing aloud like cocks, and mounting up aloft by reason of their levity and haughty humour, unto the sublimity and splendor of physicall things or secrets in nature; others take pleasure (after the manner of wanton whelps, as *Plato* saith) in tugging and tearing evermore whatsoever they can catch or light upon; they love to be doing with litigious questions, they go directly to darke problemes and sophisticall subtilties, and most of them being once plunged in the quillets and quiddities of Logick, make that (as it were) a meanes or preparative to flesh themselves for Sophistry: Many there be, who go all about collecting and gathering together sententious sayings and histories of ancient times; and as *Anacharsis* was wont to say: That he knew no other use that the Greeks had of their coyned peeces of money, but to tell and number them, or else to cast account and reckon therewith; even so do they nothing else but count and measure their notable sentences and sayings, without drawing any profit or commodity out of them: and the same befalleth unto them which one of *Plato's* familiars applied unto his schollars by way of allusion to a speech of *Antiphanes*: this *Antiphanes* was wont to say in merriment; There was a City in the world, whereas the words so soone as ever they were out of his mouth, and pronounced, became frozen in the aire, by reason of the coldnesse of the place, and so when the heat of Summer came to thaw and melt the same, the inhabitants might heare the talke which had been uttered and delivered in Winter; even so (quoth he) it is with many of those which come to heare *Plato* when they be young; for whatsoever he speaketh and readeth unto them, it is very long ere they understand the same, and hardly when they become old men; and even after the same sort it fareth with them above said, who stand thus affected universally unto Philosophy, untill their judgement being well setled and grown to sound resolution, begin to apprehend those things which may deeply imprint in the mind a morall affection and passion of love, yea, and to search and trace those speeches, whereof the tracts (as *Æsop* was wont to say) lead rather in, than out. For like as *Sophocles* said merrily upon a time, by way of derision: That he would first cut off the haughty and stately invention of *Æschylus*, and then abridge his affected, curious, and artificiall disposition, and in the third place change the manner and forme of his elocution, which is most excellent, and fullest of sweet affections; even so, the students in Philosophy, when they shall perceive that they passe from orations exquisitely penned and framed for ostentation in frequent and solemne assemblies, unto morall speeches, and those that touch the quick, as well the mild and gentle motions, as the hot and violent passions of the mind, then begin they indeed to lay downe all pride and vanity, and profit truly in the schoole of Philosophy.

Consider then, not only in reading the works of Philosophers, or in hearing their lectures, first and formost, whether thou art not more attentive to the words than to the matters; or whether thou be not carried with a greater affection to those who deliver a more subtil and curious composition of sentences, than such as comprise profitable, commodious, substantial and fleshy matters (if I may so say) but also in perusing Poems, or taking in hand any history, observe well and take heed, that there escape thee not any one good sentence tending properly to the reformation of manners or the alleviation of passions: for like as (according to *Simonides*) the Bee setleth upon flowers for to suck out of it the yellow honey, whereas others love only their colour or pleasant sent, and neither care nor seeke for any thing else thereout; even so, when other men be conversant in Poems for pleasure only and passime, thou finding and gathering somewhat out thereof worth the noting, shall seeme at the first sight to have some knowledge already thereof by a certaine custome and acquaintance with it, and a love taken unto it as a good thing and familiar unto thee. As for those that read the books of *Plato* and *Xenophon*, in no other regard but for the beauty of their gallant stile, seeking for nought else but for the purity of speech, and the very naturall Atticke language, as if they went to gather the thin dew or tender mosse or downe of herbs; What will you say of such? But that they love physick drugs, which have either a lovely colour, or a pleasant smell only; but otherwise the medicinable vertues thereof and properties either to purge the body or mitigate any paine, they neither desire to know nor are willing to use.

Moreover, such as are proceeded farther, yet profited more, have the skill and knowledge how to reape fruit not only out of words spoken or books written, but also to receive profit out of all sights, spectacles, and whatsoever things they see, gathering from thence whatsoever is fit and commodious for their purpose; as it is reported of *Æschylus* and other such as he: For *Æschylus* being upon a time at the Ithmian games, beheld the fight of the sword-fencers that fought at sharpe, and when one of the said champions had received a grievous wound, whereupon the whole theater set up a cry, he jogging one that was by him (named *Iohn* of *Chios*) See you not (quoth he) what use and exercise is able to do? The party himselfe that is hurt saith never a word, but the lookers on cry out.

Brasides

Brasides chanced among drie figs to light upon a silly mouse that bit him by the finger, and when he had shaken her off and let her go, said thus to himself: See how there is nothing so little and so feeble, but it is able to make shift and save its life, if it dare only defend it self. *Diogenes* when he saw one make means to drink out of the bad of his hand, cast away the dish or cup that he carried in his budget. Lo, how attentive taking heed and continuall exercise maketh men ready & apt to mark, observe and learn from all things that make any way for their good. And this they may the rather do when they joyn words and deeds together, not onely in that sort (as *Thucydides* speaketh of) by meditating, and exercising themselves with the experience of present perils, but also against pleasures, quarrels, and altercations in judgements about defences of causes and magistracies; as making proof thereby of the opinions that they hold, or rather by carriage of themselves, teaching others what opinons they are to hold. For such as yet be learners, and notwithstanding that, intermeddle in affairs like pragmatical persons, spying how they may catch any thing out of Philosophie, and go therewith incontinently in manner of juglers with their boxe, either into the common place and market, or into the school which young men frequent, or else to Princes tables, there to set them abroad; we are not to think them Philosophers: no more than those to be Physicians, who onely sell medicinable spices, drugs or compound confections; or to speak more properly, such a sophister or counterfeit philosopher as this, resembleth the bird that *Homer* describeth, which foresooth, so soon as he hath gotten any thing, carrieth it to his Scholars (as the said bird doth in her mouth convey meat to her naked young ones that cannot flie.)

And so him self he doth beguile
And thereby take much harm the while.

converting and distributing naught of all that which he hath gotten to his own nourishment, nor so much as concocting and digesting the same: and therefore we ought of necessity to regard and consider well whether we use any discourse and place our words so, that for our selves they may do good; and in regard of others, make no shew of vain-glory nor ambitious desire to be known abroad, but onely of an intention rather to hear, or else to teach.

But principally we are to observe whether our wrangling humour and desire to be cavilling about questions disputable, be allayed in us or no, as also whether we have yet given over to devise reasons and arguments to assail others; like as champions armed like hurlebats of tough leather about their arms and bels in their hands, to annoy their concurrents, taking more pleasure and delight to fell and astonish with one rap our adversary, and so to lay him along on the earth, than to learn or teach him: for surely modesty, mildnesse and courtesie in this kind will do well; and when a man is not willing to enter into any conference or disputation, with a purpose to put down and vanquish another, nor to break out into fits of choler, nor having evicted his adversary to be ready as they say to tread and trample him under foot, nor to seem displeased and discontent if himself have the foil and be put to the worst, be all good signes of one that hath sufficiently profited. And this shewed *Aristippus* very well upon a time when he was so hardly pressed and overlaid into a certain disputation, that he knew not what answer to make presently unto his adversary, a jolly bold and audacious sophister, but otherwise a brain-sick fool and without all judgement: for *Aristippus* seeing him to vaunt himself puffed up with vain glory, that he had put him to a *non plus*: Well (quoth he) I see that for this time I go away with the worse, but surely when I am gone I will sleep more soundly and quietly than you that have gotten the better. Moreover, we may also prove and sound our selves, whether we have profited or no, even whiles we speak in publick place: namely, if neither upon the sight of a greater audience than we looked for, we shrink not for fear and false heart, nor contrariwise be discouraged to see fewer come to hear our exercises than we hoped for; ne yet when we are to make a speech to the people, or before a great magistrate, we leese the opportunity thereof, for that we have not well premeditated thereof before, nor come provided of apt words to declare our mind a thing that by report befell unto *Demosthenes* and *Alcibiades*: for *Alcibiades* as he was passing ingenious and inventive of matter, so he wanted audacity, and was not so ready as some other to utter the same, but troubled eftsoons in his pleading and delivery of it, insomuch as many times in the very mids of his oration he would be out and to seek for a proper and fit term to expresse the conception of his mind, or else to recover that word again which was slipt and escaped out of his memory. As for *Homer*, he had such an opinion of his own perfection, and his poeticall vein in the rest of all his work, that he stuck not to set down the very first verse of his poeme defective in measure, and not answerable to the rules of versifying. So much the rather therefore likely it is, that they who set nothing before their eyes, nor aim at ought else but vertue onely and honesty, will make use of the present occasion and the occurrence of affaires fall out as they will, without regard of applause, hissing or any other noise whatsoever in token of liking or disliking their speech.

Now every man ought to consider not onely his own speeches, but also his actions, namely, whether they carry with them more profit and sound truth, than vain pomp and ostentation: for if the true love indeed of yong folk, man or woman, requireth no witnesses, but resteth in the private contentment and enjoying of the sweet delights, although the same were performed and their desires fully accomplished secretly between them without the privity of any person; how much more credible is it, that that he who is enamoured of honesty and wisedome, using the company and fellowship familiarly of vertue by his actions, & enjoying the same, shal find in himself without saying one word

an exceeding great contentment, and demand no other hearers or beholders but his own conſcience? For like as he was but a vainfool who called unto his maid in the houſe and cryed with a loud voyce; *Dionyſia*, come and ſee I am not proud and vain-glorious now as I was wont to be; even ſo he that hat hath done ſome vertuous and commendable act, and then goes forth to tell it abroad & ſpread the fruit thereof in every place, certain it is that ſuch an one regards ſtil outward vanities, and is carried with a covetous deſire of vain-glory, neither hath he ever had as yet a true ſight indeed and perfect viſion of vertue, but onely a fantaſticall dream of her, imagining as he lies aſleep, that he ſeeth ſome wandring ſhadow and image thereof, and then afterward repreſenteth thus unto his view that which he hath done, as a painted Table to look upon. Well then, it is the property of him that proceedeth in vertue, not onely when he hath beſtowed ſome thing upon his friend, or done a good turn unto one of his familiars, for to make no words thereof; but alſo when he hath given his voyce juſtly, or delivered his opinion truly, among many others that are unjuſt and untrue; or when he hath flatly denyed the unhoneſt requeſt, or ſtoutly croſſed a bad motion of ſome rich Man, great Lord or mighty Magiſtrate; or refuſed gifts and bribes; or proceeded ſo farre that being athirſt in the night he hath not drunk at all; or hath refuſed to kiſſe a beautiful boy or fair maiden, and turned away from them coming toward him as *Ageſilaus* did: to keep all this to himſelf and ſay nothing: For ſuch a one as is content to be proved and tryed by his own ſelf, not ſetting light by that triall and judgement, but joying and taking delight in his conſcience, as being a ſufficient witneſs and beholder, both of good things, and commendable actions, ſheweth that reaſon hath turned in, to lodge and keep reſiance with him, that it hath taken deep root there: and as *Democritus* ſaith: That he is well framed, and by cuſtome brought to rejoyce and take pleaſure in himſelf. And like as Husbandmen are more glad and willing to ſee the ears of corn hang down their heads, and bend toward the earth, than thoſe who for their lightneſs ſtand ſtraight, upright and ſtaring aloft, for that they ſuppoſe ſuch ears are empty, or have little or nothing in them, for all their fair ſhew; even ſo, among young men, ſtudents in Philoſophie, they that have leaſt in them of any weight & be moſt void, be thoſe that are at the very firſt moſt confident, ſet the greateſt countenance, carry the biggeſt port in their gate, and have the boldeſt face, ſhewing therein how full they are of pride in themſelves, contempt of all others, and ſparing of none: but afterwards as they begin to grow on and burniſh, furniſhing and filling themſelves with the fruits indeed of reaſon and learning: then and never before they lay away theſe proud looks: then down goes this vain pride and outward oſtentation. And like as we ſee in veſſels, whereinto men uſe to powr in liquor, according to the quantity & meaſure of the ſaid liquor that goeth in, the air which was there before flieth out: even ſo to the proportion of thoſe good things which are certain and true indeed, wherewith men are repleniſhed, their vanity giveth place, all their hypocriſie vaniſheth away, their ſwelling and puffing pride doth abate and fall, and giving over then to ſtand upon their goodly long beards and ſide robes, they tranſferre the exerciſe of outward things into the mind and ſoul within, uſing the ſharp bit of bitter reprehenſion principally againſt themſelves. And as for others, they can finde in their hearts to deviſe, conferre, and talk with them more graciouſly and with greater courteſie: the manner of Philoſophie, and reputation of Philoſopers, they do not uſurp nor take upon them, neither do they uſe it as their addition in former time: and if haply one of them by ſome other be called by that name, he will not anſwer to it; but if he be a young gentleman indeed, after a ſmiling and pleaſant manner, yea, and bluſhing withall for ſhame, he will ſay thus out of the Poet *Homer*:

I am no God nor heavenly wight:
Why doſt thou give to me their right?

For true it is as *Æſchylus* ſaith:

A dam'ſell young if ſhe have known,
And taſted man once carnally;
Her eye doth it bewray anon,
It ſparkles fire ſuſpiciouſly.

But a young man having truly taſted the profit and proceeding in Phioſophie, hath theſe ſignes following him, which the Poetreſſe *Sappho* ſetteth down in theſe verſes:

When I you ſee, what do I ail?
Firſt ſuddenly my voice doth fail,
And then like fire a colour red,
Under my skin doth run and ſpread.

It would do you good to view his ſetled and ſtayed countenance, to behold the pleaſant and ſweet regard of his eye, and to hear him when he ſpeaketh: for like as thoſe who are profeſſed in any confraternity of holy myſteryes, at their firſt aſſembly and meeting together, hurry in tumultuous ſort with great noiſe, inſomuch as they thruſt and throng one another; but when they come to celebrate the divine ſervice thereto belonging, and that the ſacred reliques and ornaments are once ſhewed, they are very attentive with reverent fear and devout ſilence; ſo, at the beginning of the ſtudy of Philoſophie and in the very entry (as it were) of the gate that leadeth unto it, a man ſhall ſee much ado, a foul ſtirre, great audaciouſneſs, inſolency, and jangling words more than enough; for that ſome there be, who would intrude themſelves rudely, and thruſt into the place violently, for the greedy deſire they have to winne reputation and credit: but he that is once within and ſeeth the great light,

as

as if the ſanctuaries and ſacred cabinets or tabernacles were ſet open, anon he putteth on another habit, and a divers countenance with ſilence and aſtoniſhment, he becometh humble, pliable and modeſt, ready to follow the diſcourſe of reaſon and doctrine, no leſſe than the direction of ſome god. To ſuch as theſe, me thinks, I may do very well to accommodate that ſpeech which *Menedemus* ſometime in mirth ſpake pleaſantly: Many there be that ſail to *Athens* (quoth he) for to go to ſchool there, who when they come firſt thither ſeem * *Sophi*, that is be wiſe, and afterwards prove * *Philoſophi*, that is, lovers of wiſedome: then of Philoſophers they become * Sophiſters, that is, Proteſtors and Readers, at till in proceſſe of time they grow to be * Idiots, that is to ſay, ignorant and fools to ſee to: for the neerer that they approch to the uſe of reaſon and to learning indeed, the more do they abridge the opinion that they have of themſelves, and lay down their preſumption. Among thoſe that have need of phyſick, ſome that are troubled with the tooth-ach, or have a felon or whitflaw on their finger, go themſelves to the Phyſician for to have remedy: others who are ſick of an ague ſend for the Phyſician home to their houſes, and deſire to be eaſed and cured by him: but thoſe that are fallen either into a fit of melancholy, or phrenſie, or otherwiſe be diſtracted in their brains and out of their right wits, otherwhiles will not admit or receive the Phyſicians, although they came of themſelves uncalled; but either drive them out of doors, or elſe hide themſelves out of their ſight, and ſo farre gone they be and dangerouſly ſick, that they ſeeb not their own ſickneſſe; ſemblably of thoſe who ſinne and do amiſſe, ſuch be incorrigible and uncurable, who are grievouſly offended and angry, yea, and immortall hatred with thoſe who ſeem to admoniſh and reprove them for their miſ-behaviour; but ſuch as will abide them, and are content to receive and entertain them, be in better ſtate and in a readier way to recover their health: mary he that yeelideth himſelf to ſuch as rebuke him, confeſſing unto them his errors, diſcovering of his own accord his poverty and nakedneſſe, unwilling that any thing as touching his ſtate ſhould be hidden, not loving to be unknown and ſecret, but acknowledging and avowing all that he is charged with, yea, and who prayeth a man to check, to reprove, to touch him to the quick; and ſo craveth for help; certainly herein he ſheweth no ſmall ſign of good progreſſe and amendment: according to that which *Diogenes* was wont to ſay: He that would be ſaved (that is to ſay) become an honeſt man, had need to ſeek either a good friend or a ſharp and bitter enemy, to the end that either by gentle reproof and admonition, or elſe by a rigorous cure of correction, he may be delivered from his vices. But how much ſoever a man in a glorious bravery ſheweth to thoſe that be abroad either a foul and thred-bare coat or a ſteined garment, or a rent ſhoo, or in a kind of preſumptuous humility mocketh himſelf, in that peradventure he is of a very low ſtature, crooked or bunch-backed, and thinketh herein that he doth a worthy and doughty deed: but in the mean while covereth and hideth the ordures and filthineſſe of his vile life, cloaketh the villanous enormities of his manners, his envy, malicious neſſe, avarice, ſenſuall voluptuouſneſſe, as if they were beaſtly botches or ugly ulcers, ſuffering no body to touch them, nay, nor ſo much as to ſee them, and all for fear of reproof and rebuke, certes, ſuch a one hath profited but a little, or to ſpeak more truly, never a whit at all, but he that is ready to encounter and ſet upon theſe vices, and either is willing and able (which is the chief and principall) to chaſtiſe and condemn, yea, and put himſelf to ſorrow for his faults; or if not ſo, yet in the ſecond place as the leaſt can endure patiently, that a nother man by his reprehenſions and remonſtrances ſhould cleanſe and purge him: certes evident it is, that ſuch an one hateth and deteſteth wickedneſs indeed, and is in the right way to ſhake it off: and verily, we ought to avoyd the very name and appearance onely thereof, and to be aſhamed for to be thought and reputed wicked; but he that grieveth more at the ſubſtance of vice it ſelf, than the infamy that cometh thereof, will never be afraid, but can very well abide both to ſpeak hardly of himſelf, and to hear ill by others, ſo he may be the better thereby. To this purpoſe may very well be applyed a pretty ſpeech of *Diogenes* unto a certain yonker, who perceiving that *Diogenes* had an eye on him within a Tavern or Tipling-houſe, withdrew himſelf quickly more inward, for to be out of his ſight: Never do ſo (quoth he) for the farther thou flieſt backward, the more ſhalt thou be ſtill in the Tavern: even ſo a man may ſay of thoſe that be given to vice, for the more that any of them ſeemeth to deny his fault, the farther is he engaged, and the deeper ſunk in ſin; like as poor men, the greater ſhew that they make of riches, the poorer they be, by reaſon of their vanity & bragging of that which they have not. But he that profiteth indeed, hath for a good preſident & example, to follow that famous Phyſician *Hippocrates*, who both openly confeſſed and alſo put down in writing, that he was ignorant in the Anatomie of a mans head, and namely, as touching the ſeames or ſutures thereof: and this account will he make, that it were an unworthy indignity: if (when ſuch a man as *Hippocrates* thought not much to publiſh his own error and ignorance, for fear that others might fall into the like) he who is willing to ſave himſelf from perdition, cannot endure to be reproved, nor acknowledge his own ignorance and folly. As for thoſe rules and precepts which are delivered by *Pyrrho* and *Bion* in this caſe are not in my conceit the ſignes of amendment and progreſſe ſo much, as of ſome other more perfect and abſolute habit rather of the mind; for *Bion* willed and required his ſcholars and familiars that converſed with him, to think then (and never before) that they had proceeded and profited in Philoſophie, when they could with as good a will abide to hear men revile and rail at them, as if they ſpake unto them in this manner:

* Σοφοι. * Φιλοσοφοι. * Σοφισται. * Ιδιωται.

Good sir, you seem no person lewd,
nor foolish sot, inuis:
All hail, Fair chieve you and adieu,
God send you alwayes bliss.

And *Pyrrho* (as it is reported) being upon a time at Sea, and in danger to be cast away in a tempest, shewed unto the rest of his fellow passengers a porker feeding hard upon barley cast before him on Ship-boord: Lo, my masters (quoth he) we ought by reason and exercise in Philosophie, to frame our selves to this passe, and to attain unto such an impassibility, as to be moved and troubled with the accidents of fortune no more than this pig.

But consider furthermore, what was the conceit and opinion of *Zeno* in this point: for he was of mind that every man might and ought to know whether he profited or no in the School of vertue, even by his very dreams; namely, if he took no pleasure to see in his sleep any filthy or dishonest thing, nor delighted to imagine that he either intended, did or approved any lewd, unjust or outragious action: but rather did behold (as in a setled calm, without wind, weather and wave, in the clear bottom of the water) both the imaginative and also the passive faculty of the soul, wholly overspread and lightened with the bright beams of reason: which *Plato* before him (as it should seem) knowing well enough, hath prefigured and represented unto us, what fantasticall motions they be that proceed in sleep from the imaginative and sensuall part of the soul given by nature to tyrannize and overrule the guidance of reason: namely, if a man dream that he seeketh to have carnall company with his own mother, or that he hath a great mind and appetite to eat all strange, unlawful and forbidden meats: as if then the said Tyrant gave himself wholy to all those sensualities and concupiscences, as being let loose at such a time, which by day the law either by fear or shame doth represse and keep down. Like as therefore beasts which serve for draught or saddle, if they be well taught and trained, albeit their Governors and Rulers let the Reins loose and give them the head, fling not out nor go aside from the right way, but either draw or make pace forward still, and as they were wont ordinarily keep the same train and hold on in one course and order, even so they whose sensual part of the soul is made trainable and obedient, tame, and well-schooled by the discipline of reason, will neither in dreams nor sicknesses easily suffer the lusts and concupiscences of the flesh, to rage or break out unto any enormities punishable by law; but will observe and keep still in memorie that good discipline and custome which doth ingenerate a certein power and efficacy unto diligence, whereby they shall and will take heed unto themselves; for if the mind hath been used by exercise to resist passions and temptations, to hold the body and all the members thereof as it were with bit and bridle under subjection, in such sort that it hath at command the eyes, not to shed tears for pitty; the heart likewise not to leap and pant in fear; the naturall parts not to rise nor stirre but to be still and quiet without any trouble at all, upon the sight of any fair and beautiful person, man or woman; how can it otherwise be but that there should be more likelihood that exercise having seized upon the sensuall part of the soul and tamed it, should polish, lay even, reform, and bring unto good order all the imaginations and motions thereof, even as farre as to the very dreams and fantasies in sleep: as it is reported of *Stilpo* the Philosopher, who dreamed that he saw *Neptune* expostulating with him in anger, because he had not killed a beef to sacrifice unto him as the manner was of other priests to do, and that himself nothing astonyed or dismay'd at the said vision should answer thus again: What is that thou saist O *Neptune*? comest thou to complain indeed like a child (who pules and cries for not having a piece big enough) that I take not up some money at interest, and put my self in debt, to fill the whole City with the sent and savor of rost and burnt, but have sacrificed unto thee such as I had at home according to my ability and in a mean? whereupon *Neptune* (as he thought) should merrily smile and reach forth unto him his right hand, promising that for his sake and for the love of him he would that yeer send the Megarians great store of rain and good soison of sea-loaches or fishes called *Aphyæ* by that means coming unto them by whole sculles. Such then, as while they lie asleep have no illusions arising in their brains to trouble them, but those dreams or visions onely as be joious, pleasant, plain and evident, not painfull, not terrible, nothing rough, maligne, tortious and crooked; may boldly say that these fantasies and apparitions be no other then the reflexions and rayes of that light which rebound from the good proceedings in Philosophie: whereas contrariwise the furious pricks of lust, timorous frights, unmanly and base flights, childish and excessive joyes, dolorous sorrowes, and dolefull mones by reason of some piteous illusions, strange and absurd visions appearing in dreams, may be well compared unto the broken waves and billowes of the Sea beating upon the rocks and craggy banks of the shore; for that the soul having not as yet that setled perfection in it self which should keep it in good order, but holdeth on a course still according to good lawes onely and sage opinions, from which when it is farthest sequestred and most remote, to wit, in sleep, it suffereth it self to return again to the old wont and to be let loose and abandoned to her passions: But whether these things may be ascribed unto that profit and amendement whereof we treat, or rather to some other habitude, having now gathered more strength and firm constancy, not subject by means of reasons and good instruction to shaking, I leave that to your own consideration and mine together.

But now forasmuch as this totall impassibility (if I may so speak) of the mind, to wit, a state so perfect that it is void of all affections, is a great & divine thing: & seeing that this profit and proceeding whereof

whereof we write consisteth in a kind of remission and mildnesse of the said passions, we ought both to consider each of them apart, and also compare them one with another, thereby to examine and judge the difference: conferre we shall every passion by it selfe, by observing whether our lusts and desires be more calme and lesse violent than in former time, by marking likewise our fits of feare and anger, whether they be now abated in comparison of those before, or whether when they be up and enflamed, we can quickly with the help of reason remove or quench that which was wont to set them on worke or a fire: compare we shall them together, in case we examine our selves whether we have now a greater portion of grace and shame in us than of feare; whether we find in our selves emulation and not envy; whether we covet honour rather than worldly goods; and in one word, whether after the manner of musicians we offend rather in the extremity and excesse of harmony called *Dorion*, which is grave, solemne, and devout, than the *Lydian*, which is light and galliard-like, that is to say, inclining rather in the whole manner of our life to hardnesse and severity, than to effeminate softnesse; whether in the enterprise of any actions we shew timidity and slacknes, rather than temerity and rashnesse, and last of all whether we offend rather in admiring too highly the sayings of men and the persons themselves, than in despising and debasing them too low: for like as we say in physick, it is a good signe of health when diseases are not diverted and translated into the noble members and principall parts of the body; even so it seemeth that when the vices of such as are in the way of reformation and amendment of life change into passions that are more mild and moderate, it is a good beginning of ridding them away cleane by little and little.

The Lacedæmonian *Ephori*, which were the high controllers of that whole State, demanded of the Musician *Phrynis*, when he had set up two strings more to his seven stringed-instrument, whether he would have them to cut in sunder the trebbles or the bases, the highest or the lowest? but as for us, we had need to have our affections cut both above and beneath, if we desire to reduce our actions to a meane and mediocrity. And surely this progresse or proceeding of ours to perfection, professeth rather to let down the lightest first, to cut off the extremity of passions in excesse, and to abate the acrimony of affections before we do any thing else, in which as saith *Sophocles*:

Folke foolish and incontinent,
Most furious be and violent.

As for this one point, namely, that we ought to transfer our judgement to action, and not to suffer our words to remaine bare and naked words still in the aire, but reduce them to effect, we have already said, that is the chiefe property belonging to our progresse and going forward: now the principall arguments and signes thereof be these; if we have a zeale and fervent affection to imitate those things which we praise; if we be forward and ready to execute that which we so much admire, and contrariwise will not admit nor abide to heare of such things as we in our opinion dispraise and condemne. Probable it is and standeth with great likelihood that the Athenians all in generall praised and highly esteemed the valour and proweese of *Miltiades*; but when *Themistocles* said; that the victory and Trophee of *Miltiades* would not give him leave to sleep, but awakened him in the night, plaine it is and evident, that he not only prailed and admired, but had a desire also to imitate him, and do as much himselfe; semblably, we are to make this reckoning, that our progresse and proceeding in vertue is but small, when it reacheth no farther than to praise only, and have in admiration that which good men have worthily done, without any motion and inclination of our will to imitate the same and effect the like. For neither is the carnall love of the body effectuall, unlesse some little jealousie be mixed withall, nor the praise of vertue fervent and active, which doth not touch the quick, and prick the heart with an ardent zeale instead of envy, unto good and commendable things, and the same desirous to performe and accomplish the same fully. For it is not sufficient that the heart should be turned upside down only, as *Alcibiades* was wont to say by the words and precepts of the Philosopher reading out of his chaire, even untill the teares gush out of the eyes: but he that truly doth profit and go forward, ought by comparing himselfe with the works and actions of good men, and those that be perfectly vertuous, to feele withall in his own heart, as well a displeasure with himselfe, and a griefe in conscience for that wherein he is short and defective, as also a joy and contentment in his spirit upon a hope and desire to be equall unto them, as being full of an affection and motion that never resteth and lieth still, but resembleth for all the world (according to the similitude of *Simonides*:)

The sucking foale that keeps just pace,
And runs with dam in every place,

Affecting and desiring nothing more than to be wholly united and concorporate with a good man, by imitation. For surely this is the passion peculiar and proper unto him that truly taketh profit by the study of Philosophy; To love and cherish tenderly the disposition and conditions of him whose deeds he doth imitate and desire to expresse, with a certaine good will to render alwaies in words, due honour unto them for their vertue, and assay how how to fashion and conforme himselfe like unto them. But in whomsoever there is instilled or infused (I wot not what) contentious humour, envy, and contestation against such as be his betters, let him know that all this proceedeth from an heart exulcerated with jealousie for some authority, might, and reputation, and not upon any love, honour, or admiration of their vertues. Now, when as we begin to love good men in such sort, that (as *Plato* saith) we esteem not only the man himself happy who is temperate; or those blessed

sed who be the ordinary hearers of such excellent discourses which daily come out of his mouth; but also that we do affect and admire his countenance, his port, his gate, the cast and regard of his eye, his smile and manner of laughter, insomuch as we are willing, as one would say, to be joyned, sodered, and glued unto him; then we may be assured certainly that we profit in vertue; yea, and so much the rather, if we have in admiration good and vertuous men, not only in their prosperity, but also (like as amorous folke are well enough pleased with the lisping or stammering tongue; yea, and do like the pale colour of these whom for the flower of their youth and beauty they love and think it beseemeth them, as we read of Lady *Panthea*, who by her teares and sad silence, all heavy, afflicted and blubbered as she was, for the dolor and sorrow that she tooke for the death of her husband, seized *Araspes* so as he he was enamoured upon her) in their adversity, so as we never start back for feare, nor dread the banishment of *Aristides*, the imprisonment of *Anaxagoras*, the poverty of *Socrates*, or the condemnation of *Phocion*, but repute their vertue, desirable, lovely, and amiable, even with all these calamities, and run directly toward her for to kisse and embrace her by our imitation, having alwaies in our mouth at every one of these crosse accidents this notable speech of *Euripides*:

Oh how each thing doth well become,
Such generous hearts both all and some!

For we are never to feare or doubt that any good or honest thing shall ever be able to avert from vertue this heavenly inspiration and divine instinct of affection, which not only is not grieved and troubled at those things which seeme unto men most full of misery and calamity, but also admireth and desireth to imitate them. Hereupon also it followeth by good consequence, that they who have once received so deep an impression in their hearts, take this course with themselves: That when they begin any enterprise, or enter into the administration of government, or when any sinister accident is presented unto them, they set before their eyes the examples of those who either presently are, or heretofore have been, worthy persons, discoursing in this manner: What is it that *Plato* would have done in this case? What would have *Epaminondas* said to this? How would *Lycurgus* or *Agesilaus* have behaved themselves herein? After this sort (I say) will they labour to frame, compose, reforme, and adorne their manners, as it were, before a mirrour or looking-glasse, to wit, in correcting any unseemely speech that they have let fall, or repressing any passion that hath risen in them. They that have learned the names of the demi-gods called *Idæi Dactyli*, know how to use them as counter-charmes, or preservatives against sudden frights, pronouncing the same one after another readily and ceremoniously; but the remembrance and thinking upon great and worthy men represented suddenly unto those who are in the way of perfection, and taking hold of them in all passions and complexions which shall encounter them, holdeth them up, and keepeth them upright, that they cannot fall; and therefore this also may go for one argument and token of proceeding in vertue.

Over and besides, not to be so much troubled with any occurrent, nor to blush exceedingly for shame as before-time, nor to seeke to hide or otherwise to alter our countenance or any thing else about us, upon the sudden comming in place of a great or sage personage unexpected, but to persist resolute, to go directly toward him with bare and open face, are tokens that a man feeleth his conscience setled and assured. Thus *Alexander* the Great seeing a messenger running toward him apace with a pleasant and smiling countenance, and stretching forth his hand afar off to him: How now good fellow (quoth he) what good news canst thou bring me more, unlesse it be tidings that *Homer* is risen againe? Esteeming in truth that his worthy acts and noble deeds already atchieved wanted nothing else, nor could be made greater than they were, but only by being consecrated unto immortality by the writings of some noble spirit; even so a young man that groweth better and better every day, and hath reformed his manners, loving nothing more than to make himselfe known what he is unto men of worth and honour: to shew unto them his whole house and the order thereof, his table, his wife and children, his studies and intents: to acquaint them with his sayings and writings: insomuch as otherwhiles he is grieved in his heart to thinke and remember, either that his father naturall that begat him, or his master that taught him, are departed out of this life, for that they be not alive to see in what good estate he is in and to joy thereat: neither would he wish or pray to the gods for any thing so much, as that they might revive and come againe above ground, for to be spectatours and eye-witnesses of his life and all his actions. Contrariwise, those that have neglected themselves and not endeavoured to do well, but are corrupt in their manners, cannot without feare and trembling abide to see those that belong unto them, no nor so much as to dreame of them. Adde moreover, if you please, unto that which hath been already said, thus much also for a good token of progresse in vertue: When a man thinketh no sin or trespasse small, but is very carefull and wary to avoid and shun them all. For like as they who despaire ever to be rich, make no account at all of saving a little expense; for thus they think; That the sparing of a small matter can adde no great thing unto their stock, to heap it up; but contrariwise hope when a man sees that he wanteth but a little of the marke which he shooteth at, causeth that the nearer he commeth thereto, his covetousnesse is the more; even so it is in those matters that pertaine to vertue: he who giveth not place much, nor procedeth to these speeches: Well, and what shall we have after this? Be it so now: It will be better again for it another time, and such like: but alwaies taketh heed to himselfe in every thing; and whensoever vice insinuating it selfe into the least sin and fault that is, seemeth to pretend

tend and suggest some colourable excuses for to crave pardon, is much discontented and displeased; he (I say) giveth hereby good evidence and proofe that he hath a house within cleane and neat, and that he would not endure the least impurity and ordure in the world to defile the same: For (as *Æschylus* saith) an opinion conceived once, that nothing that we have is great and to be esteemed and reckoned of, causeth us to be careleese and negligent in small matters. They that make a pallisado, a rampier, or rough mud wall, care not much to put into their work any wood that commeth next hand, neither is it greatly materiall to take thereto any rubbish or stone that they can meet with, or first commeth into their eye, yea, and if it were a pillar fallen from a monument or sepulchre; semblably do wicked and leud folke, who gather, thrumble, and heape up together all sorts of gaine, all actions that be in their way, it makes no matter what; but such as profit in vertue, who are already planted, and whose golden foundation of a good life is laid (as it were) for some sacred temple or royall palace, will not take hand over head, any stuffe to build thereupon, neither will they worke by aime, but every thing shall be couched, laied, and ranged by line and levell, that is to say, by the square and rule of reason: which is the cause (as we thinke) that *Polycletus* the famous imager was wont to say: That the hardest peece of all the worke remained then to do, when the clay and the naile met together; signifying thus much: That the chiefe point of cunning and perfection was in the up-shot and end of all.

Of Superstition.

The Summary.

It should seeme that Plutarch *composed this book in mockery and derision of the Jews whom he toucheth and girdeth at in one place, and whose religion he mingleth with the superstition of Pagans; to as much purpose (I wis) as that which he delivereth in a discourse at the table, where he compareth the feast of the Tabernacles ordained by the eternall and almighty God, with the Bacchanales and such stinking ordures of idolaters; thinking verily that* Bacchus *was the god of the Jews. This slander of his and false calumniation ought to be imputed unto that ignorance of the true God, wherein* Plutarch *did remaine inwrapped: yet is not he the man alone who hath derided and flouted the religion of the Jews: but such scoffes and derisions of the sages and wise men of this world, especially and above all when they are addressed against God, fall upon the head of the authors and devisers thereof, to their utter confusion. Moreover as touching this point, that some have thought this present discourse wherein he endeavoureth and laboureth to prove superstition to be more perilous than Atheisme is dangerous to be read, and containeth false doctrine; for that superstition of the twaine is not so bad: I say that in regard of the foolish devotion of* Plutarch, *and such as himselfe, which in no wise deserveth the name of religion, but is indeed a derision and profanation of true piety and godlinesse, it were not amisse to affirme that superstition is more wretched and miserable than Atheisme, considering that lesse hurtfull and dangerous it is for a man not to have his mind and soule troubled at all and disquieted with a fantasticall illusion of idols and Chimæra's in the aire, than to feare, honour, and serve them in such sort as justice and humanity should in manner be abolished by such superstitious idolaters. To be short, that it were better to defeat and overthrow at once all false gods, than to lodge any one in his head, for to languish thereby in perpetuall misery. Concerning true religion and the extremities thereof, the case is otherwise, and the question disputable, which we leave to Divines and Theologians to scan upon, to discourse and determine, since our intention and purpose urgeth us not at this time to discourse hereupon.*

But to returne unto our author, considering that which we come to touch; Atheists cannot find how to prevaile and maintaine their opinion: for sufficient processe and accusation against themselves they carry every minute of an houre in their cauterized and seared conscience: but he sheweth that to worship and serve many idols, is a thing without comparison more deplorable than to disavow and disclaime them all. But to prove this, after he had discovered the course of superstition and Atheism, and declared the difference of these two extremities, he saith in the first place, that superstition is the most unworthy and unseemely of all the passions of the soule, proving the same by divers reasons, to wit, That the superstitious man is in continuall perplexity, he dreadeth his own idoll no lesse than a cruell tyrant, and imagineth a thousand evils even after his death. After this he taketh a view of the Atheist, and opposeth him against the superstitious, resolving upon this point; that the superstitious person is more miserable of the twaine, as well in adversity as prosperity, and to confirme and satisfie his assertion, he setteth down many arguments and notable examples. Moreover he sheweth that the superstitious person is an enemy to all deity or goodhead, he putteth cleane out of his heart, and treadeth under foot all humanity and righteousnesse for to please his idols, and in one word, that he is the most wretched caitife in the world. And for a conclusion he exhorteth us so to flie superstition, that we hold our selves from falling into Atheisme, keeping in the middle between; of which point every good man ought to consider and thinke upon well, and in good earnest in these latter times of the world, albeit he who advertiseth us thereof in this place never knew what was true religion.

Of

Of Superſtition.

THe ignorance and want of true knowledge, as touching the gods, divided even from the beginning into two branches, meeting on the one ſide with ſtubborne and obſtinate natures, as it were, with a churliſh peece of ground, hath in them engendred Impiety and Atheiſme; and on the other ſide, lighting upon gentle and tender ſpirits like a moiſt and ſoft ſoile, hath bred and imprinted therein ſuperſtition: now as all errour in opinion and judgment, and namely in theſe matters, is hurtfull and dangerous enough; ſo if it be accompanied with ſome paſſion or the mind it is moſt pernicious. For this we muſt thinke, that every one of theſe paſſions reſembleth a deception that is feaverous and inflamed; and like as the diſlocations of any joynts in a mans body out of their place joyned with a wound be worſe than others to be cured; even ſo the diſtortions and errours of the mind meeting with ſome paſſion are more difficult to be reformed. As for example, ſet caſe that one do thinke that the little motes and indiviſible bodies called *Atomi*, together with voidneſſe and emptineſſe, be the firſt elements and principles whereof all things are made; certainly this is an erroneous and falſe opinion of his: howbeit the ſame breedeth no ulcer, no feaver cauſing diſordinate pulſe in the arteries, nor yet any pricking and troubleſome paine. Doth ſome one hold that riches is the ſoveraign good of man? This errour and falſe opinion hath a ruſt, or canker, and a worme that eateth into the ſoule and tranſporteth the ſame beſides it ſelfe, it ſuffereth it not to take any repoſe: it ſtingeth, it pricketh it and ſetteth it a gadding, it it throweth it down headlong (as it were) from high rocks, it ſtifleth and ſtrangleth it, and in one word it bereaveth it of all liberty and franke ſpeech. Againe, are there ſome perſwaded that vertue and vice be ſubſtances corporall and materiall? This haply is a groſſe ignorance and a foule errour, howbeit not lamentable nor worthy to be deplored; but there be other judgements and opinions like unto this:

O vertue wretched and miſerable,
Nought elſe but words and wind variable;
Thee ſerv'd I daily with all reverence,
As if thou haddſt been ſome reall eſſence:
Whereas injuſtice neglected I have,
Which would have made me a man rich and brave;
Intemperance like have I caſt behind,
Of pleaſures all, the mother deare and kind.

Such as theſe verily we ought to pitty, yea, and withall to be offended at, becauſe in whoſe minds they are once entered and ſetled they engender many maladies and paſſions like unto wormes and ſuch filthy vermine. But now to come unto thoſe which at this preſent are in queſtion: Impiety or Atheiſme, being a falſe perſwaſion and lewd beliefe, that there is no ſoveraigne Nature moſt happy and incorruptible, ſeemeth by incredulity of a God-head to bring miſcreants to a certaine ſtupidity, bereaving them of all ſenſe and feeling, conſidering that the end of this miſ-beliefe that there is no God, is to be void altogether of feare: As for ſuperſtition, according as the nature of the Greek word (which ſignifieth *Feare of the Gods*) doth imply, is a paſſionate opinion and turbulent imagination, imprinting in the heart of man a certain fearefulneſs, which doth abate his courage and humble him down to the very ground whiles he is perſwaded that they be gods indeed, but ſuch as be noyſome, hurtfull, and doing miſchiefe unto men: In ſuch ſort, that the impious Atheiſt having no motion at all as touching the Deity and Divine power, and the ſuperſtitious perſon moved and affected thereto after a perverſe ſort, and otherwiſe than he ſhould, are both out of the right way. For ignorance as it doth ingenerate in the one an unbeliefe of that ſoveraigne Nature which is the cauſe of all goodneſſe; ſo it imprinteth in the other a misbeliefe of the Deity, as being the cauſe of evill; ſo that as it ſhould ſeeme, Impiety or Atheiſme is a falſe judgement and opinion of the Godhead; and ſuperſtition a paſſion proceeding from an erroneous perſwaſion. True it is, that all maladies of the ſoule are foule and the paſſions naught; howbeit in ſome of them, there is a kind of (I wot not what) alacrity, haughtineſſe, and jollity, proceeding from the lightneſſe of the mind; and to ſay in a word, there is in a manner not one of them all, deſtitute of one active motion or other, ſerving for action; but a common imputation this is, and a blame laid generally upon all paſſions, that with their violent pricks (as it were) they incite, provoke, urge, compell, and force reaſon; only feare, which being no leſſe void of audacity and boldneſſe, than of reaſon; carrieth with it a certaine blockiſhneſſe or ſtupidity, deſtitute of action, perplexed, idle, dead, without any exploit or effect whatſoever; whereupon it is named in Greeke Δεῖμα, that is to ſay, a Bond, and Τάφος, that is to ſay, Trouble, for that it both bindeth and alſo troubleth the mind. But of all ſorts of feare, there is none ſo full of perplexity, none ſo unfit for action as that of ſuperſtition. The man who faileth not is not afraid of the ſea; neither feareth he the wars who followeth not warfare; no more than he who keepeth home and ſtirreth not out of doores is afraid of thieves that rob by the high way ſide; or the poore man who hath nought to loſe of the Sycophant or promoter; nor he that liveth in meane eſtate of envy; no more (I ſay) than he that is in *Calatia* feareth earth-quake, or in *Æthiopia* thunder and lightning: but the ſuperſtitious man that ſtands in feare of the gods, feareth all things,

things, the land, the ſea, the aire, the ſkie, darkneſſe, light, ſilence, and his very dreames. Servants whiles they be aſleep, forget the rigour and hardneſſe of their maſters, Sleep eaſeth the chaines, gives and fetters of thoſe that lye by the heeles bound in priſon; dolorous inflammations, ſmart wounds, painfull ulcers, and morimals that eate and conſume the fleſh, yeeld ſome eaſe and alleviation unto patients whiles they be aſleep, according as he ſaith in the Tragedy:

O ſweet repoſe, O ſleep ſo gracious,
That doth allay our maladies;
How welcome art thou unto us,
Bringing in ſeaſon remedies?

Thus ſaid he: But ſuperſtition will not give a man leave thus to ſay: For it alone maketh no truce during ſleep; it permitteth not the ſoule at any time to breath and take reſt, no nor ſuffereth it to pluck up her ſpirits and take heart againe by removing out of her the unpleaſant, tart and troubleſome opinions as touching the divine power; but as if the ſleep of ſuperſtitious folke were a very hell and place of damned perſons, it doth preſent unto them terrible viſions and monſtrous fanſies; it raiſeth devils, fiends, and furies, which torment the poore and miſerable ſoule; it driveth her out of her quiet repoſe by her own fearefull dreames, wherewith ſhe whippeth, ſcourgeth, and puniſheth her ſelfe (as if it were) by ſome other, whoſe cruell and unreaſonable commandements ſhe doth obey; and yet here is not all; for, that which worſe is, ſuch ſuperſtitious perſons after they be awakened out of their ſleep and riſen, do not as other men, deſpiſe their dreames, and either laugh thereat or take pleaſure therein, for that they ſee there is nothing true in all their viſions and illuſions which ſhould trouble and terrifie them; but being eſcaped out of the ſhadow of thoſe falſe illuſions, wherein there is no harme or hurt at all, they deceive and trouble themſelves in good earneſt, ſpending their ſubſtance and goods infinitely upon magicians, juglars, enchanters, and ſuch like deceivers whom they light upon, who beare a man in hand and thus ſay unto him:

If frighted thou be with fanſies in ſleep,
Or haunted with Hecate *that beneath doth keep.*

Call for an old trot that tends thy backhouſe, and plunge thy ſelfe in the ſea-water, and ſit a whole day upon the ground,

O Greeks, you that would counted be moſt wiſe,
Theſe barbarous and wicked toies deviſe.

Namely, upon a vaine and fooliſh ſuperſtition, enjoyning men to begrime and bewray themſelves with durt, to lie and wallow in the mire, to obſerve Sabbaths and ceaſe from worke, to lie proſtrate and groveling upon the earth with the face downward, to ſit upon the ground in open place, and to make many ſtrange and extravagant adorations. In times paſt the manner was, among thoſe eſpecially who would entertaine and obſerve lawfull muſick, to command thoſe that began to play upon the harpe or citterne, to ſing thereto with a juſt mouth, to the end they ſhould ſpeake no diſhoneſt thing; and even we alſo require and thinke it meet to pray unto the gods with a juſt and right mouth, & not to pry in the beaſt ſacrificed, to look into the intrails, to obſerve whether the tongue thereof be pure and right, and in the meane time perverting and polluting our own tongues with ſtrange and abſurd names, infecting and defiling the ſame with barbarous tearmes, offending thereby the gods, and violating the dignity of that religion which is received from our anceſtors, and authorized in our own Countrey. The Comicall Poet ſaid pleaſantly in one Comedy, ſpeaking of thoſe who laid their bedſteds thick with gold and ſilver: Why do you make your ſleep deare and coſtly unto your ſelves, which is the only gift that the gods have given us freely? Even ſo may a man very well ſay (and with great reaſon) unto thoſe that are ſuperſtitious: Seeing that the gods have beſtowed upon us ſleep, for the oblivion and repoſe of our miſeries, why makeſt thou it a very hell and place of continuall and dolorous torment to thy poore ſoule, which cannot flye nor have recourſe unto any other ſleep but that which is troubleſome unto thee? *Heraclitus* was wont to ſay: That men all the whiles they were awake, enjoyed the benefit of no other world, but that which was common unto all; but when they ſlept every one had a world by himſelfe: but ſurely, the ſuperſtitious perſon hath not ſo much as any part of the common world, for neither whiles he is awake hath he the true uſe of reaſon and wiſdome, nor when he ſleepeth is he delivered from feare and ſecured: but one thing or other troubleth him ſtill: his reaſon is aſleep, his feare is alwaies awake; ſo that neither can he avoid his own harme quite, nor find any meanes to put it by, and turne it off. *Polycrates* the tyrant was dread and terrible in *Samos*, *Periander* in *Corinth*, but no man feared either the one or the other, who withdrew himſelfe into any free city or popular State; as for him who ſtandeth in dread and feare of the imperiall power of the gods, as of ſome rigorous and inexorable tyranny, whither ſhall he retire and withdraw himſelfe? Whither ſhall he flye? Where ſhall he find a land, where ſhall he meet with ſea, without a god? Into what ſecret part of the world (poore man) wilt thou betake thy ſelfe, wherein thou maieſt lye cloſe and hidden, and be aſſured that thou art without the puiſſance and reach of the gods? There is a law that provideth for miſerable ſlaves, who being ſo hardly intreated by their maſters, are out of all hope that they ſhall be enfranchiſed and made free, namely, that they may demand to be ſold againe, and to change their maſter, if haply they may by that means come by a better and more eaſie ſervitude under another: but this ſuperſtition alloweth us not that liberty to change our gods for the better, nay, there is not a god to be found

found in the world, whom a superstitious person doth not dread, considering that he feareth the tutelar gods of his native countrey, and the very gods protectors of his nativity: he quaketh even before those gods which are known to be saviours propitious and gracious; he trembleth for feare when he thinketh of them at whose hands we crave riches, abundance of goods, concord, peace, and the happy successe of the best words and deeds that we have. Now if these thinke that bondage is a great calamity, saying thus:

O heavy crosse and woefull misery,
Man and woman to be in thrall-estate:
And namely, if their slavery
Be under Lords unfortunate.

How much more grievous, thinke you, is their servitude which they endure, who cannot flye, who cannot run away and escape, who cannot change and turne to another. Altars there be, unto which bad servants may flye for succour; many Sanctuaries there be and priviledged Churches for theeves and robbers, from whence no man is so hardy as to pluck and pull them out. Enemies after they are defeated and put to flight, if in the very rout and chase they can take hold of some image of the gods, or recover some temple and get it over their heads once, are secured and assured of their lives; whereas the superstitious person is most affrighted, scared, and put in feare by that, wherein all others who be afraid of extremest evils that can happen to man repose their hope and trust. Never go about to pull perforce a superstitious man out of sacred temples, for in them he is most afflicted and tormented. What needs many words? In all men death is the end of life; but it is not so in superstition, for it extendeth and reacheth farther than the limits and uttermost bounds thereof, making feare longer than this life, and adjoyning unto death an imagination of immortall miseries; and even then, when there seemeth to be an end and cessation of all sorrows and travels, be superstitious men perswaded that they must enter into others which be endlesse and everlasting: they dreame of (I wot not what) deep gates of a certaine *Pluto* or infernall God of hell, which open for to receive them; of fiery rivers alwaies burning; of hollow gulphs and flouds of *Styx* to gape for them; of ugly and hideous darknesse to over-spread them, full of sundry apparitions; of gastly ghosts and sorrowful spirits, representing unto them grizly and horrible shapes to see, and as fearefull and lamentable voices to heare: what should I speake of judges, of tormentors, of bottomless pits, and gaping caves, full of all sorts of torture and infinite miseries. Thus unhappy and wretched superstition, by fearing overmuch and without reason, that which it imagineth to be nought, never taketh heed how it submitteth it selfe to all miseries; and for want of knowledge how to avoid this passionate trouble, occasioned by the feare of the gods, forgeth and deviseth to it selfe an expectation of inevitable evils even after death. The impiety of an Atheist hath none of all this geere; most true it is, that his ignorance is unhappy, and that a great calamity and misery it is unto the soule, either to see amisse, or wholly to be blinded, in so great and worthy things, as having of many eyes the principall and clearest of all, to wit, the knowledge of God extinct and put out; but surely (as I said before) this passionate feare, this ulcer and sore of conscience, this trouble of spirit, this servile abjection is not in his conceit; these go alwaies with the other, who have such a superstitious opinion of the gods. *Plato* saith that musick was given unto men by the gods, as a singular means, to make them more modest and gracious, yea, and to bring them, as it were, into tune, and cause them to be better conditioned, and not for delight and pleasure, nor to tickle the eares: for falling out as it doth many times, that for default and want of the Muses and Graces, there is a great confusion and disorder in the periods and harmonies, the accords and consonances of the mind, which breaketh out other whiles outragiously by meanes of intemperance and negligence; musick is of that power that it setteth every thing againe in good order and their due place; for according as the Poet *Pindarus* saith:

To whatsoever from above,
God Jupiter *doth cast no love,*
To that the voice melodious
Of Muses seemeth odious.

Insomuch as they fall into fits of rage therewith, and be very fell and angry; like as it is reported of tygers, who if they heare the sound of drums or tabors round about them, will grow furious and starke mad, untill in the end they reare themselves in peeces: so that there commeth lesse harme unto them who by reason of deafenesse or hard hearing, have no sense at all of musick, and are nothing moved and affected therewith: a great infortunity this was of blind *Tiresias*, that he could not see his children and friends, but much more unfortunate and unhappy were *Athamas* and *Agave*, who seeing their children, thought they saw lions and stags. And no doubt when *Hercules* fell to be enraged and mad, better it had been and more expedient for him, that he had not seen nor known his own children, than so to deale with those who were most deare unto him, and whom he loved more than all the world besides, as if they had been his mortall enemies. Thinke you not then, that there is the same difference between the passions of Atheists and superstitious folke? Atheists have no sight nor knowledge of the gods at all, and the superstitious thinke there are gods, though they be perswaded of them amisse; Atheists neglect them altogether as if they were not; but the superstitious esteeme that to be terrible, which is gracious and amiable; cruell and tyrant-like, which is kind and father-like; hurtfull and dammageable unto us, which is most carefull of our good and profit;

fit; rough, rigorous, savage and fell of nature, which is void of choler and without passion. And hereupon it is that they beleeve brasse-founders, cutters in stone, imagers, gravers and workers in wax, who shape, and represent unto them the gods with bodies to likenesse of mortall men, for such they imagine them to be, such they adorn, adore and worship, whiles in the mean time they despise Philosophers and grave personages of State and Government, who do teach and shew that the Majesty of God is accompanied with bounty, magnanimity, love and carefull regard of our good: So that as in the one sort we may perceive a certain senceleese stupidity & want of belief in those causes from whence proceed all goodnesse; so in the other we may observe a distrustfull doubt and fear of those which cannot otherwise be than profitable and gracious. In sum, impiety and Atheism is nothing else but a meer want of feeling and sense of a deity or divine power, for default of understanding and knowing the soveraign good; and superstition is a heap of divers passions, suspecting and supposing that which is good by nature to be bad; for superstitious persons fear the gods, and yet they have recourse unto them; they flatter them, and yet blaspheme and reproach them; they pray unto them, and yet complain of them. A common thing this is unto all men, not to be alwayes fortunate, whereas the gods are void of sickneese, not subject to old age, neither taste they of labour or pain at any time: and as *Pindarus* saith,

Escape they do the passage of the firth
Of roaring Acheron, *and live alway in mirth.*

But the passions and affairs of men be intermedled with divers accidents and adventures which run as well one way as another. Now consider with me first and formost the Atheist in those things which happen against his mind, and learn his disposition and affection in such occurrences: if in other respects he bea temperate and modest man, bear he will his fortune patiently without saying a word; seeke for aid he will and comfort by what means he can; but if he be of nature violent, and take his misfortune impatiently, then he directeth and opposeth all his plaints and lamentations against fortune and casualty: then he crieth out that there is nothing in the world governed either by justice or with providence, but that all the affairs of man run confusedly head-long to destruction: but the fashion of the superstitious is otherwise; for let there never so small an accident or mishap befall unto him, he sits him down sorrowing, and thereto he multiplyeth and addeth other great and grievous afflictions, such as hardly be removed: he imagineth sundry frights, fears, suspicions, and troublesome terrors, giving himself to all kind of wailing, groaning, and dolefull lamentation; for he accuseth not any man, fortune, occasion, or his own self; but he blameth God as the cause of all, giving out in plain terms, that from thence it is that there falleth and runneth over him such a celestiall influence of all calamity and misery, contesting in this wise, that an unhappy or unlucky man he is not, but one hated of the gods, worthily punished and afflicted, yea, and suffering all deservedly by that divine power and providence: now if the godlesse Atheist be sick, he discourseth with himself and calleth to mind his repletions and full feedings, his surfeiting upon drinking wine, his disorders in diet, his immoderate travell and pains taken, yea, and his unusuall and absurd change of air, from that which was familiar, unto that which is strange and unnaturall: moreover, if it chance that he he have offended in any matter of government touching the State, incurred disgrace and an evill opinion of the People and Countrey wherein he liveth, or been falsly accused and slandered before the Prince or sovereign Ruler, he goeth no farther than to himself and those about him, imputing the cause of all thereto and to nothing else, and thus he reasoneth:

Where have I been? what good have I done? and what have I not done?
Where have I slipt? what duty begun, is left by me undone?

whereas the superstitious person will think and say, that every disease and infirmity of his body, all his losses, the death of his children, his evill successe and infortunity in managing civill affairs of State, and his repulses and disgraces, are so many plagues inflicted upon him by the ire of the gods, and the very assaults of the divine justice; insomuch as he dare not go about to seek for help and succour, nor avert his own calamity; he will not presume to seek for remedie, nor oppose himself against the invasion of adverse fortune, for fear (forsooth) lest he might seem to fight against the gods, or to resist their power and will when they punish him: thus when he lyeth sick in bed, he driveth his Physician out of the chamber, when he is come to visit him, when he is in sorrow, he shutteth and locketh his door upon the Philosopher, that cometh to comfort him and giveth him good counsell: Let me alone (will he say) and give me leave to suffer punishment as I have deserved, wicked and profane creature that I am, accursed, hated of all the gods, and saints in heaven. Whereas if a man (who doth not beleeve nor is perswaded that there is a God) be otherwise in exceeding grief & sorrow, it is an ordinary thing with him to wipe away the tears as they gush out of his eyes, and trickle down the cheeks, to cause his hair to be cut, and to take away his mourning weed. As for a superstitious person: how should one speak unto him, or which way succour and help him? without the doors he sits clad in sackcloth, or else girded about his loines with patched clothes and tattered rags; oftentimes he will welter and wallow in the mire, confessing and declaring (I wot not) what sinnes and offences he hath committed; to wit, that he hath eaten or drunk this or that, which his god would not permit; that he hath walked or gone some whither against the will and leave of the divine power. Now, say he be of the best sort of these superstitious people, and that he labour but of the milder superstition; yet will he at least wise sit within house, having about him a number of all kinds of sacrifices and sacred aspersions; ye shall have old witches come and

bring all the charmes, spels, and sorceries they can come by, and hang them about his neck or other parts of his body (as it were) upon a stake, as *Bion* was wont to say.

It is reported that *Tyribasus*, when he should have been apprehended by the Persians, drew his Cymiter, and (as he was a valiant man of his hands) defended himselfe valiantly; but so soone as they that came to lay hands on him cried out and protested that they were to attach him in the Kings name, and by commission from his Majesty, he laid down his weapon aforesaid immediately, and offered both his hands to be bound and pinnioned. And is not this whereof we treat the semblable case? Whereas others withstand their adversity, repell and put back their afflictions, and work all the means they can for to avoid, escape, and turne away that which they would not have to come upon them. A superstitious person will heare no man, but speake in this wise to himselfe: Wretched man that thou art, all this thou suffereſt at the hands of God, and this is befallen unto thee by his commandement, and the divine providence; all hope he rejecteth, he doth abandon and betray himselfe, and looke whosoever come to succour and help him, those he shunneth and repelleth from him. Many crosses there be and calamities in the world, otherwise moderate and tolerable, which superstition maketh mischievous and incurable.

That ancient King *Midas* in old time being troubled and disquieted much in his mind (as it should seeme) with certaine dreames and visions, in the end fell into such a melancholy and despaire, that willingly he made himselfe away by drinking buls bloud. And *Aristodemus* King of Messenians, in that war which he waged against the Lacedæmonians, when it hapned that the dogs yelled and houled like wolves, and that there grew about the altar of his house the herbe called *Dent de Chien*, or Dogs grasse, whereupon the wisards and soothsayers were afraid (as of some tokens presaging evill) conceived such an inward griefe, and tooke so deep a thought, that he fell into desperation and killed himselfe. As for *Nicias* the Generall of the Athenian Army, haply it had been far better that by the examples of *Midas* and *Aristodemus* he had been delivered and rid from his superstition, than for feare of the shadow occasioned by the eclipse of the moone to have sitten still as he did and do nothing, untill the enemies environed and enclosed him round about; and after that forty thousand of Athenians were either put to the sword or taken prisoners, to come alive into the hands of his enemies, and lose his life with shame and dishonour: for in the darkenesse occasioned by the opposition of the earth just in the midst, between the sun and the moon, whereby her body was shadowed and deprived of light, there was nothing for him to feare, and namely at such a time, when there was cause for him to have stood upon his feet and served valiantly in the field; but the darknesse of blind superstition was dangerous, to trouble and confound the judgement of a man who was possessed therewith, at the very instant, when his occasions required most the use of his wit and understanding:

The sea already troubled is
With billows blew within the sound,
Up to the capes and cliffs arise
Thick misty clouds which gather round
About their tops, where they do seat,
Fore-shewing shortly tempests great.

A good and skilful Pilot seeing this, doth well to pray unto the gods for to escape the imminent danger, and to invocate and call upon those Saints for help, which they after call Saviours: but all the while that he is thus at his devout prayers, he holdeth the helme hard, he letteth down the crosse saile-yard,

Thus having struck the maine saile down the mast,
He scapes the sea, with darknesse overcast.

Hesiodus giveth the husbandman a precept, before he begin to drive the plough or sow his seed:

To Ceres chaste his vows to make,
To Jove likewise god of his land,
Forgetting not the while to take
The end of his plough-taile in hand.

And *Homer* bringeth in *Ajax* being at the point to enter into combat with *Hector*, willing the Greeks to pray for him unto the gods; but whiles they prayed, he forgat not to arme himselfe at all pieces. Semblably, *Agamemnon* after he had given commandement to his souldiers who were to fight,

Each one his launce and speare to whet,
His shield likewise fitly to set.

Then, and not before, prayeth unto *Jupiter* in this wise:

O Jupiter *vouchsafe me of thy grace,*
The stately hall of Priamus *to race.*

For God is the hope of vertue and valour, not the pretence of sloth and cowardise. But the Jews were so superstitious, that on their Sabbath (sitting still even whiles the enemies reared their scaling ladders and gained the wals of their City) they never stirred foot nor rose for the matter, but remained fast tied and inwrapped in their superstition as it were in a net. Thus you see what superstition is in those occurrences of times and affaires which succeed not to our mind, but contrary to our will

will (that is to say) in adversity: and as for times and occasions of mirth, when all things fall out to a mans desire, it is no better than impiety or atheisme; and nothing is so joyous unto man, as the solemnity of festivall holidaies, great feasts, and sacrifices before the temples of the gods, the mysticall and sacred rites performed when we are purified and cleansed from our sins, the ceremoniall service of the gods when we worship and adore them; in which all, a superstitious man is no better than the Atheist: for marke an Atheist in all these, he will laugh at them untill he be ready to go beside himselfe; these toyes will set him (I say) into a fit of Sardonian laughing, when he shall see their vanities; and otherwhiles he will not stick to say softly in the eare of some familiar friend about him: What mad folke be these? How are they out of their right wits, and enraged, who suppose that such things as these do please the gods? Setting this aside, there is no harme at all in him. As for the superstitious person, willing he is, but not able, to joy and take pleasure: for his heart is much like unto that City which *Sophocles* describeth in these verses:

Whilst at one time is full of incense sweet,
Resounding mirth with lowd triumph and song,
And yet the same doth shew in every street
All figures of griefe, with plaints and groanes among.

He looketh with a pale face, under his chaplet of flowers upon his head; he sacrificeth, and yet quaketh for feare; he maketh his prayers with a trembling voice; he putteth incense into the fire, and his hand shaketh withall; to be short, he maketh the speech or sentence of *Pythagoras* to be vaine and foolish, who was wont to say: That we are then in best case when we approach unto the gods and worship them. For verily even then it is when superstitious people are most wretched and miserable, to wit, when they enter into the temples and sanctuaries of the gods, as if they went into the dens of beares, holes of serpents and dragons, or caves of whales and such monsters of the sea. I marvell much therefore at them, who call the miscreance and sin of Atheists, Impiety, and give not that name rather to superstition. And yet *Anaxagoras* was accused of impiety; for that he held and said that the sun was a stone: whereas never man yet called the Cimmerians impious or godlesse, because they suppose and beleeve there is no Sun at all. What say you then? Shall he who thinketh that there be no gods at all be taken for a profane person and excommunicate? And shall not he who beleeveth them to be such as superstitious folke imagine them, be thought infected with more impious and wicked opinions? For mine own part, I would be better pleased and content, if men should say of me thus: There neither is nor ever was in the world a man named *Plutarch*, than to give out of me and say: *Plutarch* is an unconstant man, variable, cholerick, full of revenge for the least occasion that is, or displeased or given to grieve for a small matter; who if when you invite others to supper he be left out and not bidden, or if upon some businesse you be let and hindered, so that you come not to his doore for to visit him, or otherwise do not salute and speake unto him friendly, will be ready to eate your heart with salt, to set upon you with his fangs, and bite you, will not stick to catch up one of your little babes and worry him, or will keep some mischievous wild beast of purpose to put into your corne-fields, your vineyards or orchards, for to devoure and spoile all your fruits. When *Timotheus* the musician one day in an open Theater at *Athens* chanted the praises of *Diana*, giving unto her in his song the attributes of *Thyas*, *Phœbas*, *Mœnas*, and *Lyssas*, that is to say, Furious, Possessed, Enraged and Starke mad; as Poets are wont to do. *Cinesias* another minstrell or musician, rose up from out of the whole audience, and said thus aloud unto him: Would God thou hadst a daughter of those qualities. And yet these superstitious folke thinke the same of *Diana*, yea, and worse to: neither have they a better opinion of *Apollo*, *Juno*, and *Venus*; for all of them they feare and tremble at. And yet what blasphemy uttered *Niobe* against *Latona*, like unto that which superstition hath perswaded foolish people to beleeve of that goddesse? to wit, that she being displeased with the reproachfull words that *Niobe* gave her, killed with her arrows all the children of that silly woman,

Even daughters sixe, and sons as many just,
Of ripe yeares all, no help but dye they must.

so insatiable was she of the calamities of another, so implacable was her anger. For grant it were so, that this goddesse was full of gall and choler; say, that she tooke an hatred to lewd and wicked persons, or grieved and could not endure to heare her selfe reproached, or to laugh at humane folly and ignorance; certes she should have been offended and angry, yea, and discharged her arrows upon these, who untruly impute and ascribe unto her that bitternesse and exceeding cruelty, and stick not both to deliver in words, and also to set down in writing such things of her. We charge *Hecuba* with beastly and barbarous immanity, for saying thus in the last booke of *Homers* Iliads,

O that I could his liver get
Amids his corps, to bite and eat.

As for the Syrian goddesse, superstitious folke are perswaded, that if any one do eate *Enchoises* or such little fish as *Aphya*, she will likewise gnaw their legs, fill their bodies with ulcers, and putrifie or rot their liver. To conclude therefore, it is impiously done to blaspheme the gods and speake badly of them: and is it not impious to thinke and imagine the same, considering that it is the opinion and conceit of the blasphemer and foule-mouthed profane person which maketh his

speech to be reputed naught and wicked? For even we our selves detest and abhor foule language, for nothing so much as because it is a signe of a malicious mind, and those we take for to be our enemies who give out bad words of us, in this respect, that we suppose them to be faithlesse and not to be trusted, but rather ill affected unto us, and thinking badly of us. Thus you see what judgement superstition folke have of the gods, when they imagine them to be dull and blockish, treacherous and disloyall, variable and fickle minded, full of revenge, cruell, melancholick, and apt to fret at every little matter: whereupon it must needs follow, that the superstitious man doth both hate and also dread the gods; for how can it otherwise be, considering that he is perswaded that all the greatest calamities which either he hath endured in times past, or is like to suffer hereafter proceed from them; now whosoever hateth and feareth the gods he is no doubt their enemy; neither is it to be wondred at for all this, that although he stand in dread of them, yet he adoreth and worshippeth them, he prayeth and sacrificeth unto them, frequenteth duly and devoutly their temples, and is not willingly out of them: for do we not see it ordinarily that reverence is done unto tyrants, that men make court unto them, and cry, God save your grace; yea, and erect golden statues to the honour of them? howbeit as great devotion and divine honour as they do unto them in outward appearance, they hate and abhor them secretly to the heart. *Hermolaus* courted *Alexander*, and was serviceable about him: *Pausanias* was one of the squires of the body to King *Philip*, and so was *Cherea* to *Caligula* the Emperour; but there was not of these but even when he served them said thus in his heart,

Certes in case it did now lie in me,
Of thee (thou tyrant) revenged would I be.

Thus you see the Atheist thinketh there be no gods; but the superstitious person wisheth that there were none; yet he beleeveth even against his will that there be, nay, he dare not otherwise do for feare of death. Now if he could (like as *Tantalus* desired to go from under the stone that hung over his head) be discharged of this feare which no lesse doth presse him down, surely he would embrace, yea, and thinke the disposition and condition of an Atheist to be happy, as the state of freedome and liberty: but now the Atheist hath no sparke at all of superstition, whereas the superstitious person is in will and affection a meere Atheist, howbeit weaker than to beleeve and shew in opinion that of the gods which he would and is in his mind. Moreover, the Atheist in no wise giveth any cause, or ministreth occasion that superstition should arise: but superstition not only was the first beginning of impiety and Atheisme, but also when it is sprung up and grown doth patronize and excuse it, although not truly and honestly, yet not without some colourable pretence: for the Sages and wise men in times past grew not into this opinion, that the world was wholly void of a divine power and deity, because they beheld and considered any thing to be found fault withall in the heaven, some negligence and disorder to be marked, some confusion to be observed in the starres, in the times and seasons of the yeare, in the revolutions thereof, in the course and motions of the sun round about the earth. which is the cause of night and day, or in the nurture and food of beasts or in the yeerely generation and encrease of the fruits upon the earth; but the ridiculous works and deeds of superstition, their passions worthy to be mocked and laughed at, their words, their motions and gestures, their charmes, sorceries, enchantments, and magicall illusions, their runnings up and down, their beating of drums and tabours, their impure purifications, their filthy castimonies and beastly sanctifications, their barbarous and unlawfull corrections and chastisements, their inhumane and shamefull indignities practized even in temples; these things (I say) gave occasion first unto some for to say, that better it were there had been no gods at all, than to admit such for gods who received and approved these abuses, yea, and tooke pleasure therein, or that they should be so outragious, proud, and injurious, so base, and pinching, so easie to fall into choler upon a small cause, and so hard to be pleased againe. Had it not been far better for those Galatians, Scythians, or Tartarians in old time to have had no thought, no imagination, no mention at all delivered unto them in histories of gods; than to thinke there were gods delighting in the bloudshed of men, and to beleeve that the most holy and accomplished sacrifice and service of the gods was to cut mens throats, and to spill their bloud: and had it not been more expedient for the Carthaginians by having at the first for their law-givers either *Critias* or *Diagoras*, to have been perswaded that there was neither God in heaven, or devill in hell, than to sacrifice so as they did to *Saturne*, who not (as *Empedocles* said) reproving and taxing those that killed living creatures in sacrifice;

The sire lifts up his deere beloved son,
Who first some other forme and shape did take:
He doth him slay, and sacrifice anon,
And therewith vows and foolish praiers doth make.

But witting and knowing killed their own children indeed for sacrifice: and looke who had no issue of their own, would buy poore mens children, as if they were lambes, young calves, or kids, for the said purpose. At which sacrifice the mother that bare them in her wombe would stand by without any shew at all of being moved, without weeping or sighing for pitty and compassion; for otherwise if she either fetched a sigh or shed a teare, she must lose the price of her child, and yet notwithstanding suffer it to be slaine and sacrificed. Moreover, before and all about the Image or Idoll to which the sacrifice was made, the place resounded and rung againe with the noise of flutes

flutes and hautboies, with the sound also of drums and timbrels, to the end that the pitifull cry of the poore infants should not be heard. Now if any *Tryphones* or other such like giants, having chased and driven out the gods, should usurpe the Empire of the world and rule over us: what other sacrifices would they delight in, or what offerings else and service besides could they require at mens hands? *Amestries* the wife of the great Monarch *Xerxes*, buried quick in the ground twelve persons, and offered them for the prolonging of her own life unto *Pluto*; which god (as *Plato* saith) was named *Pluto*, *Dis*, and *Hades*, for that being full of humanity unto mankind, wise and rich besides, he was able to entertaine the soules of men with perswasive speeches and reasonable remonstrances.

Xenophanes the Naturalist, seeing the Egyptians at their solemne feasts knocking their breasts, and lamenting pitiously, admonished them very fitly in this wise: My good friends, if these (quoth he) be gods whom you honour thus, lament not for them; and if they be men, sacrifice not unto them. But there is nothing in the world so full of errours, no malady of the mind so passionate and mingled with more contrary and repugnant opinions, as this of superstition; in regard whereof, we ought to shun and avoid the same, but not as many who whiles they seek to eschew the assaults of theeves by the high-way side, or the invasion of wild beasts out of the forrest, or the danger of fire, are so transported and carried away with feare, that they look not about them, nor see what they do, or whether they go, and by that means light upon by-waies, or rather places having no way at all, but instead thereof bottomlesse pits and gulphs, or else steep down-fals most perilous; even so, there be divers that seeking to avoid superstition, fall headlong upon the cragged rock of perverse and stiffe-necked Impiety and Atheisme, leaping over true religion which is seated just in the midst between both.

Of Exile or Banishment.

The Summary.

THere is not a man, how well soever framed to the world and setled therein, who can promise unto himselfe any peaceable and assured state, throughout the course of his whole life; but according as it seemeth good to the eternall and wise providence of the Almighty (which governeth all things) to chastise our faults, or to try our constancy in faith; he ought in time of a calme to prepare himselfe for a tempest, and not to attend the midst of a danger, before he provide for his safety, but betimes and long before to fortifie and furnish himselfe with that whereof he may have need another day in all occurrences and accidents whatsoever. Our Author therefore in this Treatise writing to comfort and encourage one of his friends, cast down with anguish occasioned by his banishment, sheweth throughout all his discourse, that vertue it is which maketh us happy in every place, and that there is nothing but vice that can hurt and endamage us. Now as touching his particularizing of this point, in the first place he treateth what kind of friends we have need of in our affliction, and how we ought then to serve our turns with them: and in regard of exile more particularly he adjoyneth this advertisement above all other things, to see unto those goods which we may enjoy during the same, and to oppose them against the present griefe and sorrow. Afterwards he proveth by sundry and divers reasons, that banishment is not in it selfe simply naught; he discovereth and layeth open the folly and misery of those who are too much addicted unto one country, shewing by notable examples that a wise man may live at ease and contentment in all places; that the habitation in a strange region, and the same limited and confined straightly within certaine precincts, doth much more good ordinarily than harme; that a large country lying out far every away, maketh a manner awhit the more happy: whereas contrariwise to be enclosed and pent up bringeth many commodities with it, declaring that this is the only life; and that it is no life at all to be evermore flitting to and fro from place to place. Now when he hath beautified this theame above said with many faire similitudes and proper inductions, he comforteth those who are debarred and excluded from any City or Province; refuting with very good and sound arguments certaine persons who held banishment for a note of infamy; shewing withall, that it is nothing else but sin and vice which bringeth a man into a lamentable state and condition: concluding by the examples of Anaxagoras *and* Socrates, *that neither imprisonment, nor death can enthrall or make miserable the man who loveth vertue. And contrariwise, he giveth us to understand by the examples of* Phaeton *and* Icarus, *that vicious and sinfull persons fall daily and continually one way or other into most grievous calamities through their own audacious nesse and folly.*

Of Exile or Banishment.

SEmblable is the case of wise sentences, and of good friends; the best, and most, and assured, be those reputed, which are present with us in our calamities, not in vaine, and for a shew, but to aid and succour us: for many there be who will not stick to present themselves, yea, and be ready to conferre and talke with their friends in time of adversity; howbeit, to no good purpose at all, but rather with some danger to themselves, like as unskilfull Divers, when they go about to helpe those that are at point to be drowned, being clasped about the body, sinke together with them for company. Now the speeches and discourses which come from friends, and such as would seeme to be helpers, ought to tend unto the consolation of the party afflicted, and not to the defence and justification of the thing that afflicteth: for little need have we of such persons as should weep and lament with us in our tribulations and distresses, as the manner is of the *Chori* or quires in Tragœdies, but those rather who will speake their minds frankely unto us, and make remonstrance plainly: That for a man to be sad and sorrowfull, to afflict and cast down himselfe, is not only every way boote lesse and unprofitable, but also most vaine and foolish: but where the adverse occurrents themselves being well handled and managed by reason, when they are discovered what they be, give a man occasion to say thus unto himselfe:

Thou hast no cause thus to complaine,
Unlesse thou be dispos'd to faine.

A meere ridiculous folly it were to aske either of body and flesh, what it aileth, or of soule, what it suffereth, and whether by the occurrence of this accident it fare worse than before; but to have recourse unto strangers without, to teach us what our griefe is, by wailing, sorrowing, and grieving together with us: and therefore when we are apart and alone by our selves, we ought each one to examine our own heart and soule, about all and every mishap and inconvenience, yea, and to poize and weigh them, as if they were so many burdens, for the body is prested down only by the weight of the fardell that loadeth it; but the soule oftentimes of it selfe giveth a surcharge over and above the things that molest it. A stone of its own nature is hard, and yce of it selfe cold; neither is there any thing without that giveth casually to the one the hardnesse to resist, or to the other the coldnesse to congeale; but banishments, disgraces, repulse, and losse of dignity, as also contrariwise, crowns, honours, soveraigne magistracies, pre-eminences, and highest places, being powerfull either to afflict or rejoyce hearts, in some measure more or lesse, not by their own nature, but according to judgement and opinion, every man maketh to himselfe light or heavy, easie to be borne or contrariwise intolerable: whereupon we may heare *Polynices* answering thus to the demand made unto him by his mother;

How then? Is it a great calamity,
To quit the place of our nativity?
Polynices.
The greatest crosse of all it is doubtlesse,
And more indeed then my tongue can expresse.

But contrariwise, you shall heare *Alcman* in another song, according to a little Epigram written of him by a certaine Poet:

At Sardis, *where mine ancestors sometime abode did make,*
If I were bred and nourished, my surname I should take
Of some Celmis *or* Bacelas, *in robes of gold arai'd,*
And jewels fine, while I upon the pleasant tabour plai'd.
But now Alcman *I cleped am, and of that* Sparta *great*
A Citizen and Poet: for in Greekish muse my veine
Exalts me more than Dascyles *or* Gyges, *tyrants swaine.*

For it is the opinion, and nothing else, that causeth one and the same thing to be unto some good and commodious, as current and approved money, but to others, unprofitable and hurtfull.

But set case, that exile be a grievous calamity, as many men do both say and sing; even so, among those meats which we eate, there be many things bitter, sharpe, hot and biting in taste, howbeit, by mingling therewith somewhat which is sweet and pleasant, we take away that which disagreeth with nature; like as there be colours also offensive to the sight, in such sort, as that the eyes be much dazled and troubled therewith, by reason of their unpleasant hew, or excessive and intolerable brightnesse. If then, for to remedy that inconvenience by such offensive and resplendent colours, we have devised meanes, either to intermingle shadows withall, or turne away our eyes from them unto some green and delectable objects; the semblable may we do in those sinister and crosse accidents of fortune; namely, by mixing among them those good and desirable blessings which a man doth presently enjoy, to wit, wealth, and abundance of goods, a number of friends, and the want of nothing necessary to this life: for I do not thinke that among the Sardinians there be many who would not be very well content with those goods and that estate which you have even in exile, and chuse rather with your condition of life otherwise, to live from home and in a strange countrey, than (like snailes, evermore sticking fast to their shels) be without all good things else, and enjoy only that

that which they have at home in peace, without trouble and molestation. Like as therefore in a certaine Comœdy, there was one who exhorted his friend being fallen into some adversity, to take a good heart, and fight against fortune; who when he demanded of him againe how he should combate with her, made answer: Mary after a Philosophicall manner; even so let us also maintaine battell, and be revenged of adversity, by following the rule of Philosophy, and being armed with patience as becommeth wise men. For after what sort do we defend our selves against raine? Or how be we revenged of the North wind? Mary we seeke for fire, we go into a stouph, we make provision of cloaths, and we get an house over our heads; neither do we sit us down in the raine, untill we be thorowly wet to the skin, and then weep our fill; and even so have you also in those things which are presently about you good meanes, yea, and better than any other, to revive, refreth, and warme this part of your life which seemeth to be frozen and benummed with cold, as having no need at all of any other helps and succours so long as you will use the foresaid means, according as reason doth prescribe and direct. For true it is, that the ventoses or cupping-glasses that Physicians use, drawing out of mans body the worst and most corrupt bloud, do disburden and preserve all the rest. But they that are given to heavinesse and sorrow, who love also evermore to whine and complaine, by gathering together and multiplying continually in their cogitations the worst matters incident unto them, and ofttoones consuming themselves with the dolorous accidents of their fortune, cause those meanes to be unprofitable unto them, which otherwise are wholsome and expedient, and even at such a time, especially when they should do most good. As for those two tuns, my good friend, which *Homer* saith to be set in heaven full of mens destinies, the one replenished with good and the other with bad, it is not *Jupiter* who setteth to dispense and distribute them abroad, sending unto some mild and pleasant fortunes intermingled alwaies with goodnesse, but unto others continuall streames (as a man would say) of meere misfortunes without any temperature of any goodnesse at all: but even among our own selves as many as be wise and are of any sound understanding, draw out of their happy fortunes whatsoever crosse and adverse matter is mingled therewith, and by this meanes make their life the pleasanter, and, as a man would say, more portable; whereas contrariwise, many men do let their fortunes run (as it were) through a colander or streiner, wherein the worst stick and remaine in the way behind, whiles the better do passe and run out; and therefore it behoveth that although we be fallen into any thing that is in truth naught and grievous unto us, we set a cheerefull countenance on the matter, and make the best supply and recompence that we can by those good things that otherwise we have and do remaine with us besides, lenifying and polishing the strange and adverse accident which hapneth without by that which is mild and familiar within.

But as touching those occurrents that simply of their own nature be not ill, and wherein whatsoever doth trouble and offend us, ariseth altogether and wholly upon a vaine conceit and foolish imagination of our own; we ought to do as our manner is with little children that be afraid of maskes and disguised visours; for like as we hold the same close and neare unto them, handle and turne them in our hands before them every way, and so by that meanes acquaint them therewith, untill they make no reckoning at all of them; even so by approaching neare, by touching and perusing the said calamities with our understanding and discourse of reason, we are to consider and discover the false apparence, the vanity and feigned tragœdy that they pretend; like to which is that present accident which now is befallen unto you, to wit, the banishment out of that place, which according to the vulgar errour of men you suppose to be your native country. For to say a truth, there is no such distinct native soyle that nature hath ordained, no more than either house, land, smiths forge, or chirurgions shop is by nature, as *Ariston* was wont to say; but every one of these and such like according as any man doth occupy or use them, are his, or to speake more properly, are named and called his: for man, according to the saying of *Plato* is not an earthly plant, having the root fixed fast within the ground and unmoveable, but celestiall and turning upward to heaven, whose body from the head, as from a root that doth strengthen the same, abideth streight and upright. And hereupon it is that *Hercules* in a certaine tragœdy said thus:

What tell you me of Argive *or* Thebain,
I do not vaunt of any place certain,
No Burrough towne, nor City comes amisse
Throughout all Greece, *but it my country is.*

And yet *Socrates* said better than so; who gave it out; That he was neither Athenian nor Grecian, but a citizen of the world; as if a man should say for examples sake, that he were either a Rhodian or a Corinthian; for he would not include himselfe within the precincts and limits of the promontories *Sunium* or *Tanarus*, nor yet the Ceraunian mountaines,

But seest thou this starry firmament,
So high above and infinitely vaste,
In bosom moist of water element,
The earth beneath how it encloseth faste.

These are the bounds of a native country within the pourprise and compasse whereof whosoever is, ought not to thinke himselfe either banished, pilgrime, stranger, or forreiner; namely, whereas he shall meet with the same fire, the same water, the same aire, the same magistrates, the same governours and presidents; to wit, the sun, the moone, and the morning-star; the same laws throughout,

out, under one and the selfe-same order and conduct; the solstice and tropick of summer in the north; the solstice and tropick of winter in the south; the æquinoxes both of spring and fall, the stars *Pleiades* and *Arcturus*; the seasons of seedneese, the times of planting; one King, and the same prince of all, even God, who hath in his hand the beginning, the midst, and the end of the whole and universall world; who by his influence goeth according to nature, directly through and round about all things, attended upon with righteousnesse and justice, to take vengeance and punishment of those who transgresse any point of divine Law: which all we likewise that are men do exercise and use by the guidance and direction of nature against all others, as our citizens and subjects. Now say that thou dost not dwell and live in *Sardis*, what matter is that? Surely it is just nothing: No more do all the Athenians inhabite in the burroughs or tribe *Colyttus*; nor the Corinthians in the street *Craninm*; ne yet the Lacedæmonians in the village *Pytane*: are those Athenians then to be counted strangers, and not inhabitants of the City, who have removed out of *Melite* into *Diomea*: considering that even there they do solemnize yet the month of their transmigration, named thereupon *Metageitnion*; yea, and do celebrate a festivall holiday and sacrifice, which in memoriall of that removing they call *Metagetnia*, for that this passage of theirs into another neighbourhood, they received and entertained right willingly with joy and much contentment? I suppose you will never say so. Now tell me what part of this earth habitable, or rather of the whole globe and compasse thereof, can be said far distant or remote one from the other, seeing that the Mathematicians are able to prove and make demonstration by reason, that the whole in comparison and respect of heaven or the firmament is no more than a very prick which hath no dimension at all? But we, like unto pismires, driven out of our hole; or, in manner of bees, dispossessed of our hive, are cast down and discomforted by and by, and take our selves to be forteiners and strangers, for that we know not how to esteeme and make all things our own, familiar and proper unto us, as they be. And yet we laugh at the folly of him who said: That the moone at *Athens* was better than at *Corinth*; being in the meane while after a sort in the same errour of judgement, as if when we are gone a journey from the place of our habitation, we should mistake the earth, the sea, the aire, and the skie, as if they were others and far different from those which we are accustomed unto: for Nature hath permitted us to go and walke through the world loose and at liberty: but we for our parts imprison our selves, and we may thanke our selves that we are pent up in streight roomes, that we be housed and kept within wals; thus of our own accord we leap into close and narrow places; and notwithstanding that we do thus by our selves, yet we mock the Persian Kings, for that (if it be true which is reported of them) they drink all of the water only of the river *Choaspes*, by which meanes they make all the continent besides waterlesse, for any good they have by it: whereas, even we also, when we travell and remove into other countries, have a long desire after the river *Cephisus* or *Eurotas*; yea, and a mind unto the mountaine *Taigetus*, or the hill *Parnassus*; whereby upon a most vaine and foolish opinion, all the world besides is not only void of water, but also like a desart without city, and altogether inhabitable unto us. Contrariwise, certaine Egyptians by occasion of some wrath and excessive oppressing of their King, minding to remove into *Ethiopia*, when as their kinsfolke and friends requested them to turne back againe, and not to forsake their wives and children, after a shamelesse manner shewing unto them their genitall members, answered them: That they would neither want wives nor children, so long as they carried those about them. But surely a man may avouch more honestly, and with greater modesty and gravity; that he who in what place soever feeleth no want or misse of those things which be necessary for this life, cannot complaine and say: That he is there out of his own countrey, without city, without his own house and habitation, or a stranger at all; so as he only have as he ought, his eye and understanding bent hereunto, for to stay and governe him in manner of a sure anchor, that he may be able to make benefit and use of any haven or harbour whatsoever he arriveth unto. For when a man hath lost his goods, it is not so easie a matter to recover them soon againe; but surely every city is straightwaies as good a native countrey unto him, who knoweth and hath learned how to use it; to him (I say) who hath such roots as will live, be nourished and grow in every place, and by any meanes, such as *Themistocles* was furnished with; and such as *Demetrius* the Phalerian was not without; who being banished from *Athens*, became a principall person in the Court of King *Ptolomæus* in *Alexandria*, where he not only himselfe lived in great abundance of all things, but also sent unto the Athenians from thence rich gifts and presents. As for *Themistocles* living in the estate of a Prince, through the bountifull allowance and liberality of the King of *Persia*, he was wont (by report) to say unto his wife and children: We had been utterly undone for ever, if we had not been undone. And therefore *Diogenes* surnamed the *Dog*, when one brought him word and said, the Sinopians have condemned thee to be exiled out of the Kingdome of *Pontus*: And I (quoth he) have confined them within the countrey of *Pontus* with this charge,

That they shall never passe the utmost bonds
Of Euxine *sea that hems them with her strands.*

Stratonius, being in the Isle *Seriphos*, which was a very little one, demanded of his host, for what crimes the punishment of exile was ordained in that countrey: and when he heard and understood by him, that they used to banish such as were convicted of falshood and untruth: Why then (quoth he againe) hast not thou committed some false and leud act, to the end that thou mightest depart out of this straight place and be enlarged? Where, as one Comicall Poet said: A man might gather and make a vintage (as it were) of figs with slings, and foison of all commodities might be had, which an

Island wanted. For if one would weigh and consider the truth indeed, setting aside all vain opinion and foolish conceits, he that is affected unto one city alone is a very pilgrim and stranger in all others; for it seemeth neither meet, honest, nor reasonable, that a man should abandon his own for to inhabite those of others. *Sparta* is fallen to thy lot (saith the proverbe) adorne and honour it, for so thou art bound to do; be it that it is of small or no account; say that it is seated in an unwholsome aire, and subject to many diseases, or be plagued with civill dissentions, or otherwise troubled with turbulent affaires. But whosoever he be whom fortune hath deprived of his own native countrey; certes she hath granted and allowed him to make choice of that which may please and content him. And verily the precept of the Pythagoreans serveth to right good stead in this case to be practised: Choose (say they) the best life; use and custome will make it pleasant enough unto thee. To this purpose also it may be wisely and with great profit said: Make choise of the best and most pleasant city, time will cause it to be thy native countrey, and such a native countrey as shall not distract and trouble thee with any businesse, nor impose upon thee these and such like exactions: Make payment and contribute to this levy of money: Go in embassage to *Rome*: Receive such a captaine or ruler into thine house, or take such a charge upon thee at thine own expences. Now he that calleth these things to remembrance, if he have any wit in his head, and be not over-blind every way in his own opinion and selfe-conceit, will wish and choose, if he be banished out of his own countrey, to inhabite the very Isle *Gyaros*, or the rough and barren Island *Cinarus*, where trees or plants do hardly grow, without complaining with griefe of heart, without lamenting and breaking out into these plaints and womanly moanes, reported by the Poet *Simonides* in these words:

The roaring noise of purple sea,
Resounding all about,
Doth fright me much and so inclose,
That I cannot get out.

But rather he will beare in mind and discourse with himselfe the speech that *Philip* King of *Macedonie*, sometime delivered: for when his hap was in the wrestling place to fall backward and lye along on the ground; after he was up againe upon his feet, and saw the whole proportion and print of his body in the dust of the floore: O *Hercules* (quoth he) what a small deale of the earth is our portion by the appointment of nature, and yet see how we will not rest, but covet to conquer the whole world that is habitable! You have seen (I suppose) the Isle *Naxos*; if not, yet at least wise the Island *Thuria* neare by; of which twaine, this was in old time the habitation of *Orion*; but in the other there dwelt *Ephialtes* and *Otus*: as for *Alcmæon*, he made his abode and residence upon the muddy banke, which the river *Achelous* had newly gathered and cast up, after it was alittle dried and compact together, to avoid the pursuit (as the Poets say) of the Furies; but in my conceit rather because he would decline the offices of State, civill Magistracies, seditious broiles, and biting calumniations sib to furies in hell, he chose such a straight and narrow place to inhabite, where he might lead a life in quietnesse and repose secured from all such busie affaires. And *Tiberius Cæsar* in his latter daies, lived seven yeares (even untill his death) in the little Island *Capreæ*, in such wise, as the very temple and imperiall throne of the whole world retired and drawn in (as it were) into the heart, for all that time never went out from thence; and yet for his part, the ordinary cares incident unto the Empire, which were brought from all parts and came upon him to amuse his head continually, on every side, would not permit him to enjoy clearely without turbulent anguish of mind, that intended rest and quietnesse of his, in the said Island. But even that man, who may by his departure into some little Island be freed and delivered from no small troubles and calamities, is not-withstanding miserable, if he do not eftsoones say unto himselfe when he is apart, yea, and chant oftentimes these verses of *Pindarus*:

Love well the place where Cypres trees do grow,
But thin and small. The forrest great let go
Of Candy *Isle about the* Ida *hill:*
As for my selfe, small lands I hold and till,
By fortune given, and those without an oake:
My heart likewise no griefes nor cares do yoake.

Exempt I am from civill tumults and seditions; I am not subject to the command of Princes and Governours; my hand is not in the charge and administration of State affaires, nor in any publike ministries or services, which hardly admit excuse or refusall. For considering that *Callimachus* seemeth not unwisely in one place to say thus: Measure not wisdome by the Persian Schœne: why then should we (meting felicity with *Schœnes* and *Parasanges*) complaine, lament, and torment our selves, as if we were unhappy, if our fortune be to dwell in a little Isle which is not in circuit above two hundred furlongs, and nothing neare foure daies sailing about, as *Sicily* is? For what good can a spacious and large region do, for to procure felicity, or make a man to lead a quiet and peaceable life? Heare you not how *Tantalus* in the Tragædy crieth out, and saith thus?

The spacious land and countrey large,
Call'd Berecynthian plaine,
Daies journeys twelve right out, I sow
Tearely with corne and graine.

60. *Stadia.* 30.

And

And a little after he proceedeth to this speech;

But now my soule, sometime an heavenly power,
Descended thence into this earthly tower,
Speake thus to me: Learne and betimes take heed,
Love not this world too much, I do thee reed.

And *Nausithous* leaving the wide and large countrey *Hyperia*, for that the *Cyclopes* were so neare neighbours unto it, and departing into an Island far remote from other men, where he lived alone by himselfe without conversing with any people:

From other mortall men apart,
Of surging sea within the heart

provided for his citizens and subjects a most pleasant life. As for the Islands called *Cyclades*, they were at first (by report) inhabited by the children of *Minos*, and afterwards the off-spring of *Codrus* and *Nelens* held the same, into which fooliſh persons now-adaies thinke themselves sore punished and undone for ever if they be confined. And yet, what Island is there destined and appointed for exiled and banished people, but it is larger than the territory *Scilluntia*, wherein *Xenophon* after that renowned expedition and voyage of his into *Persia*, passed his old age in elegancy and much happinesse? Semblably, the *Academy*, a little pingle or plot of ground, the purchase whereof cost not above three thousand drachmes, was the habitation of *Plato*, *Xenocrates*, and *Polemon*, wherein they kept their schooles, and lived at repose all their life-time: and yet I must needs except one day every yeare, upon which, *Xenocrates* was wont to go down to the City, for to see the plaies and pastimes exhibited with new Tragædies at the feast called Bacchanales, only to honour (as folke said) and countenance that solemnity with his personall presence. Also, *Theocritus* of *Chios* challenged and reproached *Aristotle* many times, for that to live in the Court of *Philip* and *Alexander*,

Upon the mouth of Borborus *to dwell*
He chose, and Academy *had farewell,*

Now was this *Borborus* a river so called by the Macedonians, which ran along the City of *Pella* in *Macedonie*. As for Islands, *Homer* the Poet doth of purpose and expresly recommend unto us, and celebrate them with heavenly and divine praises, in this wise:

At Lemnos *he arrived then,*
Whereas the City stood,
In which sometime that prince divine,
King Thoas *made abode:*
And whatsoever Lesbos *Isle,*
The pallace and the seat
Of gods above containes enclos'd
Within her pourpris great.
Also,
When won he had the stately Isle,
Which Scyros *sometime hight,*
The native place and town of Mars,
The god of armes and fight.
Likewise,
And those came from Dulichium,
And eke the sacred Ilets,
Against Elis, Echinades,
Within sea many miles.

Moreover it is said, that of famous and renowned men, devout *Æolus*, and best beloved of the gods, dwelt in one Isle; the most prudent and wise *Ulysses* in another; *Ajax* likewise, that right valiant and hardy wariour; and *Alcinous* the most curteous prince for hospitality and entertainment of strangers were Islanders. *Zeno* the Philosopher, when news was brought unto him, That the ship of his which remained alone of all the rest was drowned in the sea with all the fraight and merchandise therein: Thou hast done well O fortune (quoth he) to drive us to our studying gown and Philosophers life againe; even so, in my opinion, there is no reason that a man (unlesse he be very much besotted and transported with the vaine wind of popularity) when he is confined and inclosed within an Island, should complaine of fortune therefore, but rather praise her, for that she hath rid him of much anguish of spirit and trouble of his head, delivered him from tedious travell and wandring pilgrimages up and down in the world from place to place; freed him from the perils of sea, removed him from the tumultuous stirs of the multitude in judiciall courts and publike assemblies of the City; and reduced him to a setled and staied life, full of rest and tranquillity, not distracted with any superfluous and needlesse occupations, wherein he may live indeed properly to himselfe, being ranged within the center and circumference of those things which are required only for necessity. For what Island is there that hath not houses, walking places, stoups and baines, or that is without fishes or hares, if a man be disposed to passe the time in fishing or hunting; and that which is the greatest matter of all, you may oftentimes there enjoy fully your rest and repose, which others do so much thirst and hunger after; for whereas when we are haply playing at dice, or otherwise keeping close at home, there will be some of these sycophants or busie priers and curious searchers into all our actions, ready to draw us out of our houses of pleasure in the suburbs, or out of our delightsome gardens, to make our appearance judicially in the common place, or to perform our service or give attendance in the court: there will be none such about to saile into the Island where thou art confined for to trouble thee; none will come to thee to demand or crave any thing, to borrow money, to request thy suretiship, or thy assistance for to second him in the sute of any office and magistracy; unlesse peradventure some of thy best friends only and nearest kinsfolke, of meere love and affectionate desire to see thee, saile over for thy sake; for the rest of thy life besides is permitted to be as free and safe as a sanctuary, not subject to any spoile, trouble, or molestation if thou be willing and canst skill to use thy liberty and repose. As for him who thinketh those to be happy who trudge up and down in the world abroad, spending most part of their time out of their own houses, either in common inns and hostelries, or else in ferrying from place to place, he is much like unto him that supposeth the wandring Planets to be in a better state than the other stars which be fixed in the firmament and remove not: and yet there is not one of the said planets but is carried round in a peculiar and proper sphære of its own, as it were in a certaine Isle, keeping alwaies a just order in their revolution: for according as *Heraclitus* saith; The very sun himselfe will never passe beyond his bounds; and if he do, the furies which are the ministers of justice will find him out and be ready to encounter him. But these and all such like reasons, my good friend, we are to alledge unto them and sing in their eares, who being sent away and confined to some one Isle, cannot possibly change for another countrey, nor have commerce and dealing in any place else whatsoever, those I say,

Whom surging waves of sea both night and day
Enclose perforce, and cause them there to stay.

As for you unto whom no certaine place is limited and assigned for to inhabit, but who are debarred and excluded only out of one, are thus to thinke, that the exclusion out of one City alone, is an overture and ready way made unto all others.

Now if any man will object and say; In this case of exile and banishment we are disabled for bearing rule and office of State, we sit not at Councell table in the Senate house; we are not presidents in the publike plaies and solemnities, &c. You may answer and reply againe in this manner; neither are we troubled with factions and civill dissentions; we are not called upon, nor charged with paiments in publike levies and exactions; neither be we bound to make court unto great governors, and to give attendance at their gates; nor to take care and regard whether he who is chosen to succeed us in the government of our Province, be either hasty and cholerick, or otherwise given to oppression and hard dealing: but as *Archilochus*, making no account at all of the fruitfull corne-fields and plenteous vineyards in *Thasos*, despised and contemned the whole Isle, because of some other rough, hard, and uneven places in it, giving out thereof in these termes,

This Island like an asses back doth sticke,
All overspread with woods so wild and thicke.

Even so we casting our eyes and fixing them upon that part only of exile which is the worst and vilest of the rest, do contemne and make no reckoning of the repose from businesse, the liberty also and leisure which it doth afford. And yet the Kings of *Persia* be reputed happy, in that they passe their winter time in *Babylon*, the summer in *Media*, and the most sweet and pleasant part of the spring at *Susa*. May not he likewise who is departed out of his own native countrey, during the solemnity of the mysteries of *Ceres*, make his abode within the city *Eleusine*; all the time of the Bacchanales, celebrate that feast in *Argos*; and when the Pythian games and plaies are exhibited, go to *Delphos*: as also when the Isthmian pastimes be represented, make a journey likewise to *Corinth*? In case he be a man who taketh pleasure in the diversity of shews and publike spectacles, if not then either sit still and rest, or else walke up and down, read somewhat, or take a nap of sweet sleep without molestation or interruption of any man: and according as *Diogenes* was wont to say, *Aristotle* dineth when it pleaseth King *Philip*; but *Diogenes* taketh his dinner when *Diogenes* thinketh it good himselfe, without any businesse and affaires to distract him, and no Magistrate, Ruler, or Captaine there was to interrupt his ordinary time and manner of diet. This is the reason why very few of the wisest and most prudent men that ever were, have been buried in the countries where they were borne; but the most part of them without any constraint or necessity to enforce them, have willingly weighed anchor, and of their own accord sailed to another rode or haven to harbour in, and there to lead their life; for some of them have departed to *Athens*, others have forsaken *Athens* and gone to other places: for what man ever gave out such a commendation of his own native countrey, as did *Euripides* in these verses in the person of a woman:

Our people all, at first not strangers were,
From forraine parts who hither did arrive;
Time out of mind those that inhabit here,
Were borne in place, and so remain'd alive.
All Cities else and Nations at one word
With aliens people be, who like to men
At table play, or else upon chesse-boord
Removed have, and lept some now, some then.

If women we may be allow'd to grace
Our native soyle, and with proud words exalt,
Presume we dare to say that in this place,
A temperate aire we have without default,
Where neither heat nor cold excessive is;
If ought there be that noble Greece *doth yeeld,*
Or Asia rich, of best commodities,
And daintiest fruits, by river or by field,
We have it here, in foyson plentifull
To hunt, to catch, to reape, to crap and pull.

And yet even he who hath set such goodly praises upon his native countrey, left the same, went into *Macedonia*, and there lived in the court of King *Archelaus*. You have heard likewise (I suppose) this little Epigram in verse:

Enterred and entombed lieth here,
Euphorians *son the Poet* Æschylus
(*In* Athens *town though born sometime he were*)
To Gelas *neere, in corne so plenteous.*

For he also abandoned his own countrey, and went to dwell in *Sicily*, like as *Simonides* did before him. And whereas this title or inscription is commonly read (*This is the History written by* Herodotus *the Halicarnassean*) many there be who correct it and write in this manner; *Herodotus the Thurian*, for that he removed out of the countrey wherein he was borne, became an inhabitant among the Thurians, and enjoyed the freedome of that colony. As for that heavenly and divine spirit in the knowledge of Muses and Poetry,

Homerus, *who with wordrous pen,*
Set forth the battels Phrygien.

What was it that caused so many Cities to debate about the place of his nativity, challenging every one unto themselves, but only this; that he seemed not to praise and extoll any one City above the rest? Moreover, to *Jupiter* surnamed *Hospitall*, know we not that there be many, and those right great honours done. Now if any one shall say unto me, that these personages were all of them ambitious, aspiring to great honour and glory, do no more, but have recourse unto the Sages, and those wise schooles and learned colledges of *Athens*; call to mind and consider the renowmed clarkes and famous Philosophers, either in *Lyceum* or the Academy: go to the gallery *Stoa*, the learned schoole *Palladium*, or the Musick-schoole *Odæum*. If you affect, love, and admire above all other the sect of Peripateticks, *Aristotle* the Prince thereof was borne in *Stagira*, a City of *Macedonia*; *Theophrastus* in *Eressus*; *Strato* came from *Lampsacus*; *Glycon* from *Troas*; *Ariston* from *Chios*; and *Critolaus* from *Phaselus*. If your mind stand more to praise the Stoicks, *Cleanthes* was of *Assos*; *Zeno* was a *Citiean*; *Chrysippus* came from *Soli*; *Diogenes* from *Babylon*; and *Antipater* from *Tharsus*; and *Archidamus*, being an Athenian borne, went to dwell among the Parthians, and left behind him at *Babylon* in succession the Stoick discipline and Philosophy. Who was it that chased and drave these men out of their native countries? Certes none, but even of their own accord and voluntary motion they sought all abroad for their contentment and repose, which hardly or not at all can they enjoy at home in their own houses who are in any authority and reputation; so that as they have taught us very well out of their books other good sciences which they professed; so this one point of living in quietnesse and rest they have shewed unto us by practise and example. And even in these daies also, the most renowned and approved clarkes, yea, and greatest men of marke and name live in strange countries, far remote from their own habitations; not transported by others, but of themselves removing thither; not banished, sent away, and confined, but willing to flie and avoid the troublesome affaires, negotiations, and businesse which their native countries amuse them with. That this is true it may appeare by the most approved, excellent, and commendable works and compositions which ancient writers have left unto posterity; for the absolute finishing whereof it seemeth that the Muses used the help and means of their exile. Thus *Thucydides* the Athenian penned the war between the Peloponnesians and the Athenians whiles he was in *Thracia*, and namely, neare unto a place called the *Forest of the Fosse*. *Xenophon* compiled his story at *Scillos* in *Elea*; *Philip* wrote in *Epirus*; *Timæus* who was borne at *Taurominum* in *Sicily*, became a writer in *Athens*; *Androtion* the Athenian at *Megara*, and *Bachilides* the Poet in *Peloponnesus*; who all and many others besides, being banished out of their countries, were never discouraged nor cast down, but shewed the vivacity and vigour of their good spirits, and tooke their exile at fortunes hands as a good maintenance and provision of their journey; by meanes whereof they live in fame and renown now after their death: whereas on the other side there remaineth no memoriall at all of those by whose factions and sidings they were driven out and exiled. And therefore he deserveth to be well mocked, who thinketh that banishment carrieth with it some note of infamy and reproach, as necessarily adherent thereto. For what say you to this? Is *Diogenes* to be counted infamous, whom when King *Alexander* saw sitting in the sun, he approached neare, and standing by him, demanded whether he stood in need of any thing or no? He had no other answer from him but this, that he had need of nothing else, but that he should stand a little out of the sun-shine, and not shadow him as he did; whereupon *Alexander* wondring at his magnanimity and haughty courage, said presently unto those friends that

that were about him; If I were not *Alexander* I would be *Diogenes*. And was *Camillus* disgraced any way for being banished out of *Rome*, considering that even at this day he is reputed and taken for the second founder thereof? Neither lost *Themistocles* the glory which he had won among the Greeks by his exile, but rather acquired thereto great honour and estimation with the Barbarians. And no man is there so base minded and careless of honour and credit, but he would choose rather to be *Themistocles* banished as he was, than *Leobates* his accuser, and the cause of his banishment; yea, and to be *Cicero* who was exiled, than *Clodius* who chased him out of *Rome*; or *Timotheus*, who was constrained to abandon and forsake his native countrey, than *Aristophon* who endited him, and caused him to leave the same. But for that the authority of *Euripides*, who seemeth mightily to defame and condemne banishment, moveth many men; let us consider what be his severall questions and answers to this point:

Jocasta.
How then! is it a great calamity
To lose the place of our nativity?
Polynices.
The greatest crosse I hold it is doubtlesse,
And more indeed than my tongue can expresse.
Jocasta.
The manner would I gladly understand,
And what doth grieve man shut from native land?
Polynices.
This one thing first, the forest griefe must be,
That of their speech they have not liberty.
Jocasta.
A spight it is no doubt, and that of servile kind,
For men to be debar'd to speake their mind.
Polynices.
Besides, they must endure the foolishnesse,
And ignorance of rulers, more or lesse.

But herein I cannot allow of his sentence and opinion as well and truly delivered. For first and formost, not to speake what a man thinketh, is not the point of a slavish and base person, but rather he is to be counted a wise and prudent man who can hold his tongue at those times and in such occasions as require taciturnity and silence; which the same Poet hath taught us in another place more wisely, when he saith,

Silence is good when that it doth availe;
Likewise to speake in time and not to faile.

And as for the folly and ignorance of great and mighty persons, we must abide no lesse when we tarry at home than in exile; nay, it falleth out many times, that men at home feare much more the calumniations and violence of those who unjustly are in high places of authority within Cities, than if they were abroad and out of their own Countries. Againe, this also is most false and absurd, that the said Poet depriveth banished persons of their liberty and franke speech. Certes, this were a wonderfull matter that *Theodorus* wanted his freedome of tongue, considering that when King *Lysimachus* said unto him: And hath thy Countrey chased and cast thee out, being so great a person among them; Yea, (quoth he againe) for that it was no more able to beare me, than *Semele* to beare *Bacchus*: neither was he daunted and afraid, notwithstanding that the King shewed unto him *Telesphorus* enclosed within an iron cage, whose eyes he had caused before to be pulled out of his head, his nose and eares to be crept, and his tongue to be cut, adding withall these words: See how I handle those that displease and abuse my person. And what shall we say of *Diogenes*? Wanted he (think you) his liberty of speech? Who being come into the Campe of King *Philip*, at what time as he made an expedition against the Grecians, invaded their countrey, and was ready to give them battel, was apprehended and brought before the King as a spie, and charged therewith: I am indeed (quoth he) come hither to spie your insatiable avarice, ambition, and folly, who are about now to hazard in one houre (as it were) with the cast of a die, not only your crown and dignity, but also your life and person; semblably what thinke you of *Annibal* the Carthaginian? Was he tongue-tied before *Antiochus*, banished though himselfe were, and the other a mighty Monarch? For when he advised *Antiochus* to take the opportunity presented unto him, and to give battell unto the Romans his enemies, and the King having sacrificed unto the gods answered again that the entrailes of the beast killed for sacrifice, would not permit, but forbad him so to do: Why then (quoth he by way of reproofe and rebuke) you will do that belike which a peece of dead flesh biddeth you, and not that which a man of wisdome and understanding counselleth you unto. But neither Geometricians, nor those that use lineary demonstrations, if haply they be banished, are deprived of their liberty, but that they may discourse and speake frankely of their art, and science of such things as they have learned and known: how then should good, honest, and honourable persons be debarred of that freedome, in case they be exiled? But in truth it is cowardise and baseness of mind, which alwaies stoppeth the voice, tieth the tongue, stifleth the wind-pipe, and causeth men to be speechlesse. But proceed we to that which followeth afterwards in *Euripides*:

Jocasta.
But thus we say, those that are banished
With hopes alwaies of better daies be fed.
Polynices.
Good eyes they have, afar off they do see,
Staying for things that most uncertaine be.

Certainly, these words imply rather a blame and reprehension of folly, than of exile. For they be not those who have learned and do know how to apply themselves unto things present, and to use their estate such as it is, but such as continually depend upon the expectance of future fortunes, and covet evermore that which is absent and wanting, who are tossed to and fro with hope as in a little punt or boat floating upon the water: yea, although they were never in their life time without the walls of the City wherein they were borne: moreover, whereas we read in the same *Euripides*,

Jocasta.
Thy fathers friends and allies, have not they
Been kind and helpfull to thee, as they may?
Polynices.
Looke to thy selfe, from troubles God thee blesse,
Friends help is nought, if one be in distresse.
Jocasta.
Thy noble blood, from whence thou art descended:
Hath it not thee advanc'd and much amended?
Polynices.
I hold it ill, to be in want and need,
For parentage and birth do not men feed.

These speeches of *Polynices* are not only untrue, but also bewray his unthankfulnesse, when he seemeth thus to blame his want of honour and due regard for his nobility, and to complaine that he was destitute of friends by occasion of his exile, considering that in respect of his noble birth, banished though he were, yet so highly honoured he was that he was thought worthy to be matched in marriage with a Kings daughter, and as for friends, allies, and confederates, he was able to gather a puissant army of them, by whose aide and power he returned into his own countrey by force of arms, as himselfe testifieth a little after in these words:

Many a Lord and Captaine brave here stands
With me in field, both from Mycenæ *bright,*
And Cities more of Greece, *whose helping hands*
(Though loath) I must needs use in claime of right.

Much like also be the speeches of his mother lamenting in this wise;

No nuptiall torch at all I lighted have
To thee, as doth a wedding feast beseeme,
No marriage song was sung, nor thee to love
Was water brought from faire Ismenus *streame.*

Whom it had become and behoved rather to rejoyce and beglad in heart, when she heard that her son was so highly advanced and married into so royall an house: but in taking griefe and sorrow her selfe that there was no wedding torch lighted, and that the river *Ismenus* affordeth no water to bathe in at his wedding; as if new married bridegroomes could not be furnished either with fire or water in the City *Argos*; she attributeth unto exile, the inconveniences which more truly proceed from vanity and folly.

But some man will say unto me; That to be banished is a note of ignominy and reproach: true it is indeed, but among fooles only, who thinke likewise that it is a shame to be poore, to be bald, to be small of stature, yea, and to be a stranger forsooth, a tenant, inmate, or alien inhabitant: For certes such as will not suffer themselves to be carried away with these vaine perswasions, nor do subscribe thereto, esteeme and have in admiration good and honest persons, never respecting whether they be poore, strangers, and banished or no: Do we not see that all the world doth honour and reverence the temple of *Theseus* as well as *Parthenon* and *Eleusinium*, Temples dedicated to *Minerva*, *Ceres*, and *Proserpina*? And yet was *Theseus* banished from *Athens*; even that *Theseus* by whose meanes the same City was first peopled, and is at this day inhabited; and that City lost he which he held not from another, but founded first himselfe. As for *Eleusis*, what beauty at all would remaine in it? If we dishonour *Eumolpus*, and be ashamed of him, who removing out of *Thracia*, instituted at first among the Greeks the religion of sacred mysteries, which continueth in force and is observed at this day: what shall we say of *Codrus* who became King of *Athens*? Whose son I pray you was he? Was not *Melanthius* his father a banished man from *Messina*. Can you chuse but commend the answer of *Antisthenes* to one who said unto him; Thy mother is a Phrygian: So was (quoth he) the mother of the gods: why answer you not likewise when you are reproached with your banishment? Even so was the father of that victorious conquerour *Hercules*: the grand-sire likewise of *Bacchus*, who being sent out for to seeke Lady *Europa*, never returned backe into his own native Countrey:

For being a Phœnician borne,
At Thebes *he after did arrive,*
Far from his native soile before,
And there begat a son belive,
Who Bacchus *did engender tho,*
That moves to fury women, hight
Mad Bacchus *running to and fro,*
In service such is his delight.

As for that which the Poet *Æschylus* would seeme covertly by these darke words to insinuate, or rather to shew a far off, when he saith thus:

And chaste Apollo *sacred though he were,*
Yet banished a time, heaven did forbeare.

I am content to passe over in silence, and will forbeare to utter according as *Herodotus* saith: and whereas *Empedocles* in the very beginning of his Philosophy maketh this præface:

An ancient law there stands in force,
Decreed by gods above,
Grounded upon necessity,
And never to remove:
That after man hath stein'd his hands
In bloudshed horrible,
And in remorse of sin is vext
With horror terrible.
The long-liv'd angels which attend
In heaven, shall chase him quite,
For many thousand yeares from view
Of every blessed wight:
By vertue of this Law, am I
From gods exiled now,
And wander here and there throughout
The world I know not how.

This he meaneth not of himselfe alone, but of all us after him, whom he declareth and sheweth by these words to be meere strangers, passengers, forreiners, and banished persons in this world. For it is not bloud (quoth he) O men, nor vitall spirit contemperate together, that hath given unto us the substance of our soule and beginning of our life; but hereof is the body only composed and framed, which is earthly and mortall: but the generation of the soule which commeth another way, and descendeth hither into these parts beneath, he doth mitigate and seeme to disguise by the most gentle and mild name that he could devise, calling it a kinde of pilgrimage from the naturall place; but to use the right terme indeed, and to speake according to the very truth, she doth vague and wander as banished, chased, and driven by the divine laws and statutes to and fro, untill such time as it sorteth to a body, as an oyster or shell fish to one rock or other in an Island beaten and dashed upon with many winds and waves of the sea round about, (as *Plato* saith) for that it doth not remember nor call to mind from what height of honour, and from how blessed an estate it is translated, not changing, as a man would say, *Sardis* for *Athens*, nor *Corinth* for *Lemnos* or *Scyros*, but her resiance in the very heaven and about the moone, with the abode upon earth, and with a terrestriall life; whereas it thinketh it strange and as much discontented here for that it hath made exchange of one place for another not farre distant; much like unto a poore plant that by removing doth degenerate and begin to wither away: and yet we see, that for certaine plants some soyle is more commodious and sortable than another, wherein they will like, thrive, and prosper better: whereas contrariwise there is no place that taketh from a man his felicity, no more than it doth his vertue, fortitude, or wisdome: for *Anaxagoras* during the time that he was in prison wrote his *Quadrature* of the Circle, and *Socrates*, even when he dranke poyson, discoursed as a Philosopher, exhorting his friends and familiars to the study of Philosophy, and was by them reputed happy; but contrariwise *Phaeton* and *Icarus*, who (as the Poets do report) would needs mount up into heaven, through their owne folly and inconsiderate rashnesse, fell into most grievous and woefull calamities.

That we ought not to take up Money upon Uſury.

The Summary.

THe covetous deſire of earthly goods is a paſſion incurable, but eſpecially after that it hath gotten the maſtery of the ſoule, in ſuch ſort, as the advertiſements which are made in regard of covetous men be not propoſed for any thing elſe but for the profit and benefit of thoſe perſons who are to keep themſelves from the nets and ſnares of theſe enemies of humane ſociety. Now among all thoſe who have need of good counſels in this behalfe, we muſt range them that take up money upon intereſt, who ſerving as a prey and booty to theſe greedy and hungry hunters, ought ſo much the rather to looke unto their own preſervation, if they would not be cruelly devoured. And as this infortunity hath been in the world ever ſince the entry of ſin, that alwaies ſome or other, yea, and great numbers have endeavoured to make their commodity and gaine by the loſſe and dammage of their neighbours; ſo we may ſee here, that in Plutarchs *time things were grown to a wonderfull confuſion; the which is nothing diminiſhed ſince, but contrariwiſe it ſeemeth that in theſe our daies it is come to the very height. And for to apply ſome remedy hereto, our Authour leaveth uſurers altogether as perſons graceleſſe, reprobate, and uncapable of all remonſtrance, addreſſing himſelfe unto borrowers, to the end that he might diſcover and lay open unto them the ſnares and netts into which they plunge themſelves; and this he doth without ſpecifying or particulariſing over-neare of uſury, becauſe there is no meane or meaſure limited, nor any end of this furious deſire of gathering and heaping up things corruptible. Conſidering then that covetous folke have neither nerve nor veine that reacheth or tendeth to the pity of their neighbours, meet it is and good reaſon that borrowers ſhould have ſome mercy and compaſſion of themſelves to weigh and ponder well the grave diſcourſes of this Author, and to apply the ſame unto the right uſe. He ſaith therefore, that the principall meanes to keepe and ſave themſelves from the teeth of uſury, is to make the beſt of their own, and ſhift with thoſe things that they have about them, before they approach unto the denne of this hungry and greedy beaſt, and that men ought to make an hand and quicke diſpatch of that which is not very neceſſary, before they come thither; where he taxeth thoſe who had lever lay to gage and pawn their goods, and remaine under the burden of uſury, than to ſell up all and diſgage themſelves at once. After this, he preſenteth the true remedy of this miſchiefe, namely, to ſpare and ſpend in meaſure; and to cauſe us to be more wary and better adviſed, he propoſeth the lively image of this horrible monſter, whom we call an Uſurer, deſcribing him in his colours with all his practices and paſſions. Which done, he ſheweth the ſource of borrowing money upon intereſt, and the way to ſtop the ſame; he directeth his pen particularly firſt unto the poore, giving them a goodly leſſon, and then unto the richer ſort, teaching the one as well as the other, how they are to demeane and carry themſelves, that they be not expoſed to the clutches of uſurers. And for a concluſion, he exhorteth them to behold the example of certaine Philoſophers by name, who choſe rather to abandone and forſake all their goods, than to undo themſelves in the poſſeſſion and holding thereof.*

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PLato in his books of Lawes, permitteth not one neighbour to make bold with anothers water, before he have digged and ſunkea pit ſo deep in his own ground, that he is come to a veine of clay or potters earth; untill (I ſay) he have founded thorowly, and found that the plot of ground is not apt to ingender water, or yeeld a ſpring; [for the ſaid potters clay being by nature fatty, ſolid, and ſtrong, reteineth that moiſture which it hath once received, and will not let it ſoake or paſſe thorow:] but allowed they are, and ought to furniſh themſelves with water from others, when they have no meanes to find any of their own, forasmuch as the Law intendeth to provide for mens neceſſity, and not to favour their idleneſſe; even ſo there ought to be an ordinance and act for touching money; That it might not be lawfull for thoſe to borrow upon uſury, nor to go into other mens purſies (as it were), to draw water at their wells or pits, before they have caſt about all meanes at home, ſearched every way, and gathered (as it were) from every gutter and ſpring, trying and aſſaying how to draw and come by that which may ſerve their own turns, and ſupply their preſent neceſſities. But now it falleth out contrariwiſe, that many there be, who to furniſh their fooliſh and riotous expences, or elſe to accompliſh their ſuperfluous and chargeable delights, never ſerve their own turns, nor make uſe of thoſe things which they have, but are ready to ſeeke unto others, even to their great coſt, though they ſtand in no need at all: for

for an undoubted and certaine proofe hereof, marke how Uſurers do not ordinarily put forth their money unto thoſe who are in neceſſity and diſtreſſe, but to ſuch as be deſirous to purchaſe and get that which is ſuperfluous, and whereof they ſtand not in need; inſomuch as that which is credited out and delivered unto him that borroweth, is a good proofe and ſufficient teſtimony, that he hath ſomewhat to take to of his own; whereas indeed he ought (ſince he hath wherewith) to looke unto it, that he take not upon intereſt, and contrariwiſe, not to be credited, nor to be in the uſurers book, is an argument that ſuch an one is needy.

Why doſt thou repaire and make court (as it were) obſequiouſly to a banker or merchant: goe thy waies and borrow of thine owne banke, make a friend of thine owne ſtocke; ſtaggons thou haſt, and pots, chargers, baſons, and diſhes all of ſilver plate; imploy the ſame about thy neceſſities, for to ſupply thy wants, and when thou haſt diſfurniſhed thy table and cup-boord, the gentle town *Autis*, or elſe the Iſle *Tenedos*, will make up all again with faire veſſels of earth and pottery, which is much more neat and pure than thoſe of ſilver; for theſe carry not the ſtrong ſmell, nor unpleaſant ſent of uſury, which like ruſt or canker, every day more and more, ſullieth, fretteth, and eateth into thy coſtly magnificence; theſe will not put thee in mind daily of the calends and new moones, which being in it ſelfe the moſt ſacred and holy day of the month, is by meanes of the uſurers, become odious and accurſed. For as touching thoſe, who chooſe rather to lay their goods to gage, and to pawne them for to borrow money thereupon and pay for uſe, than to ſell them right out, I am verily perſwaded that god *Jupiter* himſelfe ſurnamed *Creſius*, that is, Poſſeſſor, cannot ſave them from beggery. Abaſhed they are to receive the price and value of their goods to the worth; but they be not aſhamed to pay intereſt for the lone of money. And yet that wiſe and politike *Pericles* cauſed the coſtly robe and attire of the ſtatue of *Minerva*, weighing forty talents in fine gold, to be made in ſuch ſort, that he might take it off and put it on as he would at his pleaſure; To the end (quoth he) that when we ſtand in need of money for maintenance of warre, we may ſerve our turnes therewith for the time, and afterwards put in the place againe another of no leſſe weight and worth; even ſo we likewiſe in our occaſions and affaires, like as in the beſieging of a City, ought never to admit the garriſon of an Uſurer or enemy, nor to endure to ſee before our eyes our own goods delivered out for to continue in perpetuall ſervitude, but rather to cut off from our Table all that is neither profitable nor neceſſary; likewiſe from our beds, from our couches, and our ordinary expenſes in diet whatſoever is needleſſe, thereby to maintaine and keepe our ſelves free, in hope and with full intent to ſupply and make amends againe for it, if fortune afterwards ſmile upon us. Certes, the Roman dames in times paſt were willing to part with their jewels and ornaments of gold, yea, and give them away as an offering of firſt fruits to *Apolle Pythius*, whereof was made a golden cup, and the ſame ſent to the City of *Delphi*. And the Matrons of *Carthage* ſhore the haire of their heads, to make thereof twiſted cords for to wind up and bend their engines and inſtruments of artillery in the defence of their country, when the City was beſieged. But we, as if we were aſhamed of our owne ſufficiency, and to ſtand upon our owne bottomes, ſeeke to enthrall our ſelves by gages and obligations; whereas it behooved us much more by reſtraining our ſelves, and reducing all to ſuch things only as be profitable and good for us, of thoſe needleſſe, unprofitable, and ſuperfluous veſſels which we have, after they be either melted, broken in peeces, or ſold, to build a priviledge chappell of liberty, for our ſelves, our wives and children. For the goddeſſe *Diana* in *Epheſus* yeelded ſanctuary, franchiſe, and ſafeguard unto all debtors againſt their creditors, who fled for ſuccour into her temple. But the ſanctuary indeed of parſimony, frugality, and moderate expence, into which no uſurers can make entry, for to hale and pull out of it any debtor priſoner, ſtandeth alwaies open for thoſe that are wiſe, and affordeth unto them a large ſpace of joyous and honourable repoſe. For like as that Propheteſſe which gave oracles in the temple of *Pythius Apollo*, about the time of the Medians warre, made anſwer unto the Athenian Embaſſadours: That God gave unto them for their ſafety a wall of wood; whereupon they leaving their lands and poſſeſſions, abandoning their City, and forſaking their houſes and all the goods therein, had recourſe unto their ſhips for to ſave their liberty; even ſo, God giveth unto us woodden tables, earthen veſſels, and garments of courſe cloath, if we would live in freedome:

Set not thy mind upon ſteeds of great price,
And chariots brave in ſilver harneſſe dight,
With claſpes, with hooks, and ſtuds by fine device
Y'wrought, in race to ſhew a goodly ſight.

For how ſwift ſoever they be, theſe uſurers will ſoone overtake them and run beyond. But rather get upon the next aſſe thou meeteſt with, or the firſt pack-horſe that commeth in thy way, to flie from the uſurer, a cruell enemy and meere tyrant, who demandeth not at thy hands fire and water, as ſometimes did that barbarous King of *Media*; but that which worſe is, toucheth thy liberty, woundeth thine honour and credit by proſcriptions, writs, and open proclamations. If thou pay him not to his content, he is ready to trouble thee; if thou have wherewith to ſatisfie him, he will not receive thy payment unleſſe he liſt; if thou prize and ſell thy goods, he will have them under their worth; art thou not diſpoſed to make a ſale of them? he will force thee to it; doſt thou ſue him for his extreame dealing, he will ſeem to offer parley of agreement; if thou ſweare unto him that

thou wilt make payment, he will impoſe upon thee hard conditions, and have thee at command; if thou go to his houſe for to ſpeake and conferre with him, he will lock the gates againſt thee; and if thou ſtay at home and keep houſe thou ſhalt have him rapping at thy doore; he will not away but take up his lodging there with thee. For in what ſtead ſerved the law of *Solon* in *Athens*, wherein it was ordained, that among the Athenians mens bodies ſhould not be obliged for any civill debt? Conſidering that they be in bondage and ſlavery to all banquers and uſurers, who force men to keep in their heads; and that which more is, not to them alone (for that were not ſuch a great matter) but even to their very ſlaves, being proud, inſolent, barbarous, and outragious, ſuch as *Plato* deſcribeth the devils and fiery executioners in hell to be, who torment the ſoules of wicked and godleſſe perſons. For ſurely theſe curſed uſurers make thy hall and judiciall place of juſtice no better than a very hell and place of torment to their poore debtors, where after the manner of greedy geirs and hungry griffons, they flay, mangle, and eate them to the very bones,

And of their beaks and talons keene,
The markes within their fleſh be ſeene.

And ſome of them they ſtand continually over, not ſuffering them to touch and taſte their own proper goods, when they have done their vintage and gathered in their corne and other fruits of the earth, making them faſt and pine away like unto *Tantalus*. And like as King *Darius* ſent againſt the City of *Athens* his Lieutenants Generall *Datis* and *Artaphernes* with chaines, cords, and halters in their hands, therewith to bind the priſoners which they ſhould take; ſemblably theſe uſurers bring into Greece with them their boxes and caskets full of ſchedules, bils, hand-writings and contracts obligatory, which be as good as ſo many irons and fetters to hang upon their poore debtors; and thus they go up and down leaping from City to City, where they ſow not as they paſſe along good and profitable ſeed, as *Triptolemus* did in old time; but plant their roots of debts, which bring forth infinite troubles and intolerable uſuries, whereof there is no end, which eating as they go and ſpreading their ſpurns round about, in the end cauſe whole Cities to ſtoope and ſinke, yea, and to be ready to ſuffocate and ſtrangle them. It is reported of hares, that at one time they ſuckle young leverets and be ready to kinnule; others that be in their bellies, and withall to conceive afreſh: but the debts of theſe barbarous, wicked, and cruell uſurers do bring forth before they conceive. For in putting out their money they redemand it preſently; in laying it down they take it up, they deliver that againe for intereſt which they received and took in conſideration for lone and uſe. It is ſaid of the Meſſenians City,

Gate after gate a man ſhall here find,
And yet one gate there's alwaies behind.

But it may better be ſaid of uſurers:

Uſury here upon uſury doth grow,
And end thereof you never ſhall know,

And herewithall in ſome ſort they laugh at naturall Philoſophers, who hold this Axiome, That of nothing can be ingendred nothing: for with them uſury is bred of that which neither is, nor ever was; of that, I ſay, which never had ſubſiſtence nor being. Howbeit theſe men thinke it a ſhame and reproach to be be a publicane and take to farme for a rent the publike revenews, notwithſtanding the laws do permit and allow that calling, whereas themſelves againſt all the laws of the world exact a rent and cuſtome for that which they put forth to uſury; or rather to ſpeake a truth, in lending their money they defraud their debtors as bankrupts do their creditors. For the poore debtor who receiveth leſſe than he hath ſet down in his obligation, is moſt falſely couzened, deceived, and cut ſhort of that which he ought to have. And verily the Perſians repute lying to be a ſin but in a ſecond degree: for in the firſt place they reckon to owe money and be indebted; inaſmuch as leaſing followeth commonly thoſe that be in debt. But yet uſurers lye more than they, neither are there any that practice more falſhood and deceit in their day debt-books wherein they write, that to ſuch a one they have delivered ſo much, whereas indeed it is far leſſe; and ſo the motive of their lying is faire avarice, and neither indigence nor poverty, but even a miſerable covetouſneſſe and deſire ever to have more and more; the end whereof turneth neither to pleaſure nor profit unto themſelves, but to the loſſe and ruine of thoſe whom they wring and wrong: for neither till they thoſe grounds which they take away from their debtors, nor dwell in the houſes out of which they turne them, nor eate their meat upon thoſe tables which they have from them, ne yet clad themſelves with their apparell of which they ſpoile them; but firſt one is deſtroyed, then a ſecond followeth after, and is allured as a prey by the other. And this is much like to wild-fire, which ſtill conſumeth, and yet encreaſeth alwaies by the utter decay and deſtruction of all that falleth into it, and devoureth one thing after another. And the uſurer which maintaineth this fire, blowing and kindling it with the ruine of ſo many people gaineth thereby no more fruit than this, that after a certaine time he taketh his booke of accounts in hand, and there readeth what a number of debtors he hath bought out of houſe and home, how many he hath diſpoſſeſſed of their land and living, from whence he hath come and whither he hath gone in turning, winding, and heaping up his ſilver. Now I would not that you ſhould thus thinke of me, that I ſpeake all this upon any deadly war and enmity that I have ſworne againſt uſurers,

For God be praiſed they neither horſes mine
Have driven away, nor oxen, ne yet kine.

But

But only to ſhew unto them who are ſo ready to take up money upon uſury, what a villanous, ſhamefull, and baſe thing there is in it, and how this proceedeth from nothing elſe but extreame folly and timidity of heart. If thou have therewith to weild the world, never come into the uſurers book, conſidering thou haſt no need to borrow. Haſt thou not wherewith, yet take not money up and pay not intereſt, becauſe thou ſhalt have no meanes to make payment. But let us conſider the one and the other apart by it ſelfe. Old *Cato* ſaid unto a certaine aged man, who behaved himſelfe very badly: My friend (quoth he) conſidering that old age of it ſelfe hath ſo many evils, how commeth it to paſſe that you adde thereto moreover the reproach and ſhame of lewdneſſe and miſdemeanour? Even ſo may we ſay, ſeeing that poverty of it ſelfe hath ſo many and ſo great miſeries, do not you over and above go and heap thereupon the troubles and anguiſhes that come of borrowing and being in debt; neither take thou from penury that only good thing wherein it excelleth riches, to wit, the want of carking and penſive cares; for otherwiſe thou ſhalt be ſubject unto the mockery implied by this common proverbe:

A goat alone when beare unneth I may,
An oxe upon my ſhoulder you do lay.

Semblably, you being not able to ſuſtaine poverty alone, do ſurcharge your ſelfe with an uſurer, a burden hardly ſupportable even for a rich and wealthy man. How then would you have me to live? Haply ſome man will ſay: And doſt thou indeed aske this queſtion, having hands and feet of thine own? Having the gift of ſpeech, voice, and being a man, unto whom it is given both to love and alſo to be loved; as well to do a pleaſure, as to receive a curteſie with thankſgiving. Thou maieſt teach Grammar, bring up young children, be a porter or doore-keeper; thou maieſt be a ſailer or marriner, thou maieſt row in a barge or galley: for none of all theſe trades is more reproachfull, odious, or troubleſome, than to heare one ſay unto thee: Pay me mine own, or diſcharge the debt that thou oweſt me. *Rutilius* that rich Roman comming upon a time at *Rome* to *Muſonius* the Philoſopher, ſaid unto him thus in his eare: *Muſonius, Jupiter* ſurnamed *Saviour*, whom you and ſuch other Philoſophers as you are, make profeſſion to imitate and follow, taketh up no money at intereſt: but *Muſonius* ſmiling againe, returned him this preſent anſwer: No more doth he put forth any money for uſe.

Now this *Rutilius*, who was an uſurer, reproached the other for taking money at intereſt, which was a fooliſh arrogant humour of a Stoick: for what need hadſt thou *Rutilius* to meddle with *Jupiter Saviour*, and alledge his name, conſidering that a man may report the ſelf ſame by thoſe very things which are familiar and apparent? The ſwallows are not in the uſurers book the pilinires pay not for uſe of money, and yet to them hath not nature given either hands or reaſon, or any art and myſtery; whereas ſhe hath endued man with ſuch abundance of underſtanding, and aptneſſe to learne and practice, that he can skill not only to nouriſh himſelfe, but alſo to keep horſes, hounds, partridges, hares, and jayes: why doſt thou then diſable and condemne thy ſelfe, as if thou were leſſe docible and ſenſible than a jay, more mute than a partridge, more idle than a dog, in that thou canſt make no meanes to have good of a man, neither by double diligence, by making court, by obſervance and ſervice, nor by maintaining his quarrell, and entring into combate in his defence? Seeſt thon not how the earth doth bring forth many things, and how the ſea affordeth as many for the uſe of man? And verily as *Crates* ſaith:

I ſaw my ſelfe how Mycilus *woſll did card,*
And how with him his wife the rolls did ſpin:
Thus, during war, when times were extreame hard,
Both joyntly wrought, to keep them from famine.

King *Antigonus* when he had not of a long time ſeen *Cleanthes* the Philoſopher, meeting him one day in *Athens*, ſpake unto him and ſaid: How now *Cleanthes*, doſt thou grind at the mill, and turne the querne-ſtone ſtill? Yea ſir (quoth *Cleanthes* againe) I grind yet, and I do it for to earne my living; howbeit for all that, I give not over my profeſſion of Philoſophy. O the admirable courage and high ſpirit of this man, who comming from the mill, with that very hand which turned about the ſtone, ground the mealc and kneaded the dough, wrote of the nature of the gods, of the moon, of the ſtars, and the ſun! But we do thinke all theſe to be baſe and ſervile workes; and yet verily, becauſe we would be free (God wot) we care not to thruſt our ſelves into debt, we pay for the uſe of money, we flatter vile and baſe perſons, we give them preſents, we invite and feaſt them, we yeeld (as it were) tribute under-hand unto them; and this we do not in regard of poverty, (for no man uſeth to put forth his money into a poore mans hand) but even upon a ſuperfluity and riotous expence of our own: for if we could content our ſelves with thoſe things that are neceſſary for the life of man, there would not be an uſurer in the world, no more than there are Centaures and monſtrous Gorgones. But exceſſe it is and daintineſſe which hath ingendred uſurers; like as the ſame hath bred gold-ſmiths, ſilver-ſmiths, confectioners, perfumers, and diers of gallant colours. We come not in debt to bakers and vintners for our bread and wine; but we owe rather for the price and purchaſe of faire houſes and lands, for a great number and retinue of ſlaves, of fine mules, of trimme halls and dining chambers, of rich tables, and the coſtly furniture belonging thereto, beſides other fooliſh and exceſſive expenſes, which we oftentimes are at, when we exhibite plaies and ſolemne paſtimes into whole cities for to gratifie and do pleaſure unto the people; and that upon a vaine ambition and deſire of popular favour; and many times we receive no other fruit of all our coſt and labour,

bour, but ingratitude. Now he that is once enwrapped in debt, remaineth a debtor ſtill all the daies of his life; and he fareth like to an horſe, who after he hath once received the bit into his mouth, changeth his rider eſtſoones, and is never unridden, but one or other is alwaies on his back. No way and meanes there is to avoid from thence, and to recover thoſe faire paſtures and pleaſant meadows, out of which thoſe indebted perſons are turned; but they wander aſtray to and fro, like to thoſe curſed fiends and malign ſpirits, whom *Empedocles* writeth to have been driven by the gods out of heaven:

For ſuch the heavenly power firſt chas'd down to the ſea beneath;
The ſea againe, up to the earth did caſt them by and by;
Then afterwards, the earth them did unto the beames bequeath
Of reſtleſſe ſun, and then at leſt ſent them to ſtarry skie.

Thus fall they into the hands of uſurers or bankers, one after another; now of a Corinthian, then of a Patrian, and after of an *Athenian; ſo long, untill when all of them have had a fling at him, he become in the end waſted, eaten out, and conſumed with uſury upon uſury: for like as he that is ſtepped into a quavemire muſt either at firſt get forth of it, or elſe continue ſtill there, and not remove at all out of one place; for he that ſtriveth, turneth and windeth every way, not only doth wet and drench his body, but mireth it all over, and bewrayeth himſelfe more than he was at firſt with filthy durt; even ſo they that do nothing but change one banke for another, making a tranſcript of their name out of one uſurers book into anothers, loading their ſhoulders eftſoones with new and freſh uſuries, become alwaies overcharged more and more; and they reſemble for all the world thoſe perſons who are diſeaſed with the cholerick paſſion or fluxe, who will not admit of any perfect cure to purge it at once, but continually taking away a certaine portion of the humour make roome for more and more ſtill to gather and engender in the place; ſo even ſo theſe are not willing to be rid and cleanſed at once, but with dolour, griefe, and anguiſh pay uſury every ſeaſon and quarter of the yeare; and no ſooner have they diſcharged one, but another diſtilleth and runneth down after it, which gathereth to an head; and ſo by that meanes they are grieved with the head-ache and paine of the head; whereas it behoved that they ſhould make quick diſpatch, and give order to be cleare and free once for all; for now I direct my ſpeech unto thoſe of the better ſort, who have wherewith above their fellows, and yet be nicer than they ſhould be; and thoſe commonly come in with ſuch like words and excuſes as theſe: How then, would you have me unfurniſhed of ſlaves and ſervants? To live without fire, without an houſe and abiding place? Which is all one as if he that were in a dropſie and ſwolne as big as a tun ſhould ſay unto his Phyſician: What will you do? Would you have me to be leane, lanke, ſpare bodied and empty; and why not? Or what ſhouldſt not thou be contented to be, ſo thou maieſt recover thy health and be whole againe? And even ſo may it be ſaid unto thee: better it were for to be without ſlaves than to be a ſlave thy ſelfe; and to remaine without heritage and poſſeſſions, that thou maieſt not be poſſeſſed by another. Hearken a little to the talke that was between two geires or vultures as the tale goes; when one of them diſgorged ſo ſtrongly, that he ſaid withall, I thinke verily that I ſhall caſt up my very bowels: the other being by, anſwered in this wiſe: What harme will come of thy vomiting, ſo long as thou ſhalt not caſt up thine own entrailes, but thoſe only of ſome dead prey which we tare and devoured together but the other day; Semblably every one that is indebted ſelleth not his own land, nor his own houſe; but indeed the uſurers houſe and land of whom he hath taken money for intereſt, conſidering that by the law the debtor hath made him lord of him and all. Yea, mary will he ſay anon; but my father hath left me this peece of land for mine inheritance: I wot well and beleeve it; ſo hath thy father left unto thee freedome, good name and reputation, whereof thou oughteſt to make much more account than of land and living. He that begat thee made thy hand and thy foot, and yet if it chance that one of them be mortified he will give a good fee or reward to a Chirurgian for to cut it off. Lady *Calypſo* clad *Ulyſſes* with a veſture and robe ſenting ſweet like balme, yeelding an odour of a body immortall, which ſhe preſented unto him as a gift and memoriall of the love that ſhe bare unto him; and this he did weare for her ſake; but after that he ſuffered ſhipwrack and was ready to ſinke, being hardly able to float above water, by reaſon that the ſaid robe was all drenched, and ſo heavy that it held him down, he did it off and threw it away; and then girding his naked breaſt underneath with a certaine broad fillet or ſwadling band he ſaved himſelfe by ſwimming, and recovered the banke: now when he was paſt this danger, and ſeemed to be landed, he ſeemed to want neither raiment nor nutriment: and what ſay you to this? May not this be counted a very tempeſt, when as the uſurer after a certaine time ſhall come to aſſaile the poore debtors, and ſay unto them? Pay,

Which word once ſaid, therewith the clouds above,
He gathereth thicke, and ſea with waves doth move:
For why, the winds anon at once from eaſt,
From ſouth, from weſt do blow and give no reſt.

And what be theſe winds and waves? Even uſuries upon uſuries, puffing, blowing and rolling one after another; and he that is overwhelmed therewith and kept under with their heavy weight, is not able to ſwim forth and eſcape, but in the end is driven down and ſinketh to the very bottome where he is drowned and periſhed together with his friends, who entred into bonds, and became ſureties and pledges for him.

* Or Corinthian againe.

Crates

Crates the Philoſopher of *Thebes* therefore did very well, who being in danger and debt to no man, only wearied with the cares and troubles of houſe-keeping, and the penſive thoughts how to hold his own, left all, and gave over his eſtate and patrimony which amounted to the value of eight talents; tooke himſelfe to his bag and wallet, to his ſimple robe and cloake of courſe cloath, and fled into the ſanctuary and liberties of Philoſophy and Poverty. As for *Anaxagoras* he forſook his fair lands and plenteous paſtures: but what need I to alledge theſe examples? Conſidering that *Philoxenus* the Muſician being ſent with other to people and poſſeſſe a new Colony in *Cicily*, and having befallen to his lot a goodly houſe and living to it, enjoying (I ſay) for his part a good portion wherewith he might have lived in fulneſſe and plenty; when he ſaw once that deſignes, pleaſures, and idleneſſe, without any exerciſe at all of good letters reigned in thoſe parts; *Par die* (quoth he) theſe goods here ſhall never ſpoile and undo me, but I will rather (I trow) make a hand and havock of them; leaving therefore unto others his portion that fell unto him by lot, he tooke ſea againe and ſailed away to *Athens*. Contrariwiſe thoſe that be in debt are evermore ſued in the law, become tributaries and very ſlaves, bearing and enduring all indignities, like unto thoſe varlets that dig in ſilver mines, nouriſhing and maintaining as *Phineus* did the ravenous winged harpies: for ſurely theſe uſurers alwaies flie upon them, and be ready to ſnatch and carry away the very food and ſuſtenance; neither have they patience to ſtay and attend times and ſeaſons; for they buy up their debtors corn before it be ripe for the harveſt; they make their markets of oyle before the olives fall from the tree, and likewiſe of wine: For I will have it at this price (quoth the uſurer;) and withall the debtor giveth him preſently a bill of his hand for ſuch a bargaine; meane while the grapes hang ſtill upon the vine, waiting for the month of September, when the ſtar *Arcturus* riſeth and ſheweth the time of vintage.

That a Philoſopher ought to converſe eſpecially with Princes and great Rulers, and with them to diſcourſe.

The Summary.

IF there be any in the world who have need of good company, they are Princes and great Lords; for that their affaires being of ſuch conſequence as every man knoweth the feebleneſſe of bodie and inſufficiency of ſpirit, not able to furniſh them throughly; great reaſon they have to ſee by the eyes, and to worke with the hands of others. Now in this caſe, three ſorts of men there be who fault very much: In the firſt place, Princes and Rulers themſelves, who inſtead of drawing and training neare unto their perſons ſuch as can aide and aſſiſt them, give acceſſe rather unto flatterers and other like peſtilent members, who are ready to corrupt and ruinate their eſtates: Secondly, thoſe (whoſe number at all times hath been very ſmall) whom we call Philoſophers, (that is to ſay) men of authority, wiſe, ſage, learned, friends to vertue, lovers of the good of Princes and their ſubjects; who being of great power and able to do much, yet notwithſtanding recule and drew backe, or being advanced to high place, have not alwaies that reſpect and conſideration, nor ſuch courage as appertaineth; ſuffering themſelves otherwhiles to be carried away to the entertainment and maintenance of the greateſt opinion, and mingling a little too much of worldly wiſdome with the apprehenſion of their true duty, whereof their conſcience being lightned in ſundry ſorts adverteſeth them ſufficiently. The laſt, (and thoſe as pernicious and execrable as the thought of man is not able to deviſe and comprehend) be the enemies of vertue (to wit) ignorant teachers, and profane ſchoolemaſters and profeſſors, mockers, ſcorners, jeſters, flatterers; in ſum, all the miniſters of vanities and filthy pleaſures, who do inſinuate and intrude themſelves by moſt lewd and wicked meanes into the ſervice of Princes; and in recompence of the honour and rich gifts which they receive at their hands, do deceive and undo their ſimple lords and maſters, according as an infinite number of examples in Hiſtories do verifie and give evidence unto us. Plutarch therefore in conſideration of theſe inconveniences, is deſirous in this treatiſe to encourage thoſe who wiſh that all things were well and in good order; and exhorteth them to approach neare unto Princes. But for aſmuch as ignorance and lewdneſſe cauſeth men to become ſhameleſſe, whereas wiſdome and honeſty maketh us modeſt and conſiderate in all our actions; he ſheweth in the firſt place, that it is no point of ambition for a wiſe and learned man to joyne himſelfe unto Grand ſeigneurs and to ſort with them; but that it is their duty ſo to do, conſidering that ſuch receive honour, pleaſure, and profit by him. And this he proveth by reaſons, ſimilitudes, examples, all ſingular and notable. Afterwards he condemneth thoſe who enter into Princes Courts, only becauſe they would be great and powerfull, ſhewing that wiſe men indeed do aime cleane at another marke. And for the laſt point of all, he treateth of the contentment which they receive, who by their ſervice to one alone, help by that meanes an infinite nimber of others, who remaine bound and obliged unto them for ſo great a benefit.

That a Philosopher ought to converse especially with Princes and great Rulers, and with them to discourse.

TO embrace a common love, to find out, accept, entertaine and maintaine that amity which may be profitable and commodious to many in particular, and yet to more in generall, is the part of honest men, politike, wise, and affectionate to the publike good; and not as some thinke, of those that be ambitious and vaine-glorious. But contrariwise, he is to be reputed vaine-glorious, or rather timorous and wanting courage, who doth shun and is afraid to heare himselfe called a follower, waiter, and servitor to those that are in highest place. For what saith one of these personages, who, having need to be cured, is desirous to learn and to be acquainted with some Philosopher? O that I were *Simon* the Souter, or *Dionysius* the Pedante, instead of *Pericles* or *Cato*, that a Philosopher might discourse and dispute with me, that he might sit by my side, as *Socrates* did sometime by those. And verily *Ariston* of *Chios* being reproved and blamed by the Sophisters in his time, for that he used to devise and discourse with all those that were disposed to heare him: I could wish (quoth he) in my heart, that the very beasts themselves were able to give eare and understand those discourses that do excite and move unto vertue. Do we then avoid the meanes and occasions to converse and conferre familiarly with great personages and mighty men, as if they were wild and savage persons? The doctrine of Philosophy is not like unto an imager who casteth dumbe and deafe idoll statues, without any sense, only for to stand upon a base as *Pindarus* was wont to say but is willing to make whatsoever it toucheth active, operative, and lively; it imprinteth therein affections and motions, judgements also inviting and leading to things profitable; intentions desirous of all honesty, haughty courage also and magnanimity, joyned with meeknesse, resolution, and assurance; by meanes of which good parts men of State and Policy, are more ready and forward to converse and devise with persons of great puissance and authority, and not without good cause; for an honest and gentle physician will take alwaies more pleasure to heale an eye that seeth for many, and which doth guard and looke to many; and even so a Philosopher will be more affectionate to take care for that soule and spirit which he seeth to be vigilant for many, and which ought to be wise, prudent, and just for many: for such an one if he were skilfull and cunning in the art of finding, gathering, and conducting of waters (as we read in Historics that *Hercules* and many other in old time were) would not take delight to go into some desert corner, farre remote from the frequency of men, and to dig or sinke pits there, neare to the Ravens rock (as the Poet saith) and to open that Swine-heards marish *Arethusa*, but would study rather to discover the lively sources and ever-running springs of a river to serve some great City or Campe, or to water the Orchards, Gardens and Groves of Kings. According as we heare that *Homer* called *Minos*, *Jupiters Oaristes*, which is as much to say, (as *Plato* himselfe doth interpret the word) his Familiar and Disciple; for he never meant that the disciples of the gods were private persons, home-keepers, and such as meddle in nothing but house matters, keeping in, and living idlely without any action; but Princes and Kings who being wise, just, debonaire and magnanimous, as many as be under their government and command shall live in blisse and happinesse.

An herbe there is called *Eryngium* or Sea-holly, which hath this property, that no sooner one goat taketh it in his mouth, but she herselfe first, and afterwards all the rest of the flock will stand still, untill such time as the goat-heard come and take away out of the flock which he will; in like manner, the effluxions which proceed from persons of great power and authority, have the same swiftnesse and celerity, which doth dilate and spread it selfe in one moment, and in manner of fire seiseth upon whatsoever is neare thereto on every side. And verily the speech and remonstrance of a Philosopher, if it be addressed and directed upto a private man, and that loveth to live in repose, and who doth limit and circumscribe himselfe, as within a center and circumference geometricall, with the necessities of his own body, the same speech is not distributed and divided unto others, but after it hath in that one man alone composed and wrought a great tranquillity and calme of all perturbations, it fadeth, vanisheth away, and so doth end incontinently; but on the contrary side, if the said remonstrance meet with a man of State and Government, a Magistrate, a Politician, and one that dealeth in great affaires, and by the effectuall vertue thereof, replenish him with goodnesse and honesty, by the meanes of that one person, the benefit will be imparted unto many. In this wise *Anaxagoras* kept company with *Pericles*; *Plato* conversed with *Dion*, and *Pythagoras* did associate himselfe to the Princes and Lords of *Italie*; and as for *Cato* he departed alone from the Campe, and sailed to *Athenodorus*; *Scipio* likewise laid for *Panætius*, and sought after him, at what time as the Senate sent him forth with commission for to go in visitation (as it were) and survey, to see what right and wrong what justice and injustice reigned in the world, according as *Posidonius* maketh report. What then ought *Panætius* for to say? If you were either *Castor* or *Pollux*, or some other private person desirous to flye and avoid the frequency of great Cities, and retire your selfe into some corner of a schoole apart, there at your leisure and full repose to fold and unfold, to resolve and compound the syllogismes of Philosophers, I would willingly accept your proffer, and be desirous to converse and stay with you; but seeing you are the son of *Paulus Æmylius*, who had been twice Consull,

Consull, and the nephew of *Scipio Africanus*, who defeated *Annibal* the Captaine of the Carthaginians, I will not reason and dispute with you. Moreover, to say that speech is twofold; the one interior or inward, the gift of *Mercury* surnamed *Hegemon*, that is, Guide; the other pronounced and uttered forth, which is instrumentall, and a very interpreter to give notice of our conceptions, is a meere vaine and stale position, and may well be comprised under this old proverbe: Thus much I knew before *Theognis* was borne. But let not this distinction trouble or impeach us in that which we are about to say; for as well of that which is contained within the secret mind, as of the other which is pronounced and uttered, the end is all one; to wit, Love or amity of this, in respect of a mans own selfe, and of that, in regard of others: for that speech which by the precepts of Philosophy, bendeth unto vertue, and there doth end, maketh a man in tune and accordant with himselfe, never repining and complaining of ought, full of peace, full of love and contentment:

In all his limbes is no sedition,
No strife, no war, no strange dissention,

No passion rebellious and disobedient to reason, no combate of will or appetite against will and appetite, no repugnancy and contrariety of reason against reason; there is no impleasant bitternesse or turbulent disorder mixed with joyes and pleasures, as it falleth out in the confines of desire, repentance and sorrow; but all things there be uniforme, delightsome, and amiable, which causeth each one to content himselfe, and joy as in abundance of all goods. As for the other kind of speech that is pronounced, *Pindarus* saith: That the Muse thereof was never in old time covetous, greedy of gaine, or meere mercenary; neither beleeve I that it is so at this day; but rather, through the ignorance and negligence of men who be careleselfe of their own good and honour. *Mercury*, who before was free and common, is now become an occupier and merchant, willing to do nothing without a fee and reward. For it is not likely or probable, that *Venus* in times past was so deadly offended and angry with the daughters of *Proetus*, because they devised first to sow hatred and enmity among young folke, and that *Urania*, *Clio* and *Calliope* take pleasure in them who debase the dignity of speech and literature, by taking silver; but in mine opinion, the workes and gifts of the Muses ought to be more amiable than those of *Venus*: for fame and honour, which some propose for the end of their speech and learning, hath been held deare and highly beloved, for that it is the very beginning and seminary of friendship; and that which more is, the common sort of people measure honour by good-will & benevolence, esteeming that we ought to praise those only whom we affect and love; but certainly these men fare like unto *Ixion*, who in love following after the goddesse *Juno*, fell upon a cloud; for even so they, instead of amity embrace a vaine image of popularity, deceitfull, pompous, wandring, and uncertaine: howbeit, a man of good conceit and judgement, if he mannage State-affairs, or intermeddle in government of the common-weale, will seeke for honour and reputation so far forth only, as to maintaine his authority and credit in all his actions, for the better management of publike affaires: for it is no pleasure, neither is it ease, to do them good who are not willing to profit and receive good; and the disposition of the will proceedeth from beliefe and confidence. Like as the light doth more good unto them that see, than to those who are seene; even so is honour more profitable unto them who perceive and feele the same, than to such as are neglected and contemned. But he who dealeth not in affaires of State, who liveth to himselfe, and letteth down his felicity in such a life, apart from others, in rest and repose, falleth a far off vaine-glory and popularity, which others joy in, who be conversant in the view and sight of people, and in frequent assemblies and theaters, much like unto *Hippolytus*, who living chaste, saluted the goddesse *Venus* a great way off, but as for the other glory which proceedeth from men of worth and honour, he neither refuseth nor disdaineth it. Now when as the question is of amity, we are not to seek for it and to contract friendship only with such as be wealthy, have the glory, credit, and authority of great Lords, no more than we ought to avoid these qualities, if the same be joyned with a gentle nature, which is of faire and honest conditions. The Philosopher seeketh not after beautifull and well-favoured young men, but such as be docible, tractable, well disposed, and desirous of knowledge; but if withall they be endued with beautifull visage, with a good grace, and are in the flower of youth, this ought not to fright him from thence, neither must the lovely casts of their countenance and amiable aspects drive him from comming neere unto those, nor chase him away if he see them worthy paines taking and for to be regarded. Thus when power, riches, and princely authority shall be found in men of good nature, who be moderate and civill; the Philosopher will not forbeare to love and cherish such, neither be afraid to be called a courtier or follower of great personages:

They that strive most dame Venus *to eschew,*
Do faults as much, as they who her pursue.

Even so it is with the amity of Princes and great Potentates: and therefore the contemplative Philosopher who will not deale at all in affaires of weale-publike, must not avoid and shun such; but the civill Philosopher who is busied in managing of the common weale ought to seeke for them and find them out, not forcing them after a troublesome manner to heare him, nor charging their eares with reports and discourses that be unseasonable and sophisticall; but framing himself willingly to joy in their company; to discourse, to passe the time with them when they are willing and so disposed:

Twelve

Twelve journeys long are Berecinthian plaines,
And those I sow yearely with sundry graines.

He that said this, if he had loved men as well as he affected husbandry and tillage, would more willingly have ploughed and sowed that ground which is able to maintaine and feed so many men, then that little close or pindie of *Antisthenes*, which hardly was sufficient to find himselfe alone.

Certes *Epicurus*, who placed the soveraigne good and felicity of man in most sound rest and deep repose, as in a sure harbour or haven, defended and covered from all winds and surging waves of the world; saith, That to do good unto another, is not only more honest and honourable, than to receive a benefit at anothers hand, but also more pleasant and delectable; for there is nothing that begetteth so much joy as doth beneficence, which the Greeks terme by the name of χάρις, that is to say, Grace. Well advised he was therefore and of wise judgement who imposed these names upon the three Graces, *Aglaia*, *Euphrosyne*, and *Thalia*; for without all question, the joy and contentment is far greater and more pure in him who doth a good turne and deserveth a thanke, than in the party who receiveth the same: and therefore it is that many times men do blush for shame when a good turne is done unto them, whereas alwaies they rejoyce when they conferre a benefit or favour upon another. Now do they a benefit unto a whole multitude or nation, who are the meanes to make those good, whom the people and multitude cannot misse but have need of: whereas contrariwise, they that corrupt and spoile Princes, Kings, and great Rulers (as do these flatterers, false sycophants, and slanderous promoters) are abominable unto all, are chased out and punished by all; like unto those that cast deadly poyson, not into one cup of wine, but into a fountaine or spring that runneth for to serve in publike, and whereof they see all persons use to drinke. Like as therefore (according to *Eup lis*) it is said only by way of mockery concerning those flatterers and comicall parasites who haunted the table of rich *Callias*, that there was neither fire, brasse, nor steele, that could keep them out, but they would come to sup with him: but as for the minions and favourites of tyrant *Apollodorus*, *Phalaris*, or *Dionysius*, after the decease of their Lords and Masters, the people fell upon them, did beat them with cudgels, torture upon the rack, burne at a stake, and range them with the accursed and damned crew; for that they before named did wrong to one alone, but these did injury unto many by the meanes of corrupting one who was their Ruler; even so those Philosophers that converse and keepe company with private persons, do cause them to be well contented, pleasant, gracious and harmelesse to their owne selves and no more: but whosoever reformeth some evill conditions in a great Ruler or soveraigne Magistrate, framing and directing his will and intention to that which he ought; this man. I say, after a sort is a Philosopher to the publike State, in that he doth correct the mould and amend the patterne to which all the subjects be composed, and according to it governed. The Cities and States which be well ruled, decree and yeeld honour and reverence to their Priests; for that they do pray unto the gods for good things, not in regard of themselves, nor of their kinsfolke and friends alone, but universally in the behalfe of all the citizens; and yet these Priests do not make the gods good nor the givers of good things, but being such already of themselves, to them they powre their prayers and make invocations. But Philosophers who live and converse with Princes and great Lords, cause them to be more just and righteous, more moderate and better affected to well-doing; by meanes whereof it is like that they receive more joy and contentment. And if I should speake my conceit, it seemeth unto me that the harpmaker wrought and made his harpe more cheerefully and with greater pleasure, when he knew that the master and owner of the said harpe should build the walls about the City *Thebes*, as *Amphion* did, or to stay and appease the great civill sedition of the Lacedæmonians by singing to the said harp and by sweet exhortations, as sometimes *Thales* did; semblably the carpenter or shipwright, who maketh the helme to a ship or galley, will joy more when he shall know that the said helme shall serve to guide and rule the admirals ship, within which *Themistocles* shall fight against the Persians in the defence of the liberty and freedome of *Greece*: or that of *Pompeius*, with which in a navall battell at sea he defeated and vanquished the army of the pirats. What suppose you then will a Philosopher thinke of his own speech and doctrine, when he shall come to discourse with himselfe; that he who shall receive the same being a man of authority, a Prince or great Lord, shall thereby do good unto the Common-weale in ministring right and justice indifferently to every man; shall punish the wicked, and advance those that be good and vertuous. I am verily perswaded (for my part) that a good and gentle ship wright will more willingly make an helme, when he shall know that it must serve to rule the great ship *Argo*, renowned throughout the world: likewise a carpenter or wheele-wright will not with so good a will lay his hand to make a plough, or a chariot, as he would to frame those tables or boords in which he writ that *Solon* was to engrave his laws. And (I assure you) the discourses and reasons delivered by Philosophers if once they be well and surely imprinted in the hearts of great personages, who have in their hands the government of States, if they once get sure footing and take good root in them, they become as forcible and effectuall as positive laws. Hereupon it was that *Plato* sailed into *Sicily*, in hope that the grave sentences and principles of his Philosophy would be as good as laws, and worke wholsome and profitable effects in the affaires of *Dionysius*. But he found that *Dionysius* was like writing tables all raised, and full of blurs and blots, and that he could not leave off the tincture and deepe die of tyranny, being so surely set on, and having by continuance of time entred and pierced deepe, so that it could not be washed out; whereas it behooved that those who are to make their profit by good advertisements and sage lessons, should still be in motion and so continue.

As

As touching a Prince or Ruler unlearned.

The Summary.

As in the former discourse he sollicited Sages and Philosophers to joyne themselves in acquaintance with Princes; so in this he desireth one point, whereof he dareth not assure himselfe to compasse the same, by reason of some difficulties therein observed. For requiring in Princes thus much that they should be well instructed, for to be capable of good counsell: he sheweth withall that it is a very hard thing to bring them thereto, and to range them in that order for certaine materiall and pertinent reasons which he setteth down. Nevertheless he passeth on still and proceedeth further; proving that the law and lively reason ought to command Kings and Princes; and for to cause them to condescend thereto, he declareth unto them, that the thing which they wish for and desire so ardently to procure; namely, to maintaine themselves in happy estate, and to make their name immortall, lieth in vertue: then he pointeth out with his finger, foure impeachments and hinderances that divert and turne away Princes from so just and necessary a consideration. Which done, for to enrich this speech and treatise of his, and the better yet to draw Princes by pleasure to give eare unto reason, he letteth them see and understand the difference betweene a good Prince and a Tyrant: also how dangerous a wicked Prince is; concluding by the benefit which commeth by equity, and the hurt by injustice; that right and justice ought to serve as a counterpoise against the greatnesse and puissance of Princes.

As touching a Prince or Ruler unlearned.

The inhabitants of the City *Cyrene*, requested *Plato* on a time to leave unto them by writing certaine good laws; and withall to set them down an order in the government of their State, which he refused to do, saying: That it was a very hard matter to give lawes unto the Cyrenians being so rich and wealthy as they were: for there is nothing so proud and insolent, so rough and intractable, so savage and hard to be tamed, as a man perswaded well of his fortunate estate. This is the cause that it is no easie enterprise to give counsell unto Princes and Rulers; and to advise them as touching their government. For they be affraid to receive and admit reason as a master to command them; for feare it should take away and abridge them of that, which they esteeme to be the only good of their grandeur and puissance, in case they were subjected once to their duty. Which is the cause also that they cannot skill to heare the discourses of *Theopompus* King of *Sparta*, who was the first that brought into that City the *Ephori*, and mingled their authority with the government of the Kings. For when his wife reproached him for leaving unto his children the royall power and dignity, lesse than he received it of his predecessors: Nay, mary (quoth he) but rather far greater, in that it shall be more firme and assured: for in remitting and letting down a little that which in absolute royalty was over-stiffe, straight, and rigorous, he avoided by that very meanes all envy and perill. And verily *Theopompus* deriving unto others from his owne authority, as from a great river, a little rill or rivulet; looke how much he gave unto the *Ephori*, so much he cut off from himselfe: but the reason and remonstrance of Philosophy, being lodged (as it were) with the Prince himselfe, for to assist him and preserve his person, taking from his puissance, as in a full plight and plethoricke constitution of the body, that which is excessive and over-much, leaveth that behind which is sound and healthfull. But the most part of Kings, Princes, and soveraigne Rulers, who are not wise and of good understanding, resemble unskilfull cutters in stone and imagers, who are of opinion that the enormous and huge statues, called *Colosses*, which they cut, will seeme more vaste and mighty, if they frame them straddling with their legs, with their armes spread abroad and stretched forth, as also with their mouths gaping wide open; for even so, these Princes and Rulers by their big commanding voice, their grim and sterne visage, fierce lookes, and regard of their eye, their odious behaviour, and living apart without society of any other person, weene and suppose to counterfeit a kind of gravity, greatnesse, and majesty that is required in a mighty Potentate; but they differ nothing from the foresaid *Colosses*, which without discourse, the forme of some god or demi-god; but all within are stuffed full of earth, stone, rubbish, and lead: this only is the difference, that the weight and heavinesse of those monstrous statues, counterpoiseth and keepeth them standing in some sort upright, stedfast, and not enclining one way or other; but ignorant and unlearned Princes, Rulers, and generall Captaines, by reason of their ignorance which is within them, oftentimes do wag and totter to and fro, yea, and be over-turned and laid along; for comming to build their puissance and licentious power aloft upon a base that is not laid directly to the plumbe, they reele and tumble down withall. But like as a rule or square, being of it selfe even, straight, and levell, not turning or twining any way,

doth direct and set streight all other things, and make them like it selfe, by being laid thereto; even so ought a Prince, when he hath first established in himselfe his principallity and power, that is to say, composed his own life and manners, to accommodate and frame his subjects accordingly, and to make them semblable. For neither liveth it in him who is ready to stumble and fall himselfe, to sustaine and keep up another, nor he who is ignorant and knoweth nothing, is fit to be a teacher, no more than he who is disorderly, meet to redresse and reforme, or who is irregular, able to range and set in order, or who knoweth not how to obey, like for to command. But the most part of men are herein deceived, and thinke not aright, who suppose that the first and principall good in commanding and ruling, is not to be ruled and commanded. And thus the King of the *Persians* imagined all his subjects to be slaves, unlesse it were his wife alone, of whom especially above all other, he should have the mastry and Lordship.

Who is it then, that shall command a King or Prince; even the law, which is the Lady and Queen of all, aswell mortall men, as immortall gods, according as *Pindarus* saith: I meane not the written law in books or upon tables of wood, but the lively reason imprinted in his own heart, remaining alwaies with him, his continuall resident-keeper, and never leaving his soule abandoned and forlorne without conduct and government. And verily the Persian King had evermore about him one of his Chamberlaines ordained for this office; namely, to say unto him every morning as he entred into his Chamber: *Arise my Lord, and have regard to those affaires for which* Mesoromasdes (that is to say, The Great God) *would have you to provide.* But if a Prince be wise and well-instructed, he hath alwaies within him this monitor and remembrancer, to resound the same into his eares, and put him in mind of his duty. *Polemon* was wont to say: That love was a ministry of the gods in young persons, such as they had care of, and were minded to preserve: but more truly a man might say: That Princes be the Ministers of the gods, to provide for the affaires and safety of men: to the end that of those good things which God hath bestowed upon them, they should distribute some, and preserve other:

But seest thou this starry firmament,
So high above and infinitely vast,
In bosome moist of water element,
The earth beneath how it incloseth fast?

for this is it, that by influence sendeth down the principles of those seeds which be fit and convenient, which afterwards the earth produceth and yeeldeth forth, whereof some grow by showres of raine; others by winds: some also gather warmth and heat by the stars and the moone, but it is the sun who ruleth and governeth all, he inspireth and insuseth into them from himselfe, the gracious instinct of love. Now, all the goods and gifts (so many and so great) which the gods endow men withall, there is no meanes to enjoy and use aright, without Law, without Justice, without a Prince or Ruler: Justice is the end of Law, Law is the worke of a Prince, and the Prince is the image of God governour of all things: and this Prince or soveraigne Majesty hath no need either of *Phidias*, or of *Polycletus* and *Myrun*, to cut, cast, or forme him: but himselfe it is, who doth frame his own person to the patterne and similitude of God, and by meanes of vertue, worketh and setteth up the most pleasant, excellent, and divine statue that may be seen: and like as God hath placed in heaven (as a most beautifull image of himselfe and his divinity) the sun and the moone; even such a representation and light is in a City and Realme, a Prince or Magistrate, so long as he hath in his heart imprinted the feare of God, and the observation of Justice; that is to say, all-while he hath divine reason, which is understanding; not a scepter in his hand, nor a thunderbolt and lightning, or a three-forked mace, as some foolish Princes cause themselves to be pourtraied and painted, making their folly odious, in affecting that which they never can attaine unto: for God indeed hateth and punisheth those who will seeme to imitate thunder, lightning, sun-beames, and such like; but contrariwise, those that be zealous followers of his vertue, and who endeavour to conforme themselves to his bounty, goodnesse, and clemency, he loveth and advanceth, to them he willingly doth impart his own equity, loyalty, justice, verity, and clemency. These qualities are such, as there is nothing in the world more divine and heavenly, nor fire nor light, nor the course of the sunne, neither the risings or apparitions, nor the settings and occultations of the Stars, no nor eternity it selfe and immortality: for God is not counted happy and blessed in regard of long life, but for that he is the Prince of all vertue: and as this is divinity indeed, so it is true beauty to be ruled thereby. *Anaxarchus* for to give comfort and consolation unto *Alexander*, who was cast downe and in despaire, for the bloudy murder which he had committed upon the person of *Clytus*, said unto him: That the goddesses *Dice* and *Themis* (that is to say) Justice and Equity, sat as assistants to * *Jupiter*, to shew (quoth he) that whatsoever is done by a Prince, is to be thought just and righteous; but he offended herein grossly, and faulted much, to the hurt of *Alexander*, in that he went about to remedy the sorrow and griefe which this Prince conceived in remorse of conscience and repentance for his hainous sin, by giving him heart and assurance to commit the like againe. And if it be meet and lawfull in this case to project our conjectures; *Jupiter* hath not equity and justice for his assessours, but himselfe is justice and equity; he (I say) is the most ancient and perfectest Law that is: thus speake, write and teach all ancient authors; That even *Jupiter* himselfe cannot well command and rule without justice, which is the virgin (as *Hesiodus* saith) not touched and defiled, but pure and immaculate, lodged alwaies with shamefastnesse, modesty, pudicity,

* Or: as some read To *Clytus*.

pudicity, and utility. Hereupon it is, that men ordinarily give this addition unto Kings and Princes, calling them *divine*, that is to say, Reverend and venerable: for meet and convenient it is, that those who feare least should have most majesty and honour. And verily a Prince and Ruler ought to be afraid much more to do ill, than to receive and sustaine harme, forasmuch as the one is the cause of the other. And this is a civill and generous feare, proper and peculiar to a good Prince, namely, to be afraid lest his subjects should (ere he be aware) take wrong or be hurt any way;

Much like as dogs that be of gentle kind,
Who watchfully about the folds attend,
In case they once by subtill hearing find
A savage beast approach, and thither tend,

Feare not for themselves, but in regard of the cattell which they keep. In like manner, *Epaminondas*, when the Thebanes fell dissolutely to drinke and make good cheare at a certaine festivall time, himselfe went all alone to survey the armour and walls of the City, saying: That he would fast and watch, that all the rest might quaffe the while, and sleep with more security. *Cato* likewise at *Utica* proclaimed by sound of Trumpet, to send away by sea all those who escaped alive upon the overthrow which there happened; and when he had embarqued them all, and made his praiers unto the gods to vouchsafe them a boon voyage, he returned into his own lodging and killed himselfe; shewing by this example what a Prince or Commander ought to feare, and what he should contemne and despise. Contrariwise, *Clearchus* the tyrant of *Pontus*, shutting himselfe within a chest, slept there as a serpent within her hole: and *Archelaus* the tyrant of *Argos* went up into a hanging chamber aloft, which had a trap doore, whereupon he caused a little bed or pallet to be set, and there he slept and lay with his Concubine and harlot which he kept, and when he was gotten up thither, the mother of the said Concubine came ordinarily to take downe the ladder, and brought it thither againe every morning. How thinke you, did this Tyrant tremble for feare, when he was in a frequent theater in the Palace, in Councill house and Court of Justice, or at a feast, considering that he made a prison of his bed-chamber? To say a very truth, good Princes are afraid for their subjects sake, but Tyrants feare their Subjects; and therefore as they augment their puissance, so do they encrease their own feare; for the more persons that they command and rule over, the greater number they stand in dread of: for it is neither profitable nor seemely as some Philosophers affirme: That God is invisibly subsistent and mixed within the first and principall matter, which suffereth all things, receiveth a thousand constraints and adventures, yea, and is subject to innumerable changes and alterations: but he sitteth in regard of us above, and there is resiant continually in a nature alwaies one, and ever in the same estate, seated upon holy foundations (as *Plato* saith) where he insuseth his power, and goeth through all, working and finishing that which is right according to nature: and like as the sun in heaven, the most goodly and beautifull image of him, is to be seen by the reflection of a mirrour, by those who otherwise cannot endure to behold himselfe as he is; even so God ordaineth in Cities and Societies of men, another image of his, and that is the light of Justice and reason accompanying the same; which wise and blessed men describe and depaint out of sentences philosophicall, conforming and framing themselves to that which is the faireft and most beautifull thing in the world; and nothing is there that doth imprint in the soules and spirits of men such a disposition, as reason drawn and learned out of Philosophy, to the end that the same should not befall unto us which King *Alexander* the Great did; who having seen in *Corinth Diogenes* how generous he was, esteemed highly and admired the haughty courage and magnanimity of the man, insomuch as he brake forth into these words; Were I not *Alexander* surely I would be *Diogenes*: which was all one in manner as if he should have said; That he was troubled and incumbred with his wealth, riches, glory, and puissance, as impeachments and hinderances of vertue, and beare an envious and jealous eye to the homely course cloake of the Philosopher, to his bag and wallet, as if by them alone *Diogenes* was invincible and impregnable, and not (as himselfe) by the meanes of armes, harnesse horses, speares, and pikes: for surely he might with governing himselfe by true philosophicall reason have been of the disposition and affection of *Diogenes*, and yet continue nevertheleffe in the state and fortune of *Alexander*; and so much the rather be *Diogenes* because he was *Alexander*; as having need against great fortune, (like a tempest raised with boysterous winds, and full of surging waves) of a stronger cable and anchor, of a greater helme also, and a better pilot: for in meane persons who are of a low estate, and whose puissance is small, such as private men be, folly is harmeleffe; and sottish though such be, yet they do no great hurt, because their might is not answerable thereto; like as it falleth out in foolish and vaine dreames: there is a certaine griefe (I wot not what) which troubleth and disordereth the mind, being not able to compasse and bring about the execution of her desires and lusts: but where might and malice are met together, there power addeth folly unto passions and affections; and most true is that speech of *Denys* the tyrant, who was wont to say: That the greateft pleasure and contentment which he enjoyed by his tyranny was this, that whatsoever he would was quickly done, and presently executed; according to that verse in *Homer*:

No sooner out of mouth the word was gone,
But presently withall, the thing was done.

A dangerous matter it is for a man to will and desire that which he ought not, being not able to performe that which he willeth and desireth: whereas malicious mischiefe making a swift course through the race of puissan ce and might, driveth and thrusteth forward every violent passion to the extremity, making choler and anger to turne to murder, love to prove adultery, and avarice to grow into confiscation of goods; for no sooner is the word spoken, but the party once in suspition is undone for ever, and presently upon the least surmise and imputation ensueth death. But as the naturall philosophers do hold, that the lightning is shot out of the cloud after the clap of thunder (like as bloud issueth after the wound is given and incision made) and yet the said lightning is seen before, for that the eare receiveth the sound or crack by degrees, whereas the eye meeteth at once with the flash; even so in these great rulers and commanders, punishments oftentimes go before accusations, and sentences of condemnation before evident proofes:

For wrath in such may not long time endure,
No more than flouke of anchor can assure
A ship in storme, which taketh slender hold
On sand by shore, whereof none may be bold.

Unlesse the weight of reason do represse and keep down licentious power, whiles a Prince or great Lord doth after the manner of the sun, who at what time as he is most high mounted in the septentrionall or northerne parts, seemeth least to move, and by his slow motion maketh his race the more stedfast and assured. For impossible it is that vices in great persons should remaine covert and hidden; but like as those who are subject to the falling sickneſſe, so soone as ever they be surprised with outward cold, or turne round never so little, presently fall into a dimneſſe of sight, grow to be dizzy in the head and ready to stagger, which passions do bewray and detect their malady; even so ignorant persons and such as want instruction and good bringing up, no sooner are lifted up by fortunes favour to wealth and riches, to dignities, promotions, and places of high authority, but presently she sheweth them their own fall and ruine; or rather to make the thing more plaine and familiar; like as a man can hardly know whether vessels be sound or faulty, so long as they be empty, but in case you powre into them any liquor, it appeareth whether they leake and run or no; even so, the soules of men that be putrified and corrupt, cannot containe and hold sure their might and authority, but run out by meanes of their lusts and desires, their cholerick fits, their vanities and absurd demeanors. But what need we draw forth the discourse hereof more at large? Considering that great men and noble personages are exposed to calumniations and reproaches for the least delinquency and fault that they commit. *Cimon* was blamed for his good wine; *Scipio* for his sleep, and because he loved his bed well; and *Lucullus* grew into an ill name in regard of his bountifull table and liberall fare that he kept.

That Vice alone is sufficient to make a man wretched.

The Summary.

Although this Treatise be so defective both in the beginning and the end, that to this present we know not how to guesse and conjecture, which way to redresse and supply the same; yet the very title and fragments remaining thereof, sufficiently discover the intention of the Author. And like as by the ruines of some ancient royall palace, there is in some sort represented to our thought and conceit the beauty thereof whiles it stood entire and upright; even so, this remnant which is left unto us, sheweth sufficiently what we have lost. But albeit the malice and injury of the time hath deprived us of so great a benefit, and of many others semblably; yet notwithstanding, that which remaineth may profit us, maimed and imperfect as it is, and suffice to range and containe us in our duty. In the beginning, our Author discourseth of the misery of a covetous person, and one that followeth the Court. Then he addeth according to his principall designe and purpose: That vice is the absolute work-mistris of wretchednesse and infelicity, having need of no other ministers or instruments to cause a man to be miserable; whereupon he doth collect and gather, that there is no danger nor calamity, but we ought to choose rather than be sinfull and vicious. Afterwards he answereth those objections which are made to the contrary, and concludeth, that adversity cannot prejudice or hurt us any thing, so long as it is not accompanied with vice.

That

That Vice alone is sufficient to make a man wretched.

He abideth much who hath his body sold for a dowry (as *Euripides* saith) to wit, small availes he hath thereby, and those very uncertain. But unto him who passeth not through much ashes, but a royall fire (as one would say) wherewith he is scorched and burnt round about, who continually draweth his wind thick and short, and is full of teare and sweat by trudging over-sea for gaine, she giveth in the end a certaine Tantalian riches, (that is to say) such as he is not able to enjoy by reason of the continuall occupations wherewith he is encumbred. For very wisely did that *Sicyonian* who bred and kept a race of horses, when he gave unto *Agamemnon* the King of the Achæans as a present, a notable swift mare for a courser, because he might be dispensed with for going in warfare to *Troy*:

That unto Troy that stately towne,
He might not with him go
To serve in armes; but stay at home,
And rest there far from woe;
Where he might live in solace much,
Enjoying all his own;
For Jupiter in measure great,
Had wealth on him bestowne.

To the end, that he staying behind at home, might roule and welter at ease in a depth of riches, and give himselfe much time and leisure for assured repose void of all paine and trouble. Howbeit our courtiers at this day, who would be esteemed men of action and great affaires, never expect untill they be called, but of themselves intrude and thrust their heads into Princes Courts and stately Palaces, where they must watch, waite, and give attendance in all dutifull service, with much paine and travell, to gaine thereby at last, a great horse, a faire chaine, or some such blessed favour.

Homerus de Protesilao.

Mean while the wife is left alone behind
In Phylace, *and thinks he is unkind*
To leave her so: her face she rents and teares;
The house remaines halfe built, when he it reares.

And the husband is carried here and there wandring in the world, drawn on with certaine hopes which oftentimes in the end deceive him and worke his shame. But if peradventure he obtaine some thing that his heart desired, after a certaine time that he hath been turned round about with the wheele of fortune, so long untill his head be dizzy, and mounted on high in the aire, he wisheth and seeketh nothing more than evasion and meanes to escape, deeming and calling those happy, who lead a private life, without exposing themselves to such perils: and they againe repute him blessed and fortunate, seeing him so highly advanced above themselves. Thus in one word you see how vice doth dispose men unto all sorts of infelicity, being of it selfe a perfect artisan of infortunity, and needs none instruments and ministers besides. As for other tyrants, who study nothing more, than to make those most wretched and miserable whom they pinch, do maintaine executioners and tormentors, devise red-hot fearing irons to burne, and invent racks and other instruments for to put the reasonlesse soule to extreame torture; but vice without any such preparation of engins, so soone as it seiseth upon the soule, presently overturneth and bringeth it to ruine and destruction, filleth a man with dolour and griefe, with lamentations, sorrows, and repentance. For a certaine proofe hereof, you shall see many endure to have their flesh mangled and cut, without saying one word; abide to be whipped and scourged patiently; who being put to the racke and other tortures by their cruell masters or tyrants, will not give one screeke or cry, so long as the soule repressing the voice by reason, as with the hand keepeth it downe, and containeth it from breaking out: whereas contrariwise, a man shall hardly or never command either anger to stay and be quiet, or dolour to be silent, no nor perswade him that is surprised with sudden feare to rest still, or one who is stung with remorse and repentance to forbeare crying out, to hold his hands from tearing his haire and smiting his thighs; of such force and violence is vice and sinne, above either the heat of fire or the edge of the sword. Moreover, Cities and States, when they publish their purpose to put forth to making any ships or huge statues called *Colossi*, give eare willingly to the workemen disputing one against the other, as touching the workemanship, heare their reasons, and see their models and platformes which they bring, and afterwards make choice of him to go in hand with that piece of worke, who with lesse cost and charges will do the deed as well, or rather better, and more speedily. Now put the case that we publish by proclamation to make a man infortunate, or cause a life to be wretched and miserable, and that there present unto us for to enterprise this, fortune on the one side, and vice on the other: the one (to wit, fortune) is full of her tooles and instruments of all sorts, and provided of furniture costly and chargeable, for to make a life unhappy and miserable; as for example, brigandise and robberies, bloudy warres, inhumane cruelty of tyrants, and tempests at sea: she draweth after her flashes of lightning out of the aire, she mixeth and dresseth a poysoned cup of deadly hemlock, she bringeth sharpe edged

swords to do the busines, she stirreth slanders, and raiseth false surmises and calumniations, she kindleth burning agues, and hot feavers, she commeth with fetters, mannacles, and other irons jingling: finally, she buildeth cages and prisons for this purpose: and yet the most part of all this geere proceedeth rather from vice than fortune: but suppose that all came from fortune, and that vice standing by all naked, and having need of no other thing in the world without it selfe to assaile a man, should demand of fortune, how she could make a man infortunate and heartlesse in these tearmes? What fortune, dost thou menace poverty? *Metrocles* will be ready to laugh thee to scorne, who in winter-time used to sleep among sheep, and in Summer season took his repose in Cloisters and Church-porches; and so challenged for his felicity the King of *Persia*, who was wont to winter in *Babylon*, and passe the Summer in *Media*: threateneſt thou servitude and bondage? Bringeſt thou chaines, and irons, or the woefull condition to be sold in open market as a slave? *Diogenes* will despise thee for all that, who being exposed and offered to sale by the rovers and theeves that tooke him, cried and proclaimed himselfe aloud: Who will buy a master, who? Dost thou temper or brew a cup of poyson; Why didst not thou before offer such a cup to *Socrates* for to drinke? But he still meekly, with all mildnesse and patience, without trembling for feare, and changing either countenance or colour for the matter, dranke it off roundly; and after he was dead, those that survived judged him happy, as one who in the other world made account to live an heavenly and blessed life: presenteſt thou fire to burne withall? Loe, how *Decius* a Roman Captaine hath prevented thee; who when there was a fire made in the midst between two armies for to consume him, voluntarily and with a formall prayer offered himselfe as an holocaust or burnt offering unto *Saturne*, according to his vow made for the safety of the Roman Empire. The honeſt and chaſte dames of the Indians, such as entirely love their husbands, strive and be ready to fight one with another about the funerall fire; and as for her who obtaineth the victory, and is burned therein together with the dead corps of her husband, all the rest do deeme right happy, and testifie so much in their hymnes and songs. As for the Sages and wise Philosophers of those parts, there is not one of them all reputed a holy man or blessed, if he do not whiles he is alive, in perfect health, and sound sense and understanding, separate his own soule from the body by the meanes of fire, and after he hath cleansed and consumed all that was mortall depart out of the flesh all cleane and pure: but (forsooth) from abundance of wealth and riches, from an house sumptuously built and furnished, from a costly and dainty table full of fine and delicate viands, thou wilt bring me to a poore thred-bare cloake, to a bag and wallet, and to begging of my daily bread from doore to doore; well, even these things were the cause of *Diogenes* felicity; these won unto *Crates* freedome and glory: but thou wilt crucifie me or cause me to be hanged upon a Gibbet, or stick my body thorow with a sharpe stake? And what cared *Theodorus* whether his corps rotted above ground or under the earth? These were the happy sepultures of Tartarians, and of the Hircanians, to be eaten and devoured of dogs; as for the Bactrians, by the laws of the country those were thought to have had the most blessed end, whom the fowles of the aire did eate after they were dead; Who then are they whom these and such accidents do make unhappy? Even such as are false-hearted, base-minded, senseleſſe, and void of understanding, untaught, and not exercised in affaires of the world, and in one word, such as retaine still the opinions which were imprinted in them from their infancy. Thus you see how fortune alone is not a sufficient work-mistris of unhappines and infelicity, in case she have not sin and vice to aide and help her: for like as a thred is able to divide and sawe (as it were) thorow a bone which hath lien soaking long before in ashes and vinegar; and as workemen can bend, bow, and bring into what fashion they will Ivory, after it hath been infused and mollified in ale or beere, and otherwise not; even so fortune comming upon that which is already of it selfe crazy and corrupt, or hath been sustained by vice, is of power to pierce, wound, and hollow the same.

Moreover, like as the poyson *Pharicum*, otherwise called *Napellus* or *Aconitum*, being hurtfull to no other person, nor doing harme to those who handle and beare it about them; but if it touch never so little one that is wounded, presently killeth him by meanes of the sore or wound which receiveth the influxion and venom thereof; even so he whose soule is like to be destroyed and overthrown by fortune, ought to have within himselfe and in his own flesh some ulcer, some impostume or malady for to make those accidents which befall outwardly, wretched, pitifull, and lamentable. What, is vice then of that nature that it had need of fortunes helping-hand to worke wretchednesse and infelicity? From what coast I pray you doth not fortune raise tempests upon the sea, and trouble the water with surging billows? Environeth not she and be'etteth the foot of desart mountaines, with the ambushes and sore-layings of theeves and robbers? Powreth not she down with great violence stormes of haile-stones out of the clouds upon the fertile corne-fields? Was it not vice and malice that stirred up *Melitus*, *Anytus*, and *Callixenus* to be sycophants and false accusers? Is it not she that bereaved folke of their goods, impeacheth and disableth men for being Commanders and leaders of armies, and all to make them unhappy? Nay, she it is that maketh them rich and plentifull; she heapeth upon them heritages and possessions; she accompanieth them at sea; she is alwaies close unto them and neare at hand; she causeth them to consume and pine with lusts and desires; she enflameth and setteth them on fire with choler and anger; she troubleth their minds with vaine superstitions, and draweth them away after the lusts of their eyes.

How a Man may praise himselfe without incurring Envy and Blame.

The Summary.

IMpossible it is during the time that we sojourne in this life, that our spirit which knoweth not how to be still and at rest, should not stirre and move the tongue to speake of the actions either of other men, or of our own; whereby we cannot chuse but incur marvellous dangers of flattery, slander, or else of selfe-praise; insomuch as not without good cause that man hath been called perfect, who knoweth well to moderate this little member, which is as it were the bit and bridle of the whole body of man, and the very helme and sterne of that ship or vessell in which we row and hull to and fro in the sea of this world. Requisite it is therefore, that morall Philosophy should speake, to the end that it may teach us for to speake. We have seen before in many discourses the duty of every one towards his neighbours, as well in words as in deeds: but in this Treatise Plutarch *sheweth the carriage of a man towards himselfe, and above all in that way which is most slippery, to wit, in the question of our own praises: than after he hath laid this for a ground and foundation; That it is an unseemely thing for a man to make himselfe seeme great by vaine babble, and alledged the reason wherefore, he setteth down one generall exception; to wit, that a vertuous man may praise himselfe in certaine cases and occurrences, the which (after he hath taxed the ambition of those who set up a note of their own praises to be chaunted aloud by others) he particularizeth upon these points; to wit, if he be driven to answer unto some false slanderer; if a man be in any distresse and adversity, or if he be blamed for the best deeds that he hath done. After this, he interlaceth certaine advertisements or corrections; to wit, that a man ought to mingle his own praises with those of other men; that he ascribe not the whole honour of a worthy deed to his own selfe; that he utter only those things which be chiefe and principall, and stand upon that which is most commendable; and that he give a certaine lustre thereto, by the foile of confessing his own imperfections: which done, he proceedeth to declare what kind of men they ought to be who are allowed to praise themselves; to what this praise ought to be referred and have respect; and wherefore they should enter into it; moreover, at what time, and for what occasion he ought to make head unto a third, who would do sufficiently; and for a finall conclusion, he propoſeth an excellent meanes to avoid the troubles and inconveniences that might arise from importunate praise, willing that the party who speaketh of his own good parts should flie all ambition, not please himselfe in rehearsing and recitall of his own exploits, take heed how in selfe-praising he feigne praises, and nevertheleſſe in blaming his neighbour to be content for to be praised of another, without putting himselfe between and speaking in his own behalfe. In sum, since there is nothing so odious as to see and heare a man speake exceeding much of himselfe, he concludeth, that in no wise a man ought so to do, unleſſe there accrue thereby great profit and commodity to the hearers.*

How a Man may praise himselfe without incurring Envy and Blame.

TO speake much of ones selfe in praise, either what he is in person, or of what valour and power among others; there is no man (friend *Herculanus*) but by word of mouth will professe it is most odious, and unbeseeming a person well borne and of good bringing up; but in very deed few there be who can take heed and beware of falling into the inconvenience and enormity thereof, no not even those who otherwise do blame and condemne the same: as for *Euripides* when he saith,

If words were costly men among,
For to be bought and sold,
No man to praise and magnifie
Himselfe would be so bold:
But now (since that each one may take
Out of the aire so large,
As much as will his mind suffice,
Without his cost and charge)
Well pleas'd are all men of themselves
To speake what comes in thought,
As well untruth as what is true,
For speech them costeth nought.

Doth use a most odious and importune vantery, especially in this, that he would seeme to interlace amongst the passionate accidents and affaires of Tragicall matters, the speech of a mans selfe,

which is not befitting nor pertinent unto the subject argument; semblably *Pindarus*, having said in one place,

To brag and vaunt unseasonably,
Sounds much of rash and vaine folly,

ceaseth not nevertheless to magnifie his own sufficiency in the gift of poetry, as being (in truth) worthy of right great praise, as no man can deny. But those who are crowned with garlands in those sacred plaies and games, are declared victors and conquerours by the voice of others, who thereby ease them of that odious displeasure that selfe-praise carrieth with it. And in very deed our heart riseth against that vaine-glory of *Timotheus*, in that he wrote himselfe (as touching the victory which he atchieved against *Phryris*) O happy man thou *Timotheus*; at what time as the herauld proclaimed with a loud voice these words: *Timotheus* the Milesian hath conquered *Ionocamptes* that son of *Carbo*: for surely this carrieth with it no grace at all, but is a meere absurdity and against all good fashion, for a man to be the trumpeter of his own victory: for true it is according to *Xenophon*; That the most pleasant voice that a man can heare, is his own praise delivered by another, but the most odious thing unto others, is a man commending himselfe: for first and formost, we esteeme them to be impudent who praise themselves, considering that they ought rather to blush and be ashamed even when others fall to praise them in their presence: secondly, we repute them unjust herein, for that they give and attribute that to themselves which they should receive at the hands of others: thirdly, either if we keep silence when we heare one to praise himselfe, it seemeth we are discontented or do beare envy unto him, or if we feare that, compelled we are our selves to confirme and approve those praises, and to give testimony thereof against our own mind; a thing more beseeming vile and base flattery than true honour, namely, if we can abide to praise any in presence. Howbeit, although this be most true, and that the case standeth so, such occurrences may so fall out, that an honorable person who manageth the politick affairs of a common-wealth, may hazzard and venture boldly to speake of himselfe and in his own behalfe for his advantage, not in regard of any glory, grace, or pleasure to gaine thereby, but for that the occasion or action that is presented, requireth that he should speake and give testimony of himselfe, as he would and might do of any other matter of truth, especially when the deeds by him atchieved, or the parts that be in him be good and honest, then he is not to forbeare or spare to speake hardly, that he hath done so or else much like: for surely such a praise as this bringeth forth good fruit, and out of it, as from a fruitfull graine or seed, there proceed many other praises, and those far greater. And certes, a civill and politike man doth not desire and love honour as a salary, solace, or recompence for his vertuous actions; but for that to have the credit and reputation among others of a trusty and faithfull person, in whom men may repose their trust and confidence, doth afford him good meanes and occasions to performe many other greater and more goodlier actions: for a pleasant and easie matter it is to benefit them who love thee and put their trust in thee; whereas on the contrary side, exceeding hard it is, or rather impossible, to make use of vertue, and to imploy it to the good of those who have thee in suspition, or be ready to raise false calumniations against thee, and so to force them who do avoid the meanes of receiving any good and pleasure at thy hands.

Moreover it would be considered, what other occasions there may be, for which a man of honour and honesty may praise himselfe; to the end that by taking good heed and avoiding of that which in selfe-praise is so vaine and odious, we faile not to serve our turnes with the profit and commodity that may come thereby. Now of all others, most foolish is their praise who commend themselves to this end, that they would be praised of others; and such praise as this we hold most contemptible, for that it seemeth to proceed from ambition and an unleasonable appetite of vaine-glory only: for like as those who have no other food to feed upon, be constrained to eate the flesh of their own bodies against nature, which is the very extremity and end of famine; even so those that hunger after honour and praise, if they cannot meet with others to praise them, fall to praise themselves; wherein their behaviour is unseemly and shamefull, for that upon a love of vaine-glory they are desirous to make a supply and sufficiency from their own selves; but yet when as they go not simply to worke, nor seeke to be praised by themselves, but upon a certaine emulation and jealousie of other mens praises, they come to compare and oppose their own deeds for to dim and darken the actions of others; then over and besides their vanity, they adde thereto envy and malice; for according to the common proverbe: He is curious and ridiculous, who setteth his foot in another mans dance; but upon envy and jealousie to thrust a mans selfe between the praises of others, and to interrupt the same with his own selfe-praise, is a thing that we ought to beware of; and not only so, but also to take heed that we suffer not others at such a time to praise us, but gently to yeeld honour unto those who are worthy to be praised and honoured; and if peradventure, they be unworthy and deserve not the same, yet ought not we to deprive them of the praises which are given unto them, by interposing our own, but rather stand up against them, convince them openly, and prove by evident and pregnant reasons that there is no cause why they should be reputed so great and be so highly honoured. As touching this point therefore, plaine and evident it is, that we ought not so to doe, howbeit, a man may praise himselfe without blame: first and formost, if he do it by way of his owne defence in answering to a slander raised, or an imputation charged upon him; like as *Pericles* did in *Thucydides*, where he uttereth these words: And yet you my Masters of *Athens* are angry with me, who may vaunt of my selfe to be such an one as need

need not to give place unto any whatsoever, either in foresight and knowledge of that which is behovefull to the common-wealth, or in eloquence and delivery thereof, or in love to the State, or in sincere integrity, free from all corruption, bribery and avarice, against which I stand invincible: for in speaking thus magnificently of himselfe in such a case, he did not only avoid the blame and reproach of vanity, or arrogancy and presumptuous ambition, but also that which more is, he shewed with all his wisdome and greatnesse, yea, and the magnanimity of vertue, which was so far from being humbled and dejected, that it rather conquered and held under-hand envy; insomuch as others hearing such men speake in this wise, proceed not any farther, nor be willing to judge and censure them, but are carried away and ravished with a certaine joy, yea, and inspired (as it were) from heaven to heare such brave vanteries; namely, if the persons be constant, and the reports which they make true, according as the effects which follow do testifie. The Thebanes verily (at what time as their captaines were accused, for that when the terme of their government and magistracy, called *Bœotarchia*, was expired, they returned not incontinently home, but made an invasion and entred in armes into *Laconia*, and dealt in the administration of affaires about the City of *Messane*) hardly and with much ado assoiled and quit *Pelopidas*, when he humbled himselfe and became a suppliant unto them for pardon: but contrariwise, when *Epaminondas* came and recounted in magnificent words those brave exploits which he had atchieved in that voyage and at the same time, protesting in the end that he was prest and ready to take his death, so that they would confesse and acknowledge, that maugre their minds and against their wils he had pilled and spoyled *Laconia*, repeopled *Messane*, and reduced into a league and amity with them all the Cities of *Arcadia*, they had not the heart so much as to give their voices and suffrages in any sentence of condemnation against him, but departed out of the assembly, admiring the haughty courage of the man, and rejoycing with mirth and laughter to heare him plead his cause with resolution. And therefore the speech of *Sthenelus* in *Homer* is not simply and altogether to be reproved, when he saith:

Pronounce I dare, and it avow,
We better warriours be
In these daies than our fathers were
By many a degree.

If we call to mind and remember the precedent words a little before:

Thou son of noble Tydeus
A wise and hardy knight,
How is it that thy heart doth pant,
For feare when thou should'st fight?
Why dost thou cast thine eye about,
And looke on every side?
How thou maiest out of battell scape,
And dar'st not field abide.

For it was not *Sthenelus* himselfe unto whom this sharpe and bitter speech was addressed, but he replied thus in the behalfe of his friend whom he had thus reproached, and therefore so just a cause, and so fit an occasion gave him liberty to speake thus bravely and boldly of himselfe. As for the Citizens of *Rome*, they were offended and displeased much with *Cicero* praising himselfe so much as he did, and namely, relating so often the worthy deeds by him done against *Catiline*; but contrariwise, when *Scipio* said before them all in a publike assembly: That it was not meet and seemely for them to sit as judges upon *Scipio*, considering that by his meanes they were grown to that grandence as to judge all the world; they put chaplets of flowers upon their heads, and in this wise is adorned, mounted up together with him into the temple of the Capitoll, for to sacrifice and render thanks unto *Jupiter*: and good reason both of the one and the other; for *Cicero* rehearsed his own praiseworthy deeds so many times without any need enforcing him thereto, only to glorifie himselfe; but the present perill wherein the other stood, freed him from all hatred and envy, notwithstanding he spake in his own praise. Moreover, this vantery and glorious boasting of a mans selfe, is not befitting those only who are accused, or in trouble and danger of the law, but to as many also as be in adversity rather than in prosperity; for that it seemeth that these reach and catch (as it were) at glory, and take pleasure and joy therein, only to gratifie and content therein their own ambitious humour; whereas the other by reason of the quality of the time, being far from all suspition of vaine-glory and ambition, do pluck up, and erect themselves upright against fortune, sustaining and upholding what they can the generosity of their minds, avoiding as much as lieth in them that base conceit, to be thought for to beg commiseration and crave pitty, as if they would be moaned for their misadventures, and thereby bewray their abject hearts. For like as we take them for fooles and vainglorious fellows, who as they walke ordinarily, lift up themselves, and beare their heads and necks aloft; but contrariwise, we praise and commend those who erect their bodies, and do all they can to put forth themselves, either in fight at sharpe, or in buffeting with fists; even so, a man who being overthrown by adverse fortune, raiseth himselfe up againe upon his feet, and addresseth his whole might to make head,

Like as the champion doth arise,
Upon his hands to win a prise.

And instead of shewing himselfe humble, suppliant and pittifull, by glorious words maketh a shew of

of bravery and haughty courage, seemeth not thereby proud and presumptuous, but contrariwise, great, magnanimous, and invincible. Thus in one place the Poet *Homer* depainteth *Patroclus* modest, and nothing at all subject to envy, when he had done any exploit fortunately and with valour; but at his death when he was ready to yeeld the ghost, he describes him to speake bravely in this wise:

If twenty such with all their might,
Had met with me in open fight, &c.

And *Phocion* who otherwise was alwaies meeke and modest, after that he saw himselfe condemned, gave all the world to understand his magnanimity, as in many other things, so especially in this point, that he said unto one of those that were to suffer death with him, who made a pitious moane and great lamentation: How now man, what is that thou saiest? Doth it not thee good at the heart to thinke that thou shalt die with *Phocion*? And verily, no lesse, but rather much more it is permitted to a man of State, who is injuriously dealt withall for to speake somewhat frankly of himselfe, namely, unto those who seeme to be oblivious and unthankfull. Thus *Achilles* at other times rendred the glory of fortunate successe in his affaires to the heavenly power of God, and spake modestly in this manner:

That Jupiter *would give us power and strength,*
Troy *City strongly wall'd to win at length.*

But otherwise when indignities were offered unto him, and he unjustly wronged and abused, he sang another note, and displaied his tongue at large in anger, breaking out into these haughty and brave words:

With ships of mine well mann'd with souldiers brave,
By force of armes twelve Cities won I have.
Also,
For why? approach they dare not neare to me,
The brightnesse of my morion for to see.

For liberty of franke speech, being a part of justification and defence in law, is allowed to use great words for plea. And verily *Themistocles* according to this rule, who all the while that he performed the exploits of noble service in his own countrey, never did or said ought that savoured of odious pride; yet when he once saw that the Athenians were full of him, and that they made account of him no more, forbare not to say unto them thus: What meane you my Masters of *Athens* thus to disdaine and be weary of those at whose hands you receive so oftentimes benefits; In time of storme and tempest you flie to them for refuge, and shroud your selves in their protection as under the harbour and covert of a spreading tree; no sooner is the storme overblowne, and the weather faire againe, but you are ready to give a twitch at them, and every one to pull and breake a branch thereof as you passe by. Thus you see how these men perceiving themselves otherwise injured, in their discontentments stick not to rehearse their service and good deeds past and cast them in their teeth who are forgetfull thereof. But he that is blamed and suffereth a reproach for things well done, is altogether for to be excused and unblameable, in case he ser in hand to praise his own deeds, forasmuch as he seemeth not to reproach and upbraid any, but to answer only in his own defence, and to justifie himselfe. Certes, this it was that gave unto *Demosthenes* an honest and laudable liberty to speak for his own behoose; and he avoided thereby all tedious satiety of his own praises, which he used throughout that whole oration, entituled *Of the Crown*, wherein he gloried and vaunted of that which was imputed unto him as reproachable, to wit, the embassages in which he went, and the decrees which he had enacted as touching the war. Moreover, not far from these points above rehearsed, the reversing of an objection by way of *Antithesis* may be placed, and carrieth with it a good grace; to wit, when the defendant doth prove and shew that the contrary to that wherewith he is charged and accused, is wicked and dishonest: After which manner the Orator *Lycurgus* at *Athens* in his plea, and answer to those who laid to his charge that he had given a peece of money to a sycophant for to stop his mouth and appease him: What kind of Citizen (quoth he) do you take me for to be? who all this long time that I have dealt in the government and managing of State-affaires among you, am challenged before you rather to have given than taken silver unjustly. Likewise *Cicero*, when *Metellus* said unto him that he had undone and brought to confusion more men by his testimony, than saved by his patronage and eloquence; And what man is there (quoth he) who will not say by this, that there is more fidelity in me, than force of utterance. Also these places in *Demosthenes*; And who would not justly have condemned me to die, If I had but once gone about in bare word to contaminate the honours and glorious titles that this City hath? Againe, And what (thinke ye) would these wicked persons have said, if whiles I discoursed particularly of these points, the Cities had fallen away and revolted: In sum, that whole oration throughout concerning the Crowne, most finely and wittily inserreth his own praises among those oppositions and solutions which he alledgeth. Over and besides, it is worth the noting and learning, as a most profitable point, how cunningly in the said Oration, and how artificially he intermedleth with the speeches that he gave out of himselfe, the commendations also of the hearers, and thereby freed himselfe from the taint of envy, hatred, and selfe-love; namely, in avowing how good and gracious the Athenians were to those of *Eubœa*; how worthily they demeaned themselves toward the Thebanes; what good turnes they had done to the Byzantines, as also how beneficiall they had been to the Inhabitants of *Chersonnesus*; saying withall, that himselfe was but their minister.

For

For I assure you by this meanes the hearer himselfe being secretly won and gained ere he is aware by his own praises, entertaineth more willingly and with greater pleasure the speech of the Orator; well contented he is, and pleased to heare the good deeds related by another which he hath done; and upon this joy of his there insueth incontinently an admiration and love of those, by whose meanes he hath atchieved those acts. Hereupon *Epaminondas* one day in open place, when *Meneclidas*, one of his envious and malicious adversaries mocked him for that he magnified and thought better of himselfe than ever did King *Agamemnon*; Grand mercy, you my masters of *Thebes* (quoth he) with whom alone I overthrew in one day and subverted the whole dominion of the Lacedæmonians. Now forasmuch as the most part of men ordinarily mislike in their hearts, and are mightily offended with one that praiseth himselfe, but fare not so against him that commendeth another; nay, many times they are well pleased therewith, and ready to confirme such praises by their own testimonies: some are wont to have this devise, namely, in taking their time and opportunity, to commend those who love, chuse, and do the selfe-same things, and briefly who are of the like conditions, and given to the same humour with themselves; do wind and insinuate into the grace and favour of the hearer, and by such an occasion draw his heart unto them; for streightwaies he doth acknowledge in the speaker, although he speaketh of another, the resemblance and similitude of the like vertue which deserveth the same praises: for like as he who reproacheth another man for those vices wherof himselfe is guilty, doth hurt his own person more than the party whom he seemeth to touch; even so good and honest men in yeelding honour to those persons who are good, do as much as make mention of themselves to such as are privy to their vertues, and know them well enough, insomuch as presently they are ready to follow and second them with these and such like acclamations: And are not you also the same in every respect? After this sort *Alexander* in honouring *Hercules*; and *Agesilaus* likewise in honouring *Alexander*, procured to themselves each one the honour from the semblable. Contrariwise *Dionysius* by mocking *Gelon*, and saying by allusion to his name: that he was *Geloes* indeed (that is to say) the Laughter and mockery of *Sicily*, perceived not how before he was aware, by the envy that he drew upon him himselfe, he overthrew the greatnesse and dignity of his own puissance and seigniory. A man of State therefore, and a Politician, ought to learne, observe, and practice these rules even in other cases also. And as for those who otherwhiles are inforced to praise themselves, they shall cause this selfe-praise of theirs to be more tolerable and lesse subject to envy and hard conceit, in case they take not all to themselves and attribute the whole to their own worthinesse; but as if glory were some heavy and weighty burthen, distribute one part thereof upon fortune, and another upon God; and therefore wisely said *Achilles* in *Homer*:

Since, that th' almighty Gods have given me grace,
Mine enemy, to overthrow in place.

Well likewise did *Timoleon* at *Syracusa*, who upon his valiant and noble exploits dedicated an altar to *Hap-adventure*, and likewise consecrated an house to his good Angell. But best of all and most wisely did that *Python* the *Bœotian*, who being arrived at *Athens* after he had murdered King *Cotys*, when the Orators strived a vie one with another, who should extoll and set forth his praises most unto the people, and perceiving some to carry an envious eye unto him, and he highly displeased with him; as he passed by, brake forth into these words: It was some God (quoth he) O ye Athenians that did this deed, as for my selfe, I did but lend my helping hand. Semblably, *Sylla* exempted his own acts from envy, in giving alwaies the praise to his good fortune; insomuch as in the end, he surnamed himselfe *Epaphroditos*, that is, lovely, fortunate, or *Venus* darling. For all men in manner would seeme to be vanquished rather by fortune, than conquered by vertue; for that they thinke the one to be a good, not pertinent to the conquerour, and the other a proper defect and imperfection of their own, and which proceedeth from themselves: which is the reason by report, that the Laws of *Zaleucus* wonderfully pleased the Locrians, for that he put into their heads and bare them in hand, that the goddesse *Minerva* appeared and came many times unto him: that she endited and taught him those laws which he penned and gave unto them; finally, that there was not one of them proceeding from his head, counsell and invention. Peradventure therefore necessary it is to devise these and such like remedies, and lenitive medicines to meet with those persons, who are by nature fierce and envious; but to such as be of the better sort, and of a modest and temperate disposition, it would not be impertinent and absurd to use certaine corrections of praises in this case: as for example; If one haply in our presence fall to praise us for being eloquent, learned, rich, or in great reputation, to pray him not to give such reports of us, but rather for to commend us if we be good and bountifull, hurtfull to none, and profitable to many; for in so doing, we seeme not to confer praises upon our selves, but to transfer them; not to take pleasure in them that praise us, but rather to be grieved and displeased, that we are not praised for such things as we ought, nor as we should; as also to hide the worse qualities under the better, not so much willing and desirous to be praised, as to teach how it is meet so to praise: for this manner of speech (neither with stone nor bricke have I fortified and walled this City, but if you will needs know how I have [illegible] it, you shall find that I have furnished it with armour, horses, confederates, and allies) seemeth to come neare and tend unto such a rule: yea, and the saying of *Pericles* toucheth it nearer; for when the houre of his death now approached and that he was to go out of this world, his kinsfolke and familiar friends weeping, wailing, and grieving thereat (as good reason was) called to mind and rehearsed the

armies

Armies that he had conducted, the expeditions which he had made, his puiſſance that he had born, as alſo how many victories he had atchieved, what Trophees he had erected, what Townes and Cities he had conquered, and laid to the ſeigniory of the Athenians: all which he now ſhould leave behind him: but he liſting up himſelfe a little, reproved and blamed them greatly, for relating and alledging thoſe praiſes which were common to many, and whereof ſome were more due to fortune than to vertue; whiles they omitted and let paſſe the greateſt and moſt beautifull commendation of all others, and that which truly and indeed properly belonged unto him: namely, that for his ſake there was never any Athenian that put on black, or wore a mourning gowne: this example of his giveth both unto an Orator if he be praiſed for his ſingular eloquence, meanes, and occaſion to transfer the praiſe unto his life and manners; and alſo to a warriour and generall Captaine, who is had in admiration for his martiall proweſſe, experience, or fortunate ſucceſſe in wars, to ſtand rather upon his clemency and juſtice, and thereof freely to diſcourſe. And contrariwiſe againe, when a man hath exceſſive praiſes heaped upon him (as the manner commonly of many is, by way of flattery to give thoſe commendations which move envy) meet it is to uſe ſuch a ſpeech as this:

With gods in heaven above I have no ſhare,
To them therefore why doſt thou me compare?

But if thou knowſt me aright, and takeſt me truly for ſuch an one as I am, praiſe theſe good parts in me; that I am uncorrupt and not overtaken with gifts and briberie; that I am ſober and temperate; that I am ſenſible, reaſonable, full of equity and humanity. For the nature of envy is willingly to yeeld unto him that refuſeth the greater praiſes thoſe that be leſſe and more modeſt; neither depriveth ſhe of true commendation thoſe who will not admit and receive falſe and vaine praiſes: and therefore men thinke not much to honour thoſe Kings and Princes who are unwilling to be ſtiled gods, or the children of gods, but rather to be intituled either *Philadelphi*, that is, Kind to brothers and ſiſters; or *Philometores*, that is, Loving to their mothers: or *Euergetoi*, that is, Benefactors, or elſe *Theophiles*, that is, Dearely beloved of the gods; which are goodly and beautifull denominations, meet for men and good Princes: like as againe, thoſe who hardly will endure them, that either in writing or ſpeaking, attribute unto them the name of *Sophi*, that is, Sages or wiſe men, can well abide to heare thoſe who name them *Philoſophi*, that is, Lovers of wildome; or ſuch as ſay of them, that they profit in the ſtudy of wiſdome, or give them ſuch like attribute as is modeſt and not ſubject to envy; whereas theſe ambitious Rhetoricians and vaine-glorious Sophiſters, who in their orations (to ſhew their learning) expect theſe and ſuch like acclamations from their auditors: O divine and angel-like ſpeech! O heavenly and magnifically ſpoken! loſe withall this commendation, as to be ſaid for to have delivered their mind modeſtly, curteouſly, and as becommeth civill men. Certes, like as they who be loath and take heed to offend and hurt them that are bleare-eyed or otherwiſe given to the paine and inflammation of them, do mingle among the gallant and lively colours, ſome duskiſh ſhadows; even ſo, ſome there be, who in rehearſing their own praiſes not altogether reſplendent and cleare without any mixture at all, but intermedled with ſome imperfections, defects, and light faults among, by that meanes diſcharge themſelves of the heavy load of envy and hatred. Thus *Epirens* in *Homer*, giving out glorious words of his wreſtling and buffet-fight, vaunting bravely of his valour,

As if he would his teene and anger wreake
Upon him, and with fiſts his bones all breake.

Said withall,

Is't not enough that herein I do vaunt?
For other ſkill in combate I do want.

But haply this man is worthy to be mocked and laughed at, who for to excuſe his arrogant bravery of a wreſtler and champion, bewrayed and confeſſed that otherwiſe he was but a fearefull coward; whereas contrariwiſe that man is of judgement, civill alſo and gracious beſides, who alledgeth againſt himſelfe ſome oblivion or ignorance, ſome ambitious ſpirit, or elſe a deſire to heare and learne the Sciences and other knowledge, like as *Ulyſſes* when he ſaid:

But loe my mind deſirous was
To hearken and give eare,
I, will'd my mates me to unlooſe,
That I might go more neare.

And againe in another place;

Although much better it had been,
Yet would I not beleeve:
But ſee his perſon, and then try
If gifts he would me give.

To be ſhort, all ſorts of faults, ſo they be not altogether diſhoneſt and over-baſe, if they be ſet unto praiſes, rid them out of envy and hatred; and many other there be, who interpoſing a confeſſion of poverty, want of experience, yea, and (beleeve me) their baſe parentage, among their praiſes, cauſe them thereby to be leſſe odious and envied. Thus *Agathocles*, as he ſate drinking unto young men out of gold and ſilver plate right curiouſly wrought, commanded other veſſels of ſtone, earth, and

and potters worke to be ſet upon the table, ſaying unto them: Lo (quoth he) what it is to perſevere in travell, to take paines, and adventure valiantly? for we in times paſt made thoſe pots, (pointing to the earthen veſſels) but ſee, now we make theſe, (ſhewing the plate of gold and ſilver:) and verily it ſeemed that *Agathocles* (by reaſon of his baſe birth and poverty) was brought up in ſome potters forge, who afterward became the abſolute Monarch (almoſt) of all *Sicily*. Thus it appeareth what remedies may be applyed outwardly, to avoid envy, if a man be forced to ſpeak of himſelf: other means there are beſides, inherent (after a ſort) even in them who be in this wiſe praiſed: and ſuch *Cato* made uſe of, when he ſaid, that he was envied becauſe he neglected his own affairs, and ſate up watching whole nights for the good ſafety of his countrie. Like to which is this ſpeech:

What wiſe me thinke you was in me,
who cleane exempt from care,
From charge and travell, like ſome one,
who in the army were;
A plaine and common ſouldier
might enjoy within the hoſt
My fortune with the wiſeſt of
them all that meddle moſt?

As alſo this other:

I doubt and feare, that of my labours paſt,
The thanke is gone, and carried with a blaſt;
And yet thoſe paines that now preſented be
Afreſh, reject unneth I will from me.

For men ordinarily beare envy unto thoſe who ſeem to acquire glory *gratis*, without any coſt, and to come by vertue eaſily, like as if they purchaſed houſe or land for a little or nothing; whereas ſeldome or never they envy ſuch as have bought the ſame very dear, with many travels and great dangers. And foraſmuch as we ought in praiſing of our ſelves to effect not only this: that we offend not the hearers thereby nor procure their envy, but endevour alſo to profit them, and do them good, as if we ſeemed not to aim at our ſelf-praiſe, but to ſhoot at ſome other thing: in ſo doing conſider firſt and formoſt when a man is in a vein of praiſing himſelf, whether he may do it by way of exhortation, to kindle a zeal, and exerciſe a kind of emulation, and ſtrive for glory in the hearers; after the example of *Neſtor*, who in recounting his own proweſs and valiant ſervice encouraged *Patroclus* and the other nine gallants and brave Knights, to enter combat and ſingle fight with *Hector*: for an exhortation which hath word and deed to meet together, carrying with it example, with a familiar zeal and imitation, is wonderfull quick and lively, it pricketh, provoketh and ſtirreth exceedingly, and together with a reſolute courage and ardent affection, it carrieth with it the hope of compaſſing things very acceſſible and in no wiſe impoſſible: and therefore of the three renowned dances and quires in *Lacedæmon*, one which conſiſted of old men, chanted thus:

The time was, when we gallants were,
Youthfull and hardy, void of feare.

Another of children, ſung in this wiſe:

And we one day ſhall be both tall and ſtrong,
And farre ſurpaſſe, if that we live ſo long.

The third, namely of young men, had this ditty:

But we are come to proove, and now at beſt,
Try who that will, to fight we are now preſt.

Wherein the law-giver who inſtituted theſe dances, did wiſely and politickly, to propoſe unto young men ſuch familiar examples and at hand, even by thoſe things that were done and executed. Yet neverthleſſe, it were not amiſſe, otherwhiles to vaunt and to ſpeak highly and magnifically of ones ſelf, for to daunt, beat down, repreſs and keep (as it were under hand, a bragging and audacious fellow, like as *Neſtor* himſelfe did again in another place:

Converſed have I in my daies,
with men of better deed
Than you iwis, and yet diſdaine
they never would my reed.

Semblably ſaid *Ariſtotle* unto King *Alexander*: That lawful it was and beſeeming not only for thoſe to have an haughty mind, who had many ſubjects under them at their command; but ſuch alſo as held true opinions as touching the gods. And verily theſe points are commodious for us otherwhiles, even in regard of our enemies, foes, and evil willers, according to that verſe in *Homer*:

Children they are of wretched ſires,
and born to miſ-adventure,
Whoſe lucke it is my force of armes
in battell to encounter.

Ageſilaus alſo, having ſpeech upon a time as touching the King of *Perſia*, who uſually was called the Great Monarch: And wherein (quoth he) is that King greater than my ſelfe, if hee be not more juſt and righteous. *Epaminondas* likewiſe replied upon the Lacedæmonians, who had framed a long accuſation againſt the Thebans: Well it is (quoth he) and a good turne that we yet

have made you give over your accustomed short speech. Thus much of those rules which concerne either our private and particular evill willers, or our publike enemies.

As for our friends and fellow-Citizens, we may likewise by using fitly in time and place, and as the case requireth haughty language, not onely take down and cause those to vaile bonnet, who are over-proud and audacious; but also on the other side raise up and encourage such, as be dismaied, astonied, and beyond measure timorous. For *Cyrus* also in the midst of battell and dangers in war, was wont to speak bravely, but else-where not. And *Antigonus* the younger, or second of that name, who otherwise was in words sober, modest, and nothing proud; yet in a battell at sea which he fought neer the Isle *Cos*; when one of his friends about him said a little before the medley began: See you not, Sir, how many ships our enemies have more then we? Why (quoth he) for how many ships dost thou reckon me? And it should seem that *Homer* was of the same mind, and meant so much, when he feigneth that *Ulysses* seeing his people affrighted with the hideous noise and fearfull tempest that issued out of the gulph *Charybdis*, called to their remembrance his subtill engine and singular valour in saying thus unto them:

My friends and mates, this accident
is not so dangerous,
As when that monstrous Cyclops *he,*
a giant furious,
Us turn'd and cours't with mighty force
about his hollow cave,
Yet thence we chas'd him by my wit,
advice, and prowesse brave.

For this manner of praising proceedeth not from a glozing and vaine-glorious Orator, nor a vanting Sophister, nor from one that seeketh applause, and clapping of hands; but beseemeth a personage who pawneth unto his friends, as a gage of assurance and confidence, his own vertue and sufficiency. For a matter this is of great importance and consequence tending to safety in dangerous times, to wit, the opinion, reputation and affiance, that we may have of a man in authority, and the experienced proweſſe of a Captain. Now albeit I have sufficiently shewed before, that it is neither convenient nor seemly for a man of State and honour to oppose himself against the glory and praise of another; yet nevertheless when the case so standeth, that a false and perverse commendation doth bring hurt and dammage, and by example inferreth a dangerous imitation of evill things, together with a wicked purpose and lewd intention in matters of great moment, it were not amisse to repulse the same back, or rather to divert and turn away the hearer unto better things, and open unto him the difference: for in mine advice, a man may well take content and delight, to see that men abstain willingly from vice, when they perceive it to be blamed and reproved; but in lieu of condemning it, if they hear it commended, and if over and besides the pleasure and profit that commonly it seemeth to bring with it, it be held also in honour and reputation, there is not a nature so happy and blessed, not so strong and stout withall, but she is able to conquer it: and therefore a man of policy and government ought to make war and fight, not so much against the praises of persons, as of things, in case they be corrupt and naught: for these they be that spill and marre our manners, by reason that with such praises there entreth commonly a will to imitate and follow such dishoneſt and foule actions, as if they were good and seemly: but then most of all are they detected what they be, and do appear in their colours, when they are compared in opposition with true praises indeed. Thus it is reported, that *Theodorus* the Tragœdian actor, said upon a time unto *Satyrus* a Comicall Player: That it was no great marvell to make the spectators to laugh, but rather a matter of wonder to cause them for to weep and cry: but (I suppose) a sage and wise Philosopher may well say thus unto the same *Theodorus*: Nay (good Sir) it is not so great a matter to set men a weeping and wailing, but rather to still and stay their sorrow and lamentation, were an admirable thing: for if a man praise himself in this sort, he profiteth the hearer, and changeth his judgement. Thus did *Zeno* speake of the great number of *Theophrastus* his scholers, who resorted unto his school: His quire (quoth he) is greater then mine, but yet mine accordeth better, and maketh the sweeter harmony. *Phocion* likewise, when as *Leosthenes* still flourished and bare a great name, being demanded by the Rhetoricians who used to make solemn orations, what good himselfe had ever done to the weal-publike, answered them in this manner: None other (quoth he) but this, that all the while I was Lord Generall, and had the conduct of an army, none of you all made ever any funerall oration, but interred all your Citizens who departed this life, in the sepulchers and monuments of your ancestors. As for *Crates* when he read these verses containing the Epitaph of *Sardanapalus*:

What hath gone down my throat I have,
my wanton sports remaine,
Which Lady Venus *did vouchsafe,*
All else I count but vaine.

Wrote thus againe very wittily and in a pleasant conceit:

What during life I studied have
and learned, is my gaine,
The skil which muses then me gave,
and nought else I retain.

For

For such manner of praise as this, is excellent, honest and profitable, teaching men to love, esteem and admire such things as be commodious and expedient, and not those that are vaine and superfluous; and therefore this advertisement ought to be ranged with the rest before specified, as touching the subject argument now in question.

It remaineth now by order and course according as the present theam in hand requireth, and our discourse admonisheth us, to declare how every man may avoid this importunate and unseasonable selfe-praise: for surely to speak of a mans selfe, having selfe-love as a commodious fore from whence it issueth, seemeth many times to lay wait and give the assault even unto them who are of all others most modest and farthest from vain-glory. And like as one precept of health there is, to flie and shunne altogether unwholsome tracts and contagious, or at least-wise to take heed of them most carefully if a man be in them; even so there be certaine dangerous times and slippery places, which one shall slide and fall into upon the least occasion in the world, by rashly speaking of himselfe. For first and formost, those who are by nature ambitious, when they hear another man praised, commonly (as it hath been said before) advance forward to talk of themselves, and then anon this humour of selfe-praise being once provoked and tickled (as it were) with an itch, a certaine desire and furious appetite of glory which hardly can be held in, taketh hold of them, especially if the party who is praised before them be but equall or inferior to them in merit: for like as they who are hungry have the greater appetite, and are provoked more to eat, when they see others fall to their meat before them; even so the praise of another inflameth the jealousie of those who be given to the greedy desire of honour and glory. Secondly, the recitall and discourse of those things which have been haply executed, and to a mans minde, drive many men into a brave vaunting, for the joy that they conceive in relating the same: for after they bee once fallen into a narration of their victories atchieved in warre, or the enterprises which they have fortunately managed in their soveraign government of State, or their actions and affaires performed under other chiefe Rulers and Commanders, or of the speeches which they have made to great purpose, and good successe and commendation, they cannot contein and hold themselves: to which kind of vaunting and speaking of ones selfe, we see those are most subject who are warriours and serve especially at sea; likewise this hapneth usually unto such who are come from the Courts of mighty Princes, or from those places where there hath been exploited some great service: for in making mention of Princes and grand Seignieurs, they cannot chuse but enterlace ordinarily among, some speeches which those Potentates have delivered to their commendation; and therein they doe not think that they praise themselves, but recite onely the commendable testimonies that others have given out of them: and verily such as these, bee of opinion that the hearers perceive them not, when they recount the embracements, greetings, salutations, and favours which Kings, Emperours, and such great Potentates have bestowed upon them; as if forsooth they rehearsed not their own selfe-praises, but the courtesies and demonstrations of the bounty and humanity of others; whereof every one of us ought most fully and warily to look unto our selves when we praise any one, that the said praises be pure and sincere, void of suspition, that we do not respect and aim at an oblique selfe-love, and speech of our own selves, for feare lest wee make the commendation of *Patroclus*, as it is in *Homer*, a covert, colour and pretence of our own praise, and by commending others cunningly, praise our own selves. Moreover, all the sorts of blames and reprehensions of others, are otherwhiles very dangerous, causing those to go out of the way and stumble, who are never so little sick of vaine glory; into which malady old folk e many times incurre, and namely, when they breake out into the reproofe of their youngers, finding fault with their lewd manners and fashions, for then in blaming others, they fall to magnifying themselves, as if in times past they had done wonders, in comparison of those things which now they condemn: and verily such as they be we ought to give place unto, in case they be not onely for age, but also in regard of their vertue and reputation venerable: for this manner of rebuke is not unprofitable, but breedeth in those who are chastised by them, a great desire and emulation withall to attein unto the like place of honour and dignity. But as for our selves, we ought to take heed and beware how we trip or tread awry in this case for the manner of blaming our neighbors, being as it is otherwise very odious and almost intolerable, and which hath need of great caution and warinesse: he that minds his proper praise with the blame of another, and seeketh glory by his infamy, cannot chuse but be exceeding hatefull and unsupportable, as if he hunted after renown and honour by the reproachfull and dishonourable parts of his neighbours. Furthermore, as they who naturally are enclined and disposed to laughter, are to avoid and decline the ticklings and soft handling in those parts of the body that are most smooth, fleecke and tender, which soon yielding and relenting to those light touches, stirre up and provoke immediately that passion of laughing; even so this caveat and advertisement would be given unto such as passionately be given to this desire of glory, that they abstein from praising themselves, at what time as they be collauded by others: for a man that heareth himselfe praised, ought indeed to blush for shame, and not with a bold and shamelesse face to hearken thereto, nay, he should do well to reprove those that report some great matter of him, rather then to finde fault for saying too little, and not praising him sufficiently; a thing iwis that many men do, who are ready of themselves to prompt and suggest, yea and to inferre other magnanimous facts and proweſſes, so far forth that they marre all, as well the praise that they give themselves, as the laudable testimoniall of others. And I assure you many there be who flattering themselves, tickle and

puffe up their own conceits with nothing else but wind; others again upon a malicious intent, laying some petty praise as it were a bait for them to bite at, draw them on thereby to fall into their own commendation: some also you shall have who to that purpose will keep a questioning with them, and propose certaine demands for the nonce to train them within their toile, and all to have the more matter that they might soon after laugh at. Thus in *Menander* the glorious souldier made good sport, being demanded of one,

DEMAND. *Good Sir how came you by this wound and scar?*
SOULDIER. *By dint of Javelin lanced from afar.*
DEMAND. *But how? for Gods sake how? let us all know:*
SOULDIER. *As I a wall did scale I caught this blow,*
But well I see whiles that I do my best
This to relate, these make of me a jest.

And therefore in all these cases, a man ought to be as wary as possibly he can, that he neither himselfe break out in his own praises, nor yet bewray his weakneſſe and folly by such interrogatories: and that he may in the best and most absolute manner take heed thereto, and save himselfe from such inconveniences, the readiest way is to observe others neerly that love to be praisers of themselves; namely, to call to mind and represent unto their own remembrance, how displeasant and odious a thing it is to all the world, and that there is or can be no other speech so unsavory, tedious & irksome to heare: for suppose that we are not able to say that we suffer any other harme at their hands, who praise themselves, yet we doe all that we can to avoid such speech; we make shift to be delivered from it, and hasten all that we may to breath our selves, as if it were a heavy burden, which of it selfe and the own nature overchargeth us, insomuch as it is troublesome and intolerable even to flatterers, parasites, and needy smel-feasts in that neceſſity and indigence of theirs, to hear a rich man, a Prince, a Governour, or a King to praise himselfe: nay, they give out that they pay the greateſt portion of the shot, when they must have patience to give eare to such vanities; like to that Jester in *Menander*, who breaketh out into these words,

He kill'eth me when at his board I sit,
And with his cheer I flatter am no whit,
But rather pine away, you may be sure,
When such bald jests to heare I must endure.
And yet as wise and warlike as they seem,
A bragging fool and lewd sot I him deem.

For consid'ring that we are wont to say thus, not onely against souldiers and glorious upstarts newly enriched, whose manner is to make much of their painted sheaths, pouring out brave and proud discourses; but also against Sophisters, Rhetoricians and Philosophers, yea and great Captains, puffed up with arrogancy and presumption, and speaking big words of themselves: If we would call to remembrance that a mans own proper praises be accompanied alwaies with the dispraises of others, and that the end commonly of such vaine glory is shame and infamy: also, that tediousneſſe unto the hearers, is (as *Demoſthenes* saith) the reward, and not any opinion to be reputed such as they say, we would be more sparie and forbear to speak so much of our selves, unleſs some greater profit and advantage might afterwards grow either to us, or to the hearers in place.

What Passions and Maladies be worse, those of the Soule, or those of the Body?

The Summary.

THis present queſtion upon which Plutarch hath framed this declamation, whereof there remaineth extant in our hands but one little parcell, hath been of long time diſcuſſed and debated among men: the greater is our damage and detriment, that we have here no decision, nor a more ample resolution of it by so excellent a Philosopher as he was: but seeing that this loſſe cannot be recovered, let us seeke for the cleering of all this matter in other authors; but principally in those, who search deeply to the very bottom, for to diſcover the source of all the maladies of the soule, instead of such writers who have treated of moral Philosophy, according to the doctrine and light of nature, onely accompanied with precepts out of her schools and have not touched the point but superficially, as being ignorant what is originall and hereditary corruption; what is sinne; how it entred first into the world; what are the greateſt impreſſions, aſſaults, effects, and what is the end and reward thereof. But to come unto this fragment, our Author after he had shewed that man of all living creatures is most miserable, declareth wherein these humane miseries ought to be conſidered: and proveth withall, that the diſeases of the soul are more dangerous than those of the body, for that they be more in number and the same exceeding different, hard to be known and incurable, as evidently it is to be seen in effect, that those who are afflicted with such Maladies, have their judgement depraved and overturned, refuſing remedy with the loſſe of reſt and repoſe, and a singular pleaſure which they take to diſcover their unquietneſs, anxiety and misery.

What

What Passions and Maladies are worse, those of the Soule, or those of the Body.

HOMER having viewed and considered very wel the sundry sorts of living creatures mortall, compared also one kind with another, as well in the continuance as the conversation and manner of their life, concluded in the end with this exclamation,

Lo how of creatures, all one earth
which walk and draw their wind,
More miserable none there are,
nor wretched than mankind.

Attributing unto man this unhappy soveraignty, that he hath the superiority in all miseries whatsoever: but we setting this down for a supposition granted already, that man carrieth the victory, and surpasseth all others for his infortunity, and is already declared and pronounced the most unhappy wretch of all living creatures, will set in hand to compare him with his own selfe, in a certaine conference of his proper calamities that follow him: and that by dividing him, not in vain and unfruitfully, but very pertinently, and to good purpose, into the soul and the body, to the end that we may learn and know thereby, whether we live more miserably in regard of our souls, or our selves, that is to say, our bodies: for a diſease in our body is engendred by nature; but vice and sinne in the soul is first an action, but afterwards becommeth a passion thereof: so that it is no small consolation, but maketh much for the contentment of our mind, to know that the worse is curable, and the lighter is that which cannot be avoided.

The Fox in *Æsope* pleading upon a time against the Leopard, as touching the variety of colours in their skins, after that the Leopard had shewed her body, which to the eye and in outward appearance was well marked and beset with faire spots, whereas the Foxes skin was tawny, foule and ill-favoured to see to: But you (quoth he) sir Judge, if you look within, shall find me more spotted and divers coloured, then that Leopard there; meaning the craft and subtilty which hee had to turn and change himselfe in divers sorts, as need required; after the same manner let us say within our selves: O man, thy body breedeth and bringeth forth many maladies and passions naturally of it selfe, many also it receiveth and entertaineth comming from without, but if thou wilt anatomize and open thy selfe, thou shalt find within, a save, an ambry, nay, a storehouse and treasurie (as *Democritus* saith) of many evils and maladies, and those of divers and sundry sorts, not entring and running in from abroad, but having their originall sources springing out of the ground, and home-bred, the which vice abundant, rich and plenteous in passions putteth forth. Now, whereas the diſeases that poſſeſſe the body and the fleſh, are diſcovered and known by their imflammations and red colour, by pulses also or beating of the arteries, and namely, when the visage is more red or pale than customably it is, or when some extraordinary heat of laſſitude, without apparent cauſe, bewraieth them: contrariwiſe, the infirmities and maladies of the soule are hidden many times unto those that have them, who never thinke that they be sicke and ill at ease; and in this regard worse they be, for that they deprive the patients of the sense and feeling of their sickneſſe: for the diſcourſe of reason, whiles it is sound and whole, feeleth the maladies of the body; but as for the diſeases of the soule, whiles reaſon her selfe is sick, she hath no judgement at all of that which shee ſuffereth, for the selfe same that should judge is diſeased; and we are to deem and eſteem, that the principall and greateſt malady of the soule is folly, by reaſon whereof vice, being remedileſſe and incurable in many, is cohabitant in them, liveth and dieth with them: for the firſt degree and very beginning of a cure, is the knowledge of a diſeaſe, which leadeth and direcſteth the patient to seek for help; but he who will not beleeve that he is amiſſe or sick, not knowing what he hath need of, although a preſent remedy were offered unto him, will refuſe and reject the same. And verily, among those diſeases which afflict the body, those are counted worſt which take a man with a privation of ſenſe; as lethargies, intolerable Head-ach, or Phrenſies, Epilepſies or Falling evils, Apoplexies and Feavers ardent; for these burning Agues many times augment their heat so much, that they bring a man to the loſſe of his right wits, and so trouble the senses, as it were in a muſicall inſtrument, that

They ſtirre the ſtrings at ſecret root of heart,
Which touched ſhould not be, but lie apart.

Which is the reason that practitioners in phyſick deſire and wiſh in the firſt place, that a man were not sick at all, but if he be sick, that hee bee not ignorant and ſenſleſſe altogether of his diſeaſe; a thing that ordinarily befalleth to all those who be sick in mind: for neither witleſſe fools, nor diſſolute and looſe perſons, ne yet those who be unjuſt and deale wrongfully, think that they do amiſs and sinne; nay, some of them are perſwaded that they do right well. Never was there man yet, who eſteemed an ague to be health, nor the phthiſick or conſumption to be a good plight and habit of the body, nor that the gout in the feet was good footmanſhip, ne yet that to be ruddy and pale or yellow, was all one, yet you ſhall have many who are diſeaſed in minde, to call haſtineſſe and choler valiance; wanton love, amity: envy, emulation; and cowardiſe, wary prudence. Moreover, they that be bodily sick, ſend for the phyſicians (becauſe they know whereof they ſtand in need) for to heal

their diseases; whereas the other avoid and shun the sage Philosophers; for they thinke verily, that they do well when they sault most. Upon this reason we hold, that the ophthalmy, that is to say, the inflammation of blood-shotten eies, is a lesse malady than *Mania*, that is to say, rage and furious madnesse: and that the gout in the feet is nothing so bad as the phrensie, which is an inflammation or impostume bred in the brain; for the one of these patients finding himselfe diseased, crieth out for pain, and calleth for the physician, and no sooner is he come, but he sheweth him his diseased eie for to dresse and anoint, he holdeth forth his veine for to be opened, and yieldeth unto him his head to be cured; whereas you shall heare Lady *Agave* in the Tragœdies, so farre transported out of all sense and understanding (by reason of her raging fit) that she knew not those persons which were most deare and entire unto her; for thus she saith:

This little one here newly kill'd,
And cut in pieces in the field,
From hils we bring to dwelling place,
How happy, O, hath been our chase!

As for him who is sick in body, presently yieldeth thereto, he laies him down upon his pallet, or taketh his naked bed, he easeth himselfe all that he can, and is content and quiet all the while that the physician hath him in cure; but peradventure if he tumble and tosse in his bed, fling and cast off his clothes, by reason that his body is tormented with some grievous hot fit, no sooner stirreth he never so little, but one or other that standeth or sitteth by to tend him, is ready to say gently unto him:

Poore soul be quiet, feare none ill,
Deare heart in bed, see thou lie still.

He staieth and keepeth him down, that he shall not start and leap out of his bed: but contrariwise, those that be surprised with the passions of the soule, at such a time be most busie, then they be least in repose and quiet; for their violent motions be the causes moving their actions, and their passions are the vehement fits of such motions: this is the cause that they will not let the soul to be at rest, but but even then when as a man hath most need of patience, silence and quiet retrait, they draw him most of all abroad into the open aire; then are discovered soonest his cholerick passions, his opiniative and contentious humours, his wanton love and his grievous sorrowes, enforcing him to commit many enormities against the lawes, and to speak many words unseasonably, and not befitting the time.

Like as therefore much more perilous is the tempest at sea, which impeacheth and putteth back a ship, that it cannot come into the harbour to ride at anchor, than that which will not suffer it to get out of the haven, and make saile in open sea; even so those tempestuous passions of the soul are more dangerous which will not permit to be at rest, nor to settle his discourse of reason once troubled, but overturneth it upside down, as being disfurnished of Pilots and cables, not wel ballaised in the storm, wandring to and fro without a guide and steers-man, carried maugre into rash and dangerous courses, so long until in the end it falleth into some shipwrack, and where it overthroweth the whole life, in such sort that in regard of these reasons and others sembable, I conclude, that worse it is to be soul-sick, than diseased in body; for the bodies being sick, suffer only, but the soules if they be sick, both suffer and do also amisse. To prove this, what need we further to particularize and alledge for examples many other passions, considering that the occasion of this present time is sufficient to admonish us thereof, and to refresh our memorie? See you not this great multitude and presse of people thrusting and thronging here about the Tribunall and common place of the City; they are not all assembled hither to sacrifice to the Tutelar gods, Protectors of their native Countrey, nor to participate in common the same Religion, and sacred ceremonies of divine service; they are not all met here together for to offer an oblation unto *Jupiter Astræus*, out of the first fruits of *Lydia*, and to celebrate and solemnize in the honour of *Bacchus*, during these holy nights, his festivall revels with dances, masks and mummeries accustomed: but like as by yearly accesse and anniversarie revolutions, the forcible vigour of the pestilence returneth for to irritate and provoke all *Asia*; so they resort hither to entertain their suits and processes in law to follow their pleas; and a world here is of affairs, like to many brooks and rivulets which run all at once into one channell and main stream; so they are met in the same place, which is pestered and filled with an infinite multitude of people, to hurt themselves and others. From what Fevers or cold, ague-fits, proceed these effects? from what tensions or remissions, augmentations or diminutions? from what distemperature of heat, or overspreading of cold humours comes all this? If you ask of every severall cause here in suit, as if they were men and able to answer you from whence it arose, how it grew, and whereupon it came and first began; you shall find that one matter was engendred, by some wilfull and proud anger; another proceeded from a troublesome and litigious spirit; and a third was caused by some unjust desire and unlawfull lust.

The Precepts of Wedlocke.

The Summary.

WE have here a mixture and medley of rules for married folke, who in the persons of Pollianus *and* Eurydice, *are taught their mutuall duty: upon which argument needlesse it is to discourse at large, considering that the whole matter is set out particularly, and tendes to this point: That both at the beginning, in the sequel also and continuation of marriage, man and wife ought to assist, support, and love one another with a single heart and affection, farre removed from disdainfull pride, violence, vanity, and filthinesse? the which is specified and comprised in* 45. *Articles: howbeit in such sort, that there be some of those precepts, which favour of the corruption of those times, bewraying the insufficiency of humane wisedome, unlesse it be lightned with Gods truth. We see also in this Treatise, more particular advertisements appropriate to both parties, touching their devoir as well at home as abroad: and all enriched with notable similitudes and excellent examples. In summe, if these precepts following be well weighed and practised, they are able to make mans life much more easie and commodious than it is. But* Plutarch *sheweth sufficiently by the thirtieth rule, how hard a matter it is to retaine each one in their severall duty: and that in manner all do regard and looke upon things with another eie, than they ought. However it be, these persons whom vertue hath linked and joined together in matrimony, may finde here whereby to profit: and so much the more, for that they have one lesson, which neturall equity and conscience putteth them in minde of every day, if they will enter never so little into themselves, which being joined with the commandements of the heavenly wisedome, it cannot be but husband and wife shall live in contentment and blessed estate.*

The Precepts of Wedlocke.

PLUTARCH *to* POLLIANUS *and* EURYDICE, *sendeth greeting.*

AFter the accustomed ceremoniall link of marriage in this country, which the Priestes of *Ceres* hath put upon you, in coupling you both together in one bed-chamber, I suppose that this discourse of mine, comming as it doth to favorize and second this bond and conjunction of yours, in furnishing you with good lessons and nuptial wise advertisements, will not be unprofitable, but sound, very fitting and conformable to the customarie wedding song observed in these parts. The musicians among other tunes that they had with the haut-boies, used one kind of note which they called *Hippotharos*, which is as much to say as Leap-mare: having this opinion that it stirred and provoked stallions to cover mares. But of many beautifull and good discourses which Philosophie affordeth unto us, onethere is which deserveth no lesse to bee esteemed than any other, by which shee seeming to enchant and charm those who are come together to live all the daies of their life in mutuall society, maketh them to be more buxome, kinde, tractable, and pliable one to the other. Therefore I have made a certain collection of such rules and precepts which your selves have heard already oftentimes, being both of you trained up and nourished in the study of Philosophy: and reduced them all in few words to certain principall heads and articles, to the end that they might be more easily remembred: the which I send as a common present to you both, beseeching withall the Muses, that they would vouchsafe in your behalfe, and for your owne sake to assist and accompany the goddesse *Venus*; forasmuch as their office is to make a good consonance and accord in marriage and house-keeping, by the meanes of reason and harmonie Philosophicall, no lesse than to set in tune a lute or harp, or any musicall instrument.

1 And to begin withall: This is the reason that our ancients ordeined, that the image of *Venus* should be placed jointly with that of *Mercury*, as giving us thereby to understand, that the delight and pleasure of marriage, had need especially to be maintained with good language and wise speeches: they used to set also with these two images, the Graces, and Goddesse of Eloquence, Lady *Pitho*, that is, Perswasion, intending thereby, that those folke whom the bond of matrimony had linked together, might obtein what they desired one at the others hand gently and by faire means, not by debate, chiding and brawles.

2 *Solon* gave order and commanded that the new-wedded bride should eat of a Quince before that she came in bed with her bridegroom; signifying covertly in mine opinion by this dark ceremony, that first and above all, the grace proceeding from the mouth, to wit, the breath and the voice ought to be sweet, pleasant, and agreeable in every respect.

3 In the Countrie of *Bœotia*, the custome was upon the wedding day when the nuptiall vaile was put over the bride, for to set also upon her head a chaplet made of wild preckie Spirach branches, for that this plant out of a most sharp and pricking thorn, putteth forth a most pleasant and delectable fruit; even so, the wedded wife in case her husband do not reject and flie her company, for the first difficulties and troublesome inconveniences incident to marriage, shall bring unto him afterwards, a sweet and amiable society; but they that cannot endure at first the jarres and quarrels of their young wives, whom they married virgins, may for all the world be resembled to those who give away ripe grapes from themselves to others, because they be sowre before they are ripe; semblably, many new wedded wives, who take a disdain to their husbands by reason of some debates and encounters at the first, do much like unto those who having abidden the sting of the Bee, cast away the hony-comb out of their hands. It behooveth therefore new-married folk, to take heed especially in the beginning, that they avoid all occasions of dissention and offence giving; considering this with themselves, and seeing daily that the pieces of woodden vessels which are newly joined and glued together, at the first are soon disjoined, and go asunder again upon the least occasion in the world, but after that in continuance of time the joint is strongly setled, and soundly confirmed, a man shall hardly part and separate one piece from another, with fire, or iron edged tool.

4 And like as fire kindleth soon and catcheth a flame if it meet with light stubble, chaffe, or the haire of an hare, but it quickly goeth out again, if there be not put thereto some matter or fewell anon, which may both hold in and also maintaine and feed the same: even so, we are to think that the love of young wedded persons, which is enflamed and set on fire by youth, and the beauty of the body onely, is not firm and durable, unless it be surely founded upon the conformity of good and honest manners; and take hold of wisedome, whereby it may engender a lively affection and reciprocall disposition one toward the other.

5 Fishes are soon caught and taken up by baits made of empoisoned paste, or such like medicines, but their meat is naught and dangerous to be eaten; semblably, those women who compound certain love-drinks, or device other charms and sorceries for to give their husbands, and think by such allurements of pleasure, to have the hand and command over them, it is all to nothing, that afterwards in their life together, they shall find them to be blockish, foolish, and sensuelesse companions. Those men whom *Circe* the famous sorceresse enchanted with her witchcraft, did her no pleasure, neither served they her in any stead, being transformed as they were into Swine and Asses; whereas she loved and affected entirely and exceedingly *Ulysses*, an ingenious man, and who conversed wisely with her; but such wives as had rather be mistresses and over-rule their doltish husbands, than obey them that be wise and men of understanding, may very properly be compared unto them, who chuse rather to lead and conduct the blind, than to be guided by those that see, and to follow them that have knowledge. These women will never beleeve that *Passphaë* being a Kings wife loved a Bull, notwithstanding they see some wives that cannot endure their husbands, if they be any thing austere, grave, sober and honest, but they abandon and give themselves over more willingly to accompany with such as be composed altogether of luxurious looseneſſe, of filthy lust and voluptuousnesse, like as if they were dogs or goats.

6 Some men there be so tender, feeble, and effeminate, that being not able to mount up their horse-backs as they stand, teach them to stoop and rest upon their knees, that they may get upon them; and even so you shall find divers husbands, who having espoused rich wives, and descended of noble Houses, never study to make them better, but keep down their wives, and hold them under, being perswaded that they shall rule them the better when they are thus humbled and brought low; whereas indeed they should as well maintain the dignity of their wives, as regard and keep the just stature and height of their horses, as well in the one as the other, make use of the bridle.

7 We see that the Moon, the farther that shee is from the Sun, the brighter shee shineth, and is more clear, & when she approacheth neer unto his raies and beams, she loseth her light and is darkned; but a chast, honest and wise woman must do clean contrary, for she ought to be most seen with her husband, and if he be away, to keep close and hold her selfe within house.

8 It was not well said of *Herodotus*: That a woman casteth off her pudicity, when she putteth off her smock or inner garment; for clean contrary it is in a chaste and sober matron, for instead thereof she putteth on shamefastnes and honesty; and the greatest signe of all other that married folke do love reciprocally is this, when they have most reverence and shamefast regard one to the other.

9 Like as if one take two sounds that accord together, the base is alwaies more heard and the song is ascribed to it; even so in an house well ordered and governed, all goes well which is done by the consent of both parties; but evident it is and apparent, that the conduct, counsell and direction of the husband is that which effecteth it.

10 The Sunne upon a time (as the fable goeth) had the victory over the northern winde; for when the said wind blew forcibly upon a man, and with the violence of its blasts, did what it could to drive his cloake or upper garment from off his shoulders, the man strived so much the more to hold it on and keep it close about him; but when the Sun came to be hot after the said wind was laid, and set the man in exceeding heat by his beams, he was glad to throw off his said cloak; yea and feeling himself to burn with heat, put off his coat, shirt and all; and even semblably do the most part of

of women, for when they perceive that their husbands by their authority, and perforce will take from them their superfluous delights and vain pleasures, they strive again and make resistance, and are offended and discontented therewith; but when as contrariwise they come unto them with gentle remonstrances and mild perswasions, then of themselves they will be content peaceably to lay them aside, and endure all with patience.

11 *Cato* deprived a Senator of *Rome* of his honourable place, for that in the presence of his own daughter, he kissed his wife. I cannot simply commend this act of his, for it favoured peradventure too much of severity and rigour: but if it be (as no doubt it is) an unseemly sight for man and wife to kisse, clip, embrace, and use dalliance together in the presence of others; how can it chuse but be more shamefull and unseemly to chide, braule, and taunt one another before strangers? and when a man hath plaied, sported, and used love delights in secret with his wife, afterwards in open place to check, rebuke, nip and gird at her with spightfull speeches in the face of the world?

12 Like as a mirrour or looking-glasse garnished with gold and precious stones, serveth to no purpose, if it do not represent to the life, the face of him or her that looketh into it; no more is a woman worth ought (be she otherwise never so rich) unlesse she conform and frame her selfe, her life, her manners and conditions suitable in all respects to her husband. A false mirrour it is, and good for nothing, that sheweth a sad and heavy countenance to him who is merry and jocund, and contrariwise, which resembleth a glad and smiling visage, to one who is melancholike, angry, and discontent; even so a bad woman is she, and a very untoward piece, who when her husband is desirous to solace himselfe and be merry in disporting with her, frowneth and looketh doggedly under the browes, and on the other side, when she seeth him amused in serious matters, and in a deep study about his affaires, is set on a merry pin, and given to mirth and laughter; for as the one is a sign of a sowre plumme and unpleasant yoke-fellow, so the other bewraieth a woman that setteth light by the affections of her husband; whereas indeed befitting it were, that as (by the saying of Geometricians) the lines and superficies move not at all of themselves, but according to the motions of the bodies: even so a wife should have no proper passion or peculiar affection of her own, but be a partaker of the sports, serious affaires, sad countenance, deep thoughts, and smiling looks of her husband.

13 They that take no pleasure, nor cannot away that their wives do eat and drink freely with them at the table in their sight, doe as much as teach them how to cram themselves and fill their gorge apart when they be alone; even so they that will not vouchsafe to live merrily and be pleasant with their wives, nor can abide to disport and laugh privately with them, teach them the ready way to seek their pleasures and their delights by themselves.

14 The Kings of *Persia* at their ordinary meals have their Queens or espoused wives to sit by them at the board, but when they list to be merrie indeed, and carrouse lustily untill they be drunk, they send them away to their chambers, and call for their concubines, singing wenches, and musicall trulls in their place; * I can commend them yet for so doing, in that they would not have their own lawfull wives to be partakers of their drunkennesse and licentious looseneſſe. If therefore it chance that some private person abandoned to his own pleasures, untaught, and given to lewd conditions, chance to do a fault in abusing himselfe, either with his Paramour, or his wives chamber-maid, his wife must not be angry for the matter, and frown at him for it, but rather thus to think with her self, and make this construction, that her husband being loth and affraid to offend her with his drunkennesse, unbridled lust and intemperance, turned another way for that purpose.

* Plutarch herein smelleth of the corruption in his time: for a Christian dame & honest matron, will not abide to put up such an injury, nor wink at her husbands follies in that case.

15 Kings, if they love Musick, cause many good Musicians to be in their Kingdome; if they set their minds upon their book, they make many learned Clerks; if they be given to feats of activity, and exercise of the body, many of their subjects (by that example) will prove champions and tall men of their hands: even so a husband that loveth to trim and pamper his body, causeth his wife (by that means) to study nothing else but the tricking and pruning of her selfe; he that followeth his pleasures and wanton delights, maketh her also to be lascivious and to play the harlot: but who that embraceth honesty, and ensueth vertue and good things, by his example shall have an honest, vertuous, and wise wife of her.

16 A young woman of *Sparta* being asked a question by one, whether she had medled or lien yet with her husband: Not I (quoth she) but he hath with me. And in very truth, in this manner (by mine advice) it would become an honest matron and huswife to behave her selfe toward her husband, that she neither reject and disdain, dalliance and love-sports with him, if he begin with her, nor yet her selfe offer such temptations first unto him; for as this is a trick of a wanton and unshame-faced strumpet, so the other bewraieth a proud woman, and one who is nothing lovely nor amiable.

17 A woman ought to have no peculiar friends by her selfe, but to use her husbands friends, and take them as her own. Considering then, that the gods challenge the first and principall place in friendship, * the wife is to acknowledge and worship the same gods (and none else but those) whom her husband honoureth, serveth and repureth gods; moreover, she ought to shut and lock the gate against all curious and new inventions of religions, and not to entertaine any strange and forrein superstitions: for I assure you, to none of the Gods can those divine services and sacrifices be acceptable, which a woman will seem to celebrate by stealth, and without the knowledge and privity of her husband.

* Herein also Plutarch sheweth of what religion he is

18 *Plato* writeth, that the City is blessed and happy, wherein a man shall never hear these words; *This is mine*, and, *this is not mine*: for that the inhabitants thereof have all things there (especially, if they be of any worth and importance) as neer as possibly they can, common among them: but these words ought rather to be banished out of the State of Matrimony, unlesse it be (as the Physicians hold) that the blowes or wound which are given on the left side of the body, are felt on the right; even so a wife ought to have a fellow-feeling (by way of sympathy and compassion) of her husbands calamities, and the husband of his wives, much more; to the end, that like as those knots are much more fast and strong, when the ends of the cords are knit and interlaced one within another, even so the bond of marriage is more firm and sure, when both parties (the one as well as the other) bring with them a mutuall affection and reciprocall benevolence, whereby the fellowship and communion between them is maintained jointly by them both; for nature her selfe hath made a mixture of us, of two bodies, to the end that by taking part of one, and part of another, and mixing all together, she might make that which commeth thereof, common to both, in such sort, as neither of the twaine can discerne and distinguish what is proper to the one, or peculiar to the other. This communion of goods especially, ought principally to be among those who are linked in wedlock, for that they should put in common, and have all their havoir incorporate into one substance, in such wife, as they repute not this part proper to one, and that part peculiar to another, but the whole proper to themselves, and nothing to another: and likeas in one cup where there is more water then wine, yet we say nevertheless that the whole is wine; even so the goods and the house ought to bear the name of the husband, although peradventure the wife brought with her the bigger portion.

19 *Helene* was covetous, and *Paris* lascivious: contrariwise, *Ulysses* was reputed wise, and *Penelope* chaste; and therefore the marriage of these last named, was blessed, happy and beloved; but the conjunction of those two before, infortunate, bringing upon the Greeks and Barbarians both, a whole *Iliad*, that is to say, an infinite masse of miseries and calamities.

20 A gentleman of *Rome*, who espoused an honest, rich, faire, and young Lady, put her away, and was divorced from her; whereupon being reproved and sharply rebuked by all his friends, he put forth his foot unto them and shewed them his shoo: What find you (quoth he) in this shoo of mine amisse? new it is and fair to see to; howbeit there is not one of you all, knoweth where it wringeth me, but I wot well where the fault is, and feel the inconvenience thereof. A wife therefore is not to stand so much upon her goods, and the dowry she brings; nor in the nobility of her race and parentage, ne yet in her beauty, as in those points which touch her husband most, and come neerest to his heart; namely, her conversation and fellowship, her manners, her carriage and demeanor, in all respects so disposed, that they be all not harsh, nor troublesome from day to day unto her husband, but pleasant, lovely, obsequious, and agreeable to his humour; for like as Physicians feare those feavers which are engendred of secret and hidden causes within the body, gathering in long continuance of time by little and little, more then such as proceed from evident and apparent causes without; even so there fall out otherwhiles petty jars, daily and continuall quarrels between man and wife, which they see and know full little that be abroad; and these they be which breed separation, and cause them to part sooner than any thing else, these marre the pleasure of their cohabitation, more then any other cause whatsoever.

21 King *Philip* was enamoured with a Thessalonian woman, who was supposed and charged, by her sorceries and charms to have enchanted him to love her; whereupon Queen *Olympias* his wife wrought so, [that she got the woman into her hands: now when she had well viewed her person, and considered her beautifull visage, her amiable favour, her comely grace, and how her speech shewed well that she was a woman of some noble house, and had good bringing up: Out upon these slanderous surmises (quoth she) and false imputations; for I see well, that the charms and sorceries which thou useft are in thy selfe. In like manner we must think, that an espoused and legitimate wife, is as one would say, a sort inexpugnable, namely, such an one, as (in her selfe reposing and placing all these things, to wit her dowrie, nobility, charms, and love-drinks, yea, and the very tissue or girdle of *Venus*, by her study and endevour, by her gentle behaviour, her good grace and vertue) is able to win the affectionate love of her husband for ever.

22 Another time, the same Queen *Olympias* hearing that a certain young gentleman of the Court had married a Lady who though she were fair and wel-favoured, yet had not altogether the best name: This man (quoth shee) hath no wit at all in his head, for otherwise he would never have married according to the counsell and appetite of his eies only. And in truth we ought not to go about for to contract marriage by the eie or the fingers, as some do who count with their fingers how much mony, or what goods a wife bringeth with her, never casting and making computation of her demeanour and conditions, whether shee be so well qualified, as that they may have a good life with her.

23 *Socrates* was wont to counsell young men who used to see their faces, and look upon themselves in mirrours, if they were soule or ill favoured, to correct that deformity by vertue; if they were faire, not to soile and staine their beauty with vice; semblably, it were very well that the mistresse of an house having in her hand a looking glasse, should say thus unto her selfe, if shee be soule and deformed: What a one should I be, if I were naught or lewd withall? if faire and well-favoured, how highly shall I be esteemed, if I bee honest and wise besides? for if an hard

hard-favoured woman be loved for her faire and gentle conditions, she hath more honour thereby, than if she wan love by beauty onely.

24 The tyrant of *Sicily* (*Dionysius*) sent upon a time unto the daughters of *Lysander*, certaine rich robes, costly wreaths, and precious jewels as presents; but *Lysander* would not receive these gifts, saying: These presents would bring more shame then honour to my daughters. And the Poet *Sophocles*, before *Lysanders* time, wrote to the like effect in these verses:

This will (O wretch) to thee none honour bring,
But may be thought a foule and shamefull thing;
It doth bewray a fop and fool in kinde,
And one who bears a most lascivious minde.

For (according as the Philosopher *Crates* said) That is an ornament which doth adorn; and that adorneth a wife, which maketh her more comely and decent: this are not jewels of gold able to do, nor emeraulds and other precious stones, nor purple and skarlet robes, but that only which causeth her to be reputed grave, sober, lowly and modest.

25 Those that sacrificed to *Juno* (surnamed *Gametia*, that is, Nuptiall) offered not the gall with the rest of the beast that was killed; but plucked it out of the body, cast it aside, and laid it by, about the altar; by which ceremony, he whosoever he was that first instituted it, would give us to understand; that in matrimony there ought to be no gall, that is to say, no bitter choler and anger at all; he meant not thereby that a woman should not be grave, for a wife and matron that is mistresse of an house, must carry an austere countenance in some sort, but this austerity or tartnesse ought to be like that verdure which is in wine, that is to say, wholsome and pleasant, not bitter or eager in any wise as is *Aloe Succotrine*, nor resembling any such purgative drugs.

26 *Plato* perceiving *Xenocrates* the Philosopher (a man otherwise vertuous and well disposed) to be given a little to over-much severity, admonished him to sacrifice unto the Graces; even so I suppose, that a vertuous dame hath need also of the Graces help, as much as of any thing else, when she converseth with her husband, to the end that she may live in joy with him (as *Metrodorus* saith) and not move him to anger and displeasure, for all she be an honest and chaste matron, and so repent another day of her pudicity: for neither must a frugall huswife and saving dame neglect to be clean and neat, nor she that loveth her husband entirely, cease to offer kindnesse unto him, and deal with him after an amiable and loving sort; for surely the sowre conversation of a woman maketh all her honesty to be but odious, like as fluttery also causeth all her frugality and thrift to be hatefull and displeasant; insomuch as she who is afraid to look pleasantly, and smile upon her husband, or to shew some such like love-tricks, because forsooth she would not be thought bold and wanton, is much like unto her, who because she would not seem to have her head besmeared with precious perfumes, forbeareth also to be annointed with oile, and for that folke should not think that she painteth her face, will not so much as wash the same. Poets we see and Orators, as many of them as would avoid a base, illiberall, and ill-affected kind of stile, without good grace, which breedeth tediousnesse in the reader and hearer, study and endevour with all the wit they have, to entertain and move both the one and the other, by their fine invention, good disposé, and naturall representation of the manners of each person; and even so an honest dame and huswife shall do well to avoid and reject all superfluity, all curiosity, and in one word whatsoever savoureth of a whore, or such an one as loveth to shew her selfe abroad in pompous manner, and rather imploy all her wit, her art and industry in the pleasant and amiable carriage of her selfe; in her affability and lovely conversation with her husband, daily and hourely acquainting and accustoming him to honesty and decency with pleasure and delight. Howbeit, if it fall out so, that some one woman be so austere of nature, that by no meanes which the husband useth, he can make her pleasant and sociable, in this case he must be content and beare his own crosse and answered to *Antipater*, who required him to do a dishonest act, and little beseeming his estate: Sir, (quoth he) you cannot have me to be your friend and a flatterer too; even so must he say to himselfe of such a wife, who is sowre and unpleasant, but yet honest: It is not meet that I should look to converse with her as a true espoused wife, and a light harlot also.

27 The Egyptian wives by the ancient custome of their Countrie, weare no shooes at all on their feet, to the end that this fashion of going might put them in mind to keepe home; but far otherwise it is with our dames for the most part, from whom if you take their gilded pantofles, their carkanets, their bracelets, their fine garters, their purple garments and pearles, they will never go once out of their houses.

28 *Theano*, as she one day dressed her selfe, and put on her raiment, chanced to shew her arme a good way bare, and when one that stood by perceived it, and said withall: Oh there is a faire elbow: True (quoth she) but it is not for every man; and even so, not the arme onely of a chaste and honest dame ought not to be common, but also not so much as her very speech; for she is as well in manner to take heed and beware how she open her mouth and speake much, as to discover and lay her body naked before strangers, for that her manners, actions, and conditions which shee hath, she openeth unto others when she speaketh.

29 *Phidias*, when hee made the image of *Venus* for the *Eleans* devised that shee should tread with her feet upon a tortoise shell, signifying thereby that a woman ought to keep home and not goe forth of doors, but stay within house with silence; for surely a wife is to speake either unto

unto her husband onely, or elſe by the means of her husband; neither muſt ſhe think much and be offended, if like the minſtrell that ſoundeth the hautboies, ſhe utter a lowder and bigger voice then her own, by the tongue of another.

30 Great men and rich, Princes alſo and Kings, in honouring Philoſophers, do grace both them and their own ſelves; but Philoſophers in making court and doing ſervice unto thoſe rich and mighty perſonages, adde thereby no reputation unto them, but make themſelves more honoured and bettered accepted: ſemblably it fareth with wives, for when they be ſubject to their husbands, they winne praiſe and commendation, but when they will needs be maſters, they get greater ſhame by it, and do more undecently, than thoſe whom they have the maſtery of. For by good right, the husband ought to rule over the wife; not as the Lord over his ſlave, or that which he poſſeſſeth; but after the ſame manner as the ſoul governeth the body, by a certaine mutuall love and reciprocall affection, wherewith he is linked unto her: for as the ſoule may well have care of the body, without ſubjecting it ſelfe to the pleaſures and diſordinate luſts thereof; even ſo, may a husband have the ſoveraignty over his wife, and withall exerciſe the ſame nevertheleſſe in all kindneſſe, and be ready to gratifie and pleaſe her.

31 Philoſophers doe hold opinion that of bodies ſome conſiſt of parts disjoined and diſtinct and ſeparate one from another, as a fleet of ſhips or an army of men; others of pieces joined together and touching cloſe one another, as an houſe or a ſhip; and ſome againe be compoſed of parts united and incorporate into one nature living and growing together, as the bodies of living creatures. Much like to theſe compoſitions is wedlock: for the conjunction of thoſe in matrimony, who love entirely one another, and for pure love be linked in marriage, reſembleth a body, the parts whereof are naturally united together: that copulation of thoſe who marry for rich dowries, wealth, or procreation of children, may be compared to that body which ſtandeth of pieces, that touch onely and meet together in a joint: but ſuch a marriage as reſpecteth nothing but carnall company in bed together, is like unto thoſe bodies, the parts whereof ſtand aſunder, and neither be united in one, nor touch one the other. But like as the naturall Philoſophers affirm, that liquid bodies or humours be thoſe which are apt to bee mingled wholly one with another in every part: even ſo, it behoveth that of thoſe who are joined together in matrimony, the bodies, goods, friends and familiar, be totally intermingled together: which is the reaſon that the law-giver in ſetting down the Roman Lawes, forbad expreſly ſuch as were entred into the bond of wedlock, to give and receive any gifts interchangeably, or to make mutuall donation: not intending thereby that they ſhould participate in nothing, but that they ſhould repute all things in common betwen them.

32 A cuſtome there was in *Leptis*, a City ſituate in *Libya*, that the new-wedded bride the morrow after her marriage, ſhould ſend unto the bridegrooms mother, for to borrow a braſſe pot or kettle to hang over the fire; but his mother-in law muſt deny it, and ſay, ſhe hath none for her; to the end that this young wife being at the firſt acquainted with the faſhions of her mother-in law, favouring ſomewhat of a crooked ſtep-dame, might not think it ſtrange or be much grieved if it chanced afterward that ſhe deal more hardly with her. A wife knowing thus much, ought betimes to meet with all occaſions of ſuch ordinary offences which proceed from nothing elſe, but a jealouſie that a ſtep-mother hath over her for the love that ſhe beareth unto her ſonne: The only remedy of which paſſion is this, that the new wedded wife endevour ſo to winne the affection of her husband, that ſhe do not withall diminiſh nor withdraw that affection of his, which a ſon ought to bear unto his naturall mother.

33 It ſeemeth that mothers ordinarily of children, love their ſonnes better then the daughters, as at whoſe hands they hope for more ſuccour another day; and fathers contrariwiſe affect their daughters more, as who have more need of their helping hand; and peradventure it may be, that in regard of the honour the one beareth to the other, either of them would ſeem to carry greater affection to that which is more proper and familiar to the other; and yet happily this holdeth not alwaies, but there may be ſome difference therein: but certainly a civill part it is, and very well befitting a wife, to ſhew her ſelfe to have a better inclination to honour, and make much of her husbands parents than her own: yea, and if at any time ſhe be offended or grieved at ought, to conceal her grief from her own father and mother, and to lay the ſame open, and make her moane unto his; for in declaring that ſhe hath the better affiance and truſt in them, ſhe gaineth more confidence at their hands, and by ſeeming to love them better, ſhe is rather beloved of them againe.

34 The Captaines under *Cyrus* gave commandement to their ſouldiers, that when the enemies gave the charge upon them with greater out-cries, they ſhould receive them with ſilence: and contrariwiſe, if they came to aſſaile and ſet upon them in ſilence, they ſhould encounter them with mighty ſhouts; even ſo, women that are wiſe and of good underſtanding, when they perceive their husbands in choler, and thereupon growing to high words, uſe to hold their tongues; and on the other ſide, if their husbands go up and down and ſay nothing, although they be angry, ought to move ſpeech unto them, and by faire language to appeaſe and mitigate their mood. Wiſely did the Poet *Euripides* in reproving thoſe that called for the harp and other minſtrelſie at feaſts where they drank wine liberally: For it behoved rather (quoth he) to have muſick, when as men be in fits either of choler or melancholie, to delay their anger and heavineſſe, than to enervate them yet more, who are in their merriments and pleaſure enfeebled already; ſemblably you muſt

muſt think that you doa fault, if you go to bed and company together for to pleaſure one another, and when you be at ſome debate and difference, you part beds and lie aſunder; not calling at ſuch a time for the aid of Lady *Venus*, who knoweth beſt, and is wont in ſuch caſes to remedy all: which the Poet *Homer* in one place teacheth us very well, where he bringeth in Dame *Juno* ſpeaking in this wiſe:

Their long debates I will ſoon end,
and bitter brawls compoſe,
By bringing them to bed both twain
to ſport and take repoſe.

Certes a wife ought at all times, and in every place to avoid the occaſion of quarrels with her husband, and the husband likewiſe with the wife; but eſpecially they muſt beware how they fall out when they are in one bed, for to ſolace one another, and to ſleep together. A good wife there was, who when ſhe was in travel, and ready to cry out, as feeling the throws coming thick upon her, and not able to endure them, when the women about her would have laid her upon a bed: And how can (quoth ſhe) this bed eaſe the pains of this my malady, ſeeing I gat it firſt upon the ſame bed; and even ſo verily the quarrels, brawls, ſhrewd words, and angry fits which ariſe in bed, hardly can be taken up and ended at any other time, or elſe where than in bed.

35. It ſeemeth that Lady *Hermione* ſpake truely, when in a Tragedy of *Euripides* ſhe ſaid thus:

Lewd women, who to my houſe did reſort,
Have me undone, and rais'd a badreport.

Howbeit this is not ſimply true, nether falleth it out alwayes ſo when ſuch uſe to come into an houſe, but only at thoſe times when the quarrellous brawls and jealous fits of a wife with her husband openeth not the doors only of the houſe, but her ears alſo to ſuch goſſips. At ſuch a time therefore a wiſe woman ought to ſtop her ears, and take heed of their whiſpering and pratling ſuggeſtions, for fear leſt ſhe ſtir new coales, or put fire to fire, and to have in readineſſe the ſaying of King *Philip* of *Macedon*: for we read of him, that when his friends incited him to anger againſt the Greeks, who (notwithſtanding he was ſo gracious unto them, and had received many favours at his hands) ceaſed not to backbite and ſlander him, made them this anſwer: What think you will they do then, if I ſhould work them a ſhrewd turn? ſemblably when make-bate women ſhall come twatling and ſay: How doth your husband miſuſe you, loving him, and making ſo much of him as you do in all duty and loialty? your anſwer muſt be: What will become of me then if I ſhould begin to hate him and do him injury.

36 A certain maſter there was upon a time who eſpiſed a ſlave of his that was long before run away, and when he had ſet his eye upon him, ran apace for to take hold of him; the poor ſlave fled ſtill, and gat at length a mill-houſe over his head: That's happy (quoth the maſter to himſelf) I would not wiſh to meet with him in a better place; even ſo a woman who upon jealouſie is upon the point to be divorced and depart from her husband, and being ill appaid in her mind for being driven to this hard exigent, ſhould thus ſpeak unto her ſelfe: What is it that my concurrent who is the cauſe of this my jealouſie can wiſh in her heart to content her better then to ſee me do this whereabout I am? namely, to vex and torment my ſelfe thus as I do, to be ſo far out, and in ſuch terms with my husband, abandoning his houſe, and forſaking our marriage bed.

37, The Athenians obſerve and celebrate three ſeaſons of ſacred ſeedneſſe in the yeat; the firſt in the Iſle *Scyros*, in memorial of the firſt invention of tillage and ſowing in that countrey; the ſecond in a place called *Raria*; and the third, under their own City walls, which they call *Buzygion*, in remembrance of yoaking Oxen to the Plough; but the Nuptial Tillage (as I may ſo ſay) which is imployed for iſſue and procreation of Children, and to maintain our race and poſterity, is the moſt ſacred of all other, and ought to be obſerved with all holineſſe. And therefore *Sophocles* well and wiſely gave this attribute unto *Cytherea* or *Venus*, when he named her *Eucarpos*, that is, Fertile, or Fruitful; in which regard man and wife lawfully joined in Matrimony, are to uſe the ſame religiouſly, and with all preciſeneſſe, abſteining wholly from all inceſtuous, illegitimate, and forbidden conjunctions, and not plowing or ſowing there, whereas they are not willing to reap, or if it chance that there come up any fruit, they are aſhamed thereof, and willing to hide and conceal it.

38. *Gorgias* the Orator, in a great aſſembly at the Olympian games, made a ſolemn Oration to the Greeks, who were met there from all parts, exhorting them to live in peace, unity, and concord one with another: at which ſpeech of his, one *Melanthius* there preſent: This man (quoth he) telleth us a tale of unity, and exhorteth us all to concord here in publike, who cannot perſwade in his private houſe at home, himſelfe, his own wife and her chamber maid to agree and live peaceably together, being but three in all, and no more: for it ſhould ſeem that *Gorgias* caſt a fancy to the ſaid wench, and his wife was jealous of her: and therefore his houſe and family ought to be in good order, who will buſie himſelfe and intermeddle in ordering of publick affairs, or compoſing of matters among friends; for commonly it falleth out that the faults which we commit againſt our wives, be more divulged abroad in the world, then the miſdemenours of our wives.

39. Cats are much offended (they ſay) with the odour and ſent of ſweet perfumes, inſomuch as they will runne mad therewith; if it chance likewiſe, that a woman cannot away with ſuch perfumes, but that her braines be thereby troubled, and ready to overturne, her husband were

of a very ſtrange nature and ſhould deal hardly with her, in caſe he would not forbear to uſe ſweet ointments or ſtrong ſenting odors, but for a little pleaſure of his own, to ſuffer her for to fall into ſo great inconvenience, and to neglect her contentment. Now if it be ſo, that ſuch accidents of brain-ſickneſſe happen unto women, not when their husbands be perfumed, but when they are given to keep Queans and love Harlots, it were méet injuſtice in them, for a ſmal pleaſure of their own to offend and diſquiet their wives, and not to do ſo much for their ſake as thoſe who come among Bees, who for that purpoſe will not touch their own wives for the time, becauſe Bees (as it is ſaid) hate ſuch, and are ready to ſting them above all others, but carry ſo bad a mind with them, as to come and lie by their own wives ſide, being polluted and defiled with the filthy company of other ſtrumpets.

40. They that have the government of Elephants, never put on white raiment when they come about them, no more do they weare red cloaths who approach neer unto Bulls; for that theſe beaſts before named are afraid of ſuch colours eſpecially, and grow fierce and wood therewith. It is ſaid moreover, that Tygers when they hear the ſound of Drums, or Tabours about them, become enraged, and in a furious madneſſe all to rear themſelves. Seeing it is ſo therefore, that there be ſome men who cannot abide, but are highly diſpleaſed to ſee their Wives in their Scarlet and Purple Robes; and others again, who cannot away with the ſound of Cymbals or Tabours; what harm is it, if their Wives will forbear both the one and the other, for fear of provoking and offending their husbands, and live with them without unquiet brawls and janglings in all repoſe and patience?

41. A certain young woman, when King *Philip* plucked and haled her unto him againſt her will: Hand off good ſir (quoth ſhe) and let me go, all Cats be gray in the dark, and when the candle is out all women are alike. It is not amiſs to ſay ſo (I confeſſe) unto diſſolute perſons and adulterers; but an honeſt married dame ought (eſpecially when the light is gone) not to be all one with other common naughty packs, but even then when as her body cannot be ſeen, to let her chaſtity, honeſty, and pure love to her husband appear moſt, that it may be well ſeen that ſhe keepeth her ſelfe for him alone.

42. *Plato* exhorted elder folk to behave themſelves more modeſtly before young perſons, then any other, that ſo they might learn alſo to reverence their elders, and be reſpecteous of them; for where old people be ſhameleſſe, it is not poſſible to imprint any ſhame or grace in the younger. Now ought an husband evermore to carry in remembrance this precept: To have none in the world in better reſpect and more reverence, then his own wife, foraſmuch as the bed-chamber is unto her a ſchool-houſe either of chaſtity and pudicity, or elſe of looſeneſſe and incontinence; for the husband that followeth thoſe pleaſures himſelfe which he debarreth his wife of, doth as much as bid his wife to fight with thoſe enemies unto whom he hath already yeelded himſelf priſoner.

43. Moreover, as touching the love and deſire to go trim, and to deck and adorn the body, I would wiſh you (O *Eurydice*) to endeavour for to call to your remembrance thoſe rules which you have read in the Treatiſe that *Timoxenus* wrote unto *Ariſtilla* concerning that argument. And as for you (O *Pollianus*) never think that your wife will abſtain from ſuch curioſity, and lay away thoſe delights and ſuperfluities, ſo long as ſhe perceiveth that you deſpiſe not, nor reject the like vanity in other things, but that you take pleaſure both to ſee and have your cups and goblets gilt, your cabinets curiouſly and coſtly painted, your Mules and Horſes ſet out with rich capariſons, ſumptuous trappings, and coſtly furniture; for an hard matter it is to chaſe away and baniſh ſuch delicate ſuperfluities out of the nurcery and womens chamber, ſo long as they ſee the ſame to reign in the mens parlour, and where they have to do.

44. Furthermore, you *Pollianus* being now of ripe years to ſtudy thoſe Sciences which are grounded upon reaſon, and proceed by undoubted demonſtration, adorn from hence forward, your manners by frequenting the company of ſuch perſons, and converſing with them, who may ſerve you in good ſtead, and farther you that way: and as for your wife, ſee you do the part of a ſtudious and induſtrious Bee, in gathering for her and to her hand from all parts good things which you think may benefit and profit her, likewiſe bring the ſame home with you, impart them unto her, deviſe and commune with her about them apart, and by that means make familiar and pleaſant unto her the beſt books, and the beſt diſcourſes that you can meet with all.

For why; to her you are in ſtead,
of ſire and brother kind;
A mother deer from henceforth now
to her ſhe muſt you find.

like as in *Homer*, *Andromache* ſaid of her husband *Hector*. And verily in mine opinion it were no leſſe honourable for a man to hear his wife ſay thus unto him: My husband, you are my teacher, my regent, my maſter, and inſtructor in Philoſophy, and in the knowledge of the moſt divine and excellent literature; for theſe Sciences and liberal Arts do above all other things divert and withdraw the minds of women from other unworthy and unſeemly exerciſes. A Matron, or Dame who hath ſtudied Geometry, will be aſhamed to make profeſſion of dancing the meaſures; and ſhe that is already enchanted and charmed (as it were) with the ſingular diſcourſes of *Plato* and *Xenophon*, will never like of the charmes and enchantments of Witches, and Sorcerers; and if any enchantreſſe

enchantreſſe ſhould come unto her, and make promiſe to draw down the moon from heaven, ſhe would mock thoſe women, and laugh at their groſſe ignorance, who ſuffer themſelves to be perſwaded for to beleeve the ſame, as having learned ſomewhat in Aſtrology, and heard that *Aganice* the daughter of *Hegetor*, a great Lord in *Theſſalia*, knowing the reaſon of the Eccliſpes of the moon when ſhe is at the full, and obſerving the very time when the body of the moon will meet right with the ſhadow of the earth, abuſed other women of that country, and made them beleeve that it was her ſelfe who fetched down the moon out of the ſkie.

45. It was never heard yet that a woman by courſe of nature ſhould conceive, and bring forth a child of her ſelfe alone without the company of man: marry ſome there be who have been known to gather in their womb a rude maſſe or lump, without the true form of a reaſonable creature, reſembling rather a piece of fleſh engendered, and growing to a conſiſtence by means of ſome corruption, which ſome call a Mole. Great heed therfore would be taken that the like befal not to the ſoule and mind of women; for if they receive not from others the ſeeds of good matters and inſtructions, that is to ſay, if their husbands help them not to conceive good doctrine and ſound knowledge, they will of themſelves fall a breeding and be delivered of many ſtrange conceits, abſurd opinions, and extravagant paſſions. But mine advice unto you *Eurydice*, is to be ſtudious always in the notable ſayings and ſentences moral of ſage, wiſe, and approved men: have always in your mouth the good words, which heretofore when you were a young maiden you heard and learned of us; to the end that you may be a joy to your husband, and be praiſed and commended by other women, when they ſhall ſee you ſo honourably adorned and beautified without any coſt beſtowed upon brooches, tablets, and jewels: for you cannot poſſibly come by the precious pearls of this or that rich and wealthy woman, nor have the ſilken gowns and velvet robes of ſuch a Lady of a ſtrange country, for to array, or trim your ſelfe withal, but you muſt buy them at an exceeding high and dear price: but the ornaments and attire of *Theano*, of *Cleobuline*, of *Gorgo* the wife of King *Leonidas*, of *Timoclea* the ſiſter of *Theagenes*, of *Clodia* the ancient Roman Lady, of dame *Cornelia*, the ſiſter of *Scipio*, and of other Ladies and Gentlewomen ſo much renowned and bruited heretofore for their rare vertues, you may may have *gratis*, freely and without a penny coſt: wherewith if you deck and adorn your ſelfe, you ſhall live both happily, and alſo with honor and glory. For if *Sappho* for her ſufficiency in Poetry, and the skill that ſhe had in verſifying, ſtuck not to write thus to a certain rich and wealthy dame in her time.

All dead thou ſhalt one day entombed be,
There ſhall remain of thee no memorie,
For that no part of roſes came to thee
That flower upon the mountain Pierie.

Why ſhouldeſt not thou think better of thy ſelfe, and take more joy and contentment in thine heart conſidering thou haſt thy part not only of the roſes and flowers, but alſo of the fruits which the Muſes bring forth and yield to thoſe who love good letters, and highly eſteem of Philoſophy?

The Banquet of the ſeven Sages.

The Summary.

WHether it were that the perſons named in this diſcourſe following were at a banquet indeed, and there diſcourſed of ſuch matters as are here by Plutarch *handled; or that himſelfe had collected and gathered the Apophthegmes and hiſtories of his time; or howſoever it was; we may ſee by this preſent Treatiſe what was the cuſtome of Sages, and wiſe men in ancient time at their feaſts, namely, to invite one another courteouſly, to ſolace themſelves, and make merry heartily, without many ceremonies and compelements to ſhew ſincere amity, and without exceſſive coſt and expenſe to keep good cheer after a plaine, open, and ſimple manner. The principal part of which meetings and frequentings of the table, being employed in deviſing ſadly, and with ſetled mind both during their repaſt, and a pretty while after, of matters honeſt, pleaſant, and tending to good inſtruction and edification; as this book and the Sympoſiakes, or Table-diſcourſes, whereof we ſhall ſee more hereafter do plainly ſhew. This manner and cuſtome deſerveth to be oppoſed partly againſt the ſolitary life, and beggerly niggardiſe of baſe miſers, covetous penni-fathers, and ſuch like enemies of humane ſociety, and in part againſt the exceſſive pomp, unmeaſurable ſumptuoſity, diſſolute vices and fooliſh vanity and gormandiſe of thoſe that love nothing but their paunch, and know no other god to worſhip but their belly; as alſo againſt the fond laughters, bragging vanteries, impudent facings, ſcurrile mockeries, and dogged backbitings, that ſenſleſſe ſots, and peeviſh perſons are given unto: and finally againſt the enormities, violences, and outrages, of ſuch as are wholly abandoned and given over to ſin and wickedneſſe. Moreover, to come more particularly to this book following,* Plutarch *bringeth in one named* Diocles, *who recounteth unto* Nicarchus, *all that was ſaid and done at* Corinth *in a certaine Banquet, at which were theſe perſons, namely,* Periander *the ſoveraign Lord of that City, and the hoſt who had all the gueſts, to wit,* Solon, Bias, Thales,

Cleobulus, Pittacus, *and* Chilon, *named in those days,* The seven Sages *or wise men of* Greece; Item, Anacharsis, Æsope, Niloxenus, Cleodemus *and certain others. But before that he entereth into any speech of that which passed during the banquet and afterwards, he rehearseth the communication held between* Thales, *and those of his company upon the way of* Corinth; *where they talke of matters handled more at large afterwards: then consequently he treateth of that which a guest ought to do who is invited to a banquet, and describeth what happened among some of the guests: proceeding a little forward, he declareth what was the manner of the entrance, the stint and end of the banquet, to wit, modest, and seasoned with pleasant speeches (and those most honest and civil) of the host and his family, which done, he entreth into the recital of the talk that was held after the supper, or banquet; of which the beginning grew from the musick of Flutes, and by a certain comparison devised with a good grace, he causeth audience to be given unto* Niloxenus *a stranger; by occasion whereof,* Bias *doth expound the riddle, or dark question sent by a king of* Æthiopia *unto the king of* Egypt, *which in the same train inferreth an excellent occasion to speak of the duty and office of Kings; of which argument, all the foresaid Sages deliver their minds summarily, together with the proper riddles, and enigmatical questions from the King of* Egypt *to the King of* Æthiopia. *Now after the deciphering and assoiling of the said riddles, the former Sages fall into a discourse, as touching the government popular and œconomical, upon which point they do opine and speak their minds in order; comming afterwards to conference together of certain particularities of house-keeping, to wit, of drinking and other pleasures; of the quantity of goods that may suffice a man; of the frugality, thrift, and sobriety of men in old time; of the necessity and delight of drinking and eating; and finally, of the discommodities, inconveniencies, and miseries incident to mans life in this behalfe. And for a conclusion, bringeth in one* Gorgias, *who being arrived unlooked for, and comming suddenly in place, relateth the strange accident of* Arion *saved by the means of a Dolphin; which report draweth on the Company to other like narrations and tales: at the end whereof, after grace said, and thanksgiving according to the accustomed manner of that people, the guests retire themselves and depart.*

The Banquet of the seven Sages.

Diocles.

CErtes, the long processe and continuance of time (my good friend *Nicarchus*) cannot chuse but breed and bring much darknesse, obscurity and incertitude of mens actions and affairs; when as now in matters so fresh, so new, and so lately passed, you have met with certaine false reports, which notwithstanding are beleeved and received for true; for there were not onely those seven guests at the table in this feast, as you have heard and are born in hand, but more then twice so many, of whom my selfe made one, being familiar and inward with *Periander*, by reason of mine art and profession, and the host besides to *Thales*; (for by the commandement of *Periander*, he lodged in mine house) neither hath he (whosoever he was that related the thing unto you, borne well in mind, and remembred what the speeches and discourses were, which they held: which maketh me verily to think that he was not himselfe one of them who were at the banquet. But seeing we are now at good leasure (and for that old age is no surety sufficient to give good warrantise for to defer and put off this report unto a farther time, and because you are so desirous to know the truth) I will rehearse unto you all in order, even from the very beginning.

First and formost, the feast was prepared by *Periander*, not within the City, but about the portor haven *Lechæon*, in a fair great hall or dining chamber neer to the Temple of *Venus*, unto whom there was also a sacrifice offered; for since the infortunate love of his mother, who voluntarily made her selfe away, having not sacrificed unto *Venus*, this was the first time that he was moved thereto, as being incited by certain dreams of *Melissa* to worship and adore the said goddesse. Now to every one of the guests invited to this banquet, there was a coach brought, richly appointed and set out accordingly, for to convey and conduct them to the place appointed, for that it was the Summer season, and all the port way from the City, as far as to the sea side, was full of dust, and resounded with great noise, by reason of a number of charriots, and a world of people going to and fro between. As for *Thales*, seeing at my gates a coach standing, and ready to carry him, he fell a smiling and laughing, and so sent it back again: he and I then put our selves in our way, and went faire and softly together on foot over the fields; and a third there was, who bare us company, to wit, *Niloxenus* of *Naucratia*, a man of good worth, and one who had been familiarly acquainted with *Solon* and *Thales* before-time in *Egypt*, and as then was he sent the second time unto *Bias*, but wherefore himselfe knew not, unless (as he suspected) it were to bring unto him a second question inclosed and sealed within a packet; for this charge and commandement he had: That if *Bias* refused and would not take upon him to assoile and expound the same, he should shew it to the wisest Sages of the Greeks. Then began *Niloxenus*: An happy feast (quoth he) is this to me (my masters) and unexpected, wherein I shall find you all together, for I carry with me thither a packet as you see, and with that he shewed it unto us; then (quoth *Thales* smiling) if you have therein any hard and untoward question to be dissolved, carry it again to *Pyrene*, for *Bias* will declare the meaning thereof, like as hee assoiled the former: What former question was that (quoth I): Marry (quoth hee againe) he

he sent unto him a sheep for sacrifice, commanding that he should take out of it the best and worst piece thereof, and so to send the said flesh unto him: he therefore well and wisely plucked forth the tongue, and sent it unto him; for which he was (by good right) well praised, highly esteemed, and held in great admiration. It was not therefore only (quoth *Niloxenus*) that he came to so great a name, but also for that he refused not the amity of Princes and Kings as you do: for *Amasis* admired many more things in you, and namely among others, when you took the measure of the height of the Piramis in *Egypt*, he wondered exceedingly, and made high account of your conceit, for that without any great hand labour, and the same requiring no instrument at all, by setting up a staffe onely plumb upright, at the very point and end of the shadow which the said Pyramis cast, and by two Triangles which the beams of the Sun caused, you made demonstration, that what proportion there was between the length of both shadows, to wit, of the Pyramis and the staff, the same was between the height of the one and the other. But as I said before, you were accused unto the same King *Amasis*, for bearing no good will unto Kings and their estate, which was the cause of your disgrace and disfavour with him; besides, there were brought unto him and presented many slanderous speeches, and contumelious answers of yours, as touching tyrants: as for example; when *Molpagoras* a great Lord of *Ionia* demanded upon a time of you what strange thing you had in your time seen? you answered: A tyrant living to be an old man: Again, at a certain banquet there being some speech moved, as touching beasts, which was the worst, and did most harm? you made answer, that, Of wild beasts a Tyrant, and of tame beasts a flatterer was most dangerous; For I may tell you, Kings how soever they say that they differ from Tyrants, yet take they no pleasure at such Apophthegmes as those. That answer (quoth *Thales* again) was none of mine, but *Pittacus* it was, who made it one day in scoffing merrily to *Myrsilus*: for mine own part, I do not so much marvel at an aged Tyrant, as I do wonder to see an old Pilot; howbeit, as touching this transposition, and taking one for another, I am of the same mind, and am willing to say, as that young man did who flung a stone at a dog, and missing the dog, hit his own step-mother and felled her withal; whereat: It makes no matter (quoth he) for even so, the stone hath not light amisse. And in truth I my selfe always esteemed *Solon* a right wise man, for that he refused to be the Tyrant of his own countrey: and even so *Pittacus* if he had never come to take upon him a Monarchy, would not have delivered this speech; How hard a thing is it to be a good man? And it should seem that *Periander* being seized upon (as a man would say) by the same tyranny, as an hereditary disease from his father, did not amisse to endeavour what he could to free himselfe and get out of it, by conversing with the best men, and frequenting their company, as he hath done to this day, and training unto him the society of Sages and Philosophers, and being ruled and advised by them, not approving nor admitting the perillous and unhappy counsel of my country man *Thrasybulus*, perswading him to cut the chief men shorter by the heads: For a tyrant who chuseth to command and rule slaves and vassails rather then free men indeed, nothing differeth from the husbandman, who had rather gather locusts and catch fowles, then reap and bring in good grain of Wheat and Barley; for these soveraign dominions and principalities bring with them this only good thing in stead and recompence of many evils; to wit, a kind of honour and glory: if men be so happy as in ruling over good men, they be better themselves, and in commanding great persons become greater themselves; as for such as in their government and place of command, aime at nothing but their security, without respect of honor and honesty, deserve to be set over a number of sheep, horses, or beasts, and not of men; but this good gentleman straunger here, hath (I wot not how) cast us upon such discourses which are nothing convenient for our present purpose, omitting both to speak and also to demand those matters that befit better those who go to a feast: for think you not that the guest who is bidden, ought not to go prepared as well as the very master himselfe is to make preparation? For the Sybarites (as it should seem) solemnly invite their dames to their feasts, and seem to bid them a whole year before, of purpose that they might have time enough to trim themselves at their good leisure with rich aray and jewels of gold against they go to a feast; and for mine own part, I assure you of this mind I am, that the right preparative of one who is to go unto a great dinner as he should, would require a longer time then so; by how much harder it is to finde fit and decent ornament for the manners of the minde, then to provide for the superfluous, needlesse, and unprofitable setting out of the body: for a wise man who hath wit and understanding, goeth not to a feast carrying with him his body as a vessel to be filled, but he goes thither with an intention to passe the time either in serious discourses, or pleasant and merry talk; to speak, I say, and hear according as the time shall give occasion to the company, if they meane with joy and mirth to converse together one with another. A man that is come to a feast may if he like not a dish of meat, or if it be naught refuse it; or if the wine be not good, have recourse unto the Nymphs; but a troublesome guest, a talkative busie-body, and an unmannerly, or untaught neighbour sitting at the boord, marreth all the grace of the viands, be they otherwise never so dainty, he corrupteth the wine, yea and all the sweetnesse of the musick, how melodious soever it be. Neither may a man when he list vomit and cast up readily again this trouble and vexation once received: but in some, a mutual discontentment and offence taken at the Table one with another, sticketh by them and continueth as long as they have a day to live, insomuch as they cannot endure the enterview one of another again; but like an old surseit, arisen of wrong done, or of anger conceived by drinking wine, the spight remaineth festering and cor-

corrupting in the stomack and never will be digested. In mine opinion therefore did *Chilon* very wel and wisely, who being invited as it were yesterday to a feast, would never promise to come before he knew what other guests he should meet with there, even every one of them; for this was his saying: That a man must endure will he nill he if he be once at sea, a rude companion and uncivil fellow-passenger in the same ship where he is embarked; as also in warfare a troublesome mate in the same pavilion, for that he is forced of necessity to sayl with the one and encamp with the other; but for a man to sort himselfe indifferently and without discretion with all kinds of men at a banket, bewraieth one that is void of all wit and judgement. As for the fashion and manners of the Egyptians, namely, to bring in place ordinarily at their feasts a Sceleton, that is to say, a dry and withered anatomy of a dead man, and there to shew it before all the guests at the boord, to put them in mind of death, and that within a while they all should become such; although I must needs say that such an one were an unwelcome guest, and came very unseasonably among them; yet it cannot be denied but there is some good use thereof; for although he cheer not up the guests there to drink freely and to make merry, yet he inviteth and stirreth them up to carry mutual love and affection one to the other, in admonishing them to remember that their life being of it selfe short, they should not seek to make it long and tedious by troublesome businesse and affairs.

Thus spent we the time by the way, until at length we were come to the banquetting house, And as for *Thales*, he refused to wash or go into a baine: For that (quoth he) I am annointed already; but in the mean time that the rest were bathing, he went walking up and down to see the pleasant races, the wrestling places, and the fair grove which along the Sea was very well planted and kept accordingly; not because he wondered at the sight of any of all these delights, but for that he would not seem to despise *Periander*, or disdain his magnificence in any thing. As for the others, according as any of them were washed or annointed, the servitors were ready to conduct them into the hall, or dining place, appointed for men, and that through a porch, or gallery, within which sate *Anacharsis*, and before him stood a Damosel plaiting and combing the hair of his head with her hands whom (as she ran toward *Thales*) most willingly and courteously most willingly and courteously he kissed, and after a smiling manner: Well done (quoth he) make that stranger, who of himselfe is the mildest and gentlest man in the world, to have a pleasant and fair countenance, that he look not upon us fearful and hideous to see to. I enquired then what pretty maiden this was; Why (quoth *Thales*) know you not that wise Damosel, so famous and so much renowned, *Eumetis*? for that is the name that her father gave her, howsoever the people call her after her fathers name *Cleobuline*. You praise this Virgin (quoth *Niloxenus*, do you not) for her quick spirit in propounding, and her subtile wit and wisdom in assoiling riddles and dark questions, such as be called Aenigmes? For by report there be some of her enigmatical questions, which are gone as far as *Egypt*; No marry (quoth *Thales* again) I say not so; for she useth them but as dice or coc-kall bones, when she list to disport her selfe and passe away the time with those that encounter her, and are disposed to enter into contention with her; but of a wonderful courage and haughty mind shee is; a politick head she hath of her own worthy to govern a State; of a courteous nature she is beside, and of sweet behaviour; in regard of which her carriage, she maketh her Father to seem a more mild and popular ruler among his Citizens and Subjects. It may well be so (quoth *Niloxenus*) for surely she seemeth no lesse, if a man behold her homely apparrel, and how simply she goes; but how cometh this inward affection and kindnesse to *Anacharsis*, that so lovingly she dresseth and trimmeth him? Because (quoth *Thales*) he is a temperate and sober man, and besides a great Scholar, and a learned Clark, and for that he hath willingly and at large recounted unto her the manner of the Tartarians life, and namely, how they use to charm the maladies of those that are sick; and I verily beleeve that even now whiles she maketh so much of the man, stroking his head, plaiting and broiding his hair, she learneth somewhat of him, or discourseth with him about some point of learning. Now when we drew neer to the hall, or dining chamber above said, who should meet us but *Alexidemus* the Milesian, a bastard son of *Thrasybulus* the Tyrant; who was newly come forth from thence in a great heat, distempered and troubled, and saying (I wot not what) to himselfe in a pelting chafe: for understand we could not plainly what his words were, he spake them so huddle: he had no sooner his eye upon *Thales*, but he seemed to reclaim himselfe, and so stayed a little, breaking out into these audible terms; *Periander* (quoth he) hath offered me abuse, and done me great wrong, in that he would not give me leave to depart, when I was willing and ready to embark, but by his entreaty hath importuned me to stay supper; and now, forsooth, that I am come, he hath set me at the table, in a place most dishonourable for my person, and hath preferred the Æolians, the Islanders, and other base companions, and indeed whom not, before *Thrasybulus*? for apparent it is, that he despiseth my Father who sent me, and meaneth that the disgrace offered unto me should redound upon him. How now (quoth *Thales*) is it so indeed? and are you afraid that like as the Egyptians hold opinion and say, That the stars in making their ordinary revolutions, are one while elevated on high, and another while afterwards falling as low, and according to their heights, or baseness of the place, become either better or worse then they were? so you in regard of the place that is given you, should be advanced, or debased more or lesse; for by this means you are worse and more base minded then the Laconian, who being by the master of the ceremonies set in the lowest place of the Quire, or Dance, was no more moved thereat, but said: Well done of you, I see you can skill of the meanes how to make this place

place more honourable: for when we be set at a table, we ought not to look and regard, either beneath whom we sit, or after whom we are placed, but rather how we may accommodate and frame our selves to sort and agree with those next to whom we sit; shewing presently at the very first that we have in our selves the beginning and handle (as a man would say) of amity, in that we can finde in our hearts not to be offended with the place that is given us, but to praise our fortune in that we are matched with so good company: for he that is angry about a place or seat, is more offended with him to whom he sitteth next, then with the master of the feast that bade him, and he maketh himselfe odious as well to the one as the other. Tush (quoth *Alexidemus*) these are but words; for in very deed I have observed, that even you who would be counted Sages and wise men, lay for means enough to make your selves honoured; and with that he passed by us, and went his way. Now as we mused and wondered much at this strange fashion and behaviour of the man; *Thales* turning unto us; This man (quoth he) is a brain-sick foole, and of a monstrous nature, as you may well know by one trick that he played when he was a very youth: for when there was brought unto *Thrasybulus* his Father, a most excellent, sweet and precious ointment, he poured it out all into a great boll, or standing cup, and wine likewise upon it, and when he had so done, drunk it up himselfe every drop, working by this means enmity in stead of friendship to *Thrasybulus*. Immediately after this there comes to me a servitor with these words: *Periander* requesteth you to take *Thales* and this other stranger with you, and to come and see a thing that is newly presented and brought unto him, for to know your opinion, whether he is to take it as an occurrent happened by meer chance, or rather a prodigy that doth presage and prognosticate some strange event, for he himselfe is much troubled in mind thereat, and mightily feareth that it be some pollution or stain to this his festival sacrifice; he had no sooner said this, but he brought us into one of the houses that stood upon the garden, where we found a young lad, seeming unto us to be some herdman, he had not yet an hair on his face, and otherwise (beleeve me) he was fair enough and well-favoured, who opening a leather poke, or bag that he had, shewed unto us a young monstrous babe, which (as he said) was born of a Mare in the upper parts about the neck and arms shaped like a man, but all the rest resembling an horse; howbeit, crying and wrawling, as like as possibly might be to an Infant new come into the world: at which sight *Niloxenus* turning his face at one side, cried out, God blesse us, and turn away his displeasure from us. But *Thales* after he had looked wistly a good while upon the young lad aforesaid, smiled at the matter (as his manner was to play and make good game with me about mine art:) Are you not minded (quoth he) O *Diocles* to go about some expiatory sacrifice for this prodigious sight, and to set on work those gods whose care and charge it is to divert such imminent perils and misfortunes, this being as it is to fearful a prodigy and unlucky accident? How else? (quoth I again) for I assure you this is a token presaging discord and sedition; and I much fear lest this matter proceed as far as to marriages, and the act of generation, even to the prejudice of posterity, considering that the Goddesse before the expiation and satisfaction of her former anger, threateth thus the second time, as you see. *Thales* answered never a word to this, but departed laughing. And when *Periander* met us at the very hall door, and enquired what we thought of this strange occurrent which we went to see; *Thales* left me, and taking him by the hand: As touching that (quoth he) which *Diocles* will perswade you unto, do you as he willeth you at your best leisure: for mine own part, mine advise and counsel unto you is, that you entertain no more such youths as this to keep your Mares, or at leastwise, that you give them wives to wed. At the hearing of which words, it seemed unto me that *Periander* was exceeding well pleased; for he laughed a good, and after he had embraced *Thales*, kissed him. Then *Thales* turning unto me: I suppose verily (quoth he) O *Diocles* that this prodigious token hath wrought the effect, and is come to an end already; for see you not what an evil accident is befallen unto us, in that *Alexidemus* will not dine with us? Well, when we were come within the hall, *Thales* beginning to speak with a loud voice: And where is the place (quoth he) wherein this honest man thought scorn, and took such snuff to be set: which when it was shewed unto him, he turned about, and went to sit there himselfe, and so took us with him; saying withal, I would (for mine own part) have given any money (rather then failed) to sit at the same boord with *Ardalus*. Now was this *Ardalus* a Troezenian, by profession a Piper, and a Priest serving the Ardalian Muses, whose images ancient *Ardalus* the Troezenian had erected and dedicated. Then *Æsope*, who not long before had been sent by King *Croesus*, as well to *Periander* as to the Oracle of *Apollo* in the City of *Delphos*, being set upon a low settle neer to *Solon*, who sat above him, came in with his fable, and thus said: A Mule (quoth he) of *Lydia* having beheld the form and shape of his own body within a river, and wondring much at the beauty and goodly stature thereof, began to run with full cariere, to fling and shake his head and his maine, like a lusty brave horse; but within a while, remembring that he was an asses sonne, and foaled by an asse, he staid his swift course all on a sudden, and laid away his pride and insolent bravery. At these words, *Chilo* briefly in his Laconian language: Thou hast told (quoth he) a tale by thine own selfe, who being a slow-back like an asse, will needs run as the said mule. After this entred in dame *Melissa*, and took her place close unto *Periander*: *Eumetis* also sat down to supper with them: Then *Thales* addressed his speech unto me who sat next above *Bias*, and said: My friend *Diocles*, how hapned it that you tell not *Bias*, that your friend and guest *Niloxenus* of *Naucratia* is come from beyond sea the second time, sent from his Lord the King, unto him with new questions and riddles for to assoile, to the end

that

that he may take knowledge of them while he is sober, and in case for to study and think upon their solutions? Then *Bias* taking the word out of his mouth: It hath been (quoth he) his old fashions of long time, for to seem to fright and astonish me with such admonitions and advertisements as these: as for me I know full well that as *Bacchus* otherwise is a wise and powerful god, so in regard of his wisedom he is surnamed *Lysius*, which is as much to say, as unfolding and undoing the knots of all difficulties; which is the cause that I have no fear at all, but if I be full of him, I shall be less hearty and able to maintain the combat when I come to it, and am put to dispute. These and such like pleasant speeches passed to and fro in merriment, as they sat at meat. Now when I saw the setting out, and provision of this supper more frugal and spary then ordinary, I thought in my minde that to make a feast and give entertainment to wife and good men, putteth a man to no greater cost and expences, but rather easeth him of some charges: for that it abridgeth all curiosity of dainty viands, exquisite cates, costly perfumes, pretious ointments, confitures and march-pains brought from forreign and far countries, yea and fine and delicate wines, wherewith *Periander* being served daily at his ordinary, according to the magnificence of his princely estate, riches, affairs, and occasions, yet at such a time he took a glory among these Sages and wise men, in sobriety, frugality, and slender provision; for not in other things only he cut off and concealed all superfluity and needlesse furniture which was usual in his house-keeping, but also in his wives attire and ornaments, whom he shewed to his friends and guests nothing costly arraied, nor keeping state, but meanly set out and adorned. Now when the tables were taken away, and that *Melissa* had given and dealt chaplets of flowers unto us round about, we rendred thanks and said grace unto the gods, in pouring out unto them devoutly a little wine; and the minstrell women having sung a while after our grace, and according to our vows, departed out of the room.

Then *Ardalus* calling unto *Anacharsis* by name, demanded of him whether among the Scythians there were any such singing women and minstrell wenches that could play upon wind instruments? unto which demand he answered *ex tempore* and without studying for the matter; No (quoth he) nor so much as vines; and as *Ardalus* replied again: But yet there are some gods among them, are there not? Yes iwis (quoth he) that there be, and those who understand the speech and language of men; but yet the Scythians are not of the same mind that the Greeks, who although they think themselves to speak more freely and elegantly then the Scythians, yet they hold opinion that the gods take more pleasure to hear the sound of bones and wood, whereof their flutes and hautboies are made, then the voice of man. But my good friend (quoth *Æsope* then) what would you say, if you knew what these pipe makers do now adays, who cast away the bones of young hind-calves and fawnes, and chose before them asses bones, saying, forsooth, that they make a better sound? Whereupon *Cleobuline* made one of her Ænigmes or riddles touching a Phrygian flute,

Of braying asse *Did force the ear* *Of mighty stag*
when he dead was, *with sound so clear* *with horns so brag*
The long shank-bone. *Upright anone,* *As hard as stone.*

in such sort, that it is a wonder how an Asse, which is otherwise a most blockish and absurd beast, of any other most remote from all sweet harmony of musick, should yeild a bone so slick, so smooth, and proper, to make thereof a most musical instrument. Certes, (quoth *Niloxenus* then) this is the reason that the inhabitants of the City *Busiris*, reproach all us of *Naucratia*, for that we likewise have already taken two asse-bones for the making of our pipes: and as for them, it is not lawful to hear so much as the sound of a trumpet, because it somewhat doth resemble the braying of an Asse; and you all know that the asse is infamous and odious with the Egyptians, because of *Typhon*. Upon this every man held his peace for a while; and when *Periander* perceived that *Niloxenus* had a good mind to speak, but yet durst not begin or broach any speech; My Masters (quoth he) I do like very well of the custome of Cities and head Magistrates, in that they give audience and dispatch unto all strangers, before their own Citizens; and therefore methinks it were well that for a time both you and we forbear our speeches which are so familiar, and as it were native and home-born among us in our own country, to give accesse and audience, as it were in a solemn counsel and assembly of estate, unto those questions and demands which our good friend here hath brought out of *Egypt*; and namely such as are moved from the King to *Bias*, and *Bias* I doubt not will confer with you about the same. Then *Bias* seconding this motion of his; And in what place (quoth he) or with what company would a man wish rather for to hazzard and try his skill then in this, for to make answers accordingly and give solutions, if he be put unto it and need require; especially, seeing that the King himself hath given expresse commandement, that in proposing this question he should first begin with me, and afterwards go round about the rest and present the same unto you all? Hereupon *Niloxenus* delivered unto him the Kings letter, desiring him to break it open, and to read the same with an audible and loud voice before all the company. Now the substance or tenor of the said letter ran in this form. *Amasis* the King of the Egyptians, unto *Bias* the wisest Sage of all the Greeks sendeth greeting. "So it is, that the King of the Æthiopians is entered into con-"testation and contention with me, as touching wisedome: and being in all other propositions "put down by me, and found my inferiour, in the end after all, he hath imposed upon me a "commandement very strange, wonderful, and hard to be performed, willing mee, forsooth, to "drink up the whole sea. Now if I may compasse the solution of this riddle and dark question, "I shall gain thereby many towns, villages and cities of his: but in case I cannot assoile the same,

"I must

"I must yield unto him all my Cities within the country *Elephantine*. These are therefore to request "you, that after you have well considered of the premises, you send back unto me *Niloxenus* in-"continently with the interpretation thereof. And if either your selfe or any of your Citizens and "country-men have occasion to use me in your affairs and occasions, be sure you shall not faile of "me wherein I may stead you. Fareweil.

This letter being read, *Bias* made no long stay, but after some little pause and meditation with himselfe, he rounded *Cleobulus* in the eare, who sat close unto him: And then, what is that you say (my friend of *Naucratia*) will your Master and Lord King *Amasis* (who commandeth so great a multitude of men, and possesseth so large, so fair and plentiful a country) drink all the sea, for to get thereby, I wot not what poor towns and villages of no importance? Then *Niloxenus* laughing at the matter: I pray you (quoth he) consider upon the point what is possible to be done, even as you will your selfe: Marry then (quoth he) let him send word to the Æthiopian King, and enjoyn him to stay the course of all rivers that discharge themselves into the sea, until he have drunk up in the mean time all the water in the sea that is now at this present; for of that only, his demand and commandment is to be understood, and not of the sea that shall be hereafter. These words were no sooner spoken, but *Niloxenus* took so great a contentment therein, that he could not hold, but needs he must embrace and kiss him immediately for it; yea, and all the rest commended and approved likewise his speech: but *Chilo* laughing heartily: O my friend (quoth he) of *Naucratia*, I beseech you before all the sea be dry and clean spent, saile home with all speed, and do the King your master to understand, that he shall not need to travel and buse his brains in searching how he may consume so great a quantity of salt water, but rather how he may make his regiment and royal rule (now brackish and unpleasant) to be sweet and potable unto his subjects; for in these feats *Bias* is a most cunning workman, and a singular master, which when King *Amasis* hath well and throughly learned of him, he shall not have any use of that golden Basen to wash his feet in, and for to contain the Egyptians in awe and obedience, but they shall serve him all willingly, and love him affectionately, when they shall see him become a good Prince, although he were a thousand times more odious unto them then he seems now to be. Certes (quoth *Periander*) then it were worthily done of us all to contribute unto King *Amasis* such like first fruits and presents *ἀνθρώπινας*. as *Homer* speaketh, that is to say, every one of us by the poll, and one after another in order; for by this means the accessary haply an addition will arise to a greater matter, and be more worth unto him then the principal or stock of the negotiation wherefore this voyage was undertaken, and besides there will accrew unto each of us also some great profit. Meet it were then (quoth *Chilo*) that *Solon* should begin the speech; not only for that he is of all our ancient, and hath the highest place of the table, but also because he beareth the greatest and most absolute office, being the man who ordained and established the Laws of *Athens*. *Niloxenus* then turning toward me, and speaking softly in mine ear: I beleeve verily (quoth he) O *Diocles*, that many things go for current, and are beleeved, although they be untruths, and many men there be who are delighted with false rumours, and sinister reports, that go of great and wise men, both which themselves do devise, and also which they receive readily from others; as namely, those be which are brought unto us as far as into *Egypt*, of *Chilon*, namely, that he should renounce all amity and hospitality with *Solon* for maintaining this: That all Laws were mutable. A foolish and ridiculous report is this (quoth I;) for if it were so, *Chilon* should have fallen out with *Lycurgus*, and condemned him, who together with his Laws, altered and changed the whole State of the Lacedemonians. Then *Solon*, after a little pause made, began to speak in this wise: For mine own part, I am of this mind, that a King, or Soveraign Prince can find no means to make himself more glorious, then by turning his Monarchy or absolute government into a Democracy, or popular state, in communicating his authority soveraign indifferently to his Subjects. In the second place spake *Bias*, and said; That a Prince could not do better for his own honour, than to be the first man that submitted himself to the positive lawes of this countrey. After him opined *Thales*: I repute (quoth he) that prince and soveraigne ruler happy, who lived to old age, and dieth by a natural death. *Anacharsis* inferred thus much more in the fourth place; If he be only wise. With that said *Cleobulus* in his turn: If he repose no confidence in any one about his person. Sixthly came *Pittacus* with his opinion, saying; If a Prince could so nurture and school his subjects, that they should not fear him, but for his sake. And after him, in the last place, delivered *Chilo* this speech: That a Prince ought to amuse his mind about no mortal and transitory things, but meditate onely upon that which was eternal and immortal. Now when every one of these Sages had given out his mot, we requested of *Periander*, that hee also would say somewhat for his part; but he with a countenance nothing merry and cheerfull, but composed to sadnesse and severity: I will tell you (quoth hee) what I think of all these sentences thus delivered by these my Lords; that they all in a manner be enough to fright a man who is of judgement and understanding, from all soveraign rule and government. Then *Æsope* as one who ever loved to be crosse and finding faults: It were meet therefore (quoth he) that every one of us should deal in this point apart and severally, lest in pretending to be counsellours unto Princes, and make profession of friendship unto them, we become their accusers. Then *Solon* laying his hand upon his head, and smiling withal: Think you not (quoth he) O *Æsope*, that he maketh a ruler more reasonable, and a tyrant more gracious and inclined to clemency, who perswadeth him that it is simply better, not to rule, then to rule? And who is he (quoth *Æsope*

again)

againe) that will believe you in this, rather then the very god himselfe who delivered unto you this sentence, by way of Oracle:

I hold that City happy alone,
Where voice is heard of Crier. *Sergeant one.*

Why (quoth *Solon*) Is there any man heareth at *Athens* now any more voices then of one Sergeant, and one sole Magistrate, which is the Law? notwithstanding, the City hold of a popular State, but you *Æsope* are so deeply seen in hearing and understanding the voices of Crows and Jayes, that you hear not well and perfectly in the mean time your own speech and language; for you that think according to the Oracle of *Apollo*, that City most happy which heareth the voice but of one, suppose notwithstanding that it is the grace of a feast, when all the guests therein met, may reason and discourse, yea and of every matter. True it is (quoth *Æsope*) for you have not yet set down a Law, that household servants should not be allowed where with to be drunk; like as you have made one at *Athens*, forbidding servants to make love, or to be annointed dry, that is, without the bain. *Solon* began to laugh at this reply of his: and *Cleodemus* the Physician interred thereupon: In mine opinion (quoth he) it is all one to annoint (as you say) dry, and to talk freely when a man is well whitled and drenched with wine, for most delectable and pleasant is both the one and the other. *Chilo* taking hold of this speech; Why then (quoth he) so much the rather it behoveth to abstain from it, *Æsope* rejoined again; and verily *Thales* seemed to say; that it is a means whereby a man shall very quickly age and look old. Hereat *Periander* began to take up a laughter and said: Now truely *Æsope*, we are well enough served, and are worthily punished according to our desert, in that we have suffered our selves to be carried away into other discourses and disputations, before we have heard out all the rest of the contents in King *Amasis* letters, according as we purposed in the beginning; and therefore good sir *Niloxenus* go on with that which followeth in your letters missive, and make use of these personages here assembled, whiles they be all in place together. Now truly (quoth *Niloxenus*) in my conceit that demand of the Æthiopian, a man may well and properly say to bee nothing else (but it I may use the words of *Archilochus*) a tewed or bruised whip: but King *Amasis* your host, in proposing of such questions is more gentle and civil; for he propounded unto him these demands to be answered: What thing in the whole world is eldest, or most ancient? What is the fairest? What the greatest? What most wise? What most common? Over and besides, What most profitable? What is most hurtful? What most puissant? and What most easie? What (quoth *Periander*) did the Æthiopian Prince answer to these demands, and assoile them all? Will you see (quoth *Niloxenus* then) what answers he made? and after you have heard his answers, be you judge whether he satisfied them or no? for the King my Master hath proceeded therein so sincerely, that he would not for any thing in the World, be justly thought to cavil, and carp like a Sycophant at the answers of another, and yet his care and endeavour is, not to fail in reproving that wherein one hath erred and is deceived: but I will from point to point recite unto you his answers. What is most ancient? Time (quoth he.) What most wise? Truth. What most beautiful? The light. What most common? Death. What most profitable? God. What most hurtful? The Divel. What most mighty? Fortune. What most easie? The thing that pleaseth. When these answers were read (O *Nicharchus*) they all remained silent for a time: and then *Thales* asked of *Niloxenus*, whether King *Amasis* approved these solutions or no: *Niloxenus* answered, that some of them he allowed; but with others of them he rested not well contented: And yet (quoth *Thales* again) there is not one of them all but deserveth great reprehension, for they do every one bewray much error and grosse ignorance: and to begin with al: How can it be held and maintained, that Time should be the eldest thing that is, considering that one part thereof is passed already; another present; and a third yet to come? for the future time which is to follow us, cannot chuse but by all reason be esteemed younger then all men, or all things which are present. Again, to think that verity were wisdom, in my judgement is as much as if a man should say, that the eye and the light is all one. Furthermore, if he reputed the light to be a fair thing (as no doubt it is) how happeneth it that he forgat the Sun? Moreover, as touching his answers of God and the Divels, they are very audacious and dangerous. But concerning Fortune, there is no probability, or likelihood of truth therein; for if she were so powerful and puissant (as he saith) how commeth it about that she turneth and changeth so easily as she doth? Neither is death the commonest thing in the world; for common it is not to the living. But because it shall not be thought, that we can skill of naught, but reproving and correcting others; let us confer a little our particular opinions and sentences in this behalfe with his; and if *Niloxenus* think so good, I am content to offer my selfe first, to answer unto these demands beforesaid, one after another. Now will I therefore declare unto you (*Nicharchus*) in order the interrogatories and answers, according as they were propounded and delivered. What is most ancient? God (quoth *Thales*) for he never had beginning nor nativity. What is greatest? Place. For as the world containeth all things else, so Place containeth it. What is fairest? The world. And why? because whatsoever is disposed in lively order, is a part thereof. What is wisest? Time; for it hath found all things already devised, and will find out all inventions hereafter. What is most common? Hope; for it remaineth still with them who have nothing else. What most profitable? Vertue; in that it maketh all things commodious, according as they be used. What is most hurtful? Vice; for it marreth all good things besides, wheresoever it is. What is most mighty? Necessity; for that only is invincible. What is most easie? That which agreeth to nature; for even

even pleasures many times we do abandon and forsake. Now when all the company had approved and commended highly the answers of *Thales*: These be questions indeed (quoth *Cleodemus* unto *Niloxenus*) meet for Kings and Princes, both to propose, and also to assoile: as for that barbarous King of *Æthiopia*, who enjoined King *Amasis* to drink up the Sea, deserveth as short an answer as that was which *Pittacus* made to King *Alyattes*, who when he demanded somewhat of the Lesbians by his arrogant and proud letters, had no other answer returned him from *Pittacus* but this: That he should eat Onions and hot bread. Upon which words *Periander* inferred and said; I assure you *Cleodemus*, it hath been the manner in old time among the ancient Greeks, to propose one unto another such questions as these. For we have heard by report, that in times past, the most skilful and excellent Poets which were in those days, met at the Funerals and Obsequies of *Amphidamus* within the City of *Cholcis*: Now had this *Amphidamus* been a man of great honour in government of the Common-weale in his Country; who having put the Eretrians to much trouble in those Wars which they waged against those of *Cholcis*, in the quarrel of *Eilantes*, hapned to lose his life at the last in a battel. And for that the curious verses which the said Poets provided and brought to be scanned of, were intricate and hard to be judged of by those who were chosen as Judges of the doubtful victory; and besides the glory of two renowned concurrents, *Homer* and *Hesiodus* held the Judges in great perplexity, and shame to give their sentences, as touching two so famous personages, they grew to such as these questions in the end: and propounded one to another, as *Lesches* saith after this manner.

Now help me Muse for to endite
what things have never been,
Nor henceforth whiles the world endures
for ever shall be seen?

Unto which demand, *Hesiodus* answered readily and *ex tempore* in this wise,

When steeds to win the prize, with sound
of feet shall run amain,
And at the tomb of Jupiter,
their charriots break in twain:

For which cause especially it is reported he was so highly admired, that thereby hee won the tre-feet of Gold. And what difference (quoth *Cleodemus*) is there between these questions and the riddles put forth by *Eumetis*? which haply are no more unseemly for her to devise in sport and mirth, and when she hath (as it were) twisted them, to propose unto dames like her selfe, then for other women to delight for their pastime, to buse their heads in, and working girdles of tissue, or knitting net-work Coifes and Cawls; but certainly that men of wisedome and understanding should make any account thereof, were very ridiculous and a meer mockery. At which speech of his it seemed that *Eumetis* was willing enough to have replied, and said somewhat unto him again, but that maidenly modesty stayed her; for her blood was up, and blushed as red as skarlet all her face over: But *Æsope* taking her part, as it were, to revenge her quarrel: Nay were it not (quoth he) more ridiculous farre, not to be able to solve such questions? and namely such a riddle as this, which she put forth unto us a little before supper.

A man I saw, with help of fire,
who set a peece of brass,
Fast to a man, so as it seem'd
to him it sodred was.

Now tell me, can you with all your cunning say what this should be? No iwis (quoth *Cleodemus*, neither mean I to beat my brains about the knowledge of it: And yet there is no man (quoth he) knoweth this thing better, nor useth it more then you; and if you deny it, I will call to witnesse your ventoses and cupping boxes. Hereat *Cleodemus* could not chuse but laugh: for there was not a Physitian in those days that used cupping and boxing so much as he, and in regard that he practised it so much, this remedy or device in Physick was in no small request and reputation. But *Mnesiphilus* the Athenian a familiar friend and zealous follower of *Solon*, began to speak in this wise unto *Periander*; Sir, if I might be so bold, I think it good, and my desire is, that the speeches and discourses of this good company, may not be dealt among the rich and noble persons only who are here in place, but parted equally and indifferently among them all, and go round like a cup of wine, as the manner is in democraty or state of a City, governed by the people: This I speak, for that we who live in a popular Common-wealth, participate in nothing of all that which you have right now delivered, as touching soveraign rule of Prince and King: we think it reason therefore that you would enter every one of you into a discourse of popular government, and deliver your several opinions upon the point, beginning first again at *Solon*. To this motion they all agreed; whereupon *Solon* thus began to speak: As for you (O *Mnesiphilus*) like as all the other inhabitants of *Athens*, you have heard heretofore what mine opinion is concerning the government of a Weal publick: and yet if you please to hear me now also. I say again, that in my judgement that City is right well governed, and maintaineth best the popular estate and liberty, wherein those very persons who have not been wronged and oppressed, do prosecute the law upon an oppressor and wrong doer, yea and seek to punish him, no lesse then the party himselfe who hath susteined the injury

jury and outrage. After him *Bias* opined thus; That the popular government was best, in which all the inhabitants feared the law as much as a rigorous Tyrant. Then *Thales* followed in this manner: That he reputed such a Common-wealth best ordered which had in it neither too wealthy, nor yet over-poor Citizens. Next to him took *Anacharsis* his turn, and delivered his mind in these words; That in his conceit that City was right well governed, wherein all other things being equally determined among the inhabitants, the better condition was measured by vertue, and the worse by vice. In the fifth place *Cleobulus* affirmed: That the policy of that popular City was simply best, the Citizens whereof did more dread dishonour then the Law. Then *Pittacus* in his course gave his opinion thus: That he accounted a State passing well governed, in which wicked persons might not bear any authority, but good men only. Then *Chilo* when his turn came, pronounced: That policy to excel all others when as the people gave greatest ear unto the Lawes, and least hearkened unto Orators. After them all *Periander* in the last place gave his judgement, saying; That he reckoned that popular estate seemed to be best, which came neerest unto an aristocracy, or regiment of wise and noble Senate.

Now when this disputation was ended, I requested them to proceed farther, and to instruct us as touching œconomy, or an houshold, how it ought to be ordered; for that few men were called unto the government of Cities and Realms, but every one of us had an house and family of his own to be governed: Not so (quoth *Æsope*, and therewith he laughed) if you reckon *Anacharsis* in the number of us; for no house hath he of his own, and (forsooth) he glorieth therein, that none he hath, saying: That he maketh his abode in a chariot, as (men say) the Sun doth, whois carried round about the world in his chaire, and one while goeth to this quarter, and another while to that quarter of the heaven: And even in this respect (quoth *Anacharsis*) the Sun only is free, or at least-wise more at liberty, and at his own disposé, then any other of all the gods, commanding all, and not commanded of any; and therefore he reigneth indeed, and having the reins in his own hand, conducteth his own chariot himselfe: but me thinks you never conceived and comprized the grandeur and beauty of the Sun, how excellent and admirable his chariot is; for otherwise you would never in bourd, and by way of merry jest have compared it to ours: furthermore, it seemeth that you take an house to be these cloisters covered with tile, and walled with clay, or earth; which is as much to say, that a Tortoise is the shell, and not the living creature which is therein; and therefore I nothing wonder that you mocked *Solon* upon a time, for that he having viewed the palace of King *Cræsus*, richly furnished and sumptuously adorned, deemed not by and by the owner and Lord thereof to be stately and happily lodged; but desired first to see and behold the good parts that were within him, rather then the goods which were about him; and hereinit seemeth unto me, that you have forgotten your own tale of the Fox, who being come to contest and debate with the Leopard, whether of the twain were beset with more colours and divers spots, required of the judge between them, that he would not regard and consider so much the outward painting of the skin, as the variety of the spirit and soul within, for that he should find the same bedight with a world of divers spots; but you look only to the workmanship of cutters in stone, and of Masons, esteeming that only to be the house, and not that which is domestical and within, to wit, Children, Wife, Friends, and Servitors, unto whom (being wise, sober, and of good conditions) the father of the family, and houshold-er, communicating and imparting that which he hath (say he were within a Birds neast, or in an Emmets hole) may avouch that he dwelleth in a good and blessed house. Lo what mine answer is to *Æsope*, as also for my part, what collation and dole I contribute unto *Diocles*: now for the rest of you, let every man confer (as reason is) to it, what hee thinketh good, and utter his mind. Than *Solon*: That house (in my opinion) is best, the goods wherein, were neither gotten by unjust and indirect meanes, nor bred any fear, suspition and doubt for the keeping, nor yet drew repentance for the spending of them. After him *Bias* opened; That he held the family best, the master whereof was of himselfe the same man within, as (for fear of the law) abroad. Then *Thales*: Wherein the master may live at most ease and greatest leasure. And *Cleobulus*: Wherein there be more persons that love, then fear the master. Next delivered *Pittacus* his mind, and said: That he took that to be the best house, wherein there was no desire of superfluities nor misse of necessaries. After him came *Chilo* with his sentence: That an house ought as much as is possible, to resemble a City or State governed by the absolute commandment of a King; adding moreover, that which *Lycurgus* answered sometimes unto one who advised him to establish in the City *Sparta* the popular government: Begin (quoth he) first thy selfe to ordain in thine owne house a popular estate, where every one may be as great a Lord and Master as another. After this speech also finished, *Eumetis* and *Melissa* went forth. Then *Periander* taking a great cup in his hand, drank to *Chilon*, and *Chilon* likewise in order to *Bias*. Then *Ardalus* stood up, and addressing his speech unto *Æsope*: Will not you neither (quoth he) let the cup come unto us, seeing that they there send it round about from hand to hand among them, as if it were the Can of *Bathycles*, and will not impart and let it passe to others? Then (quoth *Solon*) neither is this cup (so far as I see) any whit popular, standing as it hath done a long time before *Solon* only. Whereat *Pittacus* calling unto *Menesiphilus* by name: What is the reason (quoth he) that *Solon* drinketh not, but goeth against his own Poems, wherein himselfe hath written these verses:

The sports of Venus *Lady bright*,
And Bacchus, *now are my delight*;

In

In musicke eke I pleasure take,
For why? these three, mens joies do make.

Then *Anacharsis* helped him out, and spake in his behalfe, saying: He doth it *Pittacus* for feare of you, and that severe and rigorous law of yours, by which you have ordeined, that whosoever by occasion of drunkennesse chanceth to commit a fault, what ever it be, shall incurre a double penalty, and be fined twice as much as if he had done it whiles he was sober. Then *Pittacus*: Yet nevertheless (quoth he) you carry your selfe so proudly and disdainfull in mockage of this my statute, that both the last yeer, and not long since, being at my brother *Lybis* his house, when you were drunk, you demanded to have the prize thereof, and called for the garland and crown. And why not (quoth *Anacharsis*) considering there was propосed a reward for the victory to him that drunk most? and If I were overcharged with wine and drunk with the first, should not I challenge by right the prize and reward of victory? or else tell me what other end is there of drinking lustily, than to be drunk? *Pittacus* hereat began to laugh? and than *Æsope* told such a tale as this: The wolfe (quoth he) perceiving upon a time the shepherds to eat a mutton within their cottage, approached unto them, and said; Oh what a stirre and outcry would you have made at us if I had done that which you doe? Hereat *Chilon*: *Æsope* (quoth hee) hath well revenged himselfe now (whose mouth ere-while we stopped that he had not a word to say) seeing at this present as he doth, that others had taken the answer out of *Menesiphilus* his mouth, and not given him liberty to speake, being demanded the question why *Solon* dranke not? and like it was that he should have answered in his behalfe. Then *Menesiphilus* rendered this reason and said; That he wist well *Solon* was of this opinion, that the proper worke of every art and faculty, as well divine as humane, was rather the effect and thing by it wrought, than that whereby it was effected; and the end thereof rather than the meanes tending thereto: for so I suppose that a weaver will say, that his worke is to make a web for a mantle, a coat or such a robe, and not to spoole, winde quils, lay his warp, shoot ouse, or raise and let fall the weights and stones hanging to the loom: Also that the worke of a smith is to soder iron, or to give the temper of steel for the edge of an axe head rather then any other thing needfull to such an effect, to wit, the kindling of coles and setting them on fire, or the preparing of any stone-girt serving for the former purpose. Semblably, a carpenter or mason employed in architecture, would much more complaine and finde fault with us, if wee should say that neither a ship nor an house were their worke, but the boaring of holes in timber with an augre or the tempering of morter. In like manner would the muses take exceeding great indignation, and not without good cause, if we should think that their works were either harps, lutes, pipes, and such instruments of musick: and not the reforming and institution of folks manners, the dulcing and appeasing of their passions who delight in song, harmony, and musicall accord. And even so we must confesse that the worke of *Venus* is not carnall company and medling of two bodies; nor of *Bacchus*, wine-bibbing and drunkennesse, but rather mirth and solace, affectionate love, mutuall amity, conversation, and familiarity one with another, which are procured unto us thereby: for these be the works indeed which *Plato* calleth divine and heavenly: and these he saith that he desired and pursued when he grew aged and was well stept in yeers. For I assure you *Venus* is the work-mistresse of mutuall concord, solace and benevolence between men and women, mingling and melting (as it were) together with the bodies, their soules also, by the meanes of pleasure: *Bacchus* likewise in many who before had no great familiarity together, nor any knowledge and acquaintance to speak of, by softning and moistning the hardnesse of their manners, and that by the meanes of wine (like as fire worketh iron to be gentle and pliable) hath engendred a beginning of commixtion and incorporation one with another. True it is I must needs say, that when such personages are met and assembled together, as *Periander* hath hither invited, there is no need either of cup or flagon for to bring them acquainted: for the muses setting in mids before them a cup of sobriety, to wit, their conference and speech, wherein there is not only store of pleasure and delight, but also of erudition, learning, and serious matter, do excite, drench, enlarge and spread abroad by the meanes of discourse and talk, the aimiable joy of such guests, suffering for the most part the wine, pot or flagon to stand still above the cup or goblet: a thing that *Hesiodus* forbad expresly among such as could skill better to carouse than to discourse. And whereas we read thus in *Homer*:

For howsoever other Greeks
that weare their haire so long,
Doe drinke about their measure just
allowed them among:
Your cup I see stands ever full,
no gage to you is set,
But hearty draughts you may carouse,
no man there is to let.

Methinks I heare and understand hereby, that our ancients called this manner of drinking one to another by way of challenge and provocation ἀνατρὸν, according to the tearme that *Homer* giveth it, and so every man dranke a certaine measure in order: yea, and afterwards (like as *Ajax* did) each one divided portions of flesh to his next fellow sitting at the boord: Now when *Menesiphilus* had thus said: *Chersias* the Poet, whom lately *Periander* had quit of certaine imputations charged upon him, and who was newly returned into his favour at the earnest request of *Chilon*:

I would gladly know (quoth he) whether *Jupiter* gage the rest of the gods with a certaine measure and stint of drinking, (for that they use to drink one to another when they dine and sup with him) like as *Agamemnon* dealt by the Princes of the Greeks, when they were at his table? Then *Cleodemus*: If it be true (quoth he) friend *Cherſias* as you and other Poets do ſay, that certaine doves flying hardly and with great difficulty over the rocks called *Planctæ*, bring unto *Jupiter* that celeſtiall meat named *Ambroſias*; think you not likewiſe that he had much adoe to get the heavenly drink *Nectar*, and that he had but ſmall ſtore thereof, whereby he could not chuſe but make ſpare and give of it to every one according to meaſure? Yes verily (quoth *Cherſias*) and peradventure they had it diſtributed equally among them: but ſince we are fallen againe into a freſh diſcourſe of houſe-keeping, which of you will goe on and finiſh the reſt which remaineth to be ſaid thereof? Then *Cleobulus* inferred this ſpeech and ſaid: As for wiſe men indeed, the law (quoth he) hath given them a preſcript meaſure; but as touching fools, I will tell you a tale which I heard my mother once relate unto a brother of mine: The time was (quoth ſhe) that the Moon praied her mother to make her a petticoat fit and proportionable for her body: Why, how is it poſſible (quoth her mother) that I ſhould knit or weave one to fit well about thee, conſidering that I ſee thee one while full, another while croiſſant or in the waine, and pointed with tips of horns, and ſometime againe halfround? Even ſo (friend *Cherſias*) a man is not able to ſet down a definite and juſt proportion of ſubſtance and goods to maintein an houſe unto a fooliſh or naughty perſon; for ſuch a one hath need one while of this thing, and another while of that, according to his divers deſires and variable events and occaſions, much like to *Æſops* dog, who as he ſaith, in the winter ſeaſon ſhrinking together, and lying round for cold, wherewith he is ready to be frozen and ſtarved, is of mind to build himſelfe an houſe: but in ſummer when he ſlies ſleeping ſtretched out at length, he thinks himſelfe to be very great, and ſuppoſeth it a needleſſe thing to build an houſe, and beſides no ſmall peece of work to ſet up a frame bigge and large enough to receive his body. See you not likewiſe O *Cherſias*, that theſe kinde of folke will be thought now but ſmall and little, and reſtraine themſelves into a narrow compaſſe, propoſing forthoth a ſtreight and laconicall manner of life; but anon all at once they will bee aloft, and if they may not have all that they ſee, and poſſeſſe not onely the eſtate of private perſons, but alſo of Kings and Princes, they are undone for ever, and complaine as if they were pined and ready to dye for hunger: at which words *Cherſias* held his peace. But *Cleodemus* then began and ſaid: Howbeit, we all ſee (quoth he) that you my maſters your ſelves who are ſage and wiſe, have your goods and poſſeſſions unequally dealt among you, if a man would go about to meaſure and count them. True indeed my good friend (anſwered *Cleobulus* againe) and this is becauſe the law (like unto a good weaver or knitter) hath given unto every one of us that which is fit, ſutable and convenient for us; and even ſo you your ſelfe, Sir, in your direction for diet, nouriſhment and purging of your patients by reaſon, after the preſcription (as it were) of law, do not ſet them down receits and orders all alike, but ſuch as are agreeable and meet for every one. Upon this ſpeech *Ardalus* replied, ſaying: How then? Is there a law that commandeth *Epimenides* here our familiar friend, and *Solon's* hoſte to forbeare all other viands, and by taking onely in his mouth a little of the compoſition called *Alition*, which hath vertue to put-by hunger (which pleaſant electuary or confection hee maketh himſelfe) to continue a whole day without meat and drink, without dinner and ſupper. This ſpeech moved attention and ſilence in the whole company there in place: onely *Thales* after a jocund and merry manner anſwered: That *Epimenides* did well and wiſely not to buſie and trouble himſelfe about grinding corn, baking meale, or dreſſing his own meats (as *Pittacus* did:) for my ſelfe (quoth he) whiles I was in the Iſle *Lesbos*, heard a wench of a forrein Country, as ſhe turned the quern about, ſing thus, Grind mill, Grind: for even *Pittacus* the King of Great *Mitylene*, is a miller and grindeth. But *Solon* ſaid; I wonder much *Ardalus*, that you never read in *Heſiodus* his Poem, the receit of the regiment of that mans diet: for he was the firſt who gave unto *Epimenides* the ſeeds of this nouriſhment, and taught him to ſearch:

In Mallowes and in Aſphodels,
which grow on every ground:
What uſe and profit manifold,
for man there may be found.

Why? think you (quoth *Periander*) that *Heſiodus* had any ſuch meaning in that verſe; and not rather (as he is alwaies a great praiſer of ſparing and frugality) that he exhorted us unto the ſimpleſt viands, as to thoſe which were moſt pleaſant: for ſurely the Mallow is good to eat, and the Aſphodell ſtem very ſweet in taſte: as for thoſe which the Phyſicians name *Alima* and *Adipſa*, that is to ſay, putting-by hunger and thirſt; I heare ſay and underſtand, that they be medicines and not meats, and that among other ingredients that go to their making, they receive honie and a certain barbarous kind of cheeſe, beſides many other ſeeds which are eaſie enough to come by: for how elſe ſhould not as (as we read in *Heſiodus*)

The plow beam hang aloft in ſmotkrie ſmoake,
The oxe and mule ceaſe both to draw in yoke.

if need there were of ſo great proviſion? But I marvell much *Solon*, at your hoſte, that having but lately celebrated a ſolemn feaſt of Puriſication among the Delians, hee obſerved not how they themſelves brought with great ceremony into their Temple, the enſignes and monuments of

of the ancient and primitive nouriſhment of mankind? and namely, among other things very common, and which grow of themſelves without mans hand, the Mallow and the Aſphodell: which two herbs (it is very probable and like) that *Heſiodus* alſo recommended unto us for their ſimplicity and profit. Nor in thoſe regards onely (quoth *Anacharſis*) but for that they both, the one as well as the other, are commended as eſpeciall herbs for the health of man. True (quoth *Cleodemus*) and great reaſon you have ſo to ſay: for *Heſiodus* was well ſeen in phyſick, as may appear by that which he hath written ſo exactly and skilfully of diet, and the regiment of our feeding, of the manner of tempering wine, of the vertue and goodneſſe of water, the uſe of baines, baths, and women, of the time of keeping company with them, and of the poſiture of infants in the wombe, and when they ſhould be born. But to judge aright, *Æſope* had more reaſon than *Epimenides* to avow himſelfe the diſciple of *Heſiodus*, for the talk which the hauke had with the nightingall gave unto *Æſope* the firſt beginning of this faire, variable, and many-tongued learning of his. But willing I am to heare *Solon*; for very like it is, that he having lived and converſed ſo familiarly many yeers together with *Epimenides* at *Athens*, asked of him oftentimes, and knew full well upon what accident or occaſion, and for what purpoſe he choſe and followed this ſtrait courſe of life. And what need was there (quoth *Solon*) to demand that of him? for all the world knoweth, and moſt evident it is, that as the greateſt and moſt ſoveraign good of man, is to have no need at all of nourture; ſo the next unto it is to require the leaſt nouriſhment that is: Not ſo (quoth *Cleodemus*) if I may be ſo bold as to ſpeake my mind: For I do not think that the ſoveraign good of man is to eat nothing, eſpecially when the table is laid and furniſhed with meat; for to take away the viands ſet thereupon, is as much as to ſubvert the Altar, and ſacrifice unto the gods, and to overthrow the amity and hoſpitality among men. And like as *Thales* ſaith: That if the earth were taken out of the world, there muſt of neceſſity enſue a generall confuſion of all things; even ſo we may ſay, put down the board you do as much as ruinate the whole houſe; for with it you aboliſh fire which keepeth the houſe; the tutelar deity of *Veſta*; the amiable cuſtome of drinking together out of one boul and cup; the laudable manner of feaſting of friends; the kind faſhion of entertaining ſtrangers, and all reciprocall hoſpitality, and mutuall uſage of gueſts; which be the principall and moſt courteous converſations that can be deviſed among men one with another: and to ſpeake the ſumme more truely; farewell then, all the ſweetneſſe of humane life and ſociety, in caſe there be allowed any retreit at all, ſolace and paſſion apart from buſineſſe and affairs, whereof the need of ſuſtenance and the preparation thereto belonging, yeeideth moſt matter, and afoordeth the greateſt part. Moreover, the miſchiefe hereof would reach as farre as to agriculture, and that were great pity, conſidering that if husbandry were laid down with the decay and ruine thereof, there would enſue againe a rude and deformed face of the whole earth, as being neglected, and not cleniſed from fruitleſſe trees, buſhes and weeds, and overflowed with the inundation of waters and rivers running out of their channels to and fro without order, for want of good husbandry, and the diligent hand of man: over and beſides, periſh there ſhall wish it, all arts and handicrafts, which the table maintaineth and keepeth in traine, giving unto them their foundation and matter, in ſuch ſort as they will come all to nothing, if you take it away: nay more than that; What will become of religion and worſhip done to the gods? for ſurely, men will exhibit but little or none honour at all unto the Sunne, and much leſſe unto the Moon, as having nought elſe from them but their light and heat only: and who will ever cauſe an altar to be reared and furniſhed as it ought to be, to *Jupiter*, for ſending down ſeaſonable rain, or to *Ceres* the patroneſſe of agriculture, or to *Neptune* the protector of trees and plants? who will ever after offer any ſacrifices unto them? how ſhall *Bacchus* be the author of joy and mirth, if we have no more any need of that pleaſant liquor of wine which he giveth? what ſhall we ſacrifice? what ſhall we poure upon the altars? what oblations ſhall we offer unto the gods? and whereof ſhall we preſent any firſt fruits? In one word, this abuſe would bring with it a totall ſubverſion, and generall confuſion of the beſt and chieſeſt things. True it is, that to follow all kind of pleaſures, and in every manner, were bruti ſhneſs; and even ſo to flye them all, and in no wiſe to embrace them, were no leſſe folly and ſottiſhneſſe. The ſoul may well enough enjoy other pleaſures and delights, which are better and more noble; but the body can find none at all more harmleſs and honeſt, to content it ſelfe with, than to eat and drink, whereby it is fed and nouriſhed; a thing that there is no man but he both knoweth and acknowledgeth; in regard whereof men uſe to ſet and ſpread their tables in publike and open places, for to eat and drink together in the broad day light; whereas to take the pleaſure of *Venus*, they wait for the night, and ſeek all the darkneſſe they can, ſuppoſing it to be as beaſtly and ſhameleſs to do the one in publike and common, as not at all to do the other, but forbeare it altogether. When *Cleodemus* herewith brake off and ended his ſpeech, I followed in the ſame traine, and ſeconded his words in this wiſe: But you overpaſſe one thing beſides, namely, that by this means, together with our food and nouriſhment we baniſh and drive away all ſleep: now if there be no ſleep, there will be no dreams, and ſo by conſequence, we may bid farewell to a moſt ancient kinde of oracle and divination which we have by them. Over and beſides, our life will be alwaies after one faſhion, and to no purpoſe; but in vaine ſhall the ſoul be clad (as a man would ſay) within the body, ſeeing that the greateſt number and the principall parts of the ſaid body were made and framed by nature for to ſerve as inſtruments of nouriſhment: as for example, the tongue, the teeth, the ſtomack and the liver, &c. for there is nothing in the whole ſtructure and compoſition of mans body, that either lieth ſtill and idle, or is

ordeined for any other use; insomuch as whosoever hath no need of food, needeth not the body also; which is as much to say, as that he standeth in no need of himselfe; for every one of us doth consist as well of body as soule. Thus much may serve for my part, to have spoken in the defence of the belly: now it *Solon* or any other have ought to say and object against it, by way of accusation, ready we are and disposed to give him the hearing. Yes mary (quoth *Solon*) unlesse wee would be reputed of lesse judgement and understanding then the Egyptians, who ripping open the belly of a dead body, shew it unto the Sunne, and cast away the guts and entrailes together with the paunch, into a running river; but afterwards, when they have thus rid away the garbage, and cleansed the corps, the rest they imbalme and be carefull of: for to say a truth, these inwards, be the very pollution and inquination of the flesh, and to speake properly, the very hell of our body; for so they say, that the place of the damned is full of (I wot not what) horrible rivers and winds confused together with fire and dead carcasses. For no creature living is nourished with any food that liveth; but we (in killing those creatures which have soules, or in destroying plants, herbs and fruits which participate likewise of life, inasmuch as we see them to be nourished and grow) do evill, and sinne very grievously, forasmuch as whatsoever is transmuted and turned into another, loseth that nature which it had before, and wholly is corrupted, for to become nourishment to another. As for abstinence from eating of flesh, as (by report) *Orpheus* did in old time, is rather a subtill shift of Sophistry, than any perfect shunning or forbearing of those sinnes which are committed in delicious fare, and superfluous gormandize; but the onely way to avoid enormity in this behalfe, and the meanes to keep a mans selfe perfectly pure and undefiled, according to the absolute rule of justice, is to be content with that which is within himselfe, and to live without desire of any thing without, whatsoever: but he that is by God framed to that nature and condition, that without the dammage and hurt of another, he cannot possibly preserve his own being and safety; unto him he hath given a nature which will continually move him to injustice, and to commit wrong. Were it not then (my good friend *Diocles*) very meet and requisite to cut off together with injustice and sinfulnesse, the belly, stomack, and liver, yea, and all other such parts which give unto us the appetite of nothing in the world that is honest, but resemble partly the instruments of a cook, and vessels of the kitchin, to wit, chopping-knives, cawdrons, pots and kettles, and in part are like unto the utensils of a mill, of a chimney, oven or furnace, or such tools as serve either to dig pits, or be used in bake-house or pastry? for to say a truth, you may plainly see and perceive that the soule in many men lieth hidden within the body, as it were in a certain mil-house, turning round continually (as one would say) about a quern, in pursuit after the necessities thereof, even as we here ere-while perceived by experience in our own selves, when we neither saw nor heard, nor regarded one another; but every one of us inclining forward and stooping down to our victuals, served our owne need and looked to our food, but now when the tables be taken up, as you see, having chaplets of flowers on our heads, we take delight in devising together, and holding honest discourses, we rejoice in fellowship and good company, we passe the time away in ease and repose, being once come to that point, that we have no more any desire or need of nourishment: If then we could hold us so still, and continue while we live in this present state, so that we neither feared want and poverty, nor yet knew what was covetousnesse and desire of riches, should we not lead (think you) a blessed and easie life, as having leisure to converse together, and joy in our mutuall society? For know well this, that looking after the needlesse superfluities immediately ensueth upon the appetite and desire of things necessary. But whereas *Cleobulus* is of this opinion, that needs there must be meat and food, to the end that there might be tables, and standing cups upon them, that men may drink one to another; also that they might sacrifice to dame *Ceres* and her daughter *Proserpina*: another man may as well and truly say: There ought to bee warres and battels, to the end that we may have wals and fortifications for our Cities, Arcenals for our navie and armories also, that for the killing of an hundred enemies, wee might in thanksgiving to the gods, offer sacrifices thereupon, called *Hecatomphonia*, according as they say, there is a statute importing so much among the Messenians. Or all one it were as if some other should bee angry or offended with health, saying: It were great pitty, if because there are none sick any more, there should bee no use of easie beds, fine linnen sheets, soft pillowes and coverings, nor any need to sacrifice unto *Æsculapius* or other gods, to divert and turne away our maladies; and so the art of physick, with all the tools, instruments, drugs and medicines belonging thereto, be cast aside and neglected without honour and regard. For what ods is there between the one and the other, considering that wee received food as a medicine to cure our hunger? Besides, all they that keep a certeine diet, are said to cure themselves, using this remedy, not as a pleasure delightsome and desireable, but as meanes to content and satisfie nature. For surely we may reckon more paines than pleasures, that come unto a man by his feeding; or to speake more truely, the pleasure of eating hath but a little place, and continueth as small a while in mans body; but the trouble and difficulty which it hath in providing and preparing, with how many shamefull inconveniences and painefull travels it pestereth us, what should I relate unto you? for I suppose, that in regard of all these vexations, *Homer* took upon him to prove, that the gods died not, by this argument, that they received no food:

For neither eat they bread in heaven,
nor pleasant wine doe drinke:

Thus

Thus bloodlesse since they be, we them
immortall name and thinke.

As if by these verses he would give us to understand, that our eating and drinking is not onely the meanes of our life, but also the cause of our death: for thereupon a number of diseases take hold of our bodies, which are gathered within the same, and proceed no lesse from fulnesse than emptinesse, and many times we have more adoe to concoct, consume, and dissipate our food, than we had to get and provide it. And much like as if the daughters of *Danaus* were in doubt what to do, and what life to lead, or how to be employed, after they were delivered and freed once from their servile taske imposed upon them, for to fill their tunne boared full of holes; even so doubt we (in case we were come to this passe, as to cease from stuffing and cramming this unsatiable flesh of ours, which will never say Ho, with all sorts of viands that land or sea may afford) what wee should do? and all because for want of experience and knowledge what things be good and honest, we love all our life time to seek for to be provided of necessaries: and like as they who have been slaves a long time, after they come once to be delivered from servitude, do of themselves, and for themselves the very same services, which they were wont to perform for their masters, when they were bound; even so, the soule taketh now great paines and travell to feed the body, but if once she might be dispatched and discharged from this yoke of bondage, no sooner shall she finde her selfe free and at liberty, but she will nourish and regard her selfe, she will have an eie then to the knowledge of the truth, and nothing shall pluck her away, or divert and withdraw her from it. Thus much O *Nicharchus* as touching those points which were then delivered concerning nourishment. But before that *Solon* had fully finished his speech, *Gorgias* the brother of *Periander* entred into the place, being newly returned from *Tænarus*, whither he had been sent before by occasion of (I wot not what) oracles, for to carry thither certaine oblations unto *Neptune*, and to doe sacrifice unto him; we all saluted him and welcomed him home; but *Periander* his brother coming toward, kissed him, causing him afterwards to sit down by himselfe upon the bed side, where he made relation unto him alone of certaine newes. *Periander* gave good eare unto his brother, and shewed by his countenance that he was diversly affected, and very passionate upon that which he heard him to report; and by his visage it seemed one while that he sorrowed and grieved, another while that he was angry and offended; he made semblant for a time, as if he distrusted and would not give credit unto him, and anon againe he seemed as much to wonder and stand in admiration; in the end he laughed, and said unto us: Very gladly would I out of hand recount unto you, the tidings which my brother hath told me, but hardly dare I, neither will I be over-hasty so to do, for fear of *Thales*, whom I have heard otherwise to say: That well wee might make report of newes that be probable, and like to be true; but touching things impossible, we ought altogether for to hold our peace. Hereupon *Bias*: But as wise a saying (quoth he) was this of *Thales*: That as we ought not to beleeve our enemies in things that be credible, so wee are not to discredit our friends even in those things that are incredible. For mine own part, I think verily by this speech of his, that he took those for his enemies who were lewd and foolish, and reputed for friends such as were good and wise. I would advise you therefore (O *Gorgias*) that either you would declare your newes here before all this company, or rather reduce that narration which you come withall to pronounce aloud unto us, into those new kind of verses which are called *Dithyrambes*. Then *Gorgias* set tale on end, and began to speake in this manner: After we had sacrificed for the space of three daies together, and the last day performed in a generall assembly all the night a festivall solemnity, with plaies and dances along the strond by the sea side, as the moon shoon at full upon the sea, without any wind in the world stirring at all, so as there was a gentle generall calme, and every thing still and quiet; behold we might discover afarre off a certaine motion or trouble in the sea, bending toward a promontory or Cape, and as it approached neerer thereto, raised withall a little scum, and that with a great noise by reason of the agitation of the water and waves that it made in such sort, as that all the company of us wondered what it might be, and ran toward the place whereunto it seemed to make way and bend the course for to arrive; but before that wee could by any conjecture guesse what it was, (the swiftnesse thereof was such) we might evidently descry with our eie a number of Dolphins, some swimming round about it thicke together, others directing the whole troop toward the easiest and gentlest landing-place of the bank, and some there were again, that followed behind as it were in the rereward: now in the mids of all this troop, there appeared above the water I wot not what lump or masse of a body floting aloft, which wee could neither discern nor devise what it was, untill such time as the said Dolphins all close together, and shooting themselves into the shore, landed upon the bank a man both alive and also moving; which done they returned toward the rock or promontory aforesaid, leaping and dancing wantonly as it should seem for very joy more then they did before: which the greatest part of our company (quoth *Gorgias*) seeing, were so greatly afraid, that they fled from the sea amain all amased; my selfe with some few others, took better heart and approached near, where we found that it was *Arion* the harper, who of himselfe told to us his name, and easie he was otherwise to be known, for that he had the same apparell which hee was wont to weare when he plaied in publike place upon his harp: So we took him up incontinently and brought him into a tent (for harm he had none in the world, save only that by reason of the swiftnesse and violent force of his carriage he was weary and seemed ready to faint) where we heard from his mouth a strange tale, and to all men incredible,

unleſſe it were to us who ſaw the end and iſſue thereof. For this *Arion* reported unto us, that having been of long time reſolved to returne out of *Italy*, and ſo much the rather, becauſe *Periander* had written unto him for to make haſte and come away upon the firſt opportunity preſented to him of a Corinthian Carrick that made ſaile from thence, he preſently embarked, but no ſooner were they come into the broad and open ſea, and that with a gentle gale of wind, but he perceived that the Mariners conſpired together for to take away his life, whereof the pilot himſelfe alſo of the ſame ſhip gave him advertiſement ſecretly, namely, that they intended to put the thing in execution that night. *Arion* thus finding himſelfe deſtitute of all ſuccour, and not knowing what to do; it came into his mind as it were by a certeine heavenly and divine inſpiration (whiles he had yet ſome time to live) for to adorn his body with thoſe ornaments which he accuſtomed to put on when he was to play upon his harp for a prize in ſome frequent Theater; to the end that the ſame habit might ſerve him for his funerall weed now at his death: and withall to ſing a doleſull ſong and lamentable ditty before his departure out of this life, and not to ſhew himſelfe in this caſe leſſe generous then the ſwans: being therefore thus arraied and decked accordingly, and doing the mariners to wit before hand, that he had a wonderſull deſire to chant a ſonnet or hymn unto *Apollo Pythius*, for the ſafety of himſelfe, the ſhip and all thoſe fellow-paſſengers who were within it, he ſtood upright on his feet in the poop cloſe to the ſhip ſide, & after he had ſounded a certain invocation or praiers to the ſea-gods, he chanted the canticle before ſaid, and as he was in the mids of his ſong, the ſunne went down and ſeemed to ſettle within the ſea, and with that they began to diſcover *Peloponneſus*. Then the Mariners who could no longer ſtay nor tarry for the dark night, came toward for to kill him; when he ſaw their naked ſwords drawne, and beheld the foreſaid Pilot how he covered his face, becauſe he would not ſee ſo villainous a ſpectacle, hee caſt himſelfe over ſhip-boord, and leapt as farre into the ſea from the ſhip as he could; but before that his whole body was under the water, the Dolphins made haſte, and from beneath were ready to bear him up for ſinking. Full of fear and perturbation of ſpirit he was at firſt, inſomuch as being aſtonied thereat, he wiſt not what it might be; but within a while after, perceiving that he was carried at eaſe, and ſeeing a great flore of Dolphins environing gently round about him, and that they ſucceeded and ſeconded one another by turnes, for to take the charge of carrying him, as if it had been a ſervice impoſed upon them all, and whereunto they were neceſſarily obliged; and ſeeing beſides that the Carricke was a good way behind (by which he gathered that he went apace, and was a carried away with great celerity:) he was not (quoth *Gorgias*) ſo fearfull of death, or deſirous otherwiſe to live, as he had an ambitious deſire to arrive once at the haven of ſafety, to the end that the world might know that he ſtood in the grace and favour of the gods, and that he repoſed an aſſured beliefe and firme affiance in them, beholding as hee did the skie full of ſtarres, the Moone ariſing pure and cleere with exceeding brightneſſe, and the whole ſea about him ſmooth and calme; but that the courſe of theſe Dolphins traced out a certaine way and path, ſo that he thought thus within himſelfe, that the divine juſtice had not one eie alone, but as many eies as there were ſtarres in the heaven, and that God beheld all about whatſoever was done both by ſea and land: Which cogitations and thoughts of mind (quoth he) mightily ſtrengthened and ſuſtained my body, which otherwiſe was ready to faint and yield with travell and wearineſſe: finally, when the Dolphins were come as farre as to the great promontory of *Tenarus*, ſo high and ſteep, they were very wary and carefull that they ran not upon it, but turned gently at one ſide, and ſwom behind it along the coaſt, as if they would have conducted a bark ſafe and ſound to a ſure bay and landing place, whereby he perceived evidently that carried he was thus by the guidance of the divine providence. After that *Arion* (ſaid *Gorgias*) had made all this diſcourſe unto us, I enquired of him where he thought that the ſhip aboveſaid intended to arrive. At *Corinth* (quoth he) without all doubt, but it will be very late firſt, for it being toward evening when I leapt into the ſea. I ſuppoſe that I was carried upon the Dolphins backs no leſſe then a courſe of five hundred furlongs, and no ſooner was I from ſhip-boord, but there enſued preſently a great calm at ſea. Moreover, *Gorgias* ſaid: That he having learned the names aſwell of the ſhip-maſter, as of the Pilot, and withall known what badge or enſigne the ſhip carried, made out certaine pinnaces, and thoſe manned with ſouldiers, for to obſerve what Creeks, commodious Baies, and landing-places there were upon the ſaid coaſt; but as for *Arion*, *Gorgias* conveied him ſecretly with him, for feare leſt if the Mariners ſhould have had any advertiſement of his delivery and ſafety, they might flie away and eſcape: But as God would have it, every thing fell out ſo, as we might ſee (quoth *Gorgias*) the very immediate hand of the divine power; for at one and the ſame inſtant that I arrived here, I had intelligence alſo that the ſaid ſhip was fallen into the hands of thoſe ſouldiers whom I ſet out; and ſo the Mariners and paſſengers within it were taken all priſoners. Hereupon *Periander* commanded *Gorgias* preſently to ariſe to apprehend them and lay them up faſt in cloſe priſon, where no perſon might have acceſſe unto them, or certifie them that *Arion* was alive and ſafe. Then *Æſope*: Mock on now (quoth he) at my jayes and crowes that talk and tell tales, when you ſee that Dolphins alſo can in this wiſe play their youthfull parts, and atchieve ſuch proweſſes. Nay (quoth I then) we are able to report, *Æſope*, another narration like to this, which hath been ſet down in writing, and received for currant and good theſe thouſand yeers paſſed and more, even from the daies of *Ino* and *Athamas*. Then *Solon* taking occaſion of ſpeech by theſe words: yea, but theſe matters, O *Diocles* (quoth he) concerne the gods more neerly, and ſurpaſſe our puiſſance; but as for that which befell

befell to *Heſiodus*, was a meer humane accident, and not impertinent unto us, for I ſuppoſe you have heard the hiſtory told. No I aſſure you (quoth he): But worth it is the hearing (quoth *Solon* againe.) And thus by report it was. A certaine *Mileſian* with whom as it ſhould ſeem *Heſiodus* had familiar acquaintance, inſomuch as they lodged, eat and drunke together ordinarily in the City of *Locres*, kept their hoſts daughter, and abuſed her body, ſo as in the end he was taken with the manner. Now was *Heſiodus* ſuſpected to haue been privy to him of this villany from the very beginning; yea, and to have kept the door and aſſiſted him in concealing the ſame, whereas indeed he was in no ſault at all, nor culpable any way; howbeit, by means of falſe ſuſpitions and ſiniſter ſurmizes of people, hee incurred much anger, and was hardly thought of, neither could he avoid the unjuſt imputations of the world: for the brethren of the young damoſell lay in ambuſh for him neer unto a wood about *Locri*, ſet upon and ſlew him outright, together with his ſervant or page, *Troilus*, who tended upon him. After this murther committed, and their bodies caſt into the ſea, it chanced that the corps of *Troilus* being carried forth into the river *Daphnus*, reſted upon a rock environed and daſhed round about with the water, and the ſame not farre from the ſea, which rock thereupon took his name, and is ſo called at this day. But the dead body of *Heſiodus*, immediately from the land was received by a float or troop of Dolphins, and by them carried as farre as to the Capes *Rhion* and *Molychria*. It fortuned at the very ſame time that the Citizens of *Locri*, held a ſolemn aſſembly, and celebrated feſtivall ſacrifices, called *Rhia*, which they perform even at this day alſo in the very ſame place with great magnificence and ſtate: this corps being eſpied floating toward them, (you may well think) cauſed all the company there to marvell not a little, who thereupon ranne all to the ſhoare, and taking knowledge that it was the corps of *Heſiodus*, becauſe it ſeemed freſh killed, they laid all other buſineſſe apart, and with all ſpeed, ſent about and made inquiſition of this murther, by reaſon of the great renown and name that went of *Heſiodus*: and this they followed with ſuch diligence, that quickly they found out the murtherers, whom after they were apprehended, they threw alive headlong preſently into the ſea, drowned them and razed their houſe. Now was the Corps of *Heſiodus* enterred neer unto the Temple *Nemeium*; howbeit, few ſtrangers there be that know of this his Sepulcher, for concealed of purpoſe it is, by reaſon of the Orchonenians who made ſearch for it (by report) and were deſirous by the appointment of certaine Oracles to take up his reliques, and bury them in their Country. If then the Dolphins be ſo kind and lovingly affected to the dead, much more probable it is, that they be willing and ready to help thoſe who are alive, eſpecially if they be drawn and allured by the ſound of the pipes, ſluits or other harmonie: for who is there of us all that knoweth not how theſe creatures are delighted in ſongs, following and ſwimming along thoſe veſſels where they hear muſick, as taking great pleaſure in the ſongs and muſicall inſtruments of thoſe paſſengers, who doe ſing or play in a faire and calm ſeaſon: alſo they are not a little pleaſed to ſee young children ſwimming, and they joy and ſtrive to be douſſing, badling, and diving together with them: and therefore provided it is by an unwritten law, as touching their ſecurity, that they ſhould not be hurt; by vertue whereof none do fiſh for them, no nor do them any harm, unleſſe haply when they chance to be taken in any nets, they hinder the taking of other fiſhes, or otherwiſe hurt them, and then beaten they are, and corrected gently for it, like as little children who have done amiſs and made a fault. And here I call to mind what I have heard recounted for certainty, of the inhabitants of *Lesbos*, that in times paſt within their Countrie, there was a young maiden ſaved by a Dolphin, from perill of being drowned in the ſea: but for that *Pittachus* ſhould know this much better, it were more reaſon that he himſelfe reported it. True it is indeed (quoth *Pittachus*) the tale is very notorious, and related by many. For there was an anſwer given by oracle to thoſe founders, who firſt peopled *Lesbos*; that when in ſailing upon the ſea they arrived at a rock called *Meſſogæan*, that is to ſay, *Mediterraneam*, they ſhould caſt into the ſea for *Neptune*, a bull, but for dame *Amphitrite*, and the Nymphs *Nereides*, a virgin a live. Now ſeven principall Conductors and Kings there were of that company which were to inhabit there, and *Echelaus* made the eight, expreſly named by the oracle for the planting of a colony, and he as yet a batchelor and unmarried. Now when the other ſeven, who had daughters marriageable, and yet unwedded, caſt lots among themſelves, whoſe daughter ſhould be offered (as is beforeſaid) it fell out ſo, that the lot light upon the daughter of *Smintheus*; her therefore they arraied with rich robes, and adorned with coſtly jewels of gold for that purpoſe, and being come to the place appointed after they had made their praiers and oraiſons accordingly, as in ſuch a caſe, and were now at the very point to throw her into the ſea; a certain young man, one of the paſſengers in the ſhip, of a gentle nature and good diſpoſition (as it appeared) whoſe name was *Eualus*, being enamoured of the ſaid young damoſel, entred preſently into a reſolution to ſuccour her in this extremity, although he ſaw well that it was in manner unpoſſible, and embracing her faſt about the middle, hee caſt himſelfe and her together into the ſea: and even then there ran a rumour, although without any certaine ground or author, howbeit believed by many of the army, that both of them were carried to land and ſaved alive: but afterwards (by report) the ſaid *Eualus* was ſeen in the Iſle *Lesbos*, who made relation, that he and ſhee both were mounted upon Dolphins backs and ſo carried ſafe to the firm land without any danger. I could rehearſe other ſtrange narrations belonging hereto, more marvelous than theſe, able as well to raviſh with admiration, as to affect with delectation, the minds of any that ſhall heare them: but hard it is to averre them all for true, and to bring proofe thereof, namely: That when there aroſe a mighty huge billow of water about the

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Iſland like a rock, ſo as no men durſt approach neer unto the ſea, *Enalus* only came thither, and a number of Polype fiſhes, or poulpes followed after her, and accompanied him to the Temple of *Neptune*, where the biggeſt of them brought unto *Enalus*, a ſtone which he took and dedicated there in memoriall of this miracle; which ſtone we call *Es* to this day. But in ſumme (quoth he) if a man knew well the difference between impoſſible and unuſuall, and could diſtinguiſh between that which is contrary to the order or courſe of nature, and the common opinion of men, in not beleeving too raſhly, nor diſcrediting a thing too eaſily, he might obſerve well from time to time, your rule O *Chilon*, [*Nothing overmuch*] which you ordein to be kept. After him ſpake *Anacharſis*, ſaying: That it is not to be wondred at, that the goodlieſt and greateſt matters in the world were done by the will and providence of God, conſidering that according to the good and wiſe opinion of *Thales*, there is in all the chiefe and principall matters thereof a certaine ſoule: for as the organ and inſtrument of the ſoule is the body; ſo the inſtrument of God is the ſoule: and like as the body hath many motions of the owne, but the greater part of them, and namely thoſe which are moſt noble, proceed from the ſoule; even ſo the ſoule likewiſe doth worke ſome of her operations by her own inſtinct, but in others ſhe yeeldeth her ſelfe to be ordered, turned, managed and directed by God, as it pleaſeth him to uſe her, being indeed of all inſtruments the moſt meet and handſome: for it were a very ſtrange and abſurd thing, that wind, water, clouds and raine, ſhould be Gods inſtruments, by meanes whereof he nouriſheth and mainteineth many creatures, and whereby he deſtroieth and overthroweth as many; and that hee ſhould uſe the miniſtery of no living creatures in any worke of his: Reaſon it is yet and probable, that ſeeing ſuch creatures depend wholly upon the puiſſance and omnipotency of God, that they ſhould ſerve all his motions, yea, and obey his wils, and ſecond his purpoſes, more than bowes are accommodate to the Scythians, and harps or hautboies to the Greeks. After this ſpeech the Poet *Cherſias* made mention of many others who had been miraculouſly, and beyond all hope and expectation ſaved from death, and among the reſt he gave inſtance of *Cypſelus* the father of *Periander*, whom, being but a young babe, and infant new born, certaine bloody murtherers were ſent to kill him, and upon the ſight of him, for very pitty turned away, and forbare to commit ſo bloody a fact; but afterwards bethinking themſelves, and repenting ſuch fooliſh compaſſion, they returned back againe to ſeek him out, but could not find him, for that his mother had hidden him within a little corn flasket or twiggen hamper, called in Greek *Cypſele*: in remembrance whereof, *Cypſelus* afterwards when he was a man dedicated a chappell within the Temple of *Apollo* in *Delphos*, as beleeving how at that time hee had been miraculouſly preſerved, and by the hand of God kept from crying, which might have bewraied him to the murderers. Then, *Pittacus* addreſſing his ſpeech to *Periander*, ſaid thus: *Cherſias* hath done me a great pleaſure to mention this Chappell or Cell; for many a time deſirous I was to know of you what ſhould be the meaning of thoſe frogs which are ſeen graven round about the foot of the palme tree therein; and what they did concerne either the ſaid god *Apollo*, or the man himſelfe who built and dedicated the ſaid houſe. And when *Periander* willed him to ask *Cherſias* that queſtion, who wiſt well enough what it was, for that it was with *Cypſelus* at the dedication thereof; *Cherſias* ſmiled and ſaid; I will not expound the myſtery thereof, unleſſe I may know firſt of them that bee here, what is meant by theſe old ſaid ſawes; *Nothing too much*; *Know thy ſelfe*; and that other mot, (which hath cauſed ſome to continue ſingle and unmarried, others to forbeare ſureti-ſhip, and many to be diſtruſtfull, to be mute and ſilent) to wit, *Give thy word and pay*: *Be ſurety, and be ſure of a ſhrewd turne*. And what need is there quoth *Pittacus*, that we ſhould interpret and declare theſe ſentences, conſidering you ſo greatly praiſe the fables that *Æſope* hath compoſed, which ſhew the ſubſtance of every one? *Æſope* anſwered: So ſaith *Cherſias* indeed when he is diſpoſed to jeſt and be merry with me: but when he ſpeaketh in good earneſt, he affirmeth that *Homer* was the firſt author of theſe ſentences, ſaying that *Hector* knew himſelfe well enough, who advancing forward to ſet upon other captains of the Greeks,

Refuſed well and wiſely for to fight
With Ajax, *ſonne of* Telamon *that Knight.*

He ſaith moreover, that *Ulyſſes* approved and commended this ſentence, *Nothing too much*; when he admoniſhed *Diomedes* in theſe tearms:

Sir Diomede, *praiſe not me overmuch,*
Ne yet diſpraiſe, I love no doings ſuch.

And as for ſureti-ſhip, others are of opinion that he condemneth it as a lewd, naughty, and dangerous thing in theſe words:

Who ſureties are for men diſtreſt,
and in calamity,
Taſt oftentimes for their kind heart
much infortunity.

But this Poet *Cherſias* here ſaith: That the fiend *Ate*, which is as much to ſay as Plague or Infortunity, was by *Jupiter* flung down from heaven to earth, for that ſhe was preſent at the caution or warrantiſe which he interpoſed as touching the nativity of *Hercules*, whereby *Jupiter* was circumvented and overtaken. Then *Solon*, Seeing it is ſo (quoth he) I am of this mind, that we ſhould give eare and credit to the moſt wiſe Poet *Homer*, whoſe counſell is this:

Since

Since that the night comes on a pace,
and hath ſurpriſed us,
Full meet it is her to obey,
and end our ſpeeches thus.

After we have therefore given thanks in powring out wine and offering it to the Muſes, *Neptune* and *Amphitrite*, let us (if you think ſo good) end this our aſſembly and banquet. Thus *Nicarchus*, this our merry meeting brake up, and was for that time diſſolved.

Inſtructions for them that mannage affairs of State.

The Summary.

TYranny in any publike government, be it of Prince, Seignorie or people, as it is dangerous and deteſtable; ſo we are no leſſe to feare anarchy and the horrible confuſion of thoſe States where every one is a Lord and Maſter. The wiſe man ſaid very well; That a people or City deſtitute of government, is nere to ruine; and publike affairs proſper well, when there be ſtore of good Counſellors. And on the other ſide, experience ſheweth, that humane ſociety cannot ſtand without Magiſtrates, the mainteiners of lawes and good order, which be the nerves or ſinewes, the cords and props of our life and converſation one with another. But if there be any way in the world ſlippery, it is that of the management of State-affairs, by reaſon of the lewdneſſe of ſome, whom I may call ſage fools, who run by heaps after publike offices, not ſuffering men of honour to enter into them, as fearing to be afterwards ranged and ordered by reaſon. Since then that ambition is a meet all plague in the mind and underſtanding of him who would advance himſelfe by crooked and indirect meanes, it behooveth on the contrary ſide, that thoſe who have a ſincere affection to ſerve in publike place, take heed that they be not diſcouraged, although other whiles they be kept under and put downe by ſuch perſons as by good right ought to ſerve, and not command. To hold therefore ſome meane in this caſe, between mounting up unto vaine glory and falling into cowardiſe, Plutarch for to content and ſatisfie a friend of his, giveth good inſtructions to every man that entreth into the managing of State-affairs: and in the firſt place hee requireth at his hands a good will, free from vanity and lightneſſe, void of avarice, and delivered from ambition and envy: afterwards, his advice is, that he endevour to know thoſe well, whom he muſt govern, for to acquit him well in his own duty, in caſe he be inducted unto any high degree, in reforming himſelfe, and being furniſhed with a good conſcience, knowledge and eloquence, proper inſtruments for to go thorow all difficulties. This done, he teacheth a States-man to mannage well his own words, alſo what way he ought to take for the entrance into the conduct of his weighty affairs; what friends he is to chuſe; and how he is to demean himſelfe as well with them as his enemies: afterwards he diſcuſſeth and handleth this queſtion, to wit: Whether ſuch a perſon as he whom he hath repreſented, ought to intermeddle and deal in all offices, and reſolveth that he ought to mannage none but that which is of greateſt importance. From this he proceedeth to ſpeake of that diſcretion which is requiſite for the ranging and bringing into order of ſtanderers and enemies: and withall with what manner of affaires a politician ſhould buſie and imploy himſelfe, and whereto his ſpirit and mind is to tend: wiſhing above all, that he ſhould entertein the amity of other Lords and Rulers, who are able to further and advance the publike good; and in the mean time to be wel adviſed that he do not go about to ſave, or ruinate rather, his owne Country by forrein meanes. Hereupon he diſcourſeth of thoſe maladies whereunto Common wealths be ſubject, and holdeth this: That if there do ariſe any miſchiefe, it ought to be repreſſed, kept downe and cured at home. Conſequently, he ſheweth unto a Magiſtrate the manner of converſing with his companions or colleagues in office: and after he had commended thoſe who walke ſingly, and goe roundly and plainely to worke, he entreth very prettily into a diſcourſe ariſing from the precedents, namely, as touching policy and good government, declaring wherein it doth conſiſt: and ſo toucheth in a word, the duty of good ſubjects in a State well ruled. Which done, he returneth to his former purpoſe, and maketh mention of certain caſes, wherein a Magiſtrate may accommodate and frame himſelfe to his own people: alſo what perſons he ought to uſe and employ for aſſiſtance in the execution of important affairs; and from what vices he is to keep himſelfe pure and clean; how he ought to eſteeme and regard true honour, ſtanding upon two points: the one, that he do truſt and rely upon himſelfe: the other, that he be well beloved of the people, unto whom he ought to ſhew himſelfe liberall. To this above ſaid, there is joined a certain diſcretion to be uſed in the largeſſes of Magiſtrates to their ſubjects (a thing much practiſed in old time, and in theſe daies turned clean againſt the haire) propoſing all in one traine, the true and moſt expedite way how to gaine the hearts of men, to which no Prince nor Governour ſhall ever attaine, unleſſe he be ſuch an one as our author doth deſcribe: and repreſenting on the other ſide the ridiculous and unhappy condition of ambitious perſons, and other ſuch as thirſt after ſhamefull glory, whoſe name ſerveth for nought elſe but to play with the leaſt perles in a Common-wealth. And for a finall concluſion, he treateth of ſeditions and civill wars: namely, how a good Magiſtrate ought to carry himſelfe therein: what a care he ſhould have to quench with all ſpeed ſuch fires: and keep his ſubjects in good unity and concord: and how he ſhould eaſily come thereto, which is the very cloſing up of

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the booke, enriched with notable arguments, sentences, similitudes and examples, for those especially who have the command of others, and yet are besides, to appeare before the throne of their soveraigne, the examination, triall and fearfull judgement of whom, they cannot avoid.

Instructions for them that mannage affaires of State.

IF there be any speech in the world, Sir *Menemachus*, unto which a man may properly apply these verses of the Poet *Homer*:

Of all the Greeks there is no man,
Who blame these words or gainesay can;
But yet forsooth you say not all,
Nor come are to the finiall.

Certes, it is in the case of those Philosophers, who exhort sufficiently in generall termes, to undertake the affairs of State and publike government: but they teach us not how, nor give us precepts and directions thereto; who (methinks) may well be resembled to those, who snuffe and draw out the wieke of a lampe, but they poure no oile into it. Seeing then that you have upon very good reason deliberated and resolved to meddle in the State-affairs of your countrie, and desire according to the nobility of your house and native country, from whence you are descended,

To frame your speech with seemly grace,
And deeds performe, meet for your place.

And considering that you are not yet come to that maturity of yeers, as to have seen evidently the life of a wise man and true Philosopher in matters of government, or view'd his carriage and demeanour in State-affairs; ne yet to be a spectator of worthy and goodly examples practised in deed and effect, and not discoursed upon in word onely; in which regards you have requested me earnestly to give unto you certaine rules, precepts, and advertisements for your better knowledge and instruction, how you ought to behave your selfe in this behalfe: me thought I could not with any honesty deny your request: but my desire and wish rather is, that whatsoever I have collected to this purpose, may be answerable both to the ardent zeal of your intention, and also to the willing forwardnesse of mine affection; and verily to gratifie your minde, I have accompanied these precepts with many faire and beautifull examples.

First and formost therefore, let this be laid for a sure ground and strong foundation, That whosoever mindeth to be a States-man, and to mannage affairs of policy, bring with him a good intent, moved by reason and judgement, and in no wise arising upon any blind passion, or desire of vaine-glory, or jealousie and emulation of another, or finally upon default of other occupations: for like as there be some who spend most of their time in the common hall or market place, although they have nothing there to do, because they have no good thing at home to be employed about; even so, you shall have divers men that thrust themselves into civill and publike affaires, for that they have no private businesse of their owne, worth tending, and so they use policy as a course of life, or rather pastime and recreation. Others there be againe, who being, by some fortune or chance arrived, or rather cast upon the management of Commonweale, and having thereof enough and (as it were) their bellies full, cannot with any ease withdraw and retire themselves, when they are once in, resembling those for all the world, who being embarked in some vessell, take the sea, only to be rocked and shaken therein a little for their exercise; but after they be carried by a gale of winde into the deep, when their heads once begin to turn, and their stomacks sick and ready to cast, they look out back toward the land, but for all that, forced they be to tarry still on shipboord, and to frame themselves to their present fortune.

Their lovely joies and pleasures are then gone,
To walke upon the hatches gaily dight,
With rowers feats in foist or gallion,
Whiles sea is calme and weather faire and light:
Which yields prospect most pleasant to their sight,
And hearts content, to cut the waves aright.

And these are they, who as much as any, or rather most of all, discredit the thing, in that they repent and be much discontented with their choise; namely, when in stead of glory which they promised themselves, they fall into infamie, and whereas they looked to be feared of others by the meane, of their great credit and authority, they be carried into a world of affaires full of troubles and dangers. But he who commeth to the government of weale publike, and beginneth to enter upon it by sound judgement and true discourse of reason, as a most honest vocation in it selfe, and most agreeable to his estate and quality, will no whit be discouraged or dismaied at any of these accidents, nor ever change his resolution. For a man is not to take upon him the mannagement of State-affairs, with intent to negotiate and traffick there, or to make a gainefull trade and occupation thereof to himselfe, like as in times past at *Athens*, *Stratocles* and *Dromoclidas*, with those about them, for to go unto their golden harvest (for so by way of jest and merry speech they called the Tribunall seat, and publike pulpit where orations were made unto the people) no nor upon any fit of a sudden passion that

that commeth upon him, as *Cajus Gracchus* did at *Rome* sometime, who at the very time when his brothers troubles were hot, and his death fresh and new, retired for a while out of the way, and betook himselfe to a private course of life, farre remote from the Commonwealth affaires; but afterwards, being suddenly enkindled and enflamed againe with choler, upon certaine outragious dealings and opprobrious words given him by some, would needs in all the hast upon a spleen, rush into the government of State, and quickly had his hands full of businesses, and his ambitious humour was soon fed and satisfied: but then when as he would with all his heart have withdrawne himselfe, changed his life, and taken his repose, he could not by any means lay downe his authority and puissance (to such greatnesse it was growne) but was killed before he could bring that about. As for these who compasse and dresse themselves as players for to act upon the scaffold in some great Theater, and champions to contend with other concurrents, or else aime at vaine-glory; it cannot be but they must needs repent of that which they have done, especially when they once see that they must serve those whom they thought they were worthy to rule, or that they cannot chuse but displease them, whom they were desirous to gratifie and content. And verily this is my conceit of such, that they run headlong upon policy and State matters, like unto those who by some misadventure, and sooner then they looked for, be fallen into a pit; for it cannot otherwise be, but they be wonderously disquieted, seeing the depth thereof, and wish they had never come there, but were out againe, whereas they, who considerately, and upon good deliberation go down into the said pit, carry themselves soberly with quietnesse and contentment of spirit, they are vexed, offended and dismaied at nothing, as who at their first entry, put on a resolute minde, proposing unto themselves vertue and their duty only, and intending no other thing for to be the scope and end of all their actions.

Thus when as men have well grounded their choice in themselves, untill it bee so surely setled and confirmed, that unneth it hardly can be altered or changed: then they ought to bend all their wits to the consideration and knowledge of the nature of their Citizens and Subjects, whose charge they have undertaken, or at least wise of that disposition, which being compounded (as it were) of them all, appeareth most, and carrieth greatest sway among them. For at the very first and all at once, to go about a change, and to order and to reforme the nature of a whole Commonalty, were an enterprise neither easie to be effected, nor safe to be practised: as being a thing that requireth long time, and great authority and power. But do they must, as wine doth in our bodies; which at the beginning is mistned (as it were) and overcome by the nature of him who drunk it, but afterwards by gentle warming his stomack, and by little and little entring into his veines, it becommeth of strength to affect the drinker, and make a change and alteration in him; semblably, a wise politician and governour, untill such time as he hath wonne by the confidence reposed in him, and the good reputation that he hath gotten, so much authority among the people, that he is now able to rule and lead them at his pleasure, will accommodate and apply himselfe to their manners and fashions such as he findeth them, and thereby conjecture and consider their humours, untill hee know wherein they take pleasure, whereto they are inclined, and what it is, wherewith they will soonest be lead and carried away. As for example, the Athenians as they are given to be hasty and cholerick; so they be as soon turned to pity and mercy; more willing to entertain a suspition quickly, than to have patience, and at leisure to be informed, and take certaine knowledge of a thing; and as they be more inclined and ready to succour base persons, and of low condition; so they love, embrace, and esteem merry words and pleasant conceits, delivered in game and laughter, more then sage and serious sentences; they are best pleased when they heare themselves praised, and least offended againe with those that flout and mock them; terrible they are and dread, to their very Rulers and Magistrates, and yet courteous and mild enough, even to the pardoning of their professed enemies. The nature of the Carthaginian people is farre otherwise, bitter, fell, fierce, sterne and full of revenge; obsequious to their betters and superiours; churlish and imperious over their inferiours and underlings; in feare most base and cowardly; in anger most cruell; firm and constant in their resolution, and where they have taken a pitch; hard to be moved with any sports, pastimes, and jollity; and in one word rough and untractable. You should not have seen these fellowes, if *Cleon* had requested them sitting in counsell (forasmuch as he had sacrificed unto the gods, and was minded to feast some strangers that were his friends, and come to visit him) to put off their assembly to another day; to arise laughing, and clapping their hands for joy; nor, if while *Alcibiades* was a making unto them a solemn oration, a quaile should have escaped from under his gowne, and gotten away, would they have run after her away to catch her and given her to him againe? nay, they would have fallen all upon him; they would have killed them both in the place, as if they had contemned them, and made fools of them: considering that the banished Captaine *Hanno*, because in the Camp and Army when he marched, he used a Lion as a sumpter horse to carrie some of his baggage; saying, that this favoured strongly of a man that affected tyranny. Neither do I think that the Thebanes could ever have contained themselves, but have opened the letters of their enemies, if they had come into their hands: like as the Athenians did, who having surprized King *Philips* posts and carriers, would never suffer one of their letters missive to be broke open, which had the superscription to Queen *Olympias* my wife; nor discover the love-secrets and merry conceits passing from an husband being absent in another Country, and writing to his wife. Neither do I think, that the Athenians on the other side, would have endured and

and borne with patience the proud ſpirit and ſcornefull contempt of *Epaminondas*, who would not make anſwer to an imputation charged againſt him, before the body of the people of *Thebes*, but aroſe out of the Theater where the people were aſſembled, and thorow them all went his way, and departed into the place of publike exerciſes. The Lacedæmonians likewiſe would never haue put up the inſolent behaviour and mockery of *Stratocles*, who having perſwaded the Athenians to ſacrifice unto the gods, in token of thanksgiving for a victory, as if they had been conquerours, and afterwards upon the certaine newes of a defeature and overthrow received, when hee ſaw the people highly offended and diſpleaſed with him, demanded of them what injury he had done them, if by his meanes they had been merry and feaſted three daies together?

As for the flatterers that belong to Princes Courts, they play by their Lords and Maſters, as thoſe fowlers doe, who catch their birds by a pipe counterfeiting their voices; for even ſo they, to winde and inſinuate themſelves into the favour of Kings and princes, doe reſemble them for all the world, and by this device entrap and deceive them. But for a good governour of a State, it is not meet and convenient that he ſhould imitate the nature and the manners of the people under his government; but to know them and to make uſe of thoſe meanes to every particular perſon, by which he knoweth that he may beſt win and gaine them to him: for the ignorance and want of skill in this behalfe, namely, how to handle men according to their humours, bringeth with it all diſorders, and is the cauſe of irregular enormities, as well in popular governments, as among minnions and favorites of Princes. Now after that a Ruler hath gotten authority and credit once among the people, then ought he to ſtrive and labour, for to reforme their nature and conditions if they be faulty; then is he by little and little to lead them gently (as it were) by hand unto that which is better: for a moſt painefull and difficult thing it is to change and alter a multitude all at once: and to bring this about the better, he ought firſt to begin with himſelfe, and to amend the miſdemeanours and diſorders in his owne life and manners, knowing that he is to live from thenceforth (as it were) in open Theater, where he may be ſeen and viewed on every ſide. Now if haply it be an hard matter for a man to free his own mind from all ſorts of vices at once, yet at leaſtwiſe he is to cutoff, and put away thoſe that be moſt apparent and notorious to the eies of the world. For you have heard (I am ſure) how *Themiſtocles* when hee minded to enter upon the mannaging of State-matters, weaned himſelfe from ſuch company wherein he did nothing but drinke, dance, revell and make good cheere; and when he fell to ſitting up late and watching at his booke, to faſting and ſtudying hard, he was wont to ſay to his familiars, that the *Trophea* of *Miltiades* would not ſuffer him to ſleep and take his reſt. *Pericles* in like caſe altered his faſhions in the whole courſe and manner of his life, in his perſon, in his ſober and grave going, in his affable and courteous ſpeech, ſhewing alwaies a ſtaied and ſetled countenance, holding his hand ever more under his robe, and never putting it forth, and not going abroad to any place in the City, but onely to the Tribunall and pulpit and publike orations, or elſe to the Councell houſe. For it is not an eaſie matter to weld and mannage a multitude of people, neither are they to be caught of every one, and taken with their ſafety in the catching; but a gracious and gaineſull piece of worke it were, if a man may bring it thus much about, that like unto ſuſpicious and crafty wild beaſts, they be not affrighted nor ſet a madding at that which they heare and ſee, but gently ſuffer themſelves to be handled, and be apt to receive inſtruction; and therefore this would not in any wiſe be neglected, neither are ſuch to have a ſmall regard to their owne life and manners, but they ought to ſtudy and labour as much as poſſibly they can, that the ſame be without all touch and reproach: for that they who take in hand the government of publike affairs, are not to give account, nor to anſwer for that onely which they either ſay or do in publike, but they are ſearched narrowly into, and many a curious eie there is upon them at their boord; much liſtening after that which paſſeth in their beds; great ſifting and ſcanning of their marriages, and their behaviour in wedlock, and in one word, all that ever they doe privately, whether it bee in jeſt or in good earneſt. For what need we write of *Alcibiades*, who being a man of action and execution, as famous and renowned a Captaine, as any one in his time, and having borne himſelfe alwaies invincible and inferior to none in the mannaging of the publike State, yet notwithſtanding ended his daies wretchedly, by meanes of his diſſolute looſeneſſe and outragious demeanour, in his private life and converſation at home, inſomuch as he bereft his owne Country of the benefit they might have had by his other good parts, and commendable qualities, even by his intemperance and ſumptuous ſuperfluity in expence? Thoſe of *Athens* found fault with *Cimon*, becauſe he had a care to have good wine: and the Romans finding no other thing in *Scipio* to reprove, blamed him for that hee loved his bed too well: the ill-willers of *Pompey* the Great, having obſerved in him that otherwhiles he ſcratched his head with one finger, reproached him for it. For like as a little freckle, mole or pendant-wert in the face of man or woman, is more offenſive, than black and blew marks, than ſcars or maimes in all the reſt of the body; even ſo, ſmall and light faults otherwiſe of themſelves, ſhew great in the lives of Princes, and thoſe who have the government of the weale-publike in their hands, and that in regard of an opinion imprinted in the minds of men touching the eſtate of governours and magiſtrates, eſteeming it a great thing, and that it ought to be pure and cleer from all faults and imperfections. And therefore deſerved *Julius Druſus*, a noble Senatour and great Ruler in *Rome* to be highly praiſed, in that when one of his workmen promiſed him (if he ſo would) to deviſe and contrive his houſe ſo, that whereas his neighbors overlooked him, & ſaw into many parts thereof, they

they ſhould have no place therein expoſed to their view and diſcovery, and that this tranſlating and alteration thereof ſhould coſt him but five talents: Nay (quoth he) thou ſhalt have ten talents, and make mine houſe ſo that it may be ſeen into on every ſide, to the end that all the City may both ſee and know how I live; for in truth he was a grave, wiſe, honeſt and comely perſonage. But peradventure it is not ſo neceſſary that a houſe lie ſo open as to be looked into on all ſides: for the people have eyes to pierce and enter into the very bottome of governours manners, of their counſels, actions, and lives, which a man would thinke to be moſt covert and ſecret, and no leſſe quick-ſighted are they in their private carriage, as in that which they ſee them do, and heare them ſpeake in publike; loving ſome with a kind of admiration, and hating others in diſdainfull and contemptuous manner. What? will ſome one ſay, do not ſome Cities otherwhiles love to be ruled by governors, whom they know to be diſſolute and diſordinate in their manner of life? Yes, I beleeve it very well. And ſo forſooth, we ſee ſome women, when they are with child, long many times to eate grit of ſtones, and they who are ſtomack-ſick, and have a peeviſh appetite, deſire ſalt-fiſh, and ſuch other naughty meats; but within a while after, when the fit is once paſt, they reject, refuſe, and loath the ſame; even ſo many States and Common-ſties oftentimes upon an inſolency, wantonneſſe and diſordinate deſire, or for default of better governours, be ſerved with thoſe that come firſt, and they care not with whom, notwithſtanding they have them in contempt and deteſtation, but afterwards they are very well content when ſuch ſpeeches go of them, as *Plato* a comicall Poet in one of his Comedies inſerreth to be ſpoken by the people themſelves:

Take me by hand, take hold and that right ſoone,
Agyrrius *elſe Ile captaine chuſe anon.*

And againe in another place, he bringeth in the people calling for a baſon and a feather for to provoke vomit, ſaying thus:

At my tribunall ſeat moſt eminent,
Her ſelfe to me Mantile *doth preſent.*

And a little after,

A ſtinking head it keeps and feedeth now,
A malady moſt foule, I do avow.

And the people of *Rome*, at what time as *Carbo* avouched a thing, and bound it by a great oath, yea, and the ſame with a curſe and execration, if it were not ſo; yet for all that, all with one voice ſware aloud to the contrary, and proteſted that they would not beleeve him. Alſo at *Lacedæmon*, when one *Demoſthenes*, a wicked and diſſolute perſon, had delivered his opinion and advice, very well fitting and behoveſull to the matter in queſtion, the people rejected it; but the *Ephori* having choſen one of their Ancients and honourable Councellors of Eſtate, willed him to ſpeak to the ſame point and the like effect; which was as much as if they had taken it out of one foule and filthy veſſell, and put the ſame into another that was faire and cleane, and all to pleaſe and content the people and multitude: ſo effectuall is for the government of an Eſtate, the aſſured perſwaſion of the honeſty of a perſonage, and as forcible likewiſe is the contrary. I write not thus to this end, that we ſhould neglect the grace of eloquence, and the powerfull skill of well-ſpeaking, as if all ſhould lie upon vertue, and nothing elſe, but that we are to thinke, that Rhetoricall ſpeech and brave utterance is not the thing alone which perſwadeth the people, but that it is a good help, and doth co-operate in perſwaſion, ſo that we may in ſome ſort correct and amend that ſentence of *Menander*:

The honeſt life of him that ſpeakes in place,
And not his tongue, doth credit win and grace.

For life and language both ought to concur, unleſſe haply one would ſay, That it is the Pilot only that governeth the ſhip, and not the helme; and the rider alone turneth the horſe head and not the reines or bridle; ſemblably, that the ſcience of policy and government of weale-publike uſeth manners and not eloquence, as an helme or bridle, to mannage, direct and governe a whole City, which is (according to *Plato*) a creature (as one would ſay) moſt eaſie to be turned, ſo that it be conducted and guided, as it were, in the poope: for ſeeing that thoſe great Kings, the ſons of *Jupiter* (as *Homer* calleth them) ſet out and puffe up their magnificent port, with long robes of purple, with ſcepters in their hands, with a guard of ſquires and penſioners about their perſons, with whom they were environed on every ſide, yea, and with the oracles of the gods in their favour, ſubjecting unto their obeiſance (by this outward venerable ſhew) the common ſort, and imprinting an opinion that they are in greater ſtate than men; and yet for all this, were deſirous to learne how to ſpeake wiſely, and not careleſſe and negligent to win grace by good ſpeech,

And eloquence, whereby more perfect they
In warlike feats might be another day.

not recommending themſelves to *Jupiter* only the Councellor, nor to bloudy *Mars* and warlike *Minerva*, but invocating likewiſe the Muſe *Calliope*,

Who doth upon great Kings attend,
And makes them aye more reverend.

with her perſwaſive grace and vertue dulcing and appeaſing the violent mood and fierceneſſe of the people. Seeing (I ſay) that mighty Princes be furniſhed with ſo many helps and meanes; is it poſſible that a private perſon, with a ſimple robe and popular habit, taking upon him to wield and rule a whole City or State, ſhould ever be able to effect his purpoſe, namely, to tame and range into

order an unruly multitude, unleſſe he have eloquence to aide him in this buſineſſe, for to perſwade and bring them to the bent of his bow? For mine own part, I thinke no. As for the Maſters and Captaines of galleys and other ſhips, they have other officers under them, as their boat-ſwaines, to give knowledge what they would have to be done; but a good governour of State ought to have within himſelfe the skill and knowledge of the ſteeres-man to ſit at ſterne and guide the helme, and beſides that, good ſpeech alſo to make known his will and pleaſure, to the end that he need not at all the voice of another, nor to be forced to ſay as *Iphicrates* did when he was overcome and braved out by the eloquent words of *Ariſtophon*: My adverſaries player acteth better than mine, but ſurely my play is much better than theirs: and that he have not need oftentimes to have in his mouth theſe verſes of *Euripides*:

Would God the ſeed and race of mortall men
Were ſpeechleſſe cleane, or could not ſpeake words ten.

As alſo of theſe:

Oh God, that mens affaires and cauſes all
Required no words, and for no ſpeech did call,
That Orators, whoſe tongues do plead ſo hard,
Were not employed nor in ſo good regard.

For theſe ſentences perhaps might give leave to ſome Alcamenes, Neſiots, and Ictines, or ſuch manner of people, who live by their handy-worke, get their living by the ſweat of their brows, and are paſt all hope to attaine unto any perfection of eloquence, to flie therefro: as it is reported of two Architects or great Maſons at *Athens* ſometimes, who came in queſtion for their skill, whether of the twaine was more ſufficient to make a great fabricke and publike piece of work: the one, who could ſpeake very well and expreſſe his mind with variety and elegancy of words, pronounced a premeditate oration as touching the frame and building thereof; which he did ſo well, that he moved the whole aſſembly therewith; the other, who was more skilfull in Architecture, and the better workman by far, but one that could not deliver his mind ſo eloquently, when he came before the people, ſaid no more but thus: My Maſters of *Athens*, that which this man here hath ſaid, I will do. And verily ſuch good fellows as theſe, acknowledge no other goddeſſe or patroneſſe than *Minerva* the Artizan, ſurnamed *Argane*, and who as *Sophocles* ſaith:

Upon the maſſive anvile tame,
With weighty ſtrokes of hammer ſtrong,
A liveleſſe bar of iron, and frame
Obeiſant to their labours long.

But the Miniſter or Prophet to *Minerva Polias*, that is to ſay, the protectreſſe of Cities, and to *Themis* or Juſtice the Protectreſſe of counſell:

Who of mens counſels preſident,
Diſſolves, or holds them reſident.

He (I ſay) having but one inſtrument to uſe and occupie, which is his ſpeech, by forming and faſhioning ſome things to his own mould, and others which he finderh untoward and not pliable to the deſign of his worke (as if they were knurs and knots in timber, or flawes and riſings in iron) by ſoftning, poliſhing, and making plaine and ſmooth, embelliſheth in the end a whole City. By this meanes the Common-wealth of *Pericles*, in name and outward appearance being popular, was in truth and effect a principality and regall State, governed by one man the principall perſon of the City: and what was it that did the deed? Surely the force and power of his eloquence: for at the ſame time there lived *Cimon*, a good man, *Ephialtes* alſo and *Thucydides*, who being one day demanded by *Archidamus* the King of the Lacedæmonians, whether he or *Pericles* wreſtled better: That were (quoth he) very hard to ſay; for when in wreſtling I beare him down to the ground, he is by his words able to perſwade the ſtanders-by and beholders, that he is not fallen, and ſo goeth cleare away with it. And verily, this gift of his brought not only to him honour and glory, but alſo ſafety to the whole City; which being by him ruled and perſwaded, preſerved, and maintained full well the wealth and eſtate which it had of her own, and forbare to deſire the conqueſt of any other; whereas poore *Nicias*, although he had the ſame good meaning and intention, yet becauſe he wanted that perſwaſive faculty with his ſmooth tongue and eloquent ſpeech, like unto a gentle bit, when he went about to bridle and reſtraine the covetous deſire of the people, could not compaſſe it, but maugre and in ſpight of his heart was overſwaied, carried away, and haled by the very necke into *Sicily*; ſuch was the violence of the people. An old ſaying it is, and a true proverbe: That it is not good holding of a wolfe by the eares; but ſurely of a City or State, a man muſt principally take hold by the eares; and not as ſome do, who are not ſufficiently exerciſed, nor well ſeene in the feate of eloquence, ſearch other abſurd and fooliſh handles to catch hold by, for to winne and draw the people unto them; for divers you ſhall have, who thinke to draw and lead the multitude by the belly, in making great feaſts and banqueting them; others by the purſe, in giving them largeſſes of ſilver; ſome by the eye, in exhibiting unto them goodly ſights of plaies, games, warlike dances and combates of fencers at the utterance; which devices are not to draw and lead the people gently, but to catch them rather cunningly: for the drawing or leading of a multitude, is properly to perſwade them by force of eloquence; whereas the other allurements and enticements reſemble very well the baits that are laid for to take brute and wild beaſts,

or

or the fodder that herd-men uſe to feed them with. Since then it is ſo, that the chiefe inſtrument of a wiſe and ſage governour, is his ſpeech, this principall care would be had, that the ſame be not too much painted and ſet out, as if he were ſome young gallant that deſired to ſhew his eloquence in a Theater and frequent aſſembly of a great faire or market, compoſing his oration as a chaplet of flowers with the moſt beautifull, ſweet, and pleaſant phraſes or termes that he can chuſe; neither ought the ſame to be ſo painfully ſtudied and premeditated as that oration of *Demoſthenes* was, which *Pytheas* ſaid (by way of reproach) that it ſmelled of lampe-oyle; nor full of over-much ſophiſticall curioſity of enthymemes and arguments too witty and ſubtile; nor yet with clauſes and periods exactly meaſured to the rule and compaſſe. But like as Muſicians are deſirous that in touching and ſtroke of their ſtrings there ſhould appeare a ſweet and kind affection, and not a rude beating; even ſo in the ſpeech of a ſage Ruler, whether it be in giving counſell or decreeing any thing, there ought not to be ſeen the artificiall cunning of an Orator, nor any curious affectation: neither muſt it in any wiſe tend to his own praiſe, as if he had ſpoken learnedly, formally, ſubtilly, wittily, and with preciſe reſpect and diſtinctions: let it be full rather of naturall affection without art, of true heart and magnanimity, of franke and fatherly remonſtrance, as may become the father of his countrey; full of forecaſt and providence, of a good mind and underſtanding, carefull of the common-weale; having together with honeſt and comely dignity a lovely grace that is attractive, conſiſting of grave termes, pertinent reaſons, and proper ſentences, and the ſame ſignificant and perſwaſive. For in truth the oration and ſtile of a States-man and governour admitteth in compariſon of a lawyer or advocate pleading at the bar in court, more ſententious ſpeeches, hiſtories, fables, and metaphors, which do then move and affect the multitude moſt, when the ſpeaker knoweth how to uſe them with meaſure, in time and place convenient; like as he did, who ſaid, My maſters, ſee that you make not *Greece* one-eyed: (ſpeaking of the City of *Athens*, when they were about to deſtroy it) and according as *Demades* alſo did, when he ſaid, that he ſate at ſterne to governe, not a ſhip, but the ſhipwrack of a City and common wealth: Semblably *Archilochus* in ſaying,

Let not the ſtone of Tantalus
This Iſle alwaies hang over thus.

Likewiſe *Pericles* when he gave advice, and commanded to take away that eye-ſore of the haven *Pirean*, meaning thereby the little Iſle *Ægina*. In the ſame manner *Phocion* ſpeaking of the victory atchieved by Generall *Leoſthenes*, ſaid thus; The *ſtadium* or ſhort race of this war is good, but I feare (quoth he) the *dolichus* thereof; that is to ſay, the after-claps and length thereof. In ſum; a ſpeech ſtanding ſomewhat of hautineſſe, gravity, and greatneſſe, is more befitting a governour of State: and for example hereof, go no further than to the orations of *Demoſthenes* penned againſt King *Philip*; and among other ſpeeches, ſet down by *Thucydides*, that which was delivered by the *Ephorus Sthenelaidas*: alſo that of King *Archidamus*, in the City *Plateæ*: likewiſe the oration of *Pericles* after that great peſtilence at *Athens*. As for thoſe long ſermons, carrying a great traine of ſentences and continued periods after them, which *Theopompus*, *Ephorus*, and *Anaximenes*, bring in to be pronounced by captaines unto their ſouldiers when they be armed and ſtand arranged in battell-ray; a man may ſay of ſuch as the Poet did:

What fooles would ſpeake thus many words,
So neare to edge and dint of ſwords.

Over and beſides; true it is that a man of government may otherwhiles give a taunt and nipping ſcoffe, he may caſt out alſo a merry jeſt to move laughter, and namely, if it be to rebuke, chaſtiſe, yea, and to quippe one and take him up for his good, after a modeſt manner, and not to touch him too neere, and wound him in honour and credit to his diſgrace, with a kind of ſcurrility. But above all it may beſeeme him thus to do when he is provoked thereunto, and is driven to reply and give one for another by way of exchange: for to begin firſt in that ſort, and to come prepared with ſuch premeditate ſtuffe, is more befitting a pleaſant or common jeſter, who would make the company laugh, beſides that, it carrieth alſo an opinion of a malicious and ſpitefull mind: and ſuch are the biting frumpes and broad jeſts of *Cicero* and *Cato* the elder; likewiſe of one *Euxitheus* a familiar and diſciple of *Ariſtotle*; for theſe many times began firſt to ſcoffe and taunt; but when a man never doth it but by way of reply or rejoynder, the ſudden occaſion giveth him pardon to be revenged, and withall ſuch requitals carry the greater grace with them. Thus dealt *Demoſthenes* by one who was deeply ſuſpected to be a theefe: for when he would ſeeme to twit *Demoſthenes* by his watching and ſitting up all night at his booke for to endite and write: I wot well (quoth *Demoſthenes*) that I trouble and hinder thee very much with keeping my candle or lampe burning all night long. Alſo when he anſwered *Demades*, who cried out aloud: *Demoſthenes* would correct me (as much to ſay forſooth) as if according to the common proverbe, the ſow ſhould teach *Minerva*: *Minerva* (quoth he, taking that word out of his mouth) what is that you ſay? *Minerva* was ſurprized not long ſince in adultery. Semblably it was with no ill grace that *Xenetus* anſwered his countrey-men and fellow citizens, who caſt in his teeth and upbraided him, for that being their leader and captaine he fled out of the field: With you (quoth he) my loving and deare friends, I ran away for company. But great regard and heed would be taken, that in this kind he overpaſſe not himſelfe, nor go beyond the bonds of mediocrity in ſuch ridiculous jeſts, for feare that either he offend and diſpleaſe the hearers unſeaſonably, or debaſe and abject himſelfe too grofly, by giving out ſuch ridiculous ſpeeches: which was the fault of one *Democrates*, who mounting one day up

into the pulpit or publike place of audience, said openly to the people there assembled; That himselfe was like unto their City, for that he had small force, and yet was puft up with much wind. Another time also, and namely, when the great field was lost before *Charenea*, he presented himselfe to speake unto the people in this manner: I would not for any thing that the common-wealth were driven to such calamitie and so hard an exigent, that you should have patience to heare me, and need to take counsellar my hands: for as in the one he shewed himselfe a base and vile person, so in the other he played the brain-sick foole and senseleſſe asse: but for a man of State, neither is the one nor the other decent and agreeable. Furthermore, *Phocion* is had in admiration for his brevity of speech, insomuch as *Polyenctus* giving his judgement of him, said, *Demosthenes* indeed is the greatest Orator, and the most famous Rhetorician, but *Phocion*, beleeve me, is the best speaker; for that his pithy speech was so couched, that in few words it contained much substance and good matter. And even *Demosthenes* himselfe, howsoever he made no reckoning of all other Oratours in his time, yet if *Phocion* rose up to deliver a speech after him, would say: Lo here standeth up now the hatchet or pruning knife of my words. Well then, endeavour you as much as possibly you can, when you are to make a speech before the multitude to speak considerately and with great circumspection, directing your words so, as they may tend to safety and security, and not in any case to use vain and frivolous language: knowing well that *Pericles* himself, that great governour, was wont to make his prayer unto the gods before he entred into his oration in publike audience: That he might let fall no word out of his mouth impertinent to the matter which he was to handle; and yet for all this, you must be well exercised nevertheleſſe, and practised in the knowledge how to be able to answer and replie readily; for many occasions passe in a moment, and bring with them as many sudden cases and occurrences, especially in matters of government. In which regard, *Demosthenes* was (by report) reputed inferior to many others in his time, for that otherwhiles he would withdraw himselfe and not be seene when occasion was offered, if he had not well premeditated and studied aforehand of that which he had to say. *Theophrastus* also writeth of *Alcibiades*, that being desirous to speake, not only that which was convenient, but also in manner and forme as it was meet; many a time in the midst of his oration would make a stay, and be at a *non plus*, whiles he sought and studied for some proper termes, and laboured to couch and compose them fitting for his purpose: but he who taketh occasion to stand up for to make a speech of sudden occurrences, and respective to the occasions and times presented unto him, such a one I say of all others doth most move and astonish a multitude. He, I say, is able to lead them as he list and dispose of them at his pleasure. After this manner plaied *Leon* the Bizantine, who was sent upon a time from those of *Constantinople* unto the Athenians, being at civill debate and dissention among themselves, for to make remonstrances unto them of pacification and agreement: for a very little man was he of stature, and when the people saw him mounted up into the place of audience, every one began to reigh, tittre, and laugh at him; which he perceiving well enough: And what would you do and say then (quoth he) if you saw my wife, whose crown of her head will hardly reach up so high as my knee? At which word they took up a greater fit of laughter than before throughout the whole assembly: And yet (quoth he againe) as little as we both be, if we chance to be at variance and debate one with another, the whole City of *Constantinople* is not big enough for us, nor able to hold us twaine. *Pytheas* likewise, the Orator, at what time as he spake against the honours which were decreed for King *Alexander*, when one said unto him: How now sir, dare you presume to speake of so great matters, being as you are, so young a man? And why not (quoth he) for *Alexander* whom you made a god among you by your decrees, is younger than my selfe.

Furthermore, over and besides a ready tongue and well exercised, he ought to bring with him a strong voice, a good breast, and a long breath, to this combate of State government; which I assure you is not lightly to be accounted of, but wherein the champion is to be provided for all feats of masteries or fight; for feare least if it chance that his voice faile or be weary and faint, he be overcome and supplanted by some one,

Catchpoll, Crier, and of that ranke,
Wide-mouth'd Jugler or mount-banke.

And yet *Cato* the younger, when he suspected that either the Senate or the people were foreſtalled by graces, labouring for voices, and such like prevention, so as he had no hope to perswade and compasse such matters as he went about, would rise up and hold them all a day long with an oration; which he did to drive away the time, that at least wise upon such a day there should be nothing done or passe against his mind. But as touching the speech of a governour, how powerfull and effectuall it is, and how it ought to be prepared, we have this already sufficiently treated, especially for such an one as is able of himselfe to devise all the reſt, which consequently followeth hereupon.

Moreover two avennes (as it were) or waies there be to come unto the credit of government; the one short and compendious, yeelding an honourable course to win glory and reputation; but it is not without some danger; the other longer and more base and obscure, howbeit alwaies safe and sure. For some there be, who making saile and setting their course (as a man would say) from some high rock situate in the maine sea, have ventured at the first upon some great and worthy enterprise, which required valour and hardineſſe, and so at the very beginning entred into the midst of State-affaires, supposing that the Poet *Pindarus* said true in these his verses:

A worthy worke who will begin,
Must when he enters first therein,
Set out a gay fore-front to view
Which may far off the lustre shew.

For certainly the multitude and common sort being satisfied and full already of those governours whom they have been used to a long time, receive more willingly all beginners and new-commers, much like as the spectatours and beholders of plaies or games have better affection a great deale to see a new champion entring fresh into the lists. And verily all those honours, dignities, and powerfull authorities which have a sudden beginning and glorious encrease, do ordinarily astonish and daunt all envy: for neither doth the fire (as *Ariston* saith) make a smoake which is quickly kindled, and made to burne out of a light flame; nor glory breed envy when it is gotten at once and speedily; but such as grow up by little and little, at leisure, those be they that are caught therewith, some one way and some another. And this is the cause that before they come to flower (as it were) and grow to any credit of government, fade and become dead and withered about the publike place of audience. But whereas it falleth out according to the Epigram of the currier or runner *Ladas*,

No sooner came the sound of whip to eare,
But he was at the end of his careare;
And then withall, in one and selfe-same trice
He crowned was with laurell for his price.

that some one hath at first performed an embassage honourably, rode in triumph gloriously, or conducted an army valiantly, neither envious persons nor spightfull ill-willers have like power against such as against others. Thus came *Aratus* into credit the very first day, for that he had defeated and overthrown the tyrant *Nicocles*. Thus *Alcibiades* won the spurs, when he practised and wrought the alliance between the Mantineans and the Athenians against the Lacedæmonians. And when *Pompey* the great would have entred the City of *Rome* in triumph, before he had shewed himselfe unto the Senate, and was withstood by *Sylla*, who meant to impeach him, he stuck not to say unto him, More men there be sir, who worship the Sun rising, than the Sun setting; which when *Sylla* heard, he gave place and yeelded unto him without one word replying to the contrary. And when as the people of *Rome* chose and declared *Cornelius Scipio* Consull all on a sudden, and that against the ordinary course of law, when as himselfe stood only to the Ædile, it was upon some vulgar beginning and ordinary entrance into affaires of state, but for the great admiration they had of his rare and singular proweſſe, in that being but a very youth, he had maintained single fight and combate hand to hand with his enemy in *Spaine*, and vanquished him; yea, and within a while after, in the neck of it had atchieved many worthy exploits against the Carthaginians, being but a military Tribune or Colonell of a thousand foot: for which brave acts and services of his, *Cato* the elder as he returned out of the campe cried out with a loud voice of him:

Right wise and sage indeed alone is he,
The reſt to him but flitting shadows be.

But now sir, seeing that the Cities and States of *Greece* are brought to such termes, that they have no more armies to conduct, nor tyrants to be put down, nor yet alliances to be treated and made, what noble and brave enterprise would you have a young gentleman performe at his beginning and entrance into government? Mary, there are left for him publike causes to plead, ambassages to negotiate unto the Emperour, or some soveraigne potentate; which occasions do ordinarily require a man of action, hardy and ardent at the first enterprise, wise and wary in the finall execution. Besides, there be many good and honest customes of ancient time, either for-let or grown out of kind by negligence, which may be set on foot, renewed, and reformed againe: many abuses also by ill custome are crept into Cities, where they have taken deep root, and been setled to the great dishonour and damage of the Common-wealth: which may be redressed by his meanes. It falleth out many times, that a great controverſie judged and decided aright; the triall likewise and proofe of faithfull trust and diligence in a poore mans cause maintained and defended frankly and boldly against the oppression of some great and mighty adversary; also a plaine and stout speech delivered in the behalfe of right and justice, against some grand Seignior who is unjust and injurious, have afforded honourable entries unto the management of State-affaires. And many there be, who have put forth themselves, made their parts known, and come up, by entertaining quarrels and enmities with those personages, whose authority was odious, envied, and terrible to the people: for we alwaies see that presently the puiſſance and power of him that is put down and overthrown, doth accrue unto him who had the upper hand, with greater reputation: which I speake not as if I did approve and thought it good for one to oppose himselfe by way of envy unto a man of honour and good respect, and who by his vertue holdeth the chiefe place of credit in his countrey, thereby to undermine his estate, like as *Simmias* dealt by *Pericles*, *Alcmeon* by *Themistocles*, *Clodius* by *Pompeius*, and *Meneclides* the Orator by *Epaminondas*; for this course is neither good nor honourable, and besides, leſſe gainefull and profitable: for say that the people in a sudden fit of furious choler commit some outrage and abuse upon a man of worth; afterwards, when they repent at leisure (being coole) that which they did hastily in their heat of bloud, they thinke there is no readier nor juster means to excuse themselves to him, than to deface, yea, and undo the said party who first moved and induced them to those proceedings. And verily, to set upon a wicked person,

who either by his audacious and inconsiderate rashnesse, or by his fine and cautelous devices hath gotten the head over a whole City, or brought a State to his devotion, such as were in old time *Cleon* and *Clitophon* at *Athens*; to set upon those (I say) for to bring them under, yea, and utterly to destroy them out of the way, were a notable preamble (as it were) to the Comedy for him that is mounted upon the stage of a Common-wealth, and newly entred into the government thereof. I am not ignorant likewise, that some by clipping the wings, or paring the nailes (as a man would say) of an imperious Senate and Lordly Seigniory, taking upon them too much, and tyrannizing by vertue of their absolute soveraignty, which was the practice of one *Ephialtes* at *Athens*; and another in the City *Elis*, whose name was *Phormio*, have acquired honour and reputation in their countrey: but I hold this to be a dangerous beginning for to be enterprised by them that would come to the managing of State-affaires. And it seemeth that *Solon* made choise of a better entrance than so, for the City of *Athens* being divided into three parts or regions; the first, of those that did inhabit the hill; the second, of them who dwelt upon the plaine; and the third, of such as kept by the water-side; he would not seem to side with any one of these three parts, but carried himself indifferent unto them all, saying and doing what he could to reconcile and re-unite them together: by which meanes chosen he was, by the generall consent of them all, the Lord Reformer, to draw new laws and conditions of pacification among them; and by this practice he established and confirmed the State of *Athens*. Thus you see how a man may enter into the government of the Common-wealth by honourable and glorious commencements: and this may suffice for the former avenue of the twaine aforesaid unto the affaires of State.

As for the other way, which as it giveth more sure accesse, so it is not so expedite and short; there have been many notable men who in old time made choice thereof, and loved it better: and by name, *Aristides*, *Phocion*, *Pammenes* the Theban, *Lucullus* in *Rome*, *Cato* and *Agesilaus* at *Lacedæmon*: for like as the Ivy windeth about trees stronger than it selfe, and riseth up aloft together with them; even so each one of these before-named, being yet young novices and unknown, joyning and coupling themselves with other ancient personages who were already in credit by rising leisurely under the wing and shadow of others, and growing with them, grounded themselves and tooke good root against the time that they undertook the government of State. Thus *Clisthenes* raised *Aristides*; *Chabrias* advanced *Phocion*; by *Sylla* *Lucullus* rose; *Cato* by *Fab. Maximus*; *Epaminondas* came up by *Pammenes*; and *Agesilaus* by *Lysander*; but this man named last, upon a certaine inordinate ambition and importune jealousie did wrong unto his own reputation, by casting and rejecting behind him a worthy personage, who guided and directed him in all his actions: but all the rest wisely and honestly reverenced, acknowledged, yea, and aided with all their power, even to the very end, the authors of their rising and advancement; much like unto those bodies which are opposed full against the sun, in returning and sending back the light that shineth upon them, do augment and illustrate the same so much the more. Thus when evill tongued persons, who envied and maligned the glory o *Scipio*, gave out that he was but the player and actor only of those worthy feats of armes which hee executed; for the author thereof was *Lælius* his familiar friend; yet *Lælius* for all these speeches was never moved nor altered in his purpose, but continued still the same man to promote and second the glory and vertue of *Scipio*. As for *Afranius* the friend of *Pompeius*, notwithstanding he was but of base and low degree, yet being upon termes to be chosen Consull, when he understood that *Pompeius* favoured others, gave over his sute, and let fall the possibility that he had; saying withall: That it would not be so honourable unto him for to be promoted unto that dignity of Consulate, as grievous and troublesome, to obtain the same against the good-will, and without the favour and assistance of *Pompeius*; and so in deferring and putting off the matter but one yeare longer, he had not the repulse when the time came, and therewith he kept his friend still, and enjoyed his favour. And by this means it commeth to passe, that those who are thus led by the hand of others, and trained to the way of preferment and glory in gratifying one, do gratifie many withall; and besides, if any inconvenience chance to ensue, the lesse odious they be and hatefull for it: which was the reason that *Philip* King of *Macedonie* earnestly exhorted and admonished his son *Alexander*, that he should provide himselfe of many friends and servitors whiles he might, and had leisure, even during the reign of another, namely, by conversing and conferring graciously with every one, and by cheerful behaviour and affability to all, for to win their love and favour; but when he was once invested in the kingdome, to chuse for his guide and conductor in the managing of State-affaires, not simply him who is of most credit and greatest reputation, but rather the man who is such an one by his desert and vertue: for like as every tree will not admit a vine to wind about the trunke and body thereof; for some there be that do choake and utterly mar the growth of it; even so in the government of Cities and States, those who are not truly honest and lovers of vertue, but ambitious and desirous of honour and soveraignty only, afford not unto young men the means and occasions of worthy enterprises and noble acts, but upon envy and jealousie hold them under and put them back as far as they can, and thus make them to consume and languish, as if they detained from them their glory, and cut them short of that which is their only food and nourishment. Thus did *Marius* in *Africk* first, and afterwards in *Galatia* by *Sylla*, by whose meanes he had performed much good service; and in the end would not use him at all, but cast him off; for that in truth, he was vexed at the heart to see him grow up as he did, and to winne so great reputation under him, howsoever he would have seemed to colour the matter, and make the signet in the colet of his Ring which he sealed withall, the

the pretence and cloake thereof. For *Sylla* being Treasurer in *Africk*, under *Marius* the Lord Generall, was sent by him unto King *Bocchus*, and brought with him *Jugurtha* prisoner; and being a young gentleman as he was, and beginning to taste the sweetnesse of glory, he could not carry himselfe modestly in this good fortune of his, but must needs weare upon his finger a faire Seale Ring, wherein he caused to be engraven the history of this exploit, and namely, how *Bocchus* delivered into his hands *Jugurtha* prisoner: hereat *Marius* tooke exceptions, laid this to his charge, and made it a colourable occasion of rejecting and putting him out of his place: but he joyning himselfe with *Catulus* and *Metellus*, good men both, and the adversaries of *Marius*, soone after chased *Marius*, and turned him out of all in a civill war, which was well neare the ruine and overthrow of the Roman Empire. *Sylla* dealt not so with *Pompeius*; for he evermore advanced and graced him from his very youth, he would arise out of his chaire, and vaile bonnet unto him when he came in place: semblably he carried himselfe toward other young gentlemen and gallants of *Rome*, imparting unto some the meanes of doing the exploits of captaines and commanders: yea, quickning and putting others forward who were unwilling of themselves; and in so doing he filled all his Armies with zeale, emulation, and desire of honour, striving who should do better, and by this meanes became himselfe superiour evermore, and ruled all: at length desirous to be not the only man, but the first and the greatest among many that were likewise great. These be the men therefore with whom a young States-man ought to joyne; to these he ought to cleave, and in them, as it were, to be incorporate: not as that Cockatrice or Basiliske in *Æsops* fables, who being carried aloft on the shoulders of the Eagle, no sooner came neare to the sun beames, but suddenly tooke his flight, and came to the place before the Eagle: and after that manner to rob them of their honour, and secretly to catch their glory from them: but contrariwise to receive it of them with their consent and good favour, and to give them to understand that they had never known how to rule unlesse they had learned first of them to obey well, as *Plato* saith.

Next after this followeth the election and choise that they ought to make of their friends: In which point they are not to take example either by *Themistocles* or *Cleon*: As for *Cleon*, when he knew that he was to undertake the government upon him, assembled all his friends together, and declared unto them that he renounced all their amity, saying; That friendship was oftentimes a cause that disabled men, and withdrew them from their right intention in affaires of State; but it had been far better done of him to have exiled and chased out of his mind all avarice and contentious humours, to have cleansed his heart from envy and malice: for the government of Cities hath not need of those who are friendlesse and destitute of familiar companions, but of such as be wise and honest: but when he had banished and put away his friends, he entertained round about him a sort of flatterers, who daily stroaked and licked him, as the comicall Poets use to say, He became rough and severe to good and civill men, but instead thereof he debased himselfe to court, flatter, and please the multitude, doing and saying all things to content them, and taking rewards at every mans hand, combining and sorting himselfe with the worst and most lewd people in the whole City, by their meanes to make head, and set against the best and most honourable persons. *Themistocles* yet tooke another course, who when one said unto him; You shall do the part of a good Ruler and Magistrate, in case you make your selfe equall unto every one alike; answered thus, I pray God I may never sit in such a throne or seat, wherein my friends may not prevaile more with me, than they that are not my friends. But herein he did not well, no more than the other, thus to promise any part and authority of his government unto those with whom he had amity, and to submit the publike affaires unto his private and particular affections: howbeit, for all this, he answered very well unto *Simonides*, requesting somewhat at his hand that was not just: Neither were he a good Musician or Poet, (quoth he) who should sing against measures: nor the Magistrate righteous who in favour of any person doth ought against the laws. For in truth a shamefull thing it were, and a great indignity, that in a ship the master or owner thereof should give order to be provided of a good Pilot and Stereisman; that the Pilot also should chuse good boat-swaines and other Mariners,

Who can the helme rule in the sterne below,
And hoise up saile above, when winds do blow.

Also that an architect or master-builder knoweth how to chuse those workemen and labourers under him, who will in no case hurt his worke, but set it forward, and take paines with him for his best behoofe: and a States-man or governour, who as *Pindarus* saith well,

Of justice, is the architect,
And policy ought to direct.

Not know at the very first to chuse friends of the same zeale and affection that he is himselfe, to second and assist him in his enterprises, and to be as it were the spirits to inspire him with a desire of well-doing; but to suffer himselfe to be bent and made pliable unjustly and violently; now to gratifie the will of one; and anon, to serve the turne and appetite of another: For such a man resembleth properly a carpenter or mason, who by errour, ignorance, and want of experience, useth his squares, his plumbs, levels and rules so, that they make his worke to rise crooked and out of square in the end. For certainly friends be the very lively tooles, and sensible instruments of governours; and in case they do amisse and worke without the right line, the Rulers themselves are not to slip and go awry with them for company, but to have a carefull eye unto this, that unwitting to them they do not erre and commit a fault. For this it was that wrought *Solon* dishonour, and caused him

him to be reproached and accused by his own Citizens, for that having an intention to ease mens grievous debts, and to bring in that which at *Athens* they called *Sisachthia*, as if one would say, an alleviation of some heavy burden, which was a pleasing and plausible name, importing a generall striking out of all debts, and a cancelling of bonds; he imparted this designe and purpose of his to some of his friends, who did him a shrewd turne, and most unjustly wrought him much mischiefe: for upon this inkling given unto them, they made haste to take up and borrow all the money they could, as far as their credit would extend: not long after when this edict or proclamation aforesaid concerning the annulling of all debts was come forth and brought to light; these friends of his were found to have purchased goodly houses, and faire lands, with the monies which they had levied. Thus *Solon* was charged with the imputation of doing this wrong, together with them, when as himselfe indeed was wronged and abused by them. *Agesilaus* also shewed himselfe in the occasions and suites of his friends most weake and feeble-minded, more iwis than in any thing else, resembling the horse *Pegasus* in *Euripides*,

Who strunke full low and yeelded what he could,
His lack to mount, more than the rider would.

And helping his familiar friends in all their distresses more affectionately and willingly than was meet and reason: for whensoever they were called into question in justice for any transgressions, he would seeme to be privy and party with them in the same. Thus he saved one *Phæ dias* who was accused to have surprised secretly the Castle of *Thebes* called *Cadmia*, without commission and warrant, alledging in his defence, that such enterprises ought to be executed by his own proper motive without attending any other commandement. Moreover, he wrought so with his countenance and favour, that one *Sphodrias*, who was attaint for an unlawfull and heinous act, and namely, for entring by force and armes with a power into the countrey of *Attica*, what time as the Athenians were allied and confederate in amity with the Lacedæmonians, escaped judgement, and was found unguilty; which he did, being wrought thereto and mollified (as it were) by the amorous prayers of his son. Likewise there is a missive of his found, and goeth abroad to be seen, which he wrote unto a certaine great Lord or Potentate in these termes: If *Nicias* have not trespassed, deliver him for justice sake; if he have transgressed, deliver him for my sake; but howsoever it be, deliver him and let him go. But *Phocion* contrariwise would not so much as assist in judgement *Charillus* his own son in law, who had married his daughter, when he was called into question and indited for corruption and taking money of *Harpalis*, but left him and departed, saying: In all causes just and reasonable I have made you my allie, and will embrace your affinity; in other cases you shall pardon me. *Timoleon* also the Corinthian, after that he dealt what possibly he could with his brother by remonstrance, by prayers and intreaty to reclaime and disswade him from being a tyrant; seeing that he could do no good on him, turned the edge of his sword against him, and joyned with those that murdered him in the end: for a Magistrate ought to friend a man, and stand with him not only with this gage, as far as to the altar, that is to say, untill it come to the point of being forsworne for him, according as *Pericles* one day answered to a friend of his, but also thus far forth only, as not to do for his sake any thing contrary to the lawes, against right, or prejudiciall to the common-weale: which rule being neglected and not precisely observed, is the cause that bringeth great losse and ruine to a state; as may appeare by the example of *Phœbidas* and *Sphodrias*, who being not punished according to their deserts, were not the least causes that brought upon *Sparta* the unfortunate war and battell at *Leuctre*. True it is, that the office of a good ruler and administrator of the weale-publike, doth not require precisely and force us to use severity, and to punish every slight and small trespasse of our friends; but it permitteth us after we have looked to the maine chance, and secured the State, then as it were of a surplussage to succour our friends, to assist and help them in their affairs, and take part with them. Moreover, there be certaine favours which may be done without envy and offence; as namely, to stand with a friend rather than another, for the getting of a good office; to bring into his hand some honourable commission, or an ease and kind embassage, as namely, to be sent unto a Prince or Potentate in the behalfe of a City or State, only to salute him and do him honour; or to give intelligence unto another City of important matters, in regard of amity, league, and mutuall society; or in case there fall out some businesse of trouble, difficulty and great importance, when a Magistrate hath taken upon himselfe first the principall charge thereof, he may chuse unto him for his adjunct or assistant in the commission some speciall friend, as *Diomedes* did in *Homer*:

To chuse mine own companion,
Since that you will me let,
Ulysses that renowned knight,
How can I then forget?

Ulysses Likewise as kindly rendreth unto him the like praise againe:

These courses brave, concerning which
Of me you do demand,
O aged sire arived here
Of late from Thracian land
Are hither come, and there were bred:
Their Lord them lost in fight,

Whom

Whom valiant Diomedes *slew*
By force of armes outright,
And twelve friends more and doughty knights,
As ever horse did ride,
Were with him slaine for company,
And lay dead by his side.

This modest kind of yeelding and submission to gratifie and pleasure friends, is no lesse honourable to the praisers than to the parties praised; whereas contrariwise, arrogancy and selfe-love (as *Plato* saith) dwelleth with solitudes, which is as much to say, as it is forsaken and abandoned of all the world. Furthermore, in these honest favours and kind curtesies which we may bestow upon some friends, we ought to associate other friends besides, that they may be in some sort interessed therein also; and so admonish those who receive such pleasures at our hands, for to praise and thanke them, yea, and to take themselves beholding unto them, as having been the cause of their preferment, and those who counselled and perswaded thereto: but if peradventure they move us in any undecent, dishonest, and unreasonable sutes, we must flatly deny them; howbeit, not after a rude, bitter, and churlish sort, but mildly and gently by way of remonstrance, and to comfort them withall, shewing unto them that such requests were not beseeming their good reputation and the opinion of their vertue. And this could *Epaminondas* do of all men in the world best, and shift them off after the cleanliest manner; for when he refused at the instant sute of *Pelopidas*, to deliver out of prison a certaine Tavernor, and within a while after, let the same party go at liberty at the request of his lemmon or harlot whom he loved, he said unto him: *Pelopidas*, such graces and favours as these we are to grant unto our paramours and concubines, and not unto such great Captaines as your selfe. But *Cato* after a more surly and boisterous sort in the like case answered unto *Catulus*, one of his inward and most familiar friends. This *Catulus* being Censour, moved *Cato*, who then was but Questour or Treasurer, that for his sake he would dismisse and set free one of his clarkes of the Finances under him, against whom he had commenced sute and entred processe in law: That were a great shame indeed (quoth he) for you, who are the Censour, that is to say, the correct or and reformer of our manners, and who ought to schoole and instruct us that be of the younger sort, thus to be put out of your course by our under officers and ministers: for he might well enough have denied to condescend unto his request in deed and effect, without such sharpe and biting words, and namely, by giving him to understand that this displeasure that he did him in refusing to do the thing, was against his will, and that he could neither will nor chuse, being forced thereto by justice and the law.

Over and besides, a man in government hath good meanes with honesty and honour to help his poore friends, that they may advantage themselves and reape benefit by him from the common-wealth. Thus did *Themistocles* after the battell at *Marathon*: for seeing one of them that lay dead in the field to have hanging at his neck, chaines, and collars, with other bracelets of gold about his armes, passed by, and would not seeme for his own part to meddle with them, but turning back to a familiar friend of his, one of his followers; Here (quoth he) off with these ornaments and take them to your selfe, for you are not yet come to be such an one as *Themistocles*. Moreover, the affaires and occurrences daily incident in the world, do present unto a Magistrate and great Ruler such like occasions, whereby he may be able to benefit and enrich his friends: for all men cannot be wealthy nor like to you O *Menemachus*. Give then unto one friend a good and just cause to plead unto and defend, which he may gaine well by and fill his purse; unto another, recommend the affaires and businesse of some great and rich personage, who hath need of a man that knoweth how to manage and order the same better than himselfe; for another, harken out where there is a good bargaine to be made, as namely, in the undertaking of some publike work, or help him to the taking of a good farme at a reasonable rent, whereby he may be a gainer. *Epaminondas* would do more than thus; for upon a time he sent one of his friends who was but poore unto a rich Burgesse of *Thebes*, to demand a whole talent of money freely to be given unto him, and to say, that *Epaminondas* commanded him to deliver so much: The Burgesse wondring at such a message, came unto *Epaminondas*, to know the cause why he should part with a talent of silver unto him; mary (quoth he) this is the reason: The man whom I sent is honest, but poore, and you by robbing the common-wealth are become rich. And by report of *Xenophon*, *Agesilaus* took no small joy and glory in this, that he had enriched his friends, whiles himselfe made no account at all of money.

But forasmuch according to the saying of *Simonides*, as all larkes ought to have a cop or creste upon the head; so every government of State bringeth with it enmities, envies, and litigious jealousies; this is a point wherein a man of estate and affaires ought to be well enformed and instructed. To begin therefore to treat of this argument, many there be who highly praise *Themistocles* and *Aristides*, for that whensoever they were to go out of the territory of *Attica*, either in embassage or to manage wars together; they had no sooner their charge and commission, but they presently laid downe all the quarrels and enmitie between even in the very confines and frontiers of their countrey, and afterwards when they were returned, tooke up and entertained them againe. Some also there are who be wonderfull well pleased with the practice and fashion of *Cretinas* the Magnesian. This *Cretinas* had for his concurrent an adversary in the government of State, a nobleman of the same City named *Hermias*, who although he were not very rich, yet ambiti-

ambitious he was, and carried a brave and haughty mind: *Cretinas* in the time of the war that *Mithridates* made for the conquest of *Asia*, seeing the City in danger, went unto the said *Hermias*, and made an offer unto him to take the charge of captain generall for the defence of the City, and in the mean while himself would go forth and retire to some other place: or otherwise, if he thought better, that himself should take upon him the charge of the war, then he would depart out of the City into the countrey for the time, for feare lest if they tarried both behind and hindered one another as they were wont to do by their ambitious minds, they should undo the state of the City. This motion liked *Hermias* very well, who, confessing that *Cretinas* was a more expert warrior than himself, departed with his wife and children out of the City: Now *Cretinas* made means to send him out before with a convoy, putting into his hands his own money, as being more profitable to them who were without their houses and fled abroad, than to such as lay besieged within the City, which being at the point to be lost, was by this means preserved beyond all hope and expectation: for if this be a noble and generous speech proceeding from a magnanimous heart, to say thus with a loud voice:

My children well I love, but of my heart,
My native soile by far hath greater part.

Why should not they have this speech readier in their mouths, to say unto every one? I hate this or that man, and willing I would be to do him a displeasure; but my native countrey I love so much the more? For not to desire to be at variance and debate still with an enemy, in such causes as for which we ought to abandon and cast off our friend, were the part of a most fell, savage, and barbarous nature: yet did *Phocion* and *Cato* better in mine opinion, who entertained not any enmity with their Citizens in regard of difference and variance between them about bearing rule and government; but became implacable and irreconcilable only in publike causes, when question was of abandoning or hurting the weale publike; for otherwise in private matters, they carried themselves kindly enough, without any rankor or malice even toward them, against whom they had contested in open place, as touching the state; for we ought not to esteeme or repute any citizen an enemy, unlesse such an one be bred amongst them as *Aristion*, or *Nabis*, or *Catiline*, who are to be reckoned botches rather, and pestilent maladies of a City than Citizens; for of all others if haply they be at a jar or discord, a good Magistrate ought to bring them into tune and good accord again, by gently setting up and letting down, as a skilfull Musician would do by the strings of his instrument: and not in anger to come upon those that are delinquents, roughly and after an outragious manner, even to their detriment and disgrace; but after a more mild and civill sort, as *Homer* speaketh in one place:

Certes, faire friend, I would have held,
That others for your wit you had exceld.

As also in another:

You know, if that you list (iwis)
To tell a better tale than this.

Yea, and when they shall either say or do that which is good and convenient, not to shew himselfe to grieve and grudge at their credit and reputation which they win thereby, nor to be spary in affording them honourable words to their commendation and advantage: for in so doing, thus much will be gained, that the blame which shall be laid upon them another time when they deserve it, will be better taken, and more credit given to it: and besides, by how much more we shall exalt their vertues, so much the more we may beat down and depresse their vices when they do amisse, by making comparison of them both, and shewing how much the one is more worthy and beseeming than the other: for mine own part, I hold it meet and good, that a man of government should give testimony in the behalfe of his adversaries in righteous and just causes; also assist and help them out of troubles, in case they be brought into question by some lewd sycophants, yea, and discredit and disable the imputations charged upon them, namely, when he seeth that such matters for which they are molested, be far from their intention and meaning. Thus *Nero*, a cruell tyrant though he was, a little before he put *Thraseas* to death, whom he hated and feared most of all men in the world, notwithstanding one laied to his charge before him that he had given a wrong doome or unjust sentence: I would (quoth he) that I could be assured that *Thraseas* loved me so well as I am sure he is a most upright and just Judge. Neither were it amisse for the astonishing and daunting of others, who be of a naughty nature, when they do commit any grosse faults, to make mention otherwhiles of some adversary of theirs, who is of a more modest behaviour and civill carriage, by saying: such an one (I warrant you) would never have said or done thus. Moreover, it were not impertinent to put some, who do offend, in mind of their fathers and ancestors, that have been good and honest, like as *Homer* did:

A son (iwis) Sir Tydeus *left behind,*
Unlike himselfe, and much grown out of kind.

And *Appius Claudius* being the concurrent to *Scipio Africanus*, when they stood both for one Magistracy, said unto him as he met him in the street: O *Paulus Æmylius*, how deeply wouldst thou sigh for griefe and sorrow, in case thou wert advertised that one *Philonicus* a Publicane or Banker and no better, accompanied and guarded thy son thorow the City, going down toward the assembly of *Comices* for to be chosen Censor? This manner of reprehension, as it admonisheth the offender, so it doth honour unto the admonisher. *Nestor* likewise in a Tragedy of *Sophocles* answereth as politickly unto *Ajax*, when he reproached him, saying:

I blame not you, sir Ajax, *for your speech,*
Naught though it be; your words are nothing lieeb.

Semblably, *Cato* who had contested against *Pompey*, for that being combined and in league with *Julius Cæsar*, he assaulted and forced the City of *Rome*, when as afterwards they were grown to open war one against the other, opined and gave his advice to confer the charge and regiment of the common-weale upon *Pompeius*, saying withall: That they who could do most mischiefe, were the fittest men to stay the same: for this a blame or reproofe mingled with a praise and commendation, especially, if the same grow to no opprobrious termes, but be contained within the compasse of a franke and free remonstrance, working not a spightfull stomack, but a remorse of conscience and repentance, seemeth kind and dutifull; whereas despiteous reproaches are never seemely and decent in the mouth of a Magistrate and man of honour. Marke the opprobrious termes and taunts that *Demosthenes* let flie against *Æschines*, those also that *Æschines* gave him; likewise the bitter frumps which *Hyperides* wrote against *Demades*; and see if *Solon* ever delivered such, or if there came the like out of the mouth of *Pericles*, of *Lycurgus* the Lacedæmonian, or of *Pittacus* the Lesbian; and as for *Demosthenes*, he forbare such sharpe and cutting termes otherwise, and never used them but in pleading against some criminall causes; for his orations against *Philip* are cleare and void of all nips, flouts, and scoffes whatsoever: and in truth such manner of dealing defameth the speaker more, than those against whom they be spoken; they bring confusion in all affaires; they trouble assemblies both in Councel House and also in Common Hall: In which regard, *Phocion* yeelding upon a time to one that was given to raile, brake off his oration, held his peace for a while and came down; but after, the other with much ado held his tongue and gave over his foule language, he mounted up into the place of audience againe, and going on in his former speech which was interrupted and discontinued, said thus: Now that I have already my masters spoken sufficiently of horsemen, men of armes, and souldiers heavily armed at all peeces, it remaineth to discourse of light footmen, and targueteers nimbly appointed.

But forasmuch as this is an hard matter unto many, to beare with such broad language, and to containe, and oftentimes these taunting scoffers meet with their matches, and have their mouths stopped, and are put to silence by some pretty replies; I would wish that the same were short pithy, and delivered in very few words, not shewing any heat of anger and choler, but a kind of sweet mildnesse, after the manner of a grave laughter, yet withall somewhat tart and biting; and such ordinarily be those that are returned fitly in the same kind against them that first began: for like as those darts which are recharged upon them that flung them first, seeme to be driven with good will, and sent back againe with great force and firme strength of him who was stricken with them; even so it seemeth that a sharpe and biting speech retorted against him who first spake it, commeth forceable and with a power of wit and understanding from the party who received it; such was the reply of *Epaminondas* unto *Callistratus*, who reproached and upbraided the Thebanes and Argives with the Parricides of *Oedipus* and *Orestes*, for that the one being borne in *Thebes* slew his own father, and the other at *Argos* killed his mother: true indeed quoth *Epaminondas*, and therefore we banished them out of our Cities, but you receive them into yours. Semblable was the answer of *Amalcidas* a Lacedæmonian unto an Athenian, who said unto him after a boasting and vaunting manner: We have driven you oftentimes from the river *Cephisus*; but we (quoth he) never yet drave you from the river *Eurotas*: In like sort replied *Phocion* pleasantly upon *Demades* when he cried aloud, The Athenians will put thee to death if they enter once into their raging fits: But they (quoth he) will do the same by thee, if they were in their right wits: and *Crassus* the orator when *Domitius* demanded this question of him; When the Lamprey which you kept and fed in your poole was dead, did you never weep for it, and say true? Came upon him quickly againe in this wise: And you sir when you had buried three of your wives one after another, did you ever shed teare for the matter and tell truth? And verily these rules are not only to be practised in matters of State-affaires, but they have their use also in other parts of mans life.

Moreover, some there be who will intrude and thrust themselves into all sorts of publike affaires, as *Cato* did; and these are of opinion, that a good Citizen should not refuse any charge or publike administration so far forth as his power will extend: who highly commend *Epaminondas*; for that when his adversaries and ill willers upon envy had caused him to be chosen a bayliffe and receiver of the Citie revenues, thereby to do him a spight and shrewd turne; he did not despise and thinke basely of the said office; but saying, that not only Magistracy sheweth what manner of man one is, but also a man sheweth what the Magistracy is, he brought that office into great dignity and reputation, which before was in no credit and account at all, as having the charge of nothing else but of keeping the streets cleane, of dung-farming and carrying dung forth out of the narrow lanes and blind allies, and turning water courses. And even I *Plutarch* my selfe doubt not, but I make good sport and game unto many who passe through our City, when they see me in the open streets otherwhiles busie and occupied about the like matters; but to meet with such, I might help my selfe with that which I have found written of *Antisthenes*; for when some there were that marvelled much at him for carrying openly in his hands through the market place a peece of salt-fish, or stock-fish which he had bought: It is for mine own selfe (quoth he aloud) that I carry it; but contrariwise mine answer is to such, as reprove me when they find me in proper person present, at the measuring and counting of bricks and tiles, or to see the stones, sand, and lime laid downe,

which

which is brought into the City; it is not for my selfe that I build, but for the City and Commonwealth, for many other things there be, which if a man exercise or manage in his own person and for himselfe, he may be thought base minded and mechanical: but in case he do it for the Commonwealth and the State, and for the countrey and place where he liveth, it cannot be accounted a vile or ungentleman-like service, but a great credit even to be serviceable, ready, and diligent to execute the meanest functions that be. Others there are, who thinke the fashion that *Pericles* used to be more stately, grave, and decent, and namely *Critolaus* the Peripatetick among the rest, who was of this mind, that as the two great galiasses, to wit, *Salaminia* at *Athens*, and *Paralos* were not shot or launched into the sea for every small matter, but only upon urgent and necessary occasions; even so a man of government should be employed in the chiefe and greatest affaires, like as the soveraigne and King of the world, according to the Poet *Euripides*,

Τὼν ἀγὼν γὰρ ἄπτεται.
For God himselfe doth manage and dispence
Things of most weight, by his sole government;
But matters light and of small consequence,
He doth refer to fortunes regiment.

For we cannot commend the excessive ambition, the aspiring and contentious spirit of *Theagenes*, who contented not himselfe to have gone through all the ordinary games with victory, and to have won the prizes in many other extraordinary masteries and feats of activity, to wit, not only in that generall exercise *Pancration*, wherein hand and foot both is put to the uttermost at once, but also at buffets, and at running a course in the long race: Finally, being one day at a solemne anniversary feast or yeares-maund in the memoriall of a certaine demi-god (as the manner was) when he was set, and the meat served up to the boord, he would needs rise from the table for to performe another generall *Pancratium*: as if forsooth it had belonged to no man in the world to atchieve the victory in such feats but himselfe, if he were present in place: by which profession he had gotten together as good as twelve hundred Coronets, as prizes at such combates, of which the most part were of small or no value at all; a man would say they had been chaffe, or such refuse and rifferaffe. Like unto him for all the world be those, who are ready (as a man would say) at all houres to cast off all their cloaths to their very single wastcoat or shirt, for to undertake all affairs that shall be presented; by which means the people have enough and too much of them; they become odious and irkesome unto them; in such sort that if they chance to do well and prosper, they envy them; if they do otherwise than well and miscarry, they rejoyce and be glad at heart therefore. Againe, that which is admired in them at their first entrance into government, turneth in the end to a jest and meere mockery, much after this order; *Metiochus* is the generall Captaine; *Metiochus* looketh to the high waies; *Metiochus* bakes our bread; *Metiochus* grindes our meale; *Metiochus* doth every thing, and is all in all; finally, *Metiochus* shall pay for this one day, and crie, woe is me in the end. Now was this *Metiochus* one of *Pericles* his followers and favorites, who making use of his authority out of measure and compasse, by the countenance thereof, would employ himselfe in all publike charges and commissions whatsoever, untill at the last he became contemptible and despised. For in truth a man of government ought so to carry himselfe, as that the people should evermore have a longing appetite unto him, be in love with him, and alwaies desirous to see him againe, if he be absent. This policy did *Scipio Africanus* wisely practice, who aboad the most part of the time in the countrey; by this meanes both easing himselfe of the heavy load of envy, and also giving those the while, good leisure to take breath, who seemed to be kept down by his glory. *Timesias* the Clazomenian was otherwise a good man and a sufficient Politician, howbeit little wist he how he was envied in the City, because he would seeme to do every thing by himselfe, untill such time as there befell unto him such an accident as this. There chanced to be playing in the midst of a street, as he passed by, a company of boies, and their game was who could drive with a cudgell a certaine cockall bone out of an hole. Some boies there were who held, that the bone lay still within; but he who had smitten it, maintained the contrary (and said withall) I would I had as well dashed out *Timesias* braines out of his head, as I am sure this bone was stricken out of the hole: *Timesias* over-heard this word, and knowing thereby what envy and malice all the people bare unto him, returning home presently to his house, and told his wife the whole matter, commanding her to trusse and pack up all both bag and baggage, and to follow after him; who immediately went out of doores, and departed for ever out of the City *Clazomene*. It should seeme also that *Themistocles* was almost in the same plight, and wanted but a little of the like shrewd turne from the Athenians, when he was driven thus to say unto them: Ah my good friends and neighbours, why are you weary and thinke much to receive so great good at my hands? But as touching these persons above said, some words of theirs were well placed, and others not. For a wise States-man, in care, affection, and forecast, ought not to refuse any publike charge whatsoever, but to take paines in having an eye to all, and to understand and know every particular; and not to reserve himselfe close, as it were, some holy anchor or sacred tackling laid up in some secret cabin of a ship, and not to attend only upon extremities, and to tarry untill he be employed upon occasions of great necessity and utmost danger. But like as good Patrons or Masters of a ship, lay their own hands to some businesse, but others they performe sitting themselves a far off by the meanes of their tooles and instruments, and by the hands of other servitors, turning

turning about, stretching and winding up, or letting down, and slacking the ropes as they see cause, employing the mariners, some to row, others to attend and be occupied in the prow and foreship; and others again to cry unto their fellows to ply their work; and some of them they call many times into the poop, and putting the helm into their hands, set them to steer and guide the stern; even so ought a wise Governour of the Common-wealth to yeeld now and then unto others the honour of command, and otherwhiles to call them after a gracious and courteous sort to the Pulpit, or publick place of audience, to make orations to the people, and not to move all matters belonging to the State by his own personall speeches, nor by his decrees, sentences, acts, (and as it were) with his own hands execute every thing; but to have about him faithful and trusty persons to be his Ministers, who might second and assist him; and those he should employ, some in this charge, and others in that, according as he seeth them to be sufficient, meet, and fit for employment. After this manner did *Pericles* use *Menippus* for his expeditions and conduct of war affairs; thus by the means of *Ephialtes* he took down and abridged the authority of the high Court *Areopagus*. *Charinus* he employed in compassing and contriving the Law or Decree that passed against the Megarians; and *Lampon* he sent with a Colony for to people the City of *Thurii*. And in this doing, he not only diminished the envy of the people against himselfe, in that it seemed that his power and authority was thus divided and parted among many; but also he managed the affairs of the State better and more commodiously by far. For like as the division of the hand into fingers enfeebleth not the force of the whole hand, but maketh it more fit for use, to handle all tools and instruments, or to work any thing more artificially; even so, he that in matters of government doth communicate part of the management of the publick affairs with his friends, causeth by this participation all things to be better done, and with more expedition; whereas that man, who upon an unsatiable desire to shew himselfe, to have credit and to win name and authority, layeth all the weight of the State upon his own shoulders, and wil be doing of every thing; undertaking oftentimes that charge, whereunto he is neither framed by nature, nor fitted by exercise; as *Cleon* did in leading an Army; *Philopœmenes* in conducting a Navie; and *Annibal* in making Orations to the people, maketh himselfe inexcusable, if haply ought fall out otherwise then well. To such an one may well be applied a verse out of *Euripides*:

You work not in timber, but in other matter,
Being your selfe but only a Carpenter.

even so, you not able to deliver an eloquent speech, have undertaken an embassage; being idle and given to take your ease, you will needs have the charge of a Steward, and govern an house; not skilful and ready in casting accounts, you will needs be a Treasurer, or Receiver; being aged and sickly, you are become a Commander and General of an Army. *Pericles* did far better then so; for he parted the government with *Cimon*; and retaining to himselfe the whole power of ruling within the City, he left unto *Cimon* full Commission and Authority to man the *Armada*, and in the mean while to make war upon the Barbarians, because he knew his own selfe more fit for civil regiment at home, and the other more meet for war-like command abroad. In this respect *Eubulus* the Anaphlystian is highly commended, who, notwithstanding the people had a great affiance and trust in him, yea, and gave him as much credit as no man more, yet could he never be brought to deal in the forraign affairs of *Greece*, nor to take upon him the conduct of an Army: but resolving with himselfe ever from the beginning to attend and be employed in many matters, he mightily encreased the revenues of the City, and enriched the State exceedingly. But *Iphicrates* for exercising and practicing to make declamations at home in his own house in the presence of many others, made a fool of himselfe, and was laughed to scorn for his labour; for say that he had proved no bad Orator, but a most excellent speaker; yet should he have stood contented with the reputation that he had won of a good warrior, by feats of arms, and have left the Schools of Rhetorick, for Sophisters, Orators, and such professors.

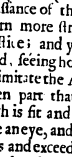
But forasmuch as all common people are by nature malignant, especially to those who are in place of authority, taking pleasure to quarrel and find fault with them; and suspecting ordinarily that many profitable Acts and Ordinances by them set down, unlesse they be debated by factions and with some contradiction, are contrived by secret intelligence under hand, and by way of conspiracy; even this is the thing that most of all bringeth the private amities and societies of States-men and Governours into an ill name and obloquy: howbeit, for all this, we are not to admit, or grant unto them any true enmity in deed or discord, as did sometimes a popular man, and a Governour of *Chios*, named *Onomademus*, who after he had in a certain seditious tumult gotten the upper hand of his adversaries, would not banish out of the City all those who had taken part against him: For fear left that (quoth he) we fall out with our friends, when we have no more enemies: for surely this were meer folly. But whensoever the people shall suspect any Ordinance or Act proposed which is of great consequence, and tending to their good, it behoveth not at such a time, that all (as it were) of one complot should deliver one and the same sentence; but that two or three opposing themselves without violence, should contradict their friend, and afterwards being convinced and overweighed by sound reasons, change their mind, and range themselves to his opinion; for by this means they draw the people with them, namely, when they seem themselves to be brought thereto in regard of a publick benefit and commodity. And verily in trifling matters and of no great importance, it were not amisse to suffer our very friends in good earnest to differ and

disagree from us, and to let every one take his way and follow his own mind, to the end that when some main points and principal matters of greatest moment shall come in question, and be debated, it might not be thought that they have complotted together, and so grown to a point and accord about the best.

Moreover, we are thus to think: That a wise man and a politician is by nature alwayes the Governour and chiefe Magistrate of a City, like as the King among the Bees; and upon this perswasion he ought to have evermore the reines in his hand, and to sway the affaires of State: howbeit he is not very often, nor too hotly for to seek after and pursue the offices and dignities which the people do nominate and chuse by their free voices: for this office-managing, and desire to be alwayes in place of authority, is neither venerable for his person, nor yet plausible to the people; and yet must not he reject the same, in case the people call him lawfully to it, and confer the same upon him: but to accept thereof, although peradventure they be offices somewhat inferiour to the reputation that he hath already, yea, and so employ himselfe therein willingly and with good affection; for reason it is and equity, that as we our selves have been honoured already by places of great dignity, so reciprocally we should grace and countenance those which be of meaner quality; and whensoever we shall be chosen to supream Magistracies, to wit, unto the state of Lord Governour and general Captain in the City of *Athens*, or the Prytanship in *Rhodes*, or Bœotarchy which is here in *Bœotia*, it may beseem us very well in modesty to yield and rebate a little of the soveraign power in our port, and with moderation to exercise the same; but contrariwise unto meaner rooms to adde more dignity, and shew greater countenance, to the end that we be not envied in the one or despised in the other.

Now for a man that entreth newly into any office whatsoever it be, he ought not only to call to remembrance, and use the speeches that *Pericles* made the first time that he took upon him the rule of State, and was to shew himselfe in open place: namely, Look to thy selfe *Pericles*, thou ruleſt free men and not bond-slaves; thou governeſt Greeks, and not Barbarians; nay, thou art the head Magistrate of the Citizens of *Athens*: but also he is to reason and say thus to himself: Thou art a Commander and yet a Subject withal: thou art the Ruler of a City under Roman Proconsuls, or else the Procurators, Lieutenants and Deputies of *Cæsar*. Here are not the plaines (as he said) of *Lydia*, for to run with the lance, nor the ancient City *Sardis*, nor yet the puissance of the Lydians which was in times past. The robe must not be made so large, it must be worn more strait; your eye must be always from the Emperours pavilion unto the Tribunal seat of justice; and you are not to take so great pride, nor trust so much unto a Crown standing upon the head, seeing how horned shooes of the Roman Senators are above the same: but herein you ought to imitate the Actors and Plaiers in Tragedies, who adde somewhat of their own to the Roll or written part that they doe play, to wit, their passionate affection, gesture, accent and countenance, which is fit and agreeable to the person that they do represent; and yet withall, they forget not to have an eye, and ear both, to the prompters. This (I say) we must do, for fear left we passe those bounds and exceed the measures of that liberty which is given us by those who have the power to command us: for I assure you, to go beyond those precincts and limits, bringeth with it danger; I say not to be hissed from off the stage, and be laughed out of our coats; but many there have been,

Upon whose necks for punishment,
The edge of trenchant axe and gleave
Hath fallen, to end all their torment,
And head from body soon did reave.



as it befel to *Pardalus* your countrey man, with those about him, for stepping a little at one side without their limits. And such another also there was, who being confined into a certain desart Isle, became (as *Solon* saith)

A Sicinitan or Pholegandrian,
Who born sometime was an Athenian.

We laugh heartily at little Children, to see how otherwhiles they go about to put their Fathers shooes upon their own feet, or to set Crownes upon their heads in sport; and Governours of Cities relating foolishly oftentimes unto the people, the worthy acts of their predecessors; their noble courage and brave minds, their notable enterprizes atchieved, far different and disproportioned to the present times and proceedings in their dayes, and exhorting them to follow the same, set the multitude aloft: but as they do ridiculously, so afterwards (beleeve me) they suffer not that which deserveth to be laughed at, unlesse haply they be so base minded, that for their baseness there is no account made of them. For many other Histories there be of ancient *Greece*, which afford examples to be recounted unto men living in this age, for to instruct and reforme their manners: as namely, those at *Athens* which put the people in remembrance, not of the prowesse of their Ancestors in martial affaires, but for example to decree of that general abolition and oblivion of all quarrels and matters past, which sometimes was concluded there, after that the City was delivered and freed from their captivity under the thirty Tyrants, as also another act, by vertue whereof they condemned in a grievous fine the Poet *Phrynichus*, for that he represented in a Tragedy the winning and razing of the City *Miletus*. Likewise, how by a publick ordinance, every man wore chaplets of flowers upon their heads, when they heard say that *Cassander* re-edified *Thebes*; and how, when intelligence came of the cruel execution and bloody massacre committed in *Argos*, wherein

wherein the Argives caused to be put to death 1500 of their own Citizens, they caused in a solemn procession, and general assembly of the whole City, an expiatory sacrifice to be carried about, that it might please the gods to avert and turn away such cruel thoughts from the hearts of the Athenians; semblably, how at what time as there was a general search made throughout the City in every house, for those who banded with *Harpalus*, they passed by one house only of a man newly married, and would not suffer it to be searched. For in these precedents and such like, they might well enough in these days imitate and resemble their ancient forefathers. But as for the battel of *Marathon*: the field fought neer the River *Eurynedon*, and the noble fight at *Platea*, with other such examples which do nothing else but blow and puff up a multitude with vanity, they should leave such stories for the Schools of Sophisters and Masters of Rhetorick.

Well, we ought in our several governments to have a due regard not only to maintain our selves and our Cities so wisely, that our soveraigns have no occasion to complain; but we must take order also to have one great Seignior or other, who hath most authority at *Rome*, and in the Court of the Emperor, to be our fast and special friend; who may serve us instead of a Rampier to back us, and to defend all our actions and proceedings in the government of our Countries: for such Lords and great men of *Rome* stand ordinarily passing well affected to those affairs, which their dependants and favorites do follow, and the fruit which may be reaped by the amity and favour of such grand Seigniors, it were not good and honest to convert into the advancement and enriching of our selves, and our particular private friends; but to employ the same as *Polybius* did sometime and *Panætius*, who by the means of the good grace of *Scipio* wherein they stood, did benefit and advantage their countrey exceeding much: in which number may be ranged *Arius*, for when *Cæsar Augustus* had forced the City *Alexandria*, he entred into it, holding *Arius* by the hand, and devising with him alone of all his other friends what was to be done more: afterwards when the Alexandrians looked for no other but sackage, and all extremities, and yet besought him to pardon them; I pardon you (quoth he) and receive you into my grace and favour; first in regard of the nobility and beauty of your City; secondly for *Alexander* the great his sake, the founder thereof; and thirdly for the love of this my friend *Arius* your Citizen. May a man with any reason compare with this gracious favour, the most large and gainful commissions of ruling and governing Provinces, which many make so great suit for at the Court, and that with such abject servitude and base subjection, that some of them have even waxed old in giving attendance thereabout, at other mens gates; leaving in the mean while their own home affairs at six and seven? were it not well to correct and amend a little the sentence in *Euripides*, singing and saying it thus; If it be honest and lawful to watch and make Court at the gates of another, and to be subject to the sute of some great Seigniour: surely most commendable and behoveful it were so to do, for the love and benefit of a mans country, in all other cases to seek and embrace amities, under just and equal conditions.

Moreover, a governor in yielding and reducing his country unto the obedience of mighty Soveraigns abroad, ought to take good heed that he bring it not into servile subjection, left when it is once tied by the leg, he suffer it to be bound also by the neck: for some there be who reporting all things both little and great unto these Potentates, make this their servitude reproachable; or to speak more truely, they deprive their country of all policy and form of government, making it so fearful, timorous, and fit for no authority and command at all; and like as they who use themselves to live so physically, that they can neither dine nor sup, nor yet bath without their Physitian, have not so much benefit of health as nature it self doth afford them; even so those Cities and States which for every decree and resolution of their counsel, for all grace and favour, yea, and for the smallest administration of publick affairs, must needs adjoyn the consent, judgement, and good liking of those Seigniors and good Masters of theirs, they even compel the said great Lords to be more powerful and absolute over them then they would themselves. The causes hereof commonly be these; to wit, the avarice, jealousie, and emulation of the chiefe and principal Citizens in a State; for that being desirous otherwhiles to oppresse and keep under those who be their inferiours, they constrain them to abandon their own Cities, or else being at some debate and difference with other Citizens their equals, and unwilling to take the foile one at anothers hand in their own City; they have recourse unto other superior Lords, and so bring in forraigners who are their betters. Hereupon it cometh to passe that the Senate, People, Judicial Courts, and all that little authority and power which they had is utterly lost. A good governour therefore ought to remedy this mischiefe, by appeasing such Burgesses as be private and meane Citizens, by equality, and those who are great and mighty, by reciprocal yeelding one to another; and so by this course to keep all affairs within the compasse of the City, to compose all quarrels, and determine all controversies at home, curing and healing such inconveniences as secret maladies of a common-wealth, with a civil and politick medicine; that is to say, to chuse rather for his owne part for to be vanquished and overthrown among fellow Citizens, then to vanquish and win the Victory by forraigne power, and not to offer wrong unto his natural countrey, and be a cause to overthrow the rights and priviledges thereof; as for all others, he is to beseech them, yea, and to perswade with them particularly one by another, by good reasons and demonstrances of how many calamities peevish obstinacy is the cause; and how, because they would not each one in his turne and course frame and accommodate themselves at home to their fellow-Citizens, who

many times be of one mind and linage to their neighbors and companions in charges and offices, and, that with honour and good favour, they are come to this passe, as to detect and lay open the secret dissentions and debates of their own City, at the gates of their advocates, and to put their causes into the hands of pragmatical Lawyers (at *Rome*) with no lesse shame and ignominy, then losse and dammage.

Physitians are wont when they cannot expel and fully exclude out of the body inwardly some kind of maladies, to turn and drive the same without foorth to the superficial parts; but contrariwise, a man of government, if he be not able to keep a City altogether in peace and concord, but that some troubles will arise, yet at least wise he must endeavour to contein that within the City which is the cause thereof, and nurseth the sedition, and in keeping it close to labour for to heal and remedy it; to this end, that if it be possible he have no need either of Physitian or Physick from forraign parts; for the intentions of a man of State and government ought to be these, namely, to proceed in his affairs surely, and to flie the violent and furious motions of vain-glory, as hath been said already, howbeit in his resolution,

A courage bold, and full of confidence
Undaunted hearts, and fearlesse he must have,
Which will not quaile for any consequence,
But see the end: much like to souldiers brave,
In field themselves who manly do behave,
And hazard limbs and life for to defend
Their countrey deer, and enemies to offend.

and not onely to oppose himselfe against enemies, but also to be armed against perilous troubles and dangerous tumults, that he may be ready to resist and make head: for he ought not in any case himself to move tempests and raise commotions, no nor when he seeth boisterous storms comming, forsake and leave his country in time of need. He must not (I say) drive his City under his charge upon apparent danger, but so soon as ever it once begin to be tossed, and to float in jeopardy, then is it his part to come to succour, by casting out from himselfe (as it were) a sacred Anchor, that is to say, to use his boldnesse and liberty of speech, considering that now the main point of all lieth a bleeding, even the safety of his countrey. Such were the dangers that hapned unto *Pergamus* in *Neroes* time, and of late days to the Rhodians, during the Empire of *Domitian*, as also before unto the Thessalians, while *Augustus* was Emperor, by occasion that they had burned *Petraus* quick. In these and such like occurrences, a man of State and government, especially if he be worthy of that name,

Never shall you see
Sleepy for to be.

nor drawing his foot back for fear, no nor to blame and lay the fault on others, nor yet to make shift for one, and put himselfe out of the medly of danger, but either going in embassage, or embarked in some ship at sea; or else ready to speak first, and to say not only thus,

We, we Apollo, *have this murther don,*
From these our coasts avert this plague anon.

but although himselfe be not culpable at all with the multitude, yet will he put his person into danger for them. For surely this is an act right honest, and besides the honesty in it selfe, it hapneth divers times, that the vertue and noble courage of such a man hath been so highly admired, that it hath daunted the anger conceived against a whole multitude, and dispatched all the fiercenesse and fury of a bitter menace: like as it befel unto a King of *Persia* in regard of *Bulis* and *Sperthis* two Gentlemen of *Sparta*: and as it was seen in *Pompey* to his host and friend *Sthenon*: for when he was fully determined to chastise the Mamertines sharply, and to proceed against them in all rigor, for that they had rebelled, the said *Sthenon* stept unto him, and thus frankly spake; That he should doe neither well nor justly, in case he did to death a number of innocents, for one man who alone was faulty; for it is I my selfe (quoth he) who caused the whole City to revolt and take Arms, inducing my friends for love, and forcing mine enemies for fear. These words of his went so neer unto the heart of *Pompey*, that he pardoned the City, and most courteously entreated *Sthenon*; semblably, the host of *Sylla*, having shewed the like valour and vertue, although it were not to the like person, died a noble death: for when *Sylla* had won the City *Præneste* by assault, he meant to put all the inhabitants thereof to the sword, excepting only one host of his, whom in regard of old hospitality he spared and pardoned: but this host and friend said flatly unto him, that he would never remain alive to see that bloody massacre, nor hold his life by the murtherer of his country; and so cast himselfe into the troop of his fellow Citizens in the heat of execution, and was killed with them. Well pray unto the gods we ought, to preserve and keep us that we fall not into such calamities and troubles sometimes; to hope also and look for better days.

Moreover, we are to esteem of every publick magistracy, and of him who exerciseth it, as of a great and sacred thing, and in that regard to honour the same above all. Now the honour which is due unto Authority, is the mutual accord and love of those who are set in place to exercise the same together; and verily this honour is much more worth, then either all those Crowns and Diadems which they bear upon their heads, or their stately Mantles and Robes of Purple, wherewith they be arrayed. Howbeit, they that laid the first ground and beginning of Amity; their

their service in Wars, when they were fellow Souldiers, or the passing of their youthful yeares together; and contrariwise, take this a cause now of enmity, that they either are joined Captaines in commission for the conduct of an Army, or have the charge of the Common-weale together, it cannot be avoided, but that they must incurre one of these three mischiefs. For either if they esteem their fellows and companions in government to be their equals, they begin themselves first to grow into terms of dissention; or if they take them to be their betters, they fall to be envious: or else in case they hold them to be inferiour unto them in good parts, they despise and contemne them. Whereas they should indeed make Court unto the greater, honor and adorn their equals, and advance their inferiours, and in one word, to love and embrace all, as having an amity and love engendered among themselves, not because they have eaten at one table, drunk of the same cup, or met together at one feast, but by a certain common band and publick obligation, as having in some sort a certain fatherly benevolence, contracted and grown upon the common affection unto their Country. Certes, one reason why *Scipio* was not so well thought of at *Rome* was this; that having invited all his friends to a solemn feast at the dedication of his temple to *Hercules*, hee left out *Mummius* his colleague, or fellow in office: for say that otherwise they took not one another for so good friends; yet so it is, that at such a time, and upon such occasions, they ought to have honoured and made much one of the other, by reason of their common magistracy. If then *Scipio*, a noble personage otherwise, and a man of wonderful regard, incurred the imputation and note of insolency and presumption, because he forgat, or omitted so small a demonstration and token of humanity: how can it be, that he who goeth about to impair the dignity and credit of his companions in government, or discrediteth and disgraceth him in those actions, especially which proceed from honour and bounty, or upon an arrogant humor of his own, will seem to do all, and attribute the whole to himselfe alone, how can such an one (I say) be reputed, either modest or reasonable? I remember my selfe, that when I was but of young years, I was sent with another, in embassage to the Proconsul; and for that my companion stayed about (I wot not what behind) I went alone and did that which we had in commission to do together: after my return, when I was to give an account unto the State, and to report the effect of my charge and message back again; my father arose, and taking me apart, willed me in no wise to speak in the singular number, and say, I departed or went, but We departed; Item, not I (said, or (quoth I) but We said; and in the whole recital of the rest to joyn always my companion, as if he had been associate, and at one hand with me in that which I did alone. And verily this is not only decent, convenient, and civil, but that which more is, it taketh from glory that which is offensive, to wit, envy, which is the cause that great Captains attribute and ascribe their noble acts to fortune and their good angel, as did *Timoleon*, even he who overthrew the Tyrannies established in *Sicily*; who founded and erected a Temple to Good-Fortune. *Python* also when he was highly praised and commended at *Athens* for having slain King *Cotys* with his own hand; It was God (quoth he) who for to do the deed used my hand. And *Theopompus* King of the Lacedemonians, when one said unto him that *Sparta* was saved and stood upright, for that their Kings know how to rule well; Nay, rather (quoth he) because the people know how to obey well: and to say a truth, both these depend one upon the other: howbeit, most men are of this opinion, and so they give out; that the better part of policy or knowledge belonging to civil government lieth in this, to fit men, and frame them meet to be well ruled and commanded; for in every City there is always a greater number of Subjects then Rulers; and each one in his turn (especially in a popular state) is governor but a while, and for it, after wards continueth governed all the rest of his life, in such sort, that it is a most honest and profitable apprentiship (as it were) to learn to obey those who have authority to command, although haply they have meaner parts otherwise, and be of lesse credit and power then our selves: for a meer absurdity it were, that (whereas a principal, or excellent actor in a Tragedy, such as *Theodorus* was, or *Pelus*, for hire waiteth oftentimes upon another mercenary Player who hath not above three words in his part to say, and speaketh unto him in all humility and reverence, because peradventure he hath the royal band of a Diademe about his head, and a Scepter in his hand) in the true and unfained actions of our life, and in case of policy and government, a rich and mighty person should despise and set light by a magistrate for that he is a simple man otherwise, and peradventure poor and of mean estate; yea, and proceed to wrong, violate and impair the publick dignity wherein he is placed, yea, and to offer violence thereby unto the authority of a State; whereas he ought rather with his own credit and puissance, help out the defect and weakness of such a man, & by his greatness, countenance his authority: for thus in the City of *Lacedemon*, the Kings were wont to rise up out of their Thrones before the *Ephori*, and whosoever else was summoned and called by them, came not in ordinary foot pace, or fair and softly, but running in great haste, in token of obedience, and to shew unto other Citizens how obeisant they were, taking a great joy and glory in this, that they honour their Magistrates, not as some vain-glorious and ungracious sots, void of all civility and manners, wanting judgement and discretion, who to shew, forsooth, their exceeding power upon which they stand much and pride themselves, will not let to offer abuse unto the Judges and Wardens of the publick games, combats, and pastimes, or to give reproachful terms to those that lead the Dance, or set out the Plaies in the *Bacchanal* feast, yea, and mock Captaines, and laugh at the Presidents and Wardens of the publick exercises for youth, who have not the wit to know; That to give honour is oftentimes more honourable then to be honoured: for surely to an honourable

perſon who beareth a great ſway, and carrieth a mighty port with him in a City, it is a greater ornament and grace to accompany a Magiſtrate, and as it were to guard and ſquire him, then if the ſaid Magiſtrate ſhould put him before, or ſeem to wait upon him in his traine; and to ſay a truth, as this were the way to work him diſpleaſure and procure him envy from the hearts of as many as ſee it; ſo the other would win him true glory which proceedeth of love and benevolence: And verily when ſuch a man is ſeen otherwhiles in the Magiſtrates houſe, when he ſaluteth or greeteth him firſt, and either giveth him the upper hand, or the middle place, as they walk together, he addeth an ornament to the dignity of the City, and loſeth thereby none of his own. Moreover, it is a popular thing, and that which gaineth the hearts of the multitude, if ſuch a perſon can bear patiently the hard tearms of a Magiſtrate whiles he is in place, and endure his cholerick fits; for then he may with *Diomedes* in *Homer* ſay thus to himſelfe:

How ever now I little do ſay,
It will be mine honor another day.

Or as one ſaid of *Demoſthenes*; Well he is not now *Demoſthenes* only, but he is a law-giver, he is a preſident of the ſacred plaies and ſolemn games, and a crown he hath upon his head, &c. and therefore it is good to put up all now, and to defer vengeance untill another time; for either we ſhall come upon him when he is out of his office, or at leaſtwiſe we ſhall gain thus much by delay, that choler will be well cooled and allaied by that time.

Moreover, in any government, or magiſtracy whatſoever, a good ſubject ought to ſtrive (as it were) a vie with the rulers, eſpecially if they be perſons of good ſort, and gracious behaviour, in diligence, care, and fore-caſt for the benefit of the State; namely, in going to them, to give notice and intelligence of whatſoever is meet to be done, in putting into their hands for to be executed that which he hath with mature deliberation rightly reſolved upon, in giving means unto them for to win themſelves honour, and that by the benefit of the Common-weale: But if ſuch perſons they be, as either for fear and falſe heart, or upon a froward peeviſhneſſe and diſpoſition give no ear to ſuch motions, and are not willing to put that in execution which is preſented unto them; then it is his part himſelf in perſon to go and declare the ſame in publick place to the body of the people, and in no wiſe to neglect, diſanul, or paſſe with connivance any thing that concerneth the weale-publick, and never to pretend any colourable excuſe, by ſaying, it appertained unto none other but the head Magiſtrate, thus to deal curiouſly and be buſily occupied in medling with the affairs of State; for a general Law there is which giveth always the firſt and principal place of rule in a Common-wealth unto him who dealeth juſtly, practiſeth righteouſneſſe, and knoweth what is expedient and profitable, as we may ſee by the example of *Xenophon*, who in one place writeth thus of himſelfe: There was in the army (quoth he) one named *Xenophon*, who was neither Lord General, nor Lieutenant; but for skill and knowledge of that which was to be done, and for reſolution to enterprize and execute the ſame, put himſelfe forward, and gave charge unto others, wherein he ſo behaved himſelfe that he ſaved the Greeks. And the moſt glorious feat of arms that ever *Philopæmen* atchived was this, that when he heard news how King *Agis* had ſurprized the City of *Meſſene*, and that the General of the Achæans would not go with aid and reſcue, but drew back for fear; he with a troop of the moſt forward and reſolute gallants, without warrant, or commiſſion from the State delivered the ſaid City from out of the hands of *Agis*: which I write not as if I allowed of innovations, or ſuch new enterprizes and extraordinary attempts upon every ſmall and light occaſion, but only either in time of need and extremity, as *Philopæmen* did then, or for honeſt occations, as *Epaminondas*, who continued in his Beotarchy four months longer then was ordinary by the Laws of the Country, during which time he put on arms, and entred into *Laconia*, re-edified *Meſſene*, and peopled it, to the end that if afterwards there ſhould enſue any complaint, or imputation, we may anſwer with credit, and either alledge for excuſe, neceſſity, or ſet againſt it the peril to which we expoſed our ſelves, the braveneſſe of the exploit, and the ſervice ſo well performed, to make amends and recompence.

There is reported a ſentence of *Jaſon* who long ſince was the Tyrant or Monarch of *Sicily*, which he had often in his mouth, and always repeated ſo often as he did violence or outrages to any of his ſubjects, that they cannot chuſe but commit unjuſtice in ſmall matters, who would do juſtice in great cauſes; as if a man would ſay, that neceſſary it is for him to offer wrong in detaile who mindeth to do right in the groſſe. But as touching this ſentence, a man may ſoon perceive at the firſt ſight, that it is a ſpeech meet for him that intendeth to make himſelfe an abſolute Lord, and to uſurp tyranny. Yet is this rule more civil and politick, that a governour to gratifie the people, is to paſs by ſmall matters, and to wink at them, that he may in greater things ſtand againſt them, and ſtay them from breaking out too far. For he that in every thing will be peering and looking too narrowly, without any yeelding, or relaxation, but is always ſevere, rigorous and inexorable, doth by his example trim and accuſtome the people likewiſe to be quarrelſome and contentious with him, yea and to be ready upon all occaſions to take offence and diſcontentment.

But ſoftly for to ſtrike the ſaile
Or ſlack the helm doth much availe
With violence when billows great
Ariſe, and on the ſhip do beat.

and even ſo a governor ought in ſome things to yeeld, and not to be ſo preciſe and ſtraight laced himſelf,

himſelfe, but to ſport as it were, and take his paſtimes graciouſly with his people; as namely to celebrate feſtival ſacrifices, behold ſolemn plaies, games, and combats, and to ſit in the Theaters with them, partly in making ſemblant, as though he neither ſaw nor heard many things, like as we wont to do by the faults at home of our little children; to the end that the authority of reproving them roundly, and admoniſhing them frankly, like unto the vertue of a medicine not dull and enervate with much uſe, but remaining ſtill in full vigor and ſtrength, may be more effectual, carry the greater credit, touch the quick indeed, and ſting in matters of greater conſequence. *Alexander* the great when he heard that his ſiſter had been too familiarly acquainted with a luſty young gentleman and a beautiful, was nothing diſpleaſed therewith, but ſaid; We muſt give her alſo a little leave to enjoy ſomewhat the pleaſure and prerogative of a Prince; which was neither well done of him to allow ſuch things in her, nor yet with good reſpect of his own honour and dignity; for we ought not to think this the fruition, but the ruine and diſhonour rather of a princely State. And therefore a wiſe governor will not permit as much as poſſibly lieth in him, that the body of the people ſhall do in jury unto any particular inhabitants, as namely in confiſcation of other mens goods, or in diſtribution, and parting among themſelves the mony of the common ſtock: but to reſiſt ſuch courſes with all his power, and with remonſtrances, perſwaſions, threats, and menaces withſtand the inordinate deſires of a multitude: contrary to the practice of *Cleon* and his followers at *Athens*, who feeding and foſtering ſuch fooliſh appetites and corrupt humors of the people, cauſed many droane Bees (as *Plato* ſaith) to breed in the City, who did no other good but ſting and prick one or other. But if the people at any time take occaſion by ſolemniſing ſome feſtival day, according to the cuſtom of the Country, or by the honor of ſome god or goddeſſe, to ſet out any goodly ſhew, play, of ſtately ſpectacle, or to diſtribute ſome ſmall dole, or to exhibit a pleaſant gratuity, honeſt courteſie, or publick magnificence: lawful it is and reaſonable, that they ſhould in ſuch caſes enjoy in ſome ſort the fruit both of their liberty, and alſo of their wealth and proſperity. For in the governments of *Pericles* and *Demetrius Phalereus*, there be many examples extant of the like nature; as for *Cimon* he beautified the market place of *Athens* with rows of palm trees, planted directly, and ranged by him, with pleaſant walks, and fair allies. And *Cato* ſeeing about the time of *Catilines* conſpiracy, that the Commons of *Rome* were in a commotion and hurliburly by the faction of *Julius Cæſar*, and growne in manner to theſe terms, for to bring in a change and alteration of the whole State; perſwaded the Senate to ordain, that there ſhould be ſome petty dole of money given among the poor Commoners; which coming in ſo good and fit a time, appeaſed the tumult, and repreſſed the ſedition and inſurrection that was like to grow. For like as a learned and expert Phyſician, after hee hath taken away a great quantity of corrupt blood from his patient, giveth him anon ſome little nouriſhment that is good and wholeſome; even ſo a diſcreet and well adviſed ruler of a popular State, when he hath put the people by ſome great matter which tended to their ſhame and loſſe, will again by ſome light gratuity and pleaſure which he is content to grant, cheer, and recomfort them, yea and allay their mood when they be ready to whine and complain. And other whiles, good policy it is, of purpoſe to withdraw them from ſome foolery, unto which without all ſenſe and reaſon their mind and affection ſtandeth, to draw and lead them unto other things that be good and profitable; like as *Demades* his practiſe was, at what time as he had the receit of all the revenues of the City under his hands; for when the people of *Athens* were fully bent to ſend forth certain Gallies, for to ſuccor thoſe who had taken arms and rebelled againſt *Alexander* the great, and to that effect commanded him to diſburſe money for the charges, he made this ſpeech unto them; My Maſters, there is money ready for you, for I have provided ſo, as I purpoſe to deale among you at this feaſt of *Bacchanales*, that every one of you may have halfe a Mna of Silver; now if you liſt to employ the ſame money to the ſetting out of a fleet, you may do what pleaſeth you with your own, uſe it, or abuſe it at your pleaſure, it is all one to me: by this cunning device, having turned them from the rigging and manning of the Armado which they purpoſed to ſet out, and all for fear they ſhould loſe the benefit of the foreſaid dole, or largeſſe which he promiſed and pretended, he ſtayed then from offending King *Alexander*, that he had no cauſe to finde himſelfe grieved with them. Many ſuch fits and humors are the people given unto, both hurtful and dammageable unto them; which it were impoſſible to break them of, going directly to work; but a man muſt go about with them, and by turnings and windings compaſſe them to his mind; like as *Phocion* did upon a time when the Athenians would have had him in all haſte to make a roade and invade the country of *Bœotia*; for he cauſed incontinently proclamation to be made by ſound of trumpet; That all Citizens from fourteen years of age upward unto threeſcore, ſhould ſhew themſelves in arms and follow him; upon which proclamation, when there aroſe a great noiſe and ſtir among the elder ſort, who began to murine, for that he would force them at thoſe years to the Warres; What a ſtrange matter ſirs is this (quoth he) I my ſelfe am fourſcore yeares of age, and you ſhall have me with you for your Captaine. By this means a politick Governour may put by and break the rank of many unſeaſonable and needleſſe embaſſages; namely, by joining many of them in commiſſion together, and thoſe whom he ſeeth to be unfit altogether for ſuch voyages; thus may he ſtay the enterprizes of going in hand with many great buildings unneceſſary and to no purpoſe, in commanding them at ſuch times to contribute money thereto out of their own purſes; alſo hinder the proceſſe of many uncivil and undecent ſutes, namely, by aſſigning one and the ſame time for appearance in Court, and for to be employed in ſollici-

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ting causes abroad in forraign parts: and for to bring these things about, he must draw and associate unto him those principal authors who have drawn out in writing any such bills to be proposed, or have incited the people, and put those matters in their heads; and to them he shall intimate those crosse courses abovelaid; for either if they start back and keep out of the way, they shall seem themselves to break that which they proposed; or if they accept thereof and be present, they shall be sure to take part of the trouble and pains that is imposed upon them. Now when there shall be question of any exploit to be done of great consequence, and tending much to the good of the State, which requireth no small travel, industry, and diligence; then have a special regard and endeavour, I advise you, to chuse those friends of yours who are of most sufficiency, and of greatest authority, and those among the rest which are of the mildest and best nature; for such you may be sure will cross you least, and assist you most; so long as they have wit at will, and be withal void of jealousie and contention. And herein it behoveth a man to know well his own nature, and finding that whereunto he is lesse apt then another; to chuse for his adjuncts those rather whom he perceiveth to be better able to go through with the businesse in hand, then such as otherwise be like unto himselfe; for so *Diomedes* being deputed to go in espial for to view the Camp of the enemies, chose for his companion the wariest and best advised person of all the Greeks, and let passe the most valiant souldiers. By this means all actions shall be counterpoised best, and lesse jealousie and emulation will grow between them who are desirous to have their good parts and valour seem indifferent in vertues and qualities. If you have a cause to plead, or be to go in embassage; chuse for your companion and assistant (if you find your selfe not meet to speak) some man that is eloquent, like as *Pelopidas* in the like case chose *Epaminondas*. If you think your selfe unmeet to entertain the common people with courtesie and affability, and of too high and lofty a mind for to debase your selfe, and make court unto them, as *Callicratidas* the Captain of the Lacedemonians was; take one unto you who is gracious, and can skill to court it and give entertainment. If your body be weak or feeble, and not able to endure much pains; have one with you who hath a stronger body, and who can away with travel, as *Nicias* did *Lamachus*; for this is the reason that *Geryones* was so wonderful, because that having many legs, many arms, many eyes, yet he with all them was ruled and governed by one soul. But wise governors if they accord and agree well, may confer and lay together not only their bodies and goods, but also their fortunes, their credits, and their vertues, and make use of them all in one affair, in such sort that they shall compass and execute fully whatsoever they enterprise, much better then any other whatsoever: and not as the Argonauts did, who after they had left *Hercules*, were constrained to have recourse unto the charms, sorceries, and enchantments of women for to save themselves, and to steal away the golden fleece.

Certain Temples there be, into which whosoever did enter, must leave without doors all the gold that they had about them, and as for iron they might not presume to go withal into any one whatsoever. Considering therefore that the tribunal and judicial seat of justice is the Temple of *Jupiter*, surnamed the Counsellor and Patron of Cities, of *Themis* also and *Dice*, that is to say, equity and justice; before ever thou set foot to mount up into it, presently rid and clear thy soul of all avarice and covetousnesse of mony, as if it were iron, and a very malady full of rust, and throw it far from thee into the Merchants Hall, into the Shops of Tradesmen, Occupiers, Banquers and Usurers.

As for thy selfe,
Flie from such pelfe.

shun it I say, as far off as you can, and make this reckoning, that whosoever enricheth himself by the managing of the Common-weale, is a Church-robber, committing sacriledge in the highest degree, robbing Temples, stealing out of the Sepulchres of the dead, picking the Coffers of his friends: making himselfe rich by treachery, treason, and false-witnesse; think him to be an untrusty and faithlesse Counsellor, a perjured Judge, a corrupt Magistrate, and full of bribery; in one word polluted and defiled with all wickednesse, and not clear of any sin whatsoever that may be committed; and therefore I shall not need to speak more of this point.

As for ambition, although it carry with it a fairer shew then avarice, yet nevertheless it bringeth after it a traine of mischiefes and plagues, no lesse dangerous and pernitious unto the government of a Common-wealth: for accompanied it is ordinarily with audacious rashnesse more then it; in as much as it useth not to breed in base minds, or in natures feeble and idle, but principally in valiant, active, and vigorous spirits; and the voice of the people, who by their praises lift it up many times and drive it forward, maketh the violence thereof more hard to be restrained, managed, and ruled. Like as therefore *Plato* writeth, that we ought to accustom young Boys, even from their very infancy to have this sentence resounding in their ears: That it is not lawful for them neither to carry gold about their bodies as an outward ornament, nor so much as to have it in their purses, for that they have other gold as a proper chaffer of their own, and the same incorporate in their bears: giving us to understand by these ænigmatical and covert speeches (as I take it) the vertue derived from their Ancestors, by descent and continuation of their race; even so we may in some sort cure and remedy this desire of glory, by making remonstrance unto ambitious spirits, that they have in themselves gold, that cannot corrupt, be wasted, or contaminated by envy, no nor by *Momus* himselfe the reprover of the gods, to wit, Honour, the which we always encrease and augment, the more we discourse, consider, meditate, and think upon those things which have been performed and accomplished by us in the government of the Common-weale: and therefore they have no need

need of those other honours, which are either cast in moulds by founders, or cut and graven in brasse by mans hand, considering that all such glory cometh from without foorth, and is rather in others then in them, for whom they were made. For the statue of a Trumpeter which *Polycletus* made, as also that other of an halbarder are commended in regard of the maker, and not of those whom they do represent, and for whose sake they were made. Certes, *Cato* at what time as the City of *Rome* began to be well replenished with images and statues, would not suffer any one to be made for himself, saying: That he had rather men would ask, why there was no image set up for him, than why it was? For surely such things bring envy, and the common people think themselves endebted still, and beholden unto those, upon whom they have not bestowed such vanities: and contrariwise, such as receive them at their hands are odious and troublesome unto them, as if they had sought to have the publick affairs of the State in their hands, in hope to receive such a reward and salary from them again. Like as therefore he that hath sailed without danger along the Gulfe *Syrtis*, if afterwards he chance to be cast away and drowned in the mouth of the Haven, hath done no such doughty deed, nor performed any special matter of praise in his voyage and navigation; even so, he that hath escaped the common Treasury, and done well enough and saved himselfe, from the publick revenues, customes, and commodities of the State; that is to say, hath not defiled his hands, either with robbing the City money, or dealt under-hand with the Farmers & undertakers of the Cities lands, revenues, &c. and then shall suffer himselfe to be overtaken and surprized with a desire to be a President and sit highest, or to be the head man and chiefe in Councel of a City, is run indeed upon an high rock that reacheth up aloft, but drenched he is over the eares, and as like to sink as the rest, nevertheless. In best case he is therefore, who neither seeketh nor desireth any of these honours, but rejecteth and refuseth them altogether. Howbeit, if peradventure it be no easie matter to put back a grace and favour, or some token of love, that the people otherwhiles desire to shew unto them who are entred into combat, as it were in the field of government, not in a game and mastery for a silver prize, or for rich presents, but in the game indeed which is holy and sacred, yea, and worthy to be crowned, it may suffice and content a man to have some honourable inscription, or title, in a tablet, some publick act, or decree, some branch of Lawrel, or the Olive: like as *Epimenides*, who received one branch of the sacred Olive, growing in the Castle of *Athens*, because he had cleansed and purified the City; and *Anaxagoras* refusing all other honours which the people would have ordained for him, demanded onely, that upon the day of his death the Children might have leave to play, and not go to school all that day long. The seven gallant Gentlemen of *Persia*, who killed the Tyrants, called *Magi*, were honoured only with this priviledge, that both they and their posterity might wear the Persian pointed Cap, or * Turbant, bending forward on their heads; for this was the signal which they were agreed upon among themselves when they went to execute the said enterprise. Likewise the honour which *Pittacus* received, did shew some modesty and civility; for when his Citizens had permitted and granted unto him to have and enjoy those Lands which he had conquered from the enemy, as much as he would himselfe; hee stood contented with so much, and no more as lay within one fling, or shot of the javelin which he lanced himselfe. And *Cecles* the Roman took so much ground only as he in his own person could eare with a plow in one day, being as he was a lame and maimed man. For a civil honour ought not to be in the nature of a salary for a vertuous act performed, but a token rather, and a memorial that the remembrance thereof might continue long, as theirs did whom erewhiles we named: whereas in those three hundred statues of *Demetrius Phalereus* there gathered not so much as rust, canker, or any ordure, or filth whatsoever, but were all of them ere himselfe died, pulled down and broken. And as for the images of *Demades*, melted they were every one, and of the mettal were made Pispots and Basins for close stools: yea, and many such honours have been defaced, as being displeasant and odious to the world, not in regard only of the wickednesse of the receiver, but also of the greatnesse and richnesse of the thing given and received: and therefore the goodliest and surest safeguard of honour, that it may endure and last longest, is, the least costlinesse, and price bestowed thereupon: for such as be excessive masse and immeasurable in greatnesse, may be well compared unto huge Colosses, or Statues not well ballanced and counterpoised, nor proportionably made, which soon fall down to the ground of themselves. And here in this place I call Honours, these exteriour things which the common people (so far forth as beseemeth them, according to the saying of *Empedocles*) so call. Howbeit I also affirm as well as others, that a wise Governour and man of State ought not to despise true honour, which consisteth in the benevolence and good affection of those who have in remembrance the services and benefits that they have received; neither ought he altogether to contemn glory, as one who forbare to please his neighbours among whom he liveth, as *Democritus* would have him: for, neither ought horse-keepers, or Esquires of the stable, reject the affection of their horses lovingly making toward them; nor hunters the fawning of their hounds and spaniels; but rather seek to win and keep the same, for that it is both a profitable, and also a pleasant thing, to be able for to imprint in those creatures who are familiar, and do live and converse with us, such an affection to us as *Lysimachus* his dog shewed towards his master; and which the Poet *Homer* reporteth that *Achilles* horses shewed to *Patroclus*. For mine own part I am of this mind, that Bees would be better entreated and escape better, in case they would make much of those, and suffer them gently to come toward them, who nourish them and have the care and charge of them, rather then to sting and provoke them to anger as they

* *Tiara.*

they do; whereas now, men are driven to punish them and chase them away with smoak: also to break and tame their frampold and unruly horses with hard bits and bridles, yea, and curst dogs which are given to run away, they are faine to lead perforce in collars, or tie up and hamper with clogs. But verily there is nothing in the world that maketh one man willingly obeisant and subject to another, more then the affiance that he hath in him for the love which he beareth, and the opinion conceived of his goodnesse, honesty and justice; which is the reason that *Demosthenes* said very well: That free Cities have no better means to keep and preserve themselves from Tyrants, then to distrust them; for that part of the soule whereby we beleeve, is it, which is most easie to be taken captive. Like as therefore the gift of propheſie which *Cassandra* had, stood her country men and sellow Citizens in no stead, because they would never give credit, or beliefe unto her: for thus she speaketh of her selfe,

God would not have my voice propheticall
When I foretell of things, to take effect,
Nor do my country any good at all:
For why? always they do my words reject,
In their distresse and woes, they would correct
Their folly past, then am I wise and sage;
Before it come, they say I do but rage.

even so, on the other side, the trust and confidence that the Citizens repoſed in *Archytas*, the good will and benevolence which they bare unto *Battus*, served them in right good stead: for that they used and followed their counsel, by reason of the good opinion which they conceived of them.

This is then the first and principal good which lieth in the reputation of States-men, and those who are in government, namely, the trust and confidence which is in them; for it maketh an overture, and openeth the door to the enterprise, and execution of all good actions. The second, is the love and affection of the people, which to good Governors is to them a buckler and armour of defence against envious and wicked persons:

Much like unto a mother kind,
who keeps away the flies
From tender babe, whiles sweetly it
a sleep in cradle lies.

putting back envy that might arise against them; and in regard of might and credit, making equal a man meanly born, and of base parentage, with those who are nobly descended, the poor with the rich, and the private person with the magistrates: and to be brief, when vertue and verity are joined together with this popular benevolence, it is as mighty as a strong and steady gale of a forewind at the poop, and driveth men forward to the managing and effecting of all publike affairs whatsoever. Consider now and see what contrary effects the disposition of peoples hearts, doth produce and bring forth by these examples following. For even they of *Italy*, when they had in their hands the wife and Children of *Denys* the Tyrant, after they had villanously abused, and shamefully forced their bodies, did them to death, and when they had burnt them to ashes, threw and scattered the same out of a ship into the Sea. Whereas one *Menander* who reigned graciously over the Bactrians, in the end, when he had lost his life in the wars, was honourably interred: for the Cities under his abeisance joined altogether, and by a common accord solemnized his funerals and obsequies with great mourning and lamentation; but as touching the place where his reliques should be bestowed, they grew into a great strife and contention one with another, which at the last with much ado was pacified upon this condition and composition, that his ashes should be parted and divided equally among them all, and that every City should have one Sepulcher and Monument of him by it selfe. Again, the Agrigentines after they were delivered from the Tyrant *Phalaris*, enacted an Ordinance: That from thence forth, it should not be lawful for any person whatsoever, to wear a robe of blew colour, for that the Guard and Pensioners attending about the said Tyrant, had blew cassocks for their Liveries. But the Persians took such a love to their Prince *Cyrus*, that because he was Hawk-nosed, they ever after, and even to this day, affect those who have such noses, and take them to be best favoured. And verily of all loves, this is the most divine, holy, and puissant, which Cities and States do bear unto a man for his vertue: as for other honors so falsely called, and bearing no true ensigns indeed to testifie love, which the people bestow upon them, who have builded Theaters, and shew-places, given them largesses, congiaries, and other doles, or exhibited combats of sword-fencers at the sharp: these wrong entituled honours do resemble the glosing flatteries of Harlots and Strumpets, who smile upon their Lovers, so long only as they give them any thing, or gratifie them in any pleasure; and such a glory as this lasteth not long, but after a day or two passeth away and is gone.

He whosoever he was, that said first; That he who began to give money by way of largesse unto the people, taught the very high way to overthrow a popular State, knew very well, that the people lose their authority, when they make themselves subject and inferiour by taking such gifts: and even they also who are the givers must know thus much: That they overthrow themselves in buying their reputation so costly, and at so high a price: and by that means they make the multitude more haughty and arrogant, because thereby the people do presume, that it is in their power to give, or take away so great a thing. I write not this, as though I would have a man of estate

estate in his lawful expenses, and allowable liberalities, to shew himselfe too neer and mechanical, especially when his state will bear and maintain the same: for that, in truth, the people carry a greater hatred to a rich man, who will not part with any of his goods among them, then a poor man who robbeth the common chest: for they suppose the one to proceed from pride and contempt of them, and the other from meer need and necessity. I would wish therefore that first and principally these largesses should come by way of gratuity, and for nothing, for that in such a sort, they make the authors thereof better esteemed and admired, and besides they bind and oblige the receivers so much the more. Secondly, I would that they were done upon a good, honest, and laudable occasion, as namely, for the honour of some god: a thing that draweth on the people more and more to devotion and religion, because withal, it imprinteth in the hearts of the people a vehement opinion, and strong apprehension that the Majesty of the gods, must needs be a great and venerable thing, when they see those who honor them, and whom they repute for so worthy and noble personages, so affectionate unto them, as for their service and worship to be at such cost, and spend so liberally. Like as therefore *Plato* forbade young men who went to the Musick Schoole, that they should not learn either the Lydian and Phrygian harmony; for that the one stirred up in our hearts all lamentable, doleful, and dumpish affections, the other encreased the inclination to pleasure, riot, and voluptuous sensuality: even so, as touching these largesses and publick expenses, banish and chase out of your City as much as you can, those which provoke in our hearts beastly, barbarous, and bloody affections, or such as feed looseneſſe and scurrility: or if you be not able to rid them out clean, yet do your endeavour at least wise to hold off and contest against the people, to your uttermost power, who call upon you for such spectacles; and order the matter so always, that the subject matter of your dispense may be honest and chast, the end and intention good and necessary, or at least wise that the pleasure and mirth be without wrong and hurt to any person. But if peradventure your State be but mean, and that the center and circumference of your goods contain and comprehend no more then to serve and supply necessities, know well this: that it argueth neither a base mind nor an illiberal and ungentleman-like heart to be known of your poverty, and so to give place unto other, who have therewith to defray such ambitious expenses and liberalities, and by endebting and engaging your selfe in the Usurers Books, to be a spectacle both to be pitied and laughed at. for such publick ministeries; forasmuch as they whosoever they be that so do, cannot go to work so secretly, but it will be thought and known how they enterprize above their ability, be driven to trouble and make bold with their friends in borrowing of them, or else to flatter and court Usurers to take up money at interest, in such sort as that they shall win no honour and credit, but rather shame and contempt by such expenses; in which regard, good it were in these cases to set always before your eyes the examples of *Lamachus* and *Phocion*. For *Phocion* one day when the Athenians at a solemn sacrifice called instantly upon him to contribute some money toward the charges: I would be ashamed (quoth he) to give you any thing, and in the mean while not be able to keep my credit, and pay that I owe to this man here, and withal he pointed unto *Callicles* the Usurer, unto whom he was then endebted. As for *Lamachus* in his accounts of charges whiles he was Lord General of an Army under the Athenians in any expedition, put in always, Thus much for a pair of shoes or pantosles for himselfe; Item, so much for a garment. The Thessalians ordained and allowed unto *Hermon* who refused to be their Captain General, because he was poor, a flagon, or little runlet of Wine monthly, and a measure, or bushel and halfe of meale every four days: whereby you see it is no shame for a man to confesse his poverty; neither have poor men lesse means to win credit and authority in the government of Cities, then they who lay out and spend much in making feasts or exhibiting publick shews and spectacles, for to gain the good will and favour of the people; provided always, that by their vertue they have gotten reputation and liberty to speake their minds frankly and freely unto them. And therefore a good Governour ought wisely to master and rule himself in these cases; he must not (I say) enter into the plain and champion ground on foot for to encounter with horse men; nor being poor, to be seen in the race and shew place for to set out games, or upon the Scaffold and Theater to represent Playes, or in great Halls full set with Tables to make feasts, and all to contend with rich men about glory and magnificence: but he is to study how to mannage the people by vertue, by gentleneſſe, by wit and understanding joyned always with wise words, wherein there is not only honesty and a venerable port, but also a kind of grace more amiable, attractive, and desirable.

Then Crœsus coin of silver and gold,
Or all the money that can be told,

For to a good man it is not necessary to have a surly, coy, and presumptuous look; neither is it required that a wife and sober person should carry a stern and rigorous countenance.

Who as he walks along the streets,
in city or in town,
Doth cast a sharp and hideous eye,
and on his neighbours frown.

But contrariwise, a good man is first and formost affable and lightsome of language, of easie accesse, and ready to be spoken withal whosoever comes, having his house open alwayes, (as it were) an Haven, or Harbour of refuge, to as many as have occasion to use him. Neither is this debonairity and care of his, seen onely in the businesse and affaires of such as employ him, but

alſo in this; that he will as well rejoyce with them who have had any fortunate and happy ſucceſſe, as condole and grieve with thoſe unto whom there is befallen any calamity, or misfortune; never will he be known to be troubleſome, and look for double diligence of a number of ſervitors and verlets to waite upon him to the baines, or ſtouphes; nor to keepe a ſtirre for taking up and keeping of places for him and his traine at the Theaters where Playes and paſtimes are to be ſeene, nor yet deſire to be conſpicuous, and of great marke above others in any outward ſignes of exceſſive delights, and ſumptuous ſuperfluities; but ſhew himſelfe to be equal, like, and ſuitable to others in apparel, in his fare and furniture at the table, in the education and nurture of his Children, in the keeping of his Wife for her ſtate and array, and in one word, be willing to carry and demeane himſelfe in all things, as an ordinary and plain Citizen, bearing no greater port and ſhew then others of the common multitude; moreover, at hand to give advice and counſel friendly to every man in his affairs, ready to entertaine, defend, and follow their cauſes as an Advocate, freely, and without taking fee, or any conſideration whatſoever; to reconcile man and wife when they be at ods, to make love dayes and peace between friends, not ſpending one little peece of the day for a ſhew at the Tribunal ſeat, or in the Hall of audience for the commonwealth, and then afterwards all the day, and the reſt of his life, drawing unto himſelfe all dealings, all negotiations and affairs from every ſide for his own particular behooſe and profit, like unto the North East Wind *Cecias*, which evermore gathereth the clouds unto it: but continually bending his minde and occupying his head in careful ſtudy for the Weale-publick, and in effect making it appear unto the World, that the life of a States-man and a Governour, is not as the common ſort think it, eaſie and idle, but a continual action and publick function; by which faſhions and ſemblable courſes that he taketh, he gaineth and winneth unto him the hearts of the people, who in the end come to know, that all the flattering deviſes and enticements of others be nothing elſe but falſe baits and baſtard allurements, in compariſon of his prudence and carefull diligence. The flatterers about *Demetrius* vouchſafed not to call any other Princes and Potentates of his time, Kings, but would have *Seleucus* to be named the Commander of the Elephants; *Lyſimachus* the keeper of the Treaſury; *Ptolomeus* the Admiral of the Sea; and *Agathocles* the Governour of the Illands. But the people although peradventure at the firſt, they reject a good wiſe and ſage perſon among them; yet in the end after they have ſeen his truth, and known his diſpoſition and kind nature, they will repute him only to be popular, politick, and worthy to be a Magiſtrate indeed, and as for the reſt, they will both repute and call one, the Warden and ſetter out of the Playes; another the great Feaſter; and a third, the Preſident of Games, Combats, and publick exerciſes. Moreover, like as at the feaſts and banquets that *Callias*, or *Alcibiades* were at the coſt to make, none but *Socrates* was heard to ſpeake, and all mens eyes were caſt upon *Socrates*: even ſo in Cities and States governed aright, well may *Iſmenias* deal largeſſes; *Lichas* make feaſts, and *Niceratus* defray the charges of Playes, but *Epaminondas*, *Ariſtides*, *Lyſander*, and ſuch as they, are thoſe which beare the Magiſtracy, they govern at home, they command and conduct Armies abroad. Which being well and duly conſidered, there is no cauſe why you ſhould be diſcouraged, or diſmaid at the reputation and credit that they win among the people, who have for them builded Theaters, and erected ſhew-playes, founded Halls of great receit, and purchaſed for them common places of Sepulture, for to bury their dead: all which glory laſteth but a while, neither hath it any great matter, or venerable ſubſtance in it, but vaniſheth away like ſmoak, and is gone even as ſoon as either the Playes in ſuch Theaters, or Games in ſhew-places are done and ended.

They that have skill and experience of keeping and feeding Bees, doe hold opinion and ſay, that thoſe Hives wherein the Bees yield the biggeſt ſound, make moſt humming and greateſt ſtir within, like beſt, are moſt ſound, healthful, and yield moſt ſtore of honey; but he upon whom God hath laid the charge and care of the reaſonable ſwarm (as I may ſay) and civil ſociety of men, will judge the happineſſe and bleſſed ſtate thereof moſt of all by the quietneſſe and peace therein, and in all other things he will approve the ordinances and ſtatues of *Solon*, endeavouring to follow and obſerve the ſame to his full power; but doubt he will and marvel what he ſhould mean by this, when hee writeth, that he who in a civil ſedition would not range himſelfe to a ſide, and take part with one or other faction, was to be noted with infamy: for in a natural body that is ſick, the beginning of change toward the recovery of health, cometh not from the diſeaſed parts, but rather, when the temperature of the ſound and healthy members is ſo puiſſant, that it chaſeth and expelleth that which in the reſt of the body was unkind and contrary to nature; even ſo in a City or State where the people are up in a tumult and ſedition, ſo it be not dangerous and mortal, but ſuch as is like to be appeaſed and ended, there had need to be a far greater part of thoſe who are ſound and not infected, for to remain and co-habit ſtill: for to it there cometh and hath recourſe that which is naturall and familiar, from the wiſe and diſcreet within, and the ſame entreth into the other infected part and cureth it: but ſuch Cities as be in an univerſal uproar and hurly-burly, utterly periſh and come to confuſion, if they have not ſome conſtraint from without, and a chaſtiſement which may force them to be wiſe and agree among themſelves. Neither is my meaning, that I would have you a politick perſon, and States-man in ſuch a ſedition and civil diſcord to ſit ſtill, inſenſible, and without any paſſion or feeling of the publick calamity, to ſing and chaunt your own repoſe and tranquillity of bleſſed and happy life, and whiles others be together by the ears, rejoyce at their folly;

folly; for at ſuch a time eſpecially you are to put on the buskin of *Theramenes*, which ſerved as well the one leg as the other: then are you to parley and commune with both parties, without joining your ſelfe to one more than to the other; by which meanes, neither you ſhall be thought an adverſary, becauſe you are not ready to offend either part, but indifferent to both, in aiding as well the one as the other, and envy ſhall you incurre none, as bearing part in their miſery, in caſe you ſeem to have a fellow-feeling and compaſſion equally with them all: but the beſt way were to provide and forecaſt, that they never break out to tearms of open ſedition; and this you are to think for to be the principall point, and the height of all policy and civill government; for evident it is, and you may eaſily ſee, that (of thoſe greateſt bleſſings which Cities can deſire, to wit, peace, liberty, and freedome, plenty and fertility, multitude of people, and unity and concord) as touching peace, Cities have no great need in theſe daies of wiſe governours, for to procure or mainteine the ſame, for that all wars both againſt the Greeks, and alſo the Barbarians, are chaſed away and gone out of ſight; as for liberty, the people hath as much as it pleaſeth their Sovereigns and Princes to give them, and peradventure if they had more, it would be worſe for them: for the fertility of the earth, and the abundance of all fruits, the kind diſpoſition and temperature of all ſeaſons of the yeer,

That mothers in due time their babes
into the world may beare,
Reſembling in all points their ſires,
to wit, their fathers deare.

and that children ſo born, may live and be live-like; every good and wiſe man, will crave at Gods hands in the behalfe of his own fellow-Citizens. Now there remaineth for a States-man and politick governour, of all thoſe works propoſed one onely, and that is nothing inferiour to the reſt of the bleſſings above-named, to wit the unity and concord of Citizens that alwaies dwell together, and the baniſhing out of a City all quarrels, all jarres and malice, as the manner is in compoſing the differences and debates of friends; namely, by dealing firſt with thoſe parties which ſeem to be moſt offended, and to have taken the greateſt wrong, in ſeeming to be injured as well as they, and to have no leſſe cauſe of diſpleaſure and diſcontent then they; afterwards by little and little to ſeek for to pacifie and appeale them, by declaring and giving them to underſtand, that they who can be content to ſtrike ſaile a little, doe ordinarily go beyond thoſe who think to gaine all by force; ſurmount them I ſay not onely in mildneſſe and good nature, but alſo in courage and magnanimity, who in yeelding and giving place a little in ſmall matters, are maſters in the end and conquerours in the beſt and greateſt; which done, his part is to make remonſtrance both particularly to every one, and generally to them all, declaring unto them the feebleand weake eſtate of *Greece*, and that it is very expedient for men of ſound and good judgement to enjoy the fruit and benefit which they may have in this weakneſſe and imbecillity of theirs, living in peace and concord one with another as they do; conſidering that fortune hath not left them in the midſt any prize to win or to ſtrive for. For what glory, what authority, what power or preeminence will remaine unto them that haply ſhould have the better hand in the end, and be maſters over their adverſaries, but a proconſull with one commandement of his, will be able to overthrow it, and tranſport it unto the other ſide, as often and whenſoever it pleaſeth him; but ſay that it ſhould continue ſtill, yet is it not worth all this labour and travell about it. But like as ſcare-fires many times begin not at ſtately Temples, and publike edifices, but they may come by ſome candle in a private and little houſe, which was neglected or not well looked unto, and ſo fell down and took hold thereof, or haply ſtraw or ruſhes and ſuch like ſtuffe might catch fire and ſuddenly flame, and ſo thereupon might enſue much loſſe, and a publike waſting of many faire buildings; even ſo it is not alwaies by means of contention and variance about affairs of State, that ſeditions in Cities be kindled, but many times braules and riots ariſing upon particular cauſes, and ſo proceeding to a publike tumult and quarrel, have been the overthrow and utter ſubverſion of a whole City. In regard whereof, it perteineth unto a politick man, as much as any one thing elſe, to foreſee and prevent, or elſe to remedy the ſame, to ſee (I ſay) that ſuch diſſentions do not ariſe at all, or if they be on foot to keep them down from growing farther and taking head, or at leaſt wiſe that they touch not the State, but reſt ſtill among whom it began: conſidering this with himſelfe and giving others to underſtand, that private debates are in the end cauſes of publike, and, ſmall of great, when they be neglected at firſt, and no convenient remedies uſed at the very beginning. Like as by report the greateſt civill diſſention that ever hapned in the City of *Delphos*, aroſe by the meanes of one *Crates*, whoſe daughter *Orgilaus* the ſonne of *Pholis*, was at the point to wed: now it hapned by meer chance, that the cup out of which they were to make an eſſay or effuſion of wine in the honour of the gods firſt, and then afterwards to drinke one to another, according to the nuptiall ceremonies of that place, broke in pieces of it ſelfe, which *Orgilaus* taking to be an evill preſage, forſook his eſpouſed bride, and went away with his father, without finiſhing the complements of marriage. Some few daies after when they were ſacrificing to the gods; *Crates* conveied covertly or underhand a certaine veſſell of gold, one of thoſe which were ſacred and dedicated to the Temple, unto them, and ſo made no more adoe, but cauſed *Orgilaus* and his brother, as maniſeſt Church-robbers, to be pitched down headlong from the top of the rock at *Delphos*, without any judgement or form and proceſſe of law: yea, and more then that, killed ſome of their kinſfolke and friends, notwithſtanding they intreated hard, and pleaded the liberties and immunity of *Minerva's* Temple, ſurnamed *Provident*, into which they

were fled, and there took ſanctuary. And thus after divers ſuch murders committed, the Delphians in the end put *Crates* to death, and thoſe his complices, who were the authors of this ſedition, and of the money and goods of theſe excommunicate perſons (for ſo they were called) ſeized upon by way of confiſcation, they built thoſe Chappels which ſtand beneath the City. At *Syracuſa* alſo, of two young men who were very familiarly acquainted together, the one being to travell abroad out of his Country, left in the cuſtody of the other a concubine that he had, to keep until his return home againe; but he in the abſence of his friend abuſed her body: but when his companion upon his returne home knew thereof, he wrought ſo, that for to cry quittance with him he lay with his wife and made him cuckold: this matter came to hearing at the Councell table of the City, and one of the ancient Senatours moved the reſt, that both twaine ſhould be baniſhed out of the City, before there aroſe further miſchiefe, and left the City by occaſion of their deadly fewd ſhould be filled with parts-taking of both ſides, and ſo be in danger of utter deſtruction; which when he could not perſwade and bring to paſſe, the people grew into an open ſedition, and after many miſerable calamities, ruinated and overthrew a moſt excellent State and government. You have heard I am ſure of domeſticall examples, and namely, the enmity of *Pardalus* and *Tyrrhenus*, who went within a very little of overthrowing the City of *Sardis*, and upon ſmall and private cauſes, had brought the ſame into civill war and open rebellion by their factions and particular quarrels. And therefore a man of government ought alwaies to be watchfull and vigilant, and not to neglect, no more than in a body naturall the beginnings of maladies, all little heart-burnings and offences that quickly paſſe from one to another, but to ſtay their courſe, and remedy the ſame with all convenient ſpeed. For by a heedfull eie and carefull prevention, as *Cato* ſaith, that which was at firſt great, becommeth ſmall, and that which was ſmall commeth to nothing. Now to induce and perſwade other men ſo to do, there is not a more artificiall device, nor a better meanes, than for a man of government to ſhew himſelfe exorable, inclined to pardon, and eaſie to be reconciled in like caſes; in principall matters of weight and greateſt importance, reſolute and conſtant without any rancour or malice, and in none at all ſeem to be ſelfe-willed, peeviſh, contentious, cholerick, or ſubject to any other paſſion which may breed a ſharpneſſe and bitterneſſe in neceſſary controverſies, and doubtfull caſes which cannot be avoided. For in thoſe combats at buffets which champions perform for pleaſure in manner of foiles; the manner is to bind about their fiſts certaine round muffles like bals, to the end that when they come to coping and to let drive one at another, they might take no harm, conſidering the knocks and thumps that they give are ſo ſoft, and cannot put them to any paine to ſpeak of; even ſo in the ſutes, proceſſes and trials of law which paſſe between Citizens of the ſame City, the beſt way is to argue and plead by laying down their allegations and reaſons, ſimply and purely, and not to ſharpen or envenome their matters like darts and arrowes, with poiſoned taunts, railing tearms, opprobrious ſpeeches, and ſpightfull threats, and ſo to make deep wounds, and the ſame feſtered with venome, whereby the controverſies may grow incurable, and augment ſtill in ſuch ſort, that in the end they touch the State. He that can ſo carry himſelf in his own affairs, as to avoid theſe foreſaid miſchiefs and dangers, ſhal be able to compaſs others in the like, and make them willing to be ruled by reaſon: ſo that afterwards, when once the particular occaſions of privy grudges be taken away, the quarrels and diſcords which touch a Common-wealth, are ſooner pacified and compoſed, neither do they ever bring anyin conveniences hard to be cured or remedileſſe.

Whether an aged man ought to mannage publike affairs.

The Summary.

THe title of this diſcourſe diſcovereth ſufficiently the intention of the author: but, for that they who mannage affairs in State, and namely men in yeers, fall oftentimes into one of theſe two extremities as touching their duty, namely, that they be either too ſlack, and remiſſe, or elſe more ſtiffe and ſevere than they ought; theſe precepts of Plutarch, *a man well converſed in high places and offices, and who (as we may gather by his words) was well ſtricken in age when he wrote this Treatiſe, ought to be diligently read, conſidered and practiſed by men of authority. And albeit this book containeth ſome advertiſements in that behalfe, which ſort not wholly with the order of government put in practiſe in theſe our daies: yet ſo it is, that the fundament all reaſons are ſo well laid, that any Politician or States-man building thereupon, may aſſure himſelfe that he ſhall raiſe and edifie ſome good piece of worke. Now he beginneth with the refutation of one common objection of certaine men, who enjoin and command elder folke to ſit ſtill and remaine quiet, and he proveth the contrary, namely, that then it is meet that they ſhould put themſelves forth more then ever before; but he addeth this correction and caveat withall, that they have been a long time already broken (as it were) to the world, and beaten in publique affairs, to the*

the end that they bee not taxed and noted for their ſlender carriage or light vanity, nor prove the cauſe of ſome great miſchiefe, medling as they do in that which they had not well comprehended before. After this he propoſeth and laieth abroad the examples of men well qualified, who have given good proofe of their ſufficiency in old age: whereupon he inferreth, that thoſe be the perſons indeed, unto whom government doth appertaine, and that to go about for to make ſuch idle now in their latter daies, were as abſurd, and as much injury offered unto them, as to confine a prudent Prince and wiſe King to ſome houſe in the Country: and this he inforceth and verifieth by eloquent compariſons, and by the example of Pompeius. *Which done, he ſetteth down the cauſes which ought to put forward, and move a man well ſtept in yeers to the government of a Common-weale, confuting theſe who are of the contrary opinion, and proving that elderly perſons are more fit therefore than younger, becauſe of the experience and authority that age doth afford them, as alſo in regard of many other reaſons: then he returneth the objection upon them, and ſheweth that young folke are unmeet for publike charges, unleſſe they have been the diſciples of the aged, or be directed and guided by them: he refuteth thoſe alſo who eſteem that ſuch a vocation reſembleth ſome particular traffick or negotiation: and when he hath ſo done, he taketh in hand againe his principall point, detecting and laying open the folly of thoſe who would bereave old men of all adminiſtration of publike matters: and then he exhorteth them to take heart and ſhun idleneſſe (which he doth defame wonderfully) and ſetteth before their eies their duty: which he alſo conſidereth in particular: then he adviſeth them not to take ſo much upon them; not to accept any charge unworthy, or not beſeeming that gravity which time and age hath given them, but to occupy and buſie themſelves with that which is honourable and of great conſequence; to endeavour and ſtrive for to ſerve their Country, and above all in matters of importance; to uſe good diſcretion as well in the refuſall as the acceptation of dignities and offices, carrying themſelves with ſuch dexterity among young men, that they may induct and ſet them into the way of vertue. And for a concluſion, he teacheth all perſons who deale in State-affairs what reſolution they ſhould put on and carry thither; that they have an aſſured teſtimony in themſelves; that they be affectionate ſervitours of the Common-weale.*

Whether an aged man ought to mannage publike affaires.

WE are not ignorant O *Euphanes*, that you are wont highly to praiſe the Poet *Pindarus*, and how you have oftentimes in your mouth theſe words of his, as being in your conceit well placed and pithily ſpoken to the point,

When games of prize and combats once are ſet,
Who ſhrinketh back and doth pretend ſome let,
In darkeneſſe hides and deep obſcurity,
His fame of vertue and activity.

But forasmuch as men ordinarily alledge many cauſes and pretences, for to colour and cover their ſloth and want of courage to undertake the buſineſſe and affaires of State, and among others, as the very laſt, and as one would ſay, that which is of the ſacred line and race, they tender unto us old age, and ſuppoſe they have found now one ſufficient argument to dull or turn back the edge, and to cool the heat of ſeeking honour thereby, in bearing us in hand and ſaying: That there is a certaine convenient and meet end limited not only to the revolution of yeers, proper for combats and games of proofe, but alſo for publike affairs and dealings in State. I thought it would not be impertinent nor beſides the purpoſe, if I ſhould ſend and communicate unto you a diſcourſe which ſometimes I made privately for mine owne uſe, as touching the government of Common weale mannaged by men of yeers; to the end that neither of us twaine ſhould abandon that long pilgrimage in this world which we have continued in travelling together, even to this preſent day, nor reject that civill life of ours, which hitherto we have led in ſwaying of the Common-weal, no more than a man would caſt off an old companion of his own age, or change an ancient familiar friend, for another with whom he hath had no acquaintance, and who hath not time ſufficient to converſe and be made familiar with him. But let us in Gods name remain firm and conſtant in that courſe of life which we have choſen from the beginning, and make the end of life and of well living all one and the ſame if we will not (for that ſmall time that we have to live) diſcredit and defame that longer time which we have already led: as if it had been ſpent fooliſhly and in vaine, without any good and laudable intention. For tyrannicall dominion is not a fair monument to be enterred in, as one ſaid ſometime to *Denis* the tyrant: for unto him this monarchical and abſolute ſovereignty gotten and held by ſo unjuſt and wicked means the longer that it had continued before it failed, the greater and more perfect calamity it would have brought: according as *Diogenes* afterwards ſeeing the ſaid *Dionyſius* his ſon become a poor private man, & depoſed from the princely & tyrannical dignity which he had, O *Dionyſius* (quoth he) how unworthy art thou of this eſtate, & how unfitting is it for thee! for thou oughteſt not to live here in liberty, and without any fear or doubt of any thing with us, but remain there ſtil as thy father did, immur'd up and confin'd (as it were) within a fortreſs al thy life time, until extream old age came. But in truth, a popular government which is juſt and lawful, wherein a man hath been converſant & ſhewed himſelf alwaies no leſs profitable to the Common-wealth, in obeying than in commanding,

is a faire Sepulcher for him, to be buried honourably therein, and to bestow in his death the glory of his life: for this is the last thing (as *Simonides* said) that descendeth and goeth under the earth; unlesse we speak of them whose honour, bounty and vertue dieth first, and in whom the zeale of performing their duty doth faile and cease before that the covetous desire of things necessary to this life giveth over: as if the divine parts of our soule, and those which direct our actions were more fraile and died sooner then the sensuall and corporall; which neither were honestly to say, nor good to beleeve, no more than to give credit unto those who affirme that in getting and gaining only, we are never weary: but rather we are to bring that saying of *Thucydides* to a better purpose, and not to beleeve him who was of minde, that not ambition alone and desire of glory, aged in a man, but also (and that much rather) sociality or willingnesse to live and converse with company, and civility and affection to policy and mannaging publike of affairs; a thing that doth persevere and continue alwaies to the very end, even in Ants and Bees: for never was it known, that a Bee with age became a Drone; as some there be who would have those who all their life time were imploied in the State, after the vigor and strength of their age is past, to sit still and keep the house, doing nothing else but eat and feed as if they were mued up, suffering their active vertue, through ease and idlenesse to be quenched and marred, even like as iron is eaten and consumed with rust and canker, for want of occupying. For *Cato* said very wisely: That since old age had of it selfe miseries enough of the one, they ought not to add moreover thereunto the shame that proceedeth from vice, for to mend the matter. Now among many vices that be, there is not one that more shameth and defameth an old man, than restiveneſſe, sloth, delicacy and voluptuousnesse: namely when he is seen to come down from the Hall and Courts of Justice, or out of the councel chamber and such publike places, for to go and keep himself close in a corner of his house like a woman, or to retire into some farm in the Country to oversee his mowers, reapers, and harvest-folke, of whom it may well be said, as we read in *Sophocles*:

What is become of wise Oedipus,
In riddles a-reeding, who was so famous?

For to begin to meddle in affaires of State in old age, and not before (as it is reported that one *Epimenides* laid him down to sleep when he was very young, and wakened an old man fifty yeers after) and ere he have shaken off and laid aside so long repose and rest that hath stucke so close unto him by use and custome, to go and put himselfe all at once upon a sudden into such travels and laborious negotiations, being nothing trained nor inured therein, nor framed nor exercised thereto in any measure without conversing at all beforehand with men experienced in matters of estate, nor having practised worldly affairs might peradventure give good occasion to one that were disposed to reprove and find fault, for to say that which the Propheteſſe *Pythias* answered once to one who consulted with the oracle of *Apollo* about the like case:

For government and rule of City state,
Who ever thou be, thou commest too late:
An houre this is undecent and past date,
Thou for to knock at Court or Palace-gate,

like an unmanerly guest who commeth to a feast; or a rude traveller, who seeketh for lodging when it is dark night; for even so thou wouldst remove not to a place, nor to a region, but to a life whereof thou hast no proofe and triall. As for this sentence and verse of *Simonides*:

The City can instruct a man.

True it is, if it be meant of them who have sufficient time to be taught and to learne any science, which is not gotten but hardly and with much ado after great study, long travell, continuall exercise and practise; provided also, that it meet with a nature painfull and laborious, patient, and able to undergo all adversities of fortune. These reasons a man may seem very well, and to the purpose to alledge against those who begin when they be well stricken in yeares to deale in publike affaires of the State. And yet we see the contrary how men of great wisedome and judgement divert children and yong men from the government of Common-weal, who also have the testimony of the lawes on their side, by ordinance whereof at *Athens* the publike Crier or Beadle calleth and summoneth to the pulpit or place of audience, not such as yong *Alcibiades* or *Pythias*, for to stand up first and speake before the assembly of the people, but those that bee above fifty yeers of age; and such they exhort both to make orations, and also to deliver their minds, and counsell what is most expedient to be done. *

* There is a defect or fault at least-wise in the Greek original.

And *Cato* being accused when he was foureſcore yeers old and upward, in pleading of his own cause, thus answered for himselfe: It is an harder matter my masters (quoth he) for a man to render an account of his life, and to justifie the same before other men than those with whom he hath lived. And no man there is, but he will confesse that the acts which *Cæsar Augustus* atchieved a little before his death in defeating *Antonius*, were much more roial and profitable to the weal-publike, than any others that ever he performed all his life time before: and himselfe in restraining and reforming secretly by good customes and ordinances, the dissolute riots of young men, and namely, when they mutined, said no more but thus unto them: Listen young men, and heare an old man speake, whom old men gave eare unto when he was but young. The government also of *Pericles* was at the height and greatest power and authority in his old age, at what time as he perswaded the Athenians to enter upon the Peloponnesiack warre: but when they would needs in all hast, and out of season, set forward with their power to encounter with 60000 men all armed and

and well appointed, who forraged and wasted their territory, he withstood them, and hindered their designed enterprise, and that in manner by holding sure the armour of the people out of their hands, and (as one would say) by keeping the gates of the City fast locked and sealed up. But as touching that which *Xenophon* hath written of *Agesilaus*, it is worthy to bee delivered word for word, as he setteth it down in these tearms: What youth (quoth he) was ever so gallant, but his age surpassed it? what man was there ever in the flower and very best of all his time, more dread and terrible to his enemies, than *Agesilaus* was in the very latter end of his daies? whose death at any time was more joyfull to the enemies than that of *Agesilaus*, although he was very old when he died? what was he that emboldened allies and confederates, making them assured and confident, if *Agesilaus* did not, notwithstanding he was now at the very pits brinke, and had in manner one foot already in his grave? what young man was ever more missed among his friends, and lamented more bitterly when he was dead, than *Agesilaus*, how old so ever he was when he departed this life? The long time that these noble personages lived, was no impediment unto them in atchieving such noble and honourable services; but we in these daies play the delicate wantons in government of Cities, where there is neither tyranny to suppresse, nor warre to conduct, nor siege to be raised; and being secured from troubles of war, we sit still with one hand in another, being troubled only with civill debates among Citizens, and some emulations, which for the most part are voided and brought to an end by vertue of the lawes and justice only with words. We forbear (I say) and draw back from dealing in these publike affairs for feare, confessing our selves herein to be more cowardly and faint-hearted (I will not say) than the ancient Captains and Governours of the people in old time, but even worse than Poets, Sophisters and Plaiers in Tragedies and Comedies of those daies. If it be true, as it is, that *Simonides* in his old age won the prize for enditing ditties, and setting songs in quires and dances, according to the epigram made of him, which testifieth no lesse in the last verses thereof, running in this manner.

Foureſcore years old was Simonides
The Poet, and sonne of Treoprepes,
When for his carrols and musicall vaine,
The prize he won and honour did gaine.

It is reported also of *Sophocles*, that when he was accused judicially for dotage by his own children, who laied to his charge that he was become a child againe, unfitting for governing his house, and had need therefore of a guardian; being convented before the Judges, he rehearsed in open Court the entrance of the *Chorus*, belonging to the Tragedy of his, entituled *Oedipus in Colono*, which beginneth in this wise:

Welcome stranger at thy entry,
To villages best of this Country,
Renowned for good steeds in fight,
The Tribe of faire Colonus *hight;*
Where nightingale doth oft resort,
Her dolefull moanes for to report:
Amid green bowers which she doth haunt,
Her sundry notes and laies to chant,
With voice so shrill as in no ground,
Elsewhere her songs so much resound, &c.

And for that this canticle or sonnet wonderfully pleased the Judges and the rest of the company, they all arose from the bench, went out of the Court, and accompanied him home to his house with great acclamations for joy, and clapping of hands in his honour, as they would have done in their departure from the Theater where the Tragedy had been lively acted indeed. Also it is confessed for certeine, that an epigram also was made of *Sophocles* to this effect:

When Sophocles *this sonnet wrote*
To grace and honour Herodote,
His daies of life by just account,
To fiftie five years did amount.

Philemon and *Alexis*, both comicall Poets, chanced to be arrested and surprised with death even as they plaied their Comedy upon the stage for the prize, and were about to be crowned with garlands for the victory. As for *Paulus* [or *Polus*] the actour of Tragedies, *Eratosthenes* and *Philochorus* do report, That when he was threeſcore years old and ten, he acted eight Tragedies within the space of foure daies, a little before his death. Is it not then a right great shame, that old men who have made profession either to speak unto the people from the tribunall seat, or to sit upon the bench for to minister justice, should shew lesse generosity and magnanimity than those who play their parts upon a scaffold or stage? and namely, in giving over those sacred games and combats indeed, to cast off the person of a politician and man of honour, and to put on another (I wot not what) instead thereof for I assure you, to lay down the roial dignity of a King, for to take up the personage of an husbandman, were very base and mechanicall: and considering that *Demosthenes* said how the sacred galley *Paralus* was unworthily and shamefully misused, when it was put and emploied to bring home for *Meidias*, wood and timber, slates and tiles, fed muttons or such like fatlings: if a man of honour and estate should at any time give up and resigne his dignity of superintendency over the publike feasts of *Bœotarchy*, or government over *Bœotia*, of president-ship in that great Councell or assembly of estates called *Amphyctiones*, and then afterwards be seen

occupied in measuring and selling meale, or the refuse and cakes either of grapes and olives after they be pressed, or to weigh fleeces of wooll, or to make merchandise of their fels: were not this as much altogether, as (according to the old proverb) to put on the age of an old horse without constraint of any person? Moreover, to go to any base and vile occupation or handicraft, or to traffick in merchandite, after one hath borne office of government in the Common-weale, were all one as to turne a gentle-woman well descended, or a sober matron, out of all her fair and decent apparell, for to give her an apron only or single petticoat to cover her shame, and so to set her for to keep in some tavern or victualling house; for even so, all the dignity, majesty and continuance of vertue politick is quite lost, when it is debased to any such vile ministeries and trades, smelling only of lucre and gaine. But in case (which is the only point remaining behind) they call this a sweet and healthfull life, and the true enjoying and use of goods, to be given over to delicacies and pleasures, and to invite and exhort a politician or man of State, in aging therein, and spending his old yeares so, to waste and consume by little and little to nothing: I wot not well unto which of these two pictures, dishonest and shamefull both twaine, this life of his were better to be likened; whether to that of the Mariners, who would solemnize the feast of *Venus* all their life time, being not yet arived with their ship into the haven or harbor, but leaving it still under saile in the open sea; or to the painted table of *Hercules*, whom some painters merily and in sport, but not seemly and with reverence, depaint how he was in the roiall Palace and Court of the Lydian Queen *Omphale*, in a yellow coat like a wench, making wind with a fanne, and setting his mind with other Lydian damosels and waiting-maids, to broid his haire and trick up himselfe: even so we despoiling a man of estate of his lions skin, that is to say, of his magnanimous courage, and a minde to be alwaies profiting the Common-wealth, and setting him to take his ease at the table, will make him good cheer continually, and delight his eares with pleasant songs, with sound of flutes, and other musicall instruments; being nothing at all ashamed to heare that speech which sometime *Pompeius Magnus* gave unto *Lucullus*, who (after his wars and conducts of armies, giving over all regiment of State, wholly was addicted to banes and stoupes, to feasting, to wantonnesse and company with women in the day time, to all dissolute life and superfluous delights, even so much, as to build sumptuous edifices, beseeming rather men of yonger yeers) reproved *Pompeius* for his ambition and desire of government above that which became his age: for *Pompeius* answered unto him, and said: It is more unseasonable for an aged man to live loosely and in superfluity, than to govern and beare rule. Againe, the same *Pompey* being one day fallen sick, when his Physician had prescribed him a black-bird for to eat, which was at that time out of season, and could not be had in the market for any mony, and one made answer that *Lucullus* had good store of them, for he kept and fed them in mue all the yeare long; he would neither send to him for one, nor receive any from him, saying withall: What? unlesse *Lucullus* be a belly-god and glutton, cannot *Pompey* tell how to recover and live? For say that nature seeketh by all means possible to take her pleasure and delight, yet surely she disableth the body of old folke, and denieth it the fruition of all pleasures, unlesse it be in some few necessities of this life:

For why? not Venus *onely is*
Offended with old folke iwis.

As *Euripides* the Poet saith, but also their appetite to eat and drink is for the most part dull and overthrown with mos, and as one would say toothless, in such sort as they do but mumble, touch their victuals a little aloft, and hardly and with much adoe enter and pierce inwardly into the same. In which regard they ought to be furnished and provided of pleasures of the mind, not such as are base, illiberall, and vile as *Simonides* said unto those who reproached him for his avarice; for being bereft of all other fleshly and corporall pleasures by reason of his yeers, he entertained one still which fed and mainteined his old age, and that was the delight which he took in getting money, and gathering goods: but the life politick of those who mannage affairs, hath many pleasures, and those right great and honest, in which onely or principally it should seem that the gods themselves take joy and contentment; and these be they that proceed from beneficence, or doing good unto many, and the glory of some worthy and noble act. For if the painter *Nicias* pleased his owne mind so well in his workmanship, and was so affectionate to the operation of his art, that oftentimes hee forgat himselfe, and would aske his servants whether he had washed, and whether hee had dined, or no: If *Archimedes* also was so bent and intentive unto the table before him, in which he drew his figures geometricall, that his servitours were faine to pluck him from it by force, for to wash and annoint him, and yet in the mean time that they were annointing of him, hee would be drawing and describing of new figures upon his owne body: If *Canus* likewise the plaier of the flute (a man whom you know well enough) was wont to say: That men wist not how much more mirth hee made unto himselfe in his playing, than he did unto those that heard him sound; and that they that came to heare his musick, ought rather to receive a reward of him, than bestow any money upon him. Do we not conceive and imagine in our selves, what great pleasures vertues do yield unto those who effect any commendable action tending to the good of their Country, and turning to the profit of the Common-weale? they tickle not they itch not, neither do they after a stroking manner give contentment, as do these sweet motions, and gentle pricks of the flesh; for such bring with them a certaine impatient itch, an unconstant tickling mingled with a furious heat and inflammation; but those pleasures which come from notable and praise-worthy deeds, such as they

they be, where of the ordinary workman and author is he, who governeth a Common-weale aright, and as it appertaineth unto him for to do, life and raise the soule to a great heate and haughtinesse of courage accompanied with ioy, not with gilded plumes (as *Euripides* saith) but with celestiall wings (as *Plato* was wont to say). And that the truth hereof may the better appear, call to your remembrance your selfe, that which oftentimes you have heard concerning *Epaminondas*, who being asked upon a time, what was the greatest pleasure that ever hee felt in all his life? answered thus: Mary even this (quoth he) that it was my fortune to win the field at the battell of *Leuctres*, my father and mother both being yet living. And *Sylla*, the first time that he came to *Rome* after he had cleared *Italy* from civill and domesticall wars, could not sleep one wink, or lay his eyes together a whole night, for exceeding great joy and contentment wherewith his spirit was ravished, as if it had been with a mighty and violent wind: and thus much he wrote of himselfe in his owne Commentaries. I can therefore hold well with *Xenophon* in that he saith: That there is no sound or speech more delectable to a mans eare, than the hearing of his own praises: and to say truth, nothing so much delighteth a man, as the remembrance of his owne vertues and well deservings. Neither is there any pleasure more delectable to a mans eare, than the hearing of his own praises: and to say truth, nothing so much delighteth a man, as the remembrance of his owne vertues and well deservings. That there is no pleasure, no sight, no report and memoriall, no registration, nor thought resseu: That there is no pleasure, no sight, no report and memoriall, no registration, nor thought in the world, that bringeth a great pleasure and delectation to the minde, as doth the contemplation and beholding of whole good and laudable deeds, which a man hath atchieved whiles he was employed in the administration of State, and in bearing offices, as being a continuall ornament, and publike place to be seen afar off. True it is moreover, that the amiable graces and favour thereby gotten, accompanying withall various toyls, and bearing witnesse thereto of the commendation also of the people who drive at, and contend who can give our great orator, and speak most good (the very guide which leadeth the way of just and the vertuous) to add a glosse and lustre (as it were) unto the joy proceeding from vertue, for to polish, adorne and eine the same. Neither ought a man by negligence to suffer for to fade and wither in old age, the glory of his good deeds, like unto a coronet or garland of green bayes, which was won at some games or place: but even ere to bring forth some fresh and new deserves, to stirre up and awaken (as a man would say) the grace of the old deeds precedent, and thereby to make the same both greater, and also more permanent and durable. For like as the carpenters and shipwrights who had the charge to maintaine the ship called the *Galion*, or *Dole*, evermore made supply of new pieces of timber, as any of the old began to decay, keeping it in continuall reparation by putting in one rib and planke for another, and so preserved it always entire and whole, as it was the very first day when it was built; even so a man is to doe by his reputation and name. And no harder matter is it for to maintaine glory once up and on foot, than to keep the continually flaming which is once kindled, by putting sticcoones still fewell under (be it never so little) for to feed the same. But if they bee once put and throughly quenched indeed, then it is no small matter to set either the one or the other a burning againe. And like as *Thales* the rich merchant, and rich another, being demanded how he got his goods? Mary (quoth he) my greatest wealth I gained dearely and with care, but my smaller estate with exceeding much paine and slowly: even so it is no easie matter, at the beginning to acquire reputation, or to winne credit and authority in the mannaging of civill affaires, but to augment it after the foundation is laid, or to preserve and uphold the same, when it is once come to great state, is not so hard, for every little thing, and the smallest meanes will do it. And so we see that a friend when he is once had, requireth not many great pleasures and offices of kindnesse and friendship to be kept and continued a friend still, but petty tokens and small signes of courtesie, passing continually from time to time between, are sufficient to preserve mutuall love and amity. Semblably the good will and affection of the people, their trust and confidence which they have conceived towards a man, although he be not able evermore to give largesses among them, although hee doe not alwaies defend and maintaine their causes, nor is continually in place of magistracy and office, yet nevertheless it holdeth still, if hee do but shew himselfe only to carry a good heart unto them, and not to cease for to take paines and care for the common good, nor refuse any service in our behalfe: For even the very expeditions and voyages in warre, have not alwaies battels arranged, nor fields fought and bloody skirmishes, ne yet besieging and beleaguing of Cities; but they afford between whiles, festivall sacrifices, parlies and enterviews, some leasure also and time of rest, to follow games, disports and pastimes. How then commeth it, that an old man should be afraid to meddle in State-affaires, as if it were a charge unsupportable, full of infinite and innumerable travels, without any comfort and consolation at all? considering that there be allowed at times, variety of plaies and games, goodly sights and shewes, solemn processions, and stately pomps, publike doles and largesses, dances, musick and feasts, and ever anon the honourable service and worship of one god or other: Which are able to unknit the frowns and unbend the browes, to unpatch and unstarne the lordly cares and austerity of the Iudges in Court, Hall, and of Senators also in Councell chamber, yielding unto them much more pleasure and contentment in proportion to their travels and paines belonging to their place. As for the greatest miseries which are most to be feared in such administrations of the Common-weale, to wit envy, reflexion and cake-bit, lead hold upon old age of any other, for like as *Heraclitus* was wont to say: That dogs do bay and bark at those whom they know not; even so envy assaileth him who beginneth to govern, just at the door: as it were, and the entry of the tribunall and throne of estate, seeking to impeach his accesse and passage thither; but after it is accustomed and acquainted once with the glory of a man, and when it hath

hath been nourished and fed therewith,it is not so troublesome and churlish,but becommeth more kinde and gentle; and this is the reason that some have likened envy unto a smoak,which at the first when the fire beginneth to kindle, ariseth grosse and thick, but after that it burneth light and clear, vanisheth away and is gone. In all other preeminences and superiorities, men are wont ordinarily to debate and quarrell, namely,about vertue,nobility of blood and honour, as being of opinion, that the more they yield unto others, the more they doe abridge from themselves; but the prerogative or precedence of time, which properly is called *Presbeion*,as if a man would say; the honour of age, or Time-right is void of all jealousie and emulation; and there is no man but will willingly yeeld it to his companion; neither is there any kind of honour whereunto so well sorteth this quality,namely, to grace him more who giveth the honour,than the party who is honoured, as to the prerogative which is given to old men. Moreover,all men do not hope nor expect to have credit one time or other by their riches, by their eloquence or wisedome; whereas you shall not see so much as one of those that rule in Common-wealth, to despaire of comming one day to that authority and reverence which old age bringeth men unto. He therefore who after he hath wrestled long against envy, retireth in the end from the administration of the Common-weal, at what time as it is well appeased, and at the point to be extinguished or laid along, should doe like unto that pilot, who in a tempest having winde and waves contrary, spreadeth saile, and roweth in great danger, but afterwards when the weather is faire, and a gentle gale of forewind serveth, doth goe about to strike saile and ride at anchor in the pleasant sunne-shine; he should, I say in so doing, abandon together with his publike affairs, the society, fellowship, alliance and intelligences, which he had with his good friends; for the more time that hee had, the more friends by good reason he ought to have gotten, for to stand with him and take his part, whom hee neither cannot all at once lead forth with him, like as a master of carols his whole quire of singing men; nor meet it is and reason, that hee should leave and forsake them all: but as it is not an easie piece of worke to stock up by the root old trees, no more is it a thing soon done to extirp a long government in the Common-weale, as having many great roots, and those enterlaced and enwrapped one within another, by reason of sundry and weighty affaires, the which no doubt must needs work more trouble and vexation to those that retire and depart from it, than to those that tarry still by it: and say there remained yet behind for, old men some reliques of envy,emulation,and contention,which grew in the time of their government: it were farre better to extinguish and quench the same by power and authority, than to turn both side and back unto them, all naked and disarmed: for envious persons and evill willers never do assaile them so much with despight, who make head againe and stand their ground, as they do by contempt those who yeeld back and retire: and to this accordeth well that which in times past,that great *Epaminondas* said unto the Thebans. For when the Arcadians had made offer unto them, yea and requested them to enter into their Cities, during the winter season, and there to lodge and abide under covert; he would not permit them so to doe, nor to accept of their courtesie: For now (quoth he),all the while that they behold you exercising and wrestling in your armour, they have you in great admiration, as valiant and hardy men; but if they should see you once by the fire side punning and stamping beanes, they would take you to bee no better than themselves; even so I would make my application,and inferre hereupon; that it is a venerable and goodly sight to behold a grave and ancient personage speaking to the people, dispatching affaires of State, and generally to be honoured of every man; but he who all the day long stirs not out of his warm bed,or if he be up, sitteth still in some corner of a gallery, prating and talking vainly,or else reaching,hawking,spitting, or wiping his nose that dropps for cold; such an one I say is exposed to contempt. *Homer* verily himselfe hath taught us this lesson, if we will marke and give good ear to that which he hath written.For old *Nestor* being at the war before *Troy*, was had in honour and reputation; whereas contrariwise *Peleus* and *Laertes* who tarried behind at home, were set little by and despised. For the habitude of wisedome doth not continue the same, nor is any thing like it selfe, in those who give themselves to ease, and doe not practice the same: but through idlenesse and negligence it diminisheth,and is dissolved by little and little, as having need alwaies of some exercise of the cogitation and thought which may awaken the spirit, clear the discourse of reason,and lighten the operative part of the mind to the dealing in affairs.

Like as both iron and brasse is bright and cleer,
All while mans hand the same doth use and weare:
Whereas the house wherein none dwels at all,
Intract of time,must needs decay and fall.

Neither is the infirmity and feeblenesse of the body so great an hinderance unto the government of State,in those who above the strength of their age,seem either to mount into the tribunall,or to the bench, or to the generals pavilion and place of audience within the camp, as otherwise their years bring good with them, to wit, considerate circumspection,and staied wisedome: as also not to be troubled or driven to a *non plus* in the managing of any businesse, or to commit an absurdity and error, partly for want of experience, in part upon vaine-glory, and so to draw the multitude therewith and do mischiefe to the Common-wealth all at once; like unto a sea tossed with winds;but to treat and negotiat gently, mildly, and with a setled judgement,with those who come unto them for advice,or have any affairs,or to do with them. And hereupon it is,that Cities after they have sustained some great shake or adverse calamitie,or when they have been affrighted,desire streight-waies to be

be ruled by ancient men, and those well experienced; in which cases they have many times drawn perforce an old man out of his house in the Country, for to govern them, who thought or desired nothing lesse; they have compelled him to lay his hand upon the helme, for to set all streight and upright againe in security, rejecting in the meane while green headed generals of armies, eloquent Oratours also, who knew well enough how to speake aloud,and to pronounce long clauses and periods with one breath, and never fetching their wind; yea,and beleeve me brave warriours and worthy Captains indeed, who had been able and sufficient to have affronted their enemies, and sought valiantly in the field.Like as upon a time at *Athens*,the Oratours there shewing before *Timotheus* and *Iphicrates*,who were farre stept in yeares, one named *Chares* the sonne of *Theocharес*, who was a lusty young man, in the flowre of his age and mighty of body, stripped out of his apparell, desired that he who was to be Captaine Generall of the Athenians, were such an one as he for years and for person: God forbid (quoth *Timotheus*) but rather I could wish the generals varlet to be such an one, who is to carry after him his bed and the furniture thereto belonging. As for the Commander and leader of an Army,he ought to be a man that knoweth how to see into the State,both before and behind,and who will not suffer his counsels and resolutions for the weal publike,to be troubled and disordered by any passion whatsoever: for *Sophocles* when he was now become aged: I am well appaid (quoth he) that I am now escaped from wanton love, and the delights of *Venus*; as being delivered from the subjection of a furious Lord and raging Master. But in the administration of the Common-wealth, a man is not to avoid and flye one sort of Masters, to wit, the love of boies and wenches,but many others which be more outragious than it, and namely,emulation and a contentious spirit, desire of vaine glory, and a longing to be alwaies,and in every thing the first and the greateст; a vice that engendereth most of any other, envy, jealousies, conspiracies,and factions; of which old age doth let slack some,and dull their edge,others it cooleth and extinguisheth cleane,neither diminisheth and impaireth it the inclination and affection to well doing so much, as it represseth and cutteth off the passions which are too violent and over-hot, to the end that it may apply unto the care and study about affairs, the discourse of reason, sober staied, and well setled: howbeit in very truth,and in the judgement of the readers,let this speech of the Poet

Lie still poor wretch and keep thy bed,
Stirre not from thence and have no dred,

be alledged and spoken for to dissuade and distract him, who would with his grisled beard and gray head begin now to be young and play the youth, as also to tax and reprove an old grand-fire, who after long repose in his house, out of which he hath not stirred,no more than in the time of a languishing disease, will needs start up now on a sudden, and all at once bestirre his old bones to be a Captaine forsooth in all hast,to lead an army,or else to take upon him the charge of governing a City. But hee that would call away and reclaim one, who hath been trained and employed all the daies of his life in politick affairs,and throughly beaten to the world,and the administration of the Common weale, not suffering him to runne forward in that course of life untill he have atteined the goale,nor untill he have gained the prize of his victory,but will seem to turn him out of his long journie for to take another way;he (I say)is altogether sensлesse and unreasonable,and nothing resembleth the man we speak of.Like as he who to divert an old man being set out like a youth,with a chaplet of fresh flowers upon his head, perfumed with sweet odours,and already to be married, would alledge those verses which in a Tragaedy were sometime said unto *Philoctetes*,

What maiden young, what fresh and lusty bride
Will marry thee, to lie close by thy side?
Alas, poor man for pity, at this age
Thus for to venture upon marriage?

were nothing absurd nor out of the way,and beside the purpose: for even old folk themselves,when they are disposed to be merry, have many such jests as these passe currant among them:

I marry old, how faire I am bested
Well wot I, for my neighbour I do wed.

But hee that would perswade a man already married, to leave his wife with whom he hath lived so long in wedlock,and dwelt together in one house without quarrels and complaints, supposing that because he is now grown in years with her, he should forsake her, and live either a single life, apart by himselfe, or else keep a lemon or concubine instead of his lawfull wedded wife, in my conceit were a very absurd for in the highest degree; even so it standeth to good reason, for to deale with an old man who having one foot already in his grave, or with one *Clidon* who had been an husbandman all his life time; or with one *Lampon* the Merchant adventurer,who hath done nothing all his daies,but used shipping and traffick beyond sea;or with some of these Philosophers out of *Epicurus* his orchard,who love a life to sit still and do nothing, to admonish and dissuade them from approaching unto the publike affairs of the people,and to counsell them to hold them still to their former accustomed course of life,farre from troubles and busie dealings in Common-weale: mary, he that took such an one as *Phocion*,*Cato* or *Pericles* by the hand,and said: My friend of *Athens* or *Rome*, whoever you are,now that you be arrived to withered old age,make a divorce with the Common-weale, quit from this day forward all publike administration, all cares and affairs, aswell of councell as of war; abandon both the tribunall seat in the City,and also the prætory or pavilion of State in the camp,retire your selfe into an house in the Country, and live the rest of your life there with

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one maid-servant to attend upon you; follow your husbandry, or else imploy your selfe in your private household, to take accounts and reckonings of your receivers and factours; surely he should perswade him to unjust things, and exact of a Statesman and politician that which neither pleaseth nor yet beseemeth him. How then? will some man say unto me, never heard we the old souldier how he speaketh thus in the Comedy?

My hoary haires from warfare set me free,
That from henceforth enroll'd I shall not be.

Yes forsooth good Sir, it is very true; for requisite it is, and fit, that the squires and servitours of *Mars* should be in the flower and full strength of their age, as those who make profession of warre, and the painfull services belonging thereto, whose gray haires, although the head-piece and morion do hide and cover, yet inwardly their limmes are heavy and decaied by yeers, and their strength is not to their good will, nor their hand answerable to their heart. But of the ministers of *Jupiter*, surnamed Counseller, Orator, and Patron of Cities, we require not the works of feet nor of hands, but of counsell, forecast and eloquence; and yet not such eloquence I meane, as should make a stir, or raise a noise, out-cry and shout among the people, but that which is full of ripe understanding, of considerate wisedome, and of good directions and plots well and surely laid. In which persons, the white head and gray beard (which some laugh and make good game at) the crow-foot about the eies, the furrowes in the forehead, the rivels and wrinkles in the face besides appearing, beare witnesse of long experience, and add unto them a reputation and authority, which help much to perswade and to draw the minds of the hearers unto their will and purpose. For to speak truly, youth is made (as it were) to follow and obey, but age to guide and command: and that City or State is preserved, wherein the sage counsels of the Elders, and the martiall prowesse of the younger, beare sway together. And for this cause highly and wonderfully are these verses following praised in *Homer*, and namely in the first place:

Then to begin, a goodly sort
of ancient captaines bold,
Assembled he in Nestors *ship,*
a counsell there to hold.

Upon the same reason also, that counsell of the wisest and principall men assistant unto the Kings of *Lacedæmon* for the better government of the State, the Oracle of *Apollo Pythius* first called Γερουσίαν, *i.* Elders: and *Lycurgus* afterwards directly and plainly tearmed Γέροντας, *i.* Old men: and even at this very day, the Councell of Estate in *Rome* is named a Senate, that is to say, an assembly of ancient persons. And like as the law and custome, time out of minde, hath allowed unto Kings and Princes the diadem, that is to say, a royall band or frontlet, the crown also to stand upon their heads, as honourable marks and ensignes of their regall dignity and sovereign authority; even so hath nature given unto old men the white head and hoary beard as honourable tokens of their right to command, and of their preeminence above others. And for mine own part, I verily think that this Noun in Greek, γῆρας, which signifieth a prize or reward of honour, as also the Verb γηράσκειν, which is as much to say, as to honour, continue still in use, as respective to the honour due unto old men (who in Greek are called γέροντες) not for that they bath in hot waters, or sleep in softer beds; but because in Cities well and wisely governed, they be ranged with Kings for their prudence; the proper and perfect goodnesse whereof, as of some tree which yieldeth winter fruit which is not ripe before the latter end of the yeer, nature bringeth forth late and hardly in old age: and therefore there was not one of those martiall and brave couragious Captains of the Greeks, who found fault with that great King of Kings, *Agamemnon*, for making such a prayer as this unto the gods:

That of the Grecian host which stood
of many worthy men,
Such counsellers as Nestor *was,*
they would vouchsafe him ten.

but they all agreed with him, and by their silence confessed, That not only in policy and civill government, but also in warre, old age carieth a mighty great stroak: for according as the ancient proverb beareth witnesse:

One head that knowes full wisely for to reed,
Out-goes ten hands, and maketh better speed.

One advice likewise, and sentence grounded upon reason, and delivered with perswasive grace, effecteth the greatest and bravest exploits in a whole State. Well, say that old age hath many difficulties and discommodities attending upon it, yet is not the same therefore to be rejected: for the absolute rule of a King, being the greatest and most perfect estate of all governments in the world, hath exceeding many cares, travels and troubles; insomuch as it is written of King *Seleucus*, that he would oftentimes say, if the people wist how laborious and painfull it were to read and write only so many letters as he did, they would not deign to take up his diadem, if they found it thrown in their very way as they go. And *Philip* being at the point to pitch his camp in a fair ground, when he was advertised that the place would not afford forage for his labouring beasts: O *Hercules* (quoth he) what a life is this of ours, that we must live (forsooth) and care to serve the necessity of our Asses? Why, then belike it were high time to perswade a King when he is aged, for to lay down his diadem, to

to cast off his robes of purple, to clad himself in simple array, to take a crooked staffe in hand, and so to go and live in the Country, for fear lest if he with his gray hairs reigned still, he should seem to do many superfluous and impertinent things, and to direct matters out of season? Now if it were unseemly and a meer indignity to deal with *Agesilaus*, with *Numa* and *Darius*, all Kings and monarchs, after this sort; unmeet likewise it is, that we should remove and displace *Solon* out of the Councell of *Areopagus*, or depose *Cato* from his place in the Romane Senate, because of their old age. Why should we then go about to perswade such a one as *Pericles*, to give over and resigne his government in a popular State? for over and besides, there were no sense at all, that if one have leapt and mounted into the tribunall seat or chaire of estate in his young yeers, and afterwards discharged upon the people and Common-wealth those his violent passions of ambition and other furious fits, when ripe age is now come, which is wont to bring with it discretion and much wisdome gathered by experience, to abandon and put away (as it were) his lawfull wife, the government which he hath so long time abused. The fox in *Æsop's* fables, would not suffer the urchin to take off the tiques that were setled upon her body: For if (quoth shee) thou take away these that be already full there will come other hungry ones in their place; and even so, if a State rejected evermore from administration of the Common-wealth those governours that begin once to be old, it must needs be quickly full of a sort of young Rulers, that be hungry and thirsty both after glory, but altogether void of politick wit and reason to govern: for how can it otherwise be? and where should they get knowledge, if they have not been disciples to learn, nor spectators to follow and imitate some ancient Magistrate that mannageth State-affairs? The Cards at sea which shew the seat of sailing and ruling ships, cannot make good sea-men or skilfull Pilots, if they have not been themselves many times at the stearn in the poop, to see the manner of it, and the conflicts against the waves, the winds, the black storms and dark tempests,

What time in great perplexity,
The Mariner doth wish to see
Castor *and* Pollux, *twins full bright,*
Presaging safety with their light.

How then possibly can a young man govern and direct a City well, perswade the people aright, and deliver wise counsell in the Senate, having but read one little book treating of policy, or haply written an exercise or declamation in the School *Lyceum* touching that argument? un'esse besides he have stood close unto the reines, or hard by the helme many a time, and by marking both City Rulers, and martiall Captaines, how they have but been put to their triall, and according to the sundry experiences and accidents of fortunes, enclining now to the one side and then to the other, after many dangers and great affairs, have gotten sufficient knowledge and instruction before hand? I cannot see how it can be: but if there were no other thing at all besides; yet surely an ancient man is to mannage still the affairs of State, and it were but to traine and teach the younger, that be to come up after him: for like as they who teach children musick, or to read, do themselves *Sol, fa*, and sing the note, they finger and strike the key or string, they read and spell the letters before them, and all to shew how they should do; even so the ancient politician doth frame and direct a young man, not onely by reading unto him, by discoursing and advertising him without foorth; but also in the very mannaging and administration of affaires, fashioning, forming and casting him (as it were) lively in a mould, as well by operation and example, as by words and precepts. For he that is schooled and exercised herein, not in the Schools of the Sophisters that can speak in number and measure, as in the wrestling hall where the body is annointed with a composition of oile and wax together, against exercises performed without any danger at all: but (as it were) at the very publike games indeed, in the view of the whole world, such as the Olympicks and Pythicks were: he (I say) followeth the tracts and foot-steps of his Master and teacher, as saith *Simonides*:

As sucking foale that keeps just pace,
And runs with dam in every place.

Thus did *Aristides* under *Callisthenes*, *Cimon* under *Aristides*, *Phocion* under *Chabrias*, *Cato* under *Fabius Maximus*, *Pompeius* under *Sylla*, and *Polybius* under *Philopæmen*. For all these personages when they were young, drew neer and joined themselves with others that were ancient, and having taken root close by them, grew up together with them in their actions and administrations, whereby they got experience, and were inured to the mannaging of the State with honour and reputation. *Æschines* the Academick Philosopher, when certaine envious Sophisters of his time charged him and said: That he made a semblance and shew, that he had been the Disciple and hearer of *Carneades*, whereas he never was, I say unto you (quoth he) that I heard the man, when as his speech abandoning the brut applause and tumultuous noise of the people, by reason of his old age was shut up close and housed (as it were) for to do good more familiarly in private conference. And even so it is with the government of an aged person, when as not only his words, but also his deeds be farre remote from affected pomp in outward shewes, and all vaine glory. Much like as it is reported of the black Storke, called *Ibis*, who by that time that she is become old, hath exhaled and breathed forth all that strong and stinking savour wich she had, and beginneth to yield a sweet and aromaticall smel; even so there is no counsell nor opinion in old men, vain, turbulent or inconstant, but all grave, quiet, and setled. And therefore in any wise (as I said before) if it were but for young mens sake onely and no more, elder persons are to weld the affaires of State: to the end that as

Plato

Plato speaking of wine mingled with water, said that it was to make the furious god wise, by chastising him with another that was sober and temperate: the staied wisedome of old age tempered with youth, swelling and boiling before the people, and transported with the greedy desire of honour, and with ambition, might cut off that which is furious, raging and over-violent.

But over and besides all that hath been said before, they who think, that to be employed in the mannaging of publike affaires, is all one as to saile for traffick, or to go forth to warre in some expedition, are much deceived: for both navigation and also warre, men undertake for a certaine end, and no sooner have they attained thereto but they cease: but the mannaging of State-affairs is not a commission or office pretending or intending any profit and commodity for the scope that it shooteth at; but it is the life and profession of a living creature, which is gentle, tame, civill, and sociable, born to live so long as it pleaseth nature, civilly, honestly, and for the publike good of humane society. This is the reason, that of a man it should be said, that he still is occupied in such affairs of Common-weal, and not that he hath been so employed: like as to be true, and not to have been true; to be just, and not to have been just; to love his Countrey and Citizens, and not to have loved them, is his duty and profession. For even nature her selfe directeth us hereto, and singeth this lesson in our eares (I speak to those who are not altogether corrupted and marred with sloth and idlenesse)

Thy father thee a man hath once begat:
To profit men alwaies in this or that.
Againe:
Let us not cease nor any end finde
To do all good unto mankinde.

As touching them who pretend and alledge for excuse, feebleneese or impotency, they do accuse sicknesse and the maimed indisposition of the body rather than age. For you shall see many young men sick and feeble, and as many old folke lusty and strong; so we are not to remove aged persons simply from the administration of the Common-weale, but the impotent onely and unsufficient; nor to call unto that vocation young men, but such as be able to undergo the charge: for *Aridæus* was young enough, and *Antigonus* in yeers; and yet this man as old as he was, went within a little of conquering all *Asia*; but the other had never but the bare name onely of a King, like as in a dumb shew upon a stage, making a countenance onely with a guard of partizans and halberds about him, without speaking one word; and so he was a ridiculous pageant and laughing stock among his Nobles and Peers, who were alwaies his Rulers, and led him as they list. And even as he who would perswade *Prodicus* the Sophister, or *Philetas* the Poet (young men both, howbeit lean, feeble, sickly, and for the most part of the time bed-ridden) for to meddle with government of State, were a very foole and sensuelesse asse; so he were no whit better, who should debarre such old men as *Phocion*, as *Masanissa* the African, or *Cato* the Romane, from exercising publike magistracy in the City, or taking the charge of a Lord General in the field: for *Phocion* one day when the Athenians all in the haste, would needs have gone forth to warre at an unseasonable time, commanded by Proclamation that as many as were not above threescore yeers of age, should arme and follow him. Now when they were offended and wroth hereat: Why? my masters (quoth he) what cause have you to complaine? I will go with you my selfe and be your Captaine, who carry already above fourescore yeers on my back. And of *Masanissa*, *Polybius* writeth in his story, that he died when he was fourscore and ten yeers old, and left behind him at his death a sonne of his owne body begotten, but foure yeers old: also that a little before his dying day, he overthrew the Carthaginians in a ranged battel, and the morrow after was seen eating savourly at his very tent door a piece of brown bread: and when some marvelled at him why he so did, hee answered thus out of the Poet *Sophocles*:

For iron and brasse be bright and clear
All while mans hand the same doth weare,
But the house wherein none dwels at all
In time must needs decay and fall.

And even as much may be said, of the lustre, glosse and resplendent light of the minde, by which we discourse, we remember, conceive and understand. And therefore it is generally held and said, that Kings become much better in wars and military expeditions, than they bee all the whiles they sit still quietly at home. In such sort, that it is reported of King *Attalus*, the brother of *Eumenes*, how being enervate by long peace and rest, *Philopæmen* one of his favourites led him up and downe as he list by the nose, and indeed being fed as fat as a beast, he might do with him what he would: so as the Romans were wont to aske by way of mockery ever and anon, as any sailed out of *Asia*, whether the King were in grace and favour with *Philopæmen*, and might do any thing with him? There could not easily be found many Roman Captains more sufficient warriours in all kinde of service than was *Lucullus*, so long as he was in action, and maintained his wit and understanding entire; but after that he gave himselfe over once to an idle life, and sate mued up (as it were) like an house-bird at home, and medled no more in the affairs of the Common-weal, he became very dul, blockish and benummed, much like to sea-spunges after a long calm, when the salt water doth not dash and drench them: so that afterwards he committed his old age to be dieted, cured and ordered unto one of his affranchised bond-slaves, named *Callisthenes*, by whom it was thought he was medici-

medicined with amatorious drinks, and bewitched with other charmes and sorceries, untill such time as his brother *Marchus* displaced this servitor from about him, and would needs have the government and disposition of his person the rest of his life, which was very long. But *Darius* the father of *Xerxes* was wont to say, That in perillous times and dangerous troubles, he became the better and much wiser than himselfe. *Ælæus a King of *Scythia* said, that he thought himself no better than his horse-keeper, when he was idle. *Dionysius* the elder being demanded upon a time, whether he were at leisure and had nought to do? God defend (quoth he) that ever it should be so with me: for a bow (as they say) if it be over-bent will breake, but the mind if it be over-slack. For the very Musicians themselves, if they discontinue overlong the hearing of their accords; the Geometricians likewise, to prove and resolve their conclusions; the Arithmeticians also to exercise continually their accounts and reckonings, together with the very actions do impaire by longtime and age the habitudes that they had gotten before in their severall arts, albeit they be not so much practike as speculative sciences: but the politike habitude, which is Prudence, Discretion, Sage advice, and Justice, and besides all these, Experience which can skill in all occurrences how to make choise of opportunities and the very point of occasions, as also a sufficiency to be able with good words to perswade that which is meet; this habitude (I say) and knowledge cannot be preserved and maintained, but by speaking often in publike place, by doing affaires, by discoursing and by judgement: and a hard case (it were) if by discontinuing and leaving off these goodly exercises, it should neglect and suffer to void out of the mind so many faire and laudable vertues: for very like like it is, than in so doing all humanity, sociable courtesie, and gratitude in time, for want of use and practice would decay and fade away, which indeed should never cease nor have an end. Now if you had *Tithonus* for your father, who indeed was immortall, howbeit by reason of extreme age standing in need continually of great help and attendance, would you avoid all good means? Would you deny or be weary of doing him dutifull service, namely, to wait upon him, to speake unto him, to find talke with him, and to succour him every way, under a colour and pretence that you had ministred unto him long enough? I trow you would not. Our Countrey then, resembling our father, or our mother rather according to the terme *Matris*, which the Candiots gave it, which is more aged, and hath many more rights over us, and straighter obligations of us, than hath either father or mother, how durable and long lived soever it be, yet notwithstanding subject it is to age, and is not sufficient of it selfe, but hath alwaies need of some carefull eye and good regard over it, and requireth much succour and vigilance; she (I say) plucketh unto her a man of honour and policy, she takes sure hold and will not let him go,

She catcheth him by skirt of roab behind,
And holds him fast, lest that he from her wind.

You know well that there be many Pythiades, that is to say, five yeares termes gone over my head, since I began first to Minister as Priest unto *Apollo Pythius*: but yet (I suppose) you would not say thus unto me: *Plutarch*, you have sacrificed enough now; you have gone in procession often enough, already, or you have lead a sufficient number of dances in the honour and worship of your god; now you are grown in yeares and become aged: it were time now, that you laid off the coronet which you weare on your head in token of your Priesthood, and give over the Oracle by reason of your old age. Neither would I have you thinke that it is lawfull for you, notwithstanding you be far stept in yeares, to relinquish and resigne up your holy service of *Jupiter* the tutor and patron of Cities, the president of civill assemblies and counsels; you (I say) who are the soveraigne high Priest and the great Prophet of the ceremonies of Religion politike, wherein you thus long time have been entred and professed.

But laying aside, if you thinke good, these arguments that may distract and pull an old man from the administration of the State; let us discourse philosophically, and consider a little upon the point: namely, that we do not impose upon old age any enterprise and travel, which is either too grievous or unbeseeming, considering that in the universall government of the common-weal, there be many parts befitting well enough and agreeable to that age; wherunto both you and I at this present be arrived. For like as if of duty we were commanded to continue singing all our life long, we are not bound after that we be grown to great age for to reach unto the highest, lowdest, and most shrill notes considering that there be in musick many divers tunes and different intensions of the voice, which the Musicians call harmonies; but reason would that we make choise of that which is easiest for our yeares, and most suitable to our nature and disposition; even so since that to speake and mannage affaires is to men more naturall during their whole life, than singing to swannes even unto their houre of death, we must not abandon that affection of saying and doing, as if we should sing away an harpe too high set, but we ought to let the same down by little and little, taking in hand those charges and offices which be lesse painfull, more moderate, and better according with the strength and manners of old folke: for even our very bodies, we that are aged, do not suffer to rest still without all exercise, and allow them no motion at all, because we can no more handle the spade to dig the ground, nor weld the plummets of lead in the exercise of dancing, nor pitch the bar, fling the hammer, cast the coit, or throw a stone far from us, or fight and skirmish in our armour, or handle sword and buckler as we could have done in those daies; yet we can abide to swing and hang at a rope for to stretch our limbes, we can away with shaking of our bodies moderately in a pendant ship, coach, or easie horse-litter; we like well enough of

* *Attal.*

walking gently, and deuising one with another upon the way, and maintaining pleasant discourses, wakening and reviving our vitall spirits, and blowing as it were the coales to kindle our naturall heat and therefore let us not suffer our selves to grow over cold, nor stiffe and starke as if we were frozen and congealed through our sloath and idlenesse; neither on the other side over-charge our selves with all offices, nor be ready to lay our hand to all ministeries and functions, nor enforce our old age convinced of impotency to come at length to these or such like words,

Ah good right hand, how gladly wouldst thou take
The launce to couch, and pike in skirmish shake:
But now alas, this forward will to fight,
Thy feeble nesse doth check, and worke thee spight.

For neither is the man himselfe, who is able enough and in the flower of his yeares, commended, if he should undergo and lay upon his shoulders all the affaires of the Common-weale, and not suffer any man else with him to take some part (like as the Stoicks affirme that *Jupiter* is content to do, but engaging himselfe in all things, and meddling in every matter, either upon an unsatiable desire of glory, or for envy that he beareth to those, who in some measure would have their part of honour and authority in the Common-weale. But unto an ancient person I assure you, (although you should ease him of infamy in this behalfe) yet it were a painfull ambition, and a most laborious desire of rule for to be present personally at all elections of Magistrates; yea, and a miserable curiosity to wait and attend every houre of judgement in Court, and all meetings and assemblies in counsell; also an intollerable humour of vaine-glory to stand at receit and catch every occasion of embassage, or know every verdict of our Grand-jury, or undertake the patronage of all publike causes what oever: and say that all this might be performed with the favour and love of every man, yet grievous it is, and above the ordinary strength of that age. But what will you say if they meet with the cleane contrary? For to young men they be odious, because they let nothing passe their own hands, but intercept from them all occasion and meanes of action, not giving them leave to arise and put themselves forth; as for their equals, this covetous desire of honour is to hold the highest place in all things, and to have the sole authority every where, is no lesse hated of them, and accounted infamous, than either avarice or loose life, and voluptuousnesse in other old folke. And therefore like as (by report) King *Alexander* the Great, not willing to overcharge his horse *Bucephalus* when he grew in age, used to mount other courses before the fight began, for to ride up and down to review his Army, and all the quarters and Regiments thereof, but after he had ranged it in array, and set his Squadrons and Companies in ordinance of battell, and given the signall, he would alight and get upon his backe againe as he was wont, and presently march directly affront his enemies, give the Charge, and hazard the fortune of the field; even so a politike man of State, if he be wise and of sound judgment, will favour his strength a little, when he feeleth himselfe aged, as he holdeth the reines in his owne hand, he will forbeare to deale in those charges which are not altogether so necessary, and suffer younger men to mannage matters of lesse importance; but in weighty affaires of great consequence, he will lay to both his own hands in good earnest, contrary unto the practice of the Champions in publike games and combates of prise, who carefully looke unto their bodies without touching at all any necessary workes, and all to employ and use them in needlesse, unprofitable, and superfluous feats: but we contrariwise letting passe by the petty and sleight charges are to reserve our selves whole and entire unto those that be serious and of moment indeed; for a young man as *Homer* saith, all things beseeme indifferently and alike, all the world smileth on him, every body loveth him; if he enterprise small matters, and many in number, they say he is a good Common-wealths man, he is popular, he is laborious; if he undertake great workes and honourable actions, he hath the name of generous, noble, and magnanimous: yea, and divers occurrences there be, wherein rashnesse it selfe and a contentious humour of emulation have a kind of grace, and become gaily well such as be fresh and gallant youths; but for a man of yeares, who during the administration of the Common-weale, undertaketh these and such like ministeries and commissions; namely, the letting to farme the customes and revenues of the City, the charge of maintaining an haven, or keeping of the Market-place and Common Hall in order and reparation; over and besides, the embassies and voyages in forraine parts to Princes and Potentates, or the riding in post thither, to treat about no matter of necessity nor weighty affaires of any importance, but only to salute them or make court unto them, or performe some offices of courtesie and curtesie: In my conceit, and be it spoken unto you my good friend, he is to be pitied for it, and his case is rather lamentable than commendable. To others haply it may seeme an odious trouble and a burdensome matter for him so to be employed; for surely this is not an age wherein a man should be encumbred with any offices, but such as wherein there is dignity, grandeur, and reputation, such as that is, which your selfe at this time do execute in *Athens*, to wit, the presidence of the counsell or senate called *Areopagus*, and verily of that kind also is that dignity of being one of that honourable councell and assembly of the States, called *Amphyctiones* which your country hath conferred udon you by patent to hold all your life time, the labour belonging whereto is pleasant, the paines easie, and the travell tollerable. Howbeit I would not have an ancient person to range and hunt after these offices, nor to accept them, as demanding the same, but to receive them by way of refusall, so as he may seeme to take them *volens nolens*, not as meanes for to be himselfe in honour, but as one that meant by his acception to grace and honour them. For it is no shame

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as *Tiberius Cæsar* was wont to say, for men above threescore years of age to reach forth their hand to a Physician for to have their pulse felt; but rather to stretch out their hands to the people, in praying them to give their voices or suffrages with them at the election of Magistrates; for this is a very vile and base thing: as contrariwise there is in this a certaine venerable Majesty, and a dignity right honourable: that when the countrey hath elected one to be a Magistrate, when they call upon him and give attendance at his doore, he should then come down unto them out of his house, with a kind of reciprocall honour of his part, a cheerefull countenance and courteous behaviour to the people againe to salute embrace, welcome, and accept this their present, worthy indeed and beseeming honourable old age. Semblably also in some sort, an ancient man ought to use his speech in the congregation and assembly of the people, not running ever and anon and leaping up into the pulpit or place of audience to make an oration unto the people, nor ready alwaies like as a cock croweth againe when he heareth others, to counterchaunt (as it were) to all those that make any speech, nor in fatining upon them, and striving to take hold and vantage of their words, to unbridle the reverence that young men beare toward him, nor to breed in them by that meanes matter to exercise and accustome themselves in disobedience and unwillingnesse to hear him: but he must otherwhiles seeme to passe by, and make semblance as though he saw and heard nothing, and give them leave a little to braveit, to fling out, and cast up the head like a wanton young horse, neither to be present among, or to search curiously into every thing that is done or said, especially when the danger is not great, nor a matter touching the safety of the Common-weale, nor any honour and reputation; for there in such cases he ought not to stay untill he be called, but to put forth himselfe and to run even above the ordinary strength of his age, or else if he be not able, to yeeld his body to be led by hand and susteined up by folks armes, yea and to be carried in a chaire; as the history doth report of *Appius Claudius*, who having heard that the Senate of *Rome* after a great foughten field which King *Pyrrhus* had won of the Romans, inclined to accept of articles and capitulations tending to a composition and to peace, could not endure that indignity nor containe himselfe, (blind though he were of both his eyes) but would needs be carried through the common place, even to the Senate house; and being entred in upon his feet, he stood in the midst of them all and said, My Masters, hitherto I have been grieved for the losse of mine eye-sight, in that I could not see; but now I wish that I had lost the use also of mine eares, and that I might not heare the shametull counsels and courses that you take, besides the lewd exploits that you performe: then partly by reproving them sharply, and in part by his effectuall reasons and remonstrations exciting them he wrought so, that perswaded they were presently to resume armes for to fight with *Pyrrhus*, for the seigniory and Empire of *Italy*. And *Solon* at what time as the flatterers of *Pysistratus* wherewith he abused the people of *Athens*, were openly detected and discovered, and that it appeared once that he aimed at nothing else but to usurpe tyranny over them, and when no man durst make head against him and empeach or crosse his designes, himselfe alone bringing forth armour out of his house, and laying the same in the street before his very doores, cried with a loud voice unto the Citizens for to aide him; which when *Pisistratus* heard, he sent unto him for to demand and know upon what assurance that he had, he durst be so bold as thus to do? Mary (quoth he) I presume upon mine old age. Such occurrences as these so necessary do re-kindle and set on fire againe old men, who were in manner extinct and cleane dead before provided, that there remained in them any sparke or breath at all: but in other smaller occasions, an ancient personage shall do well and wisely to excuse himselfe otherwhiles, and refuse base or vile ministeries, wherein greater toile and paines groweth unto them that be employed therein, than profit and commodity doth accrue unto the parties for whose sake they be undertaken. It falleth out also sometimes, that if he stay untill he be called and sought unto untill he be desired, and that they send to seek for him at his house, he shall win more credit and authority among his Citizens by comming among them in the end at their request: and say that he be present in place, he shall be silent himselfe for the most part and suffer younger men to speake, as being the judge of civill contention and emulation among them, provided alwaies that the same exceed not a certaine meane; for then he shall reprove them mildly, after a kind and loving sort cut off all opinionative debates, all head-strong opinions, all opprobrious termes and heat of choler. Now, in the advices and opinions delivered of any matter in question, his part is to comfort & encourage him that commeth short of the point, not reproving and blaming him at all. but rather teaching him how to do better against another time, yea and to praise him boldly who hath done well, and suffer his own selfe willingly to take the worse and be overcome, giving the place to some many times, & not disdaine to be over-matched and perswaded by reason to the end that they may take the better heart and be more bold, and ready to help out and supply others in their defects, and that with good words and faire language, likeas that old *Nestor* did in *Homer*:

Of all the Greeks there is no man,
Who blame these words or gainsay can:
But yet forsooth you say not all,
Nor come are to the finall.
For why? you seeme but young by your visage,
And well my son you may be for your age.

Moreover, this were more civilly done, not to reprove and checke them openly nor in publike place, although it be without any great biting and nipping, which is enough to abate and cast down the courage of young men; but rather apart and privately, especially such as be well framed and disposed by nature to government of State another day; instructing and leading them gently into the right way, setting before their eyes some excellent sayings, examples, and inventions tending to policy, and inciting them alwaies to good and honest enterprises, heartening and emboldening them by that meanes, that they may shew a lively and lightsome spirit, and even at the beginning, making the people cast a liking and love unto them, and be more gentle and tractable afterwards: like as it is the manner of those, who when they teach young men to sit and ride an horse, bring them first one that is gentle and easie to be mounted upon; now if peradventure one of them at his first entrance do faile and catch a fall, he must not let him lie along, and so breake the heart of a youth for ever, but lift him up and set him on his feet againe, yea, and give him comfortable and gracious words. Thus did *Aristides* in times past by *Cimon*, and *Menesphilus* by *Themistocles*, whom the people at the first could not abide and brooke, as having but a bad name in the City for their audaciousnes and loose life; and yet these good men stood their friends, brought them into credit, and mightily encouraged them. It is reported also even of *Demosthenes* himselfe, that the first time he came to the barre, he suffered a disgrace, and was rejected by the people, which he tooke to heart, and was wondrously dismaied, untill such time as an ancient and fatherly Citizen, one who had sometime heard *Pericles* making orations to the people, tooke him by the hand, and said unto him, That he resembled *Pericles* for all the world in speech and gesture, and that he did himselfe great wrong upon such an occasion to be faint-hearted and cast downe. Semblably, *Euripides* after the same manner imboldned *Timotheus* the Musician, who at his first comming upon the stage was hissed out by the people, as one that by his novelties which he brought up, seemed to violate and breake the laws of Musick; but he willed him to be of good cheare for all that, saying, It would not be long after but he should be able to draw and lead the whole Theater after him as he would, and have the people at his devotion. To be briefe, like as the terme of time limited and appointed for the vestall Virgins or Nuns votaries at *Rome*, was divided into three parts: The first, to learne that which pertained to the Religion; the second, to practise; and the third, to teach the younger. And likewise, as in the City of *Ephesus* every one of those maidens vowed to the service of *Diana*, was at the beginning called *Melliere*, which is as much to say, as a Novice to be a Priestesse hereafter; then *Hiere*, that is to say, a full Priestesse indeed; and last of all, *Pariere*, which signifieth one that had power to initiate and professe others in the same orders; even so, he that is a perfect Politician and States-man at the first is but a learner and a questionist (as it were) to do his acts, and so to commence in that profession; but in the end, he teacheth others, he is a regent over novices, and sheweth them the secrets of policy. For to be a president and overseer of others that try masteries or combates, is not to be a fenser or champion himselfe; but he that instituteth and traineth a young man to publike affaires and matters of State, framing and fitting him for his countrey another day, in shewing him how

To frame his words with comely grace,
And deeds performe meet for his place.

is a good and profitable member of the Common-wealth, not in a small and base kind of service, but in a ministery of great consequence; and to which especially and principally, *Lycurgus* having given himselfe and aimed at, accustomed young men even from their infancy to obey and do reverence to every elder, no lesse than to a ruler and law-giver. For in what regard else, and to what other purpose said *Lysander*? That there was no place in the world, where it was so honourable for to be old, as in *Lacedæmon*. Was it because it was permitted and lawfull there for elder persons more than for any other to till the ground, to put out money to usury, to play at dice, being set together, and to keepe good fellowship, drinke merrily as they are close at their game, and playing hard at hazzard? I suppose neither you nor any man else will so say. But it was because all such, being after a sort in place of rulers, of fatherly governours and tutours over youth, have not a vigilant eye over the publike affaires only, but a particular regard also alwaies to every action of young men, enquiring and learning not sleightly, and as it were passing by their whole demeanour, namely, how they exercise their bodies in publike place; how they play and disport themselves; what their diet is, and how they converse and live together, shewing themselves dread and terrible to those that do ill, but venerable and desirable to the good: for in truth young folk alwaies observe and look after them, and to such they make court; for that ancient persons do labour for to make them better, and augment the generosity of their mind, without all envy. For this passion, as it beseemeth no time of mans age, howsoever in young men it be entituled with a number of faire and honest names, to wit, emulation, zeale, and desire of honour; so in old men it is altogether unseasonable, absurd, rude, savage, unmanly, and base. And therefore a man of yeares, who is a politician, must be very far off from this humour of envy, and not like unto old runt-trees or dodils, which repining as it were at others, do manifestly hinder and take away the spring and growth of young poles and plants which come up under them, or grow neare about them: but contrariwise, he ought to admit and receive them kindly, yea, and to offer himselfe lovingly unto those that make toward him, and be glad to sort and converse with him; such he ought to enforme, to direct, to dade and lead by the

the hand, yea, and to cherish and nourish them, not only with good instructions, sage counsels and wise admonitions, but also in yeelding unto them the place and meanes to exercise some functions of government, whereby they may grow unto some them honour & glory, in preferring them to those charges and commissions which be not hurtfull to the State, but pleasing and acceptable to the common people. As for others, which at the first entry be untoward and shew some resistance, be difficult, dangerous and hard to be atchieved (like unto some medicines and potions which presently do gnaw and wring the belly, or make the stomack sick) and whereof the honour and profit ensueth long after; it is not good to put such into young mens hands, nor to help them to such hard bargaines, ne yet to expose them raw as they be and unacquainted, to the mutinous exclamations and obloquies of the rude multitude, which is hard to be pleased; but rather he himselfe is to undergo the displeasure and ill-will of the people for the weale-publike; for this will cause the younger sort to be more affectionate unto him, and better willing a great deale to enterprise all other services. But over and besides all that hath been delivered already, this would be well remembred, that to administer and governe the Common-wealth, lieth not only in bearing an office, or going in Embassage, or in crying with a loud voice to an assembly, or in the Pulpit or Tribunall for publike Orations, to fare as if he were mad and out of his wits, in vehement preaching to the multitude, or in penning a number of Decrees, Acts, and Edicts, wherein the common sort suppose that all policy and government doth consist, like as they imagine also; that to be a Philosopher, is nothing else, but to discourse and dispute in the schooles at certaine times of philosophicall points aloft in a chaire, and read lectures at their houres out of their books, and in the meane while be ignorant of that civill administration and philosophy which is continually seen in works and daily actions. For this were all one, according to *Dicearchus*, as if one should say, that they only walked, who fetched many turnes up and down in galleries, and not they, who went into the country on foot, or visited their friends. But we must thinke, that to governe a Common-wealth, is very like unto the profession of Philosophy: for *Socrates* was not to be thought a Philosopher only, when he caused stooles and formes for to be made ready to sit upon, against a conference, or when he sate him down himselfe in a chaire, or when he observed precisely the houres of lecture, of disputation, or of walking in the schooles, which were appointed for his disciples and familiar followers; but also otherwhiles, when he was at his game and play, as it fell out, when he dranke and eat, when he was in warfare or in the campe with some, bargaining, buying and selling with others; and finally, when he was in prison, and even then, when as he drunke that cup of hemlock for his poison; having taught and proved plainly before, that mans life at all times, in all parts, in every occasion and accident, and generally in all affaires admitteth the use of Philosophy. And even so, we are to make account of civill government; namely, to thinke that fooles or lewd persons do not administer the Common-weale, either when they be Generals of Armies, or L. L. Chancellors, or when they seem to lead the people after them with their eloquent tongue; but rather raise tumult and sedition among them, or flatter and insinuate into their favour, or declame for ostentation, or else execute some charge and office, and do that which they do compelled by force. Whereas contrariwise, a good and true politician indeed, who affecteth his Citizens, loveth his Countrey, hath a care and heedfull regard of the weale-publike, although he never be clad in his rich coat of armes, nor have the royall mantle of estate upon him, yet he is daily and hourely employed in the administration of publike affaires, inciting and exhorting to action those that are sufficient, instructing such as be unskilfull and wanting, assisting as many as come to him for counsell, reclaiming them who are ill-given and about to practice mischiefe, confirming and encouraging those who be well minded, and shewing evidently in effect, and not for forme and fashion, that he is amused and wholly bent upon the good of the State: not because there is to grow thereby any interest to him or his, or in regard that he is called by name to go first into the Theater, or to be the principall and first man in the Assembly of counsell or otherwise by way of recreation, as if he came thither to see plaies and games, or to heare some pleasant musick when he is there; but contrariwise, when he cannot be present personally, yet to be there in spirit and advice; and after he hath intelligence of the proceedings there, to approve some things well done, and to shew himselfe displeased in other things. For neither *Aristides* the Athenian, nor *Cato* the Roman, were in place many times of chiefe government, yet they ceased not for all that, during their whole life, to be in action for the good and service of their Countries. And *Epaminondas* atchieved (I must needs say) many noble acts and valiant exploits, whiles he was Captaine Generall for *Bœotia*; howbeit, one act there is reported of his, when he was neither Generall nor in any office at all, which he exploited in *Thessaly*, not inferiour to any one of his other worthy deeds: for at what time as the Captaines of *Thebes* had engaged a battalion or regiment so far into a difficult place, and a ground of much disadvantage, whereby the enemies charged sore upon them so violently, that they were in great affright, and ready to be defeated, he being in the fore-front among the footmen heavily armed, was called back, and at his first comming appeased all the trouble and affright of the army, and put them in assured hope with his very presence: afterwards he set in order and arranged in battell-ray, that squadron which had broken their rankes and were in confusion, delivered them easily out of this streight and difficult passage, and made head againe upon the enemies, who hereupon were so daunted, that they changed their minds and retired. Also when *Agis* the King of the Lacedæmonians led his Army in ordinance of battell ready to fight with his enemies in *Arcadia*, there was one ancient Spartan cried aloud unto

him, and said, My Lord, you thinke to remedy one mischiefe by another: (giving him thereby to understand, that his meaning was by this present and unseasonable forwardnesse of his, in giving battell unto the enemy, for to salve and cure (as it were) his former speedy retreat and departure from the siege before the City *Argos*, according as *Thucydides* reporteth in his story) which when *Agis* heard, he gave credit unto the man, retired presently, but afterwards he had the victory. This *Agis* caused his chaire of estate to be set every day before his palace gate, and many times the *Ephori* would rise from their Consistory, and repaire unto him thither, for to aske his advice, and consult with him about the affaires of greatest importance; for he seemed to be a man of great reach, and is renowned in the histories for a most wise and sage Prince. And therefore upon a time, after that the strength of his body was utterly decayed, in such sort as for the most part of the day he kept his bed and stirred not forth; when the *Ephori* sent unto him and requested that he would give them meeting in the Common Hall of the City, he arose out of his bed, and strained himselfe to walk thither: but when he was gone a pretty way with much paine and difficulty, he chanced to meet with certaine little boies in the street, and demanded of them, whether they knew any thing more powerfull then the necessity to obey their master? and when they answered No, he made this account, that his impotency ought to be the end and limit of his obeisance, and so returned back immediately to his own house. For surely, ones good will ought not to shrinke before his power: but when might faileth, the good will would not be forced further. Certes, it is reported that *Scipio* both in war abroad, and also in civill affaires at home, used the counsell of *Caius Lælius*, insomuch as some there were, who gave out & said, that of all those noble exploits *Scipio* was the actor, but *Lælius* the author. And *Cicero* himselfe confesseth, that in the bravest and most honourable counsels which he exploited during his consulship, by the meanes whereof he saved his countrey, he consulted with *Publius Nigidius* the Philosopher. So that we may conclude, that in many kinds of government and publike functions, there is nothing that impeacheth and hindereth old men, but that they may well enough shew their service to the Common-wealth, if not in the best simply, yet in good words, sage counsell, liberty, and authority of franke speech, and carefull regard, according as the Poets say: for they be not our feet, nor our hands, nor yet our whole body and the strength thereof, which are the members and goods only of the Common-weale; but first and principally, the soule and the beauties thereof, to wit, justice, temperance, and prudence; which if they come slowly and late to their perfection, it were absurd and to no purpose, that men should enjoy house, land, and all other goods and heritages, and should not themselves procure some profit and commodity to their common Countrey, by reason of their long time, which bereaveth them not so much of strength able for to execute outward ministeries, as it addeth sufficiency of those faculties which are requisite for rule and command. Loe, what the reason was that they pourtraied those *Hermes*, that is to say, the statues of *Mercury*, in yeares, without either hands or feet; howbeit, having their naturall parts plumpe and stiffe: giving us thereby covertly to understand, that we have least need of old mens labour and corporall travell, so that their words be active, and their speeches full of seed and fruitfull, as it is meet and convenient.

The Apophthegmes or notable Sayings of Kings, Princes, and Great Captaines.

The Summary.

IF speech be the signe and lively picture of the mind, as it is indeed, a man may judge by these Apophthegmes or notable Sayings, and collected here together, how excellent in feats of armes, in politike government, or otherwise particularly these personages were, who are here represented unto us; like as some speciall acts enterlaced among their sayings do also shew. Two sorts of people there be who abuse the fruit that good men might draw out of the consideration and reading of these discourses. The one be certaine glorious persons, who upon a vaine desire of outward shew, and to be seen, and for no other intent, following Æsops crow, trim themselves with the plumes and feathers of others: these have gotten together a heape and storehouse as it were of wise sayings from ancients, in old time, whereby they might be conspicuous, and seeme to be of some valour and reputation among those who have not wit enough to see into them, and know what they are. The other are hypocrites, who having a loathsome stinke and bitter gall in the heart, pretend sweetnesse and hony at the end of their tongue, and all to seduce their neighbours, or rather to deceive their own selves, for that they have never any regard of their own duty.

But here in this discourse there is to be seen nothing effected, nothing borrowed from others, nor far fet, but there is represented unto us a certaine open, simple, and admirable nature in this diversity of grave, pleasant, and learned speeches, wherein sweetnesse is mingled with profit, for to fit all persons, and to be aptly applied unto their manners and behaviour, of what calling and degree soever they be in the world. Item, here in are represented acts proceeding from great wit, deepe reach, and high conceit, of valour, of equity, modesty, good disposition, and singular carriage in the whole course and management of mans life: the which are proposed and manifested unto us to this end, that the wisdome and bounty of the Almighty might so much the better appeare, in that he hath vouchsafed such ornaments to publike States, for to maintaine and uphold mans life amidst those confusions which were brought into the world by occasion of sin. Moreover, this first collection may well be divided into five principall parts, whereof, The first containeth the notable sayings and deeds of the Kings of Persia, *and other strange nations. The second of the governours and potentates of* Sicily. *The third of the* Macedonian *Kings, and namely, of* Alexander *the Great and his successours. The fourth of the great Lords and Captaines of* Greece, *to wit, Athenians, Lacedemonians, and Thebans. The first and last of the ancient Captains and Consuls, together with the two first Emperours of* Rome.

As touching the profit that all sorts of persons may gather hereout, it is inestimable, by reason of the goodly instructions that these acts and words so sententious, and for their brevity so easie to be remembred, do afford: the substance whereof is to reclaime us from vice, and to bring us into the way of vertue; the which we ought so much the more to love and esteeme, in this great light which is presented to us in these last daies, when as we do see that those persons who were overwhelmed in such ignorance of the soveraigne good indeed, have nevertheless done so well, and spoken to the purpose amidst that darknesse, and at randome. I do not deny but there be some traits savouring of ambition and other passions, as extravagant as it, sowed here and there among these gatherings: but an easie matter it will be to discerne them, yea, and to make use of them also, as well as of the rest, referring all to their right usage; namely, to be furnished with such speeches without vaine ostentation, for the good of our neighbour, and to follow that which is therein commendable in divers sorts, and all to frame and fashion us more and more to every good duty. I have entred in the margine some part of the artificiall framing of such sentences, not generally throughout; for wordsthere be that many times have divers sensesbut end-avoured I have to set the Reader in a certaine course and traine, that he may be able to sound the matter to the very bottome, and in this collection to apply that fitly to his own use and purpose which he findeth meet for his own instruction.

The Apophthegmes or notable Sayings of Kings, Princes, and great Captaines.

ARtaxerxes King of *Persia* (O most mighty Emperour *Cæsar Trajanus*) esteemed it an act of no lesse magnanimity and royall bounty to take in good worth, and to receive with gracious countenance, small presents, than to give great rewards: and therefore upon a time as he passed by the way in progresse, when a poore and simple man who got his living by the sweat of his brows, and his hand-labour, having nothing else to give, offered him water which he had laden out of the running river with both his hands, he curteously accepted it with a lightsome and smiling countenance, measuring the grace of the gift, not according to the valour and worth of the thing, but the good will of the giver. And to the like purpose *Lycurgus* ordained in the City of *Sparta*, sacrifices of the least cost that might be: To the end (quoth he) that the Citizens might have meanes at all times, and in every place, to honour the gods readily and at ease, with such things as they had at hand. And therefore since that (most gracious Prince) with the like mind and intention I render unto your Highnesse these small presents and tokens, even the most common first fruits (as I may so say) gathered from Philosophy; I beseech you to receive together with my good affection the profit and use of these worthy and memorable sayings which I have collected for your sake: for that they may serve you in good stead, to know the nature, disposition, and manners of great personages who lived in times past, considering that oftentimes they appeare better and are discovered more clearely by their words than by their deeds. True it is that in another worke I have compiled the lives of the most noble and famous personages, as well for feats of armes, as for counsell, to wit, Captaines, Law-givers, Kings, and Emperours, that ever were among the Romans and the Greeks: but in the greater parts of their acts, Fortune is intermingled among and hath her place; whereas in the speeches and sentences which they have delivered, and the answers by them made at the very time of their acts, their passions, their accidents and occurrences of Fortune, a man may perceive most purely (as it were) in so many mirrours, what their thoughts were, and how the hearts of every one stood affected. And verily one *Sirammes* a Gentleman of *Persia*, when some marvelled at him that his enterprises sped no better, and had no more fortunate successe, considering that his speeches were so wise, answered unto them in this manner: Because (quoth he) I am my selfe master of my words, but of my actions, Fortune, and the King together. Now in that other Volume of *Lives* aforesaid, the excellent sayings of those renowned persons be joyned with the narration of their deeds written at large so that they require a man of great leisure, and one that will take pleasure in reading and hearing the same: but as for this booke, wherein their words are gathered and comprehended together by themselves, as the very scantillons (as I may so say) and seeds extracted apart from their lives, and yet testifying of the same; the reading thereof, in my conceit, will not hinder the rest of your affaires, nor take up any time due thereto, considering that in few words you shall there see the nature of many memorable persons lively described and depainted.

The Persians love them most who are hawke-nosed, and esteeme them to be best favonred; and

a Notable sayings of the Kings and other great Lords of Persia.

and why so? Because *Cyrus*, one of their Kings whom they affected most, had a nose of that fashion. This noble King *Cyrus* was wont to say, (*a*) That they who would not do good unto themselves, were constrained to benefit others. It was a speech of his also, (*b*) That it appertained to none by right for to command and rule, unlesse they were better than those whom they ruled. Againe, when the Persians were minded to change their country, being hard, rough, and hilly, and to inhabite another that was mild, plaine, and champaine, he would not permit them so to do (*c*) saying: That like as the seeds of plants; so the lives of men became suitable to the places and regions, where the one were sowed, and the other lived.

b The quality of a good Prince.

c People are marred with delights and in prosperity.

Darius the father of *Xerxes* in praise of himselfe, used to say, (*d*) That in battels and perils of war he became evermore wiser. And one yeare having taxed and set down certaine payments and subsidies which he would have to be levied of his subjects, he sent for the principall men of every Province under his dominions, and demanded of them, if those tributes which he imposed were any thing grievous unto the people or no? And when they answered, that they bare the same but indifferently; (*e*) he gave order that none should be charged but with the one halfe of the foresaid exactions. One day when he had opened a Pomgranate, which was (in truth) a very faire and goodly great apple; one of those who were about him asked him, What thing it was whereof he desired to have as many as were kernels in the said Pomgranate? (*f*) Mary (quoth he) of such men as *Zopyrus*. Now this *Zopyrus* was a brave man of war and a faithfull friend, who having himselfe whipped his own body and mangled it with many stripes, and besides cut off his own nose, and crept his own eares; by this device and stratagem so beguiled and overwrought the Babylonians, that they committed unto him the government of their City, which afterwards he betraied and delivered into the hands of *Darius*: whereupon many a time afterwards he gave out and said, That he would choose rather to have *Zopyrus* whole and sound of all his limbs, than win a hundred such Cities as *Babylon*. Queen *Semiramis* having caused her own Sepulcre to be made, gave order that this Inscription should be engraven upon it: *What King soever hath need of money, let him demolish this monument, and he shall find within it treasure as much as he desireth.* Now this *Darius* having opened the said sepulchre, could meet neither with silver nor gold there; but instead thereof he light upon other letters written to this effect; (*g*) *If thou hadst not been a wicked man and of insatiable avarice, thou wouldst never have stirred and disquieted the graves and monuments of the dead.*

d Men should not thinke basely of themselves.

e A good Prince is no great exactor.

f The goodliest treasure of a Prince are his faithfull friends and trusty servitors.

g A wise sentence taxing the unsatiable avarice of great persons.

Arimenes, brother of *Xerxes* the son of *Darius*, making claime to the Kingdome of *Persia* against his brother, came down out of the Province *Bactriana*, where he had kept his residence: and unto him his brother sent before certaine presents to meet him upon the way, willing the messengers who should tender them unto him to deliver these words withall: (*h*) Thy brother *Xerxes* honoureth thee for this time with these presents; but he assureth thee, that if he be once declared and proclaimed King, thou shalt be the greatest man in the whole Realme next under him. And in very truth when as *Xerxes* was adjudged to be King, *Arimenes* was the first who did homage unto him, and put the royall Diadem about his head; and semblably the King his brother made him the second person in honour and authority, and next to him in the Realme. This Prince *Xerxes* before named, taking great displeasure and indignation against the Babylonians, for that they were revolted and did rebell; after he had subdued them againe, and brought them under his obedience, (*i*) forbad them expressly to beare armes any more; but he commanded them to dance, to sing, to play upon the flute and hautboies, to keep harlots, to haunt taverns, and to weare their garments loose, fitting full, and spreading large. When there were brought him certain dried figs out of the countrey of *Attica* to be sold, he said, (*k*) That he would not eat any of them untill he had conquered the land which bare them. Having surprized and apprehended certaine spies of the Greeke nation within his Campe, he did them no (*l*) hurt or displeasure at all; but after he had caused them to see in what security his army and campe stood, he permitted them to returne and go their waies in peace.

h Brotherly love and kindnesse.

i The meanes to keep down and represse mutinous people.

k Small matters whet mens appetite to greatest.

l Humanity shewed to enemies.

Artaxerxes the son of *Xerxes*, he who was surnamed *Longhand*, because he had one hand longer than the other, used to say, That it was a more princely (*m*) and royall property to put to than to take away: he was the first that gave those leave who hunted with him, to strike a wild beast (*n*) first, if they could and were so disposed; he it was also who ordained for those his Nobles and Lords who had offended and broken their allegiance this punishment: that (whereas before time the manner was to scourge their bodies) now they should be stripped indeed out of their apparell, (*o*) and their cloaths be beaten and whipped for them; and whereas before they were wont to have the haires of their heads plucked up by the roots, now their turbants or copped caps only which they wore should be taken from them, and so to stand bare-headed for a time. A chamberlaine he had, named *Satibarzanes*, who sued unto him for a thing which was neither just nor reasonable to be granted; and being advertized that he followed this suite in the behalfe and favour of another, who had promised him 30000. Persian Crowns, called *Dariques*, he commanded his Treasurer to bring him thirty thousand *Dariques*, and when he gave them unto the said chamberlaine: (*p*) Here (quoth he) *Satibarzanes*, take this money at my hand, for the departure from so much treasure will not make me poorer, but if I granted thy request I should be more unjust.

m It becommeth not a Prince to be superior in all things.

n Ignominy and shame is a great punishment.

p Lest danger it is for a Prince to lose his own private treasure, than to break the Lawes and hurt the State of The hope of greatnesse maketh men to speake and promise wonders of themselves.

Cyrus the younger, for to move and sollicite the Lacedæmonians to enter into a league and make alliance with him, said of himselfe: (*q*) That he had an heart more weighty and substantiall than his brother King *Artaxerxes*; that he dranke more strong wine pure without water, and bare it better than he: as for him when he rode a hunting, he could hardly hold himselfe upon his horse-backe, and

and in time of danger could not well sit upon his throne; and to draw them on, for to send unto him auxiliary souldiers; he promised to as many as came on foot for to bestow horses upon them, and to those who had horses, for to mount them upon chariots, to those who were possessed of lands and tenements, he promised to give villages; and them who had villages of their own, he would make Lords of Cities; and as for gold and silver they should have it at his hands by weight and measure, and not by tale and number.

Artaxerxes the brother of this younger *Cyrus*, and who for his singular memory was surnamed *Mnemon*, not only gave free accesse and audience to all suters and those who had any thing to do with him, but (*r*) that (which is more) commanded his lawfull wedded wife to take away the rich hangings and curtaines that covered her chariot, to the end that whosoever would, might have the full sight both of him and her, and speake with them upon the way. When a poore peasant of the countrey presented unto him a faire apple or costard of exceeding bignesse, he received it with a cheerefull countenance, and said, (*s*) By *Mithra*, i.e. the sun that shineth, (and that was the Persians oath) this man (I suppose verily) if he might be put in trust, were able to make a great City of a small. Upon a time when he was put to flight, and all his baggage ransacked, and provision lost, insomuch as for want of other viands, he was faine to eate a few dry figs and barly bread: (*t*) Oh what a deale of pleasure have I missed heretofore, and never so much as once tasted.

r An affable Prince easily winneth the hearts of his subjects.

s A good will & ready mind ought to be considered.

t & great men are not to despise inferior persons.

Parysatis the mother of *Cyrus* the younger, and *Artaxerxes*, used commonly to say, That whosoever would speake freely and make remonstrances unto a King, (*u*) ought to use silken words, that is to say, the sweetest and most pleasant that could be found.

u It is not plenty but necessity and appetite that giveth taste unto viands.

Ovantes, son in law to King *Artaxerxes*, by marriage with his daughter, being upon the Kings wrathfull displeasure condemned, and deprived of his estate, said, That the (*x*) minions of Kings and Princes resembled very properly the fingers of those that counted by Arithmetick; for like as they make a finger sometime to stand for one, and another while for ten thousand; even so those who be about Princes at one time can do all at once, and another time againe as little or rather just nothing.

u The nature of great persons is to love rather to be flattered than rebuked.

x The miserable and uncertaine state of those who depend upon Princes.

Memnon, a certaine great Captaine, who under *Darius* warred against *Alexander* the Great, when one of his mercenary souldiers came into his presence and spake all the villanous and opprobrious words that he could devise in most reviling manner against King *Alexander*; smote him on the head with his launce, and said, (*y*) Sirrha, I pay thee thy wages for to fight against *Alexander*, and not to revile and miscall him.

y Military discipline represseth villanous detractions and backbitings.

The Kings of *Egypt* according to an ancient law and ordinance of their countrey, caused the Judges to be sworne when they were enstalled in their offices; (*z*) that, howsoever the King commanded them to do injustice, yet they should not do it for all their commandement.

Kings of Egypt & other Countries.

z Good kings esteeme more of justice than their own authority.

During the time of the Trojan war, there was a King of *Thrace* named *Poltys*, unto whom as well the Greeks as the Trojans sent Embassadors to have aide from him: (*a*) unto whom he answered that his advice was, That *Paris* would render and deliver *Helena*, and that instead of her alone, they should have of him two faire Ladies.

a The folly of the Greekes and Trojans wisely reproved.

Teres the father of (*b*) *Sitalces* used to say, That whensoever he was at rest and made no wars, he thought himselfe to differ nothing at all from his horse-keepers and esquires of the stable.

b Warriours esteeme nothing but their arms & authority of command.

Cotys unto one who had presented him with a Libard, gave a Lion for it. This Prince being by nature hasty and angry, and ready to punish his household servants extremely, if they did amisse and faulted in their service: when a friend of his in whose house he lodged, had bestowed a present upon him of many earthen vessels exceeding fine thin, and easie to be burst, but singularly well and artificially made, with divers prints embossed and wrought upon them most daintily, he gave again unto this host of his other rich gifts of great prize, (*c*) but all the said earthen plate he brake every piece into shivers presently, for feare lest upon sudden fits of choller he should chastice his servitors too sore whensoever it hapned that they brake any of them.

c A Prince ought to avoid, all occasions of wrath.

Idathyrsus a King of the Tartarians, against whom King *Darius* led his Army, perswaded with the Lords and Potentates of the Pœonians to breake down that bridge which *Darius* had caused to be made over the river *Donow* for to passe into their countrey, to the end that by so doing they might be delivered from all servitude; which when they would not do in regard of their fealty unto *Darius* which they resolved to observe and keep, (*d*) he called them, kind and good slaues, who had not the mind and heart to be delivered and set free from bondage.

d Those that chuse to be slaves rather than free, deserve to be mocked.

Ateas a King of the Scythians wrote thus unto *Philip* King of *Macedony*: Thou rulest over the Macedonians who can skill only to fight and conquer men, (*e*) but I command the Scythians who know how to vanquish both hunger and thirst. And as he was (*f*) rubbing and currying his horse with his owne hands, he asked the Embassadors of King *Philip* whether their Lord and Master did so at home? Having in a certaine skirmish taken prisoner *Ismenias* that excellent Minstrell, he commanded him to play on the flute before him: now when all that were present wondered at his singular musicke, he sware a great oath that he took more pleasure to heare a horse neigh, than him play.

e Sober and temperate people be invincible.

f Custome covereth the shame of doing vile and base offices.

Scilurus leaving fourescore children all males behind him; when he was at the point of death, caused a bundle of Javelings or sheafe of darts to be brought unto him, and to every one of his children one after another presented it, commanding them to do their best for to break it: now when each of them had put his strength to it in vaine and could not do the deed, himselfe tooke every dart or javelin apart one by one, and so burst them with facility; (*g*) teaching them by this similitude, that

g Unity is invincible.

that in holding joyntly together they should continue strong and invincible: but if they were divided and entred into quarrels one against another, they should find themselves feeble and easie to be overcome.

The Tyrants of Sicily

Gelon the Tyrant, after he had defeated the Carthaginians neare to the City *Himera*, when he made peace with them, capitulated among other articles of treaty: That they should no more sacrifice any infants to *Saturne*. He lead the Syracusians oftentimes into the fields, as well for to (*h*) eare the ground, sow and plant, as to warfare, to the end that their lands being tilled, should be of more value: and they them selves for want of worke and travell might not grow worse and worse. Upon a time he exacted certaine sums of money of the Citizens, and when they began to murine about the payment of it, he said unto them, that his intent was to repay it back againe; and to in truth after the war was ended (*i*) he satisfied every penny thereof. At a certaine feast there was an harp brought and given to all the guests one after another as they sate at the table, for to play thereupon and sing unto it according to the custome of the place: now when every one besides had taken it in hand as it came round about and had framed themselves to play and sing in their turne, he alone commanded (*k*) that his horse should be bought unto him, and then he mounted and vaulted upon him easily, and with nimblenesse.

h VVar ought to maintaine husbandry and banish idlenesse.

i A good Prince will not oppresse his subjects, but rather [illegible] what is his own prerogative, than undo them.

k VVarlike feats preferred before peaceable recreations.

Hiero who was the Tyrant or Soveraigne Ruler of *Saracosa* next after *Gelon*, commonly said. That those who spake unto him their minds (*l*) frankly and freely, troubled and importuned him never a whit; but whosoever revealed any speech of his that he had delivered unto them in secret, did wrong not to him only, (*m*) but to those also unto whom they uttered the same: for that ordinarily we hate both the reporters, as also the hearers of that which we would not have to be known. There was one upon a time reproached him for his stinking breath, whereupon he chid his wife, because she had never told him of that infirmity: but she answered the matter thus and said: (*n*) I had thought that all mens breath had so scented. *Xenophanes* a Colophonian borne, complained on e unto him of his poverty saying, That his state was so meane that he was not able to maintaine and find two houshold servitors under him: why (quoth he?) *Homer* whom you reprove & find such fault with all, dead as he is, nourisheth more than ten thousand. He see a round fine upon (*o*) *Epicharmus* the comicall Poets head, for that in the presence of his wife, he had spoken certaine unseemely and dishonest words.

l Princes are to encourage frank speech.

m Simplicity and [illegible] daily besetteth women.

n Lascivious Poets are to be chastised

Dionysius the elder, when as he with other Oratours were to make orations unto the people, cast lots for certaine letters to know in what order they should speake, and the letter which fell to him was M, one that stood by said, This letter *Dionysius* standeth for μοιχολογεὺς, which signifieth a man hater, Thou shalt prate and talke like a foole; Nay rather (quoth he) it importeth (*o*) μοναρχήσω I shall be a Monarch: and verily he had no sooner made his speech, but the people of *Syracusa* chose him for the Captaine Generall. Now when at the beginning of his Tyranny or dominion, the Syracusians in an insurrection, held him besieged within his Castle, his friends perswaded with him that voluntarily he would resigne up and give over this violent and Lordly rule over the people. unlesse he minded to be taken captive, and so dye afterwards an ignominious and shamefull death: but he seeing by chance a Beefe knocked down by a butcher, and observing, that at the first blow the beast fell presently starke dead: (*p*) Now surely (quoth he) were it not a great displeasure, that for the feare of death which is so quickly done and dispatched, I should forgo so goodly and so great a seigniory? Being advertised that his own son, unto whom he was to leave his dominion, had forced and abused a certaine Burgesses wife of that City, he demanded of him in great choler, and said, What act hast thou ever seen me do like unto it? The young man answered, Sir, may it please you to consider, that you never had a tyrant to your father: (*q*) No more (quoth he) againe readily unto him, shalt thou ever have a son to be tyrant after thee, if you mend not these manners and give not over such lewd courses. Another time being gone to visit his son at his house and seeing there faire cupbords of plate richly furnished with many cups and bowles both of gold and silver, he said aloud unto him, There is no jot in thee of an absolute Lord or Prince, (*r*) who of so great a quantity of silver and golden peeces which thou hast received of me, hast not yet made one sure friend to thy selfe. He required of the Syracusians upon a time a certaine sum of money, whereat they murmured and complained. beseeching him to spare them, and hold them excused. saying moreover that they had it not: whereupon he exacted of them as much more againe, and so proceeded unto a third levy, and this he practised twice or thrice one after another: now when he had continued thus laying more taxes still upon them, he might understand and heare, that they made no more reckoning of him any longer, but laughed and scoffed at him openly as they walked up and down in the market place; then he gave commandement to his officers and receivers to presse them no further with new impositions: (*s*) For it is a sign (quoth he) that now they have nothing indeed, when they make no more account of us. His mother being now far stept in yeares and past the ordinary time of marriage, would nevertheless in all the haste be wedded to a certaine proper and well-favoured young man; whereupon *Dionysius* came unto her, and said (*t*) Well may it be in our power mother to violate the Laws of the City *Syracusa*, but to breake the Laws of nature we may not. Whereas all other malefactors and transgressors he used to punish with severity and rigour, he would evermore (*u*) spare and pardon these night-walkers, and who used to rifle folk. and strip them out of their apparell whom they light upon in the streets; which he did to this end; that the Syracusians by this meanes should give over feasting, resorting one to another, and keeping

o The turning of an old Ambition buildeth Castles in the air.

p A small matter doth confirme an ambitious person in his resolution.

q The highest places are overthrown by adulteries, rape, and such like outrages.

r Nigardise and sparing beseeth not Princes, who have need of trusty friends and servitors.

s When subjects have no more to lose, tyrants suffer them to be quiet.

t The laws of nature are, or ought to be inviolable.

u Tyrants approve of misrule and disorders, to the end to maintaine their estate.

keeping company by night-time. There was once a stranger who promised unto him with a loud voice, that he would teach him apart and in secret how he might come before hand to the knowledge of those who meant to conspire or plot and practice against him: *Dionysius* was very earnest with the man, and desired him to tell him how? The other comming toward him spake softly, and said, Give me one talent of silver, to the end that it may appeare unto those of *Syracusa*, that you have learned of me the markes and signes whereby to discover those who shall hereafter conspire against you; the which he did indeed, and (*x*) gave him so much money, making semblance unto the people that he was sufficiently taught and instructed by him in the meanes of detecting traytours; but withall, he commended the fellow highly for his subtill device that he had invented to draw money so cleanly from him. Another asked him one day, if he were not other whiles at leisure and idle? (*y*) God forbid (quoth he) that ever it should befall unto me. Being given to understand that two young men of the City drinking together had given out in their cups many villanous and opprobrious slanders against him, and his tyrannical rule, he invited them both to sup with him; and seeing that the one of them when the wine had a little fumed up into his head, began boldly to speake and do foolishly, and contrariwise that the other held his own and dranke warily: he pardoned and let go the one, who (*z*) seemed by nature given to drunkennesse and insolency, as if he had spoken ill of him when he was cup-shotten; but the other he put to death, as one who was maliciously bent unto him in his heart and his very enemy of deliberate purpose. Some of his familiar friends reproved him for that he honoured and advanced a naughty person, and one who was generally hated of the Syracusians: but he answered unto them, (*a*) I would it were come to that pass, that there were in all *Syracusa* any one more odious than my selfe. Upon a time he sent presents to certaine Embassadours of *Corinth* who were come unto him; but they refused the same by reason of a Law of theirs which expresly forbad all Embassadours to receive gifts from any Prince or Potentate whatsoever: hereat he was male-content and much offended, saying unto them, That they did very ill to take away the only good thing that is in tyranny; namely, to give rewards, and so to teach men, that even (*b*) to receive a benefit from tyrants, is a thing to be feared. Being advertised that one of the inhabitants of *Syracusa* had hidden certaine treasure within his house under the ground, he commanded him for to bring the said treasure forth before him, which the man did in part, but not all: for he detained and reserved to himselfe some small portion, with which he went and removed into another City, where he bought himselfe a peece of land with it: which when *Dionysius* understood, he sent for him, and gave him againe all his gold and silver aforesaid, (*c*) For now (quoth he) thou knowest what to do with thy riches, and makest not that to lie dead and unprofitable, which is given for the use and benefit of man. Thus much of *Denys* the father.

x Tyrants passe not what they give or take, so they may uphold their usurped powers.

y Idleneſs is detestable.

z Malicious natures are more to be detested than those who breake out upon some infirmity.

a Tyrants would gladly be shrowded and covered under the shadow of those who are worse than themselves.

b Gifts of tyrants be dangerous and pernicious.

c Those that know how to use their riches are to be commended.

His son who was called *Dionysius* the younger, used to say, That he kept and maintained many learned men, not because he did esteeme them so much, but for that he desired to be esteemed for their sake. Among which Clerks, one *Polyxenus* a Logician being in hot disputation with him said, (*d*) Now sir I have caught you and hold you convinced: Yea, mary (quoth he) againe, in words only; but I convince and overcome thee indeed; for thou leaving thy house and all that thou hast, art come to serve me in my Court. After he was deposed from his royall dignity and banished, when one demanded of him, and said, Now what good hath *Plato* done you and all his philosophy: Mary (quoth he) (*e*) this benefit I have thereby, that I beare with patience this change and alteration of my fortune. There was one asked him, How it came about that his father being but a meane private person and poore, could attaine unto the rule and seigniory of *Syracusa*; and he himselfe unto whom his father had left it wholy gotten to his hands, being the son of so mighty a tyrant, should be turned out of his estate and lose all? (*f*) Because (quoth he) my father came then to mannage the affaires of the Common-weale, when as the popular government was hated and I succeeded him at such a time when tyranny was envied. At another time, to another that demanded the same question he answered thus, (*g*) My father might well leave unto me the inheritance of his tyranny, but not of his fortune.

d Coveting Philosophers are found to be ignorant fots.

e Philosophy sustaineth men in adversity.

f By what meanes great states are overturned.

g VVithout dux ceity and a fortunate hand, the greatnesse of man is dangerous.

Agathocles had been the son of a clay-potter, and being made Lord of *Sicily*, and declared King thereof; his manner was to be served at the table with earthen vessels among other rich plate of gold, which he would use to shew unto young men, and say, Loe; (*h*) what pots and cups I made at first. pointing unto those of earth and clay: but now I am a maker of these (shewing the other of gold) through mine understanding, travell, and valiance. As he lay at the siege before a certaine City, certaine of the inhabitants there were, who from the wall in opprobrious and taunting wise cried unto him: Ho (sir potter) where will you have to pay your souldiers wages? Who seeming not to be moved therewith at all, smiled, and mildly answered, Mary out of the pillage of this City, when I have once won it. And in very truth, after he had forced it by assault, and was Master of it, he sold all the inhabitants whom he tooke prisoners in port-sale as slaves, and said moreover unto them: (*i*) If ever from henceforth I take you abusing your tongues and railing against me, I will tell your Masters of you. When the Islanders of *Ithaca* came unto him with open mouth, complaining: That his mariners or men at sea made rodes into their Island, and had taken from them a certaine botty of fat muttons; he answered them in this wise; And why then did your King before-time enter into *Sicily*, and not only drive away our sheep, but also (which was worse) put out the eyes of the shepheard himselfe, and departed when he had so done?

h VVithout a city and valour can make of earth gold.

i Scorns and mocks are unbecoming those who have to deale with enemies that be wise and witty.

Dion, who deprived *Dionysius* of his tyrannicall dignity, and drave him out of his Kingdome, being told

told that *Calippus* (in whom he reposed more trust and confidence than in any other friend or host of his) laid wait for to take away his life, had never the heart to charge him therewith, nor would abide to call him in question for it, saying: That it were better for him to die than to live in such paine, as to stand in feare, and to beware not only of his enemies, but also of his friends.

Macedonian Kings.

Archelaus King of *Macedony*, as he sate one day at the table drinking, a certain familiar friend of his, one that knew little good manners, requested him to bestow upon him a golden cup which was upon the boord: but the King gave order to one of his servitours for to give it freely unto the Poet *Euripides*; the other man marvelled thereat; but *Archelaus*: Never thinke it so strange (quoth he) (*k*) for thou deservest to aske and go without; but he is worthy to have, although he craved not. When his barber (a prattling and talkative fellow, comming to trim him) would needs know in what manner he should cut his haire: Mary (saith he) by holding thy peace, and saying never a word. And as *Euripides* upon a time sitting at a banket, was seen openly of all the company to embrace and and kisse faire *Agathon*, when as now he was past the prime of his youth, and ready to have a beard: Never (*l*) marvell at the man (quoth he to his friends about him) for they that be faire keep their beauty still, even after Autumne and the latter season of the yeare. When *Timotheus* the harper, who hoped that the King would have bestowed a good reward upon him, received far lesse from him than he expected, and shewing himselfe discontented therewith, sung to his harpe a piece of a ditty, going in these words:

k Shamelesse covetes deserve a shamefull deniall.

l An excuse as unseemly as the act: bewraying the corruption of theese times.

Silver bred within the earth
Thou praisest as a thing much worth.

Making sign with his head, that he meant the King: He came upon him againe presently in this wise:

And thou wouldst faine that silver have,
I see full well, and dost it crave.

As he went along the street upon a time, one chanced to dash and cast water upon him; whereupon those that were about him, said, That he should do very well to punish him that did it: And (*m*) why so? (quoth he) for he hath not wet & dasht me with water, but him whom he took me for.

m Patience a vertue beseeming great persons.

Philip King of *Macedony*, and father of *Alexander* the Great (as *Theophrastus* beareth witnesse) was the worthiest Prince of all the Macedonian Kings before him, not only for Majesty and prosperity of fortune, but also in regard of his good carriage and moderation: he seemed to reputе the Athenians very happy in this especially, that they could find the meanes every yeare to chuse ten brave Captaines in their City; for he in many yeares could meet but with one, (*n*) and that was *Parmenon*. When tidings came unto him of many worthy exploits and prosperous, atchieved all together in one and the same day, he cried out, O Fortune, worke me but some imall (*o*) displeasure, I beseech thee, for these so many and blessed good turnes. After that he had vanquished the Greeks, some gave him counsell to plant strong garrisons in their Cities for more surety to curbe and bridle them; but he answered, (*p*) I had rather be called a long time a debonaire and gracious Prince, than a little while a soveraigne Lord. And when his familiar friends perswaded him to drive out of his Court, a lewd and soule-mouthed fellow, who did nothing but abuse his tongue in slandering and backbiting him: No (quoth he) in any wise, (*q*) for feare he go into many other places, and there raile against me. There was one *Smicythus* who oftentimes accused *Nicanor* unto him, saying, that he ceased not continually to speake ill of him; insomuch as some of his familiars were of advice, that he should convent him peremptorily, and chastise him severely according to his deserts: What (quoth he) *Nicanor*! why! he is of himselfe one of the best men in all *Macedonie*; looke rather, if there be not some fault in us, that should make him to breake out into these termes? and in truth, when the matter was diligently searched into, and namely, from whence this discontentment of *Nicanor* arose, it was found that he was not regarded by him, but suffered to fall into extreme poverty, so as he had not meanes to live and supply his very necessities: whereupon he commanded incontinently, that there should be carried unto him a good gift and present from him: after this, when the said *Smicythus* made report unto the King, that *Nicanor* spake all the good that might be of him, and highly extolled his in every place: Loe (quoth *Philip* then) how it lyeth much in our own power that men speake well or ill of us. He was wont likewise to say, that he tooke himselfe much beholding and bound unto the Athenian Orators; for that by whetting their tongues and giving out opprobrious words against him, they were the meanes to make him a better man both in word and deed: (*r*) For I straine my selfe (quoth he) and do my best every day as well in my sayings as doings to prove them liers. He dismissed and set at large without paying of any ransome all the Athenians who had been taken prisoners in the battell before *Cheronea*: but they required over and above to have their bedding, apparell, and other baggage; and besides made grievous complaints of the Macedonians; which when *Philip* heard, he tooke up a great laughter, and said to those about him, How say you, doth it not seeme in your conceits that the Athenians thinke they have but lost unto us a game at the Cockall-game? It fortuned, that in a certaine battell his cannell bone was broken which knitteth the two shoulders together in the forepart, and is called in the Greeke tongue κλεὶς, that is, the Key; now when the Chirurgian who had him in cure, demanded every day some money for his fees; *Philip* said unto him pleasantly: Take what you will, and be your own carver; for you have the key in your own hands, and may go to the money at your pleasure. There were in his Court two brethren, one named *Hecateros*, that is, one of the twaine; and the other *Amphoteros*, that is, both twaine he

n Great prosperity is to be suspected and feared.

o Clemency becometh Princes more than severity.

p The way to slay slanderous tongues is patiently to endure them.

q The slanderous calumniations of our enemies, should serve to make us better.

he seeing *Hecateros* to be an industrious, wise and considerate man: and contrariwise *Amphoteros* to de an idle retchlesse fool: I perceive (quoth he) that *Hecateros* is become *Amphoteros*, that is, being but one, he may go for two: and *Amphoteros* is proved to be *Oudeteros*, that is, neither one nor other, and indeed good for nothing. Semblably, he used to say: That those that advised him to use the Athenians hardly, and to carry an heavy hand against them, were men of a bad and absurd judgement, and of no discretion; thus for to perswade a Prince, who did and suffered all for glory, to destroy the Theater of his glory (*q*) such as the City of *Athens* was, in regard of the learning therein professed. Sitting upon a time as judge between two wicked and naughty persons, he awarded that the one should flie out of *Macedon*, and the other follow after him in chase as fast as he could run. He was minded one day to pitch his camp, and lodge in a very faire and pleasant ground, but hearing that there was no forage neer at hand for his beasts, he was forced to remove and dislodge, saying: What a life is this of ours, since we are forced to live according as our very Asses will give us leave, and not otherwise? Being very desirous to force and win a certaine Castle, before which he meant to lye in siege, he sent certeine avantcurriours to view the place how it was seated: these who were sent, brought word back unto him, that there was unto it as difficult accesse on all sides, as possibly there could be none more, insomuch as they said it was impregnable: then he demanded of them if it were so unaccessible as that a little (*t*) Asse laden with gold might not approach and come unto the wals. *Lasthenes* the Olynthian, and those of his crew, who assisted *Philip* in surprising the City *Olynthus*, complained unto him and said: That there were some of his minions about his person, who called them traitours: Be content (quoth *Philip*) you must beare with the Macedonians, for they are men by nature rude, plain and ruticall, they (*s*) use to call a spade a spade. He was wont to give counsell unto *Alexander* his sonne, that he should speake graciously and courteously unto the Macedonians, to win the good will of the people betimes, and so to make himselfe strong, namely, whiles he might be affable and gracious, that is to say, during the reign of another: as if he would give him thus much to understand: That when hee was once a King, he ought to carry the gravity and majesty of a Lord, and do justice uprightly. Hee advised him also to endevour for to purchase the love and amity of those who were of credit and authority in great Towns and Cities, even the bad as well as the good; that hee might afterward use the one and abuse the other. *Philo* a Thebane Gentleman had done him many pleasures during the time that he remained as hostage within the City of *Thebes*; for hee was lodged in his house: neither would the said *Philo* ever at any time afterwards receive gifts or presents from him; whereupon *Philip* took occasion to say thus unto him: Take not from me this title in my stile, of *Invincible*, in suffering my selfe thus to bee vanquished and over-come by you, in courtesie and liberality. Hee had in one battell taken a mighty number of prisoners, and was himselfe in person to see them sold in port-sale, sitting in a chaire, with his clothes turned or tuckt up higher than was seemly and decent: now one of the prisoners among the rest, when he should be sold cried unto him with a loud voice: Good my Lord, I beseech you pardon me: and let me not be sold in any case, for I am a friend of yours, and so was I your fathers before you: Why good fellow (quoth *Philip*) whence grew this great friendship between us? and how is it come about? Sir (quoth the prisoner againe). I would gladly tell it you close in your eare: then *Philip* commanded that hee should bee brought unto him; being come neer unto his person, hee spake softly unto him, and rounded him in the eare: Sir, I pray you let down your mantle a little lower before, for sitting thus as you doe, you shew that which were more meet to be unseen: hereat *Philip* spake aloud unto his officers: (*r*) Let him go (quoth he) at liberty, for in truth he is one of our good friends, and wisheth us well, but I wist not so much before, or had forgotten it. A friend and host of his had invited him to his house upon a time to supper, and thither he went: but by the way he met with divers of his acquaintance, whom he drew with him along to the place; whereat he perceived well that his forsaid host was exceedingly troubled, and could not tell how to do, because he was not sufficiently provided for to entertein so many guests: *Philip* (I say) being aware hereof, sent secretly unto every one of them as they sate at the boord, and caused them to be told in their ear that they should keep their stomacks and reserve one corner in it for a dainty tart or marchpain; who thinking that he meant in good earnest, did so, and looking for the said tart, made spare and did forbear to eat of many other dishes before them: by which means he pleased all parts, and so there was sufficient. When he heard of the death of *Hipparchus* an Eubœan born, it appeared well that he took it heavily; and to one about him, who said that the man had lived long enough, and died in a good time: Yea mary (quoth he) in regard of himselfe, but for me he died too soon; for dead he is before he hath received at my hands any condigne recompence for the love which he bare unto me. Being advertised that his son *Alexander* was male-content, and complained of him for having children by many wives, he said unto him: Seeing that you shall have after my death many occurrents and competitours for the Kingdome, endevour you to be a good and honest man every way, to the end that you may attain to the Crown, not so much by me in right of inheritance, as by your selfe for your own worthinesse. He admonished him to give eare unto *Aristotle*, and to study Philosophy under him: And why so? Because (quoth he) you may forbeare to doe many things which I have done, and for the which I do now repent. Hee had bestowed the dignity of a judge upon one who was recommended unto him by *Antipater*, but after he heard once that hee used to colour or dye his beard and haires of his head, hee displaced him, saying:

r Ill counsellers should not perswade Princes desirous of honour, who perswade them to demolish & pull down the places where learning is professed.

r Gold and silver will force strong forts & herwife unexpugnable.

t Traitors deserve to be called by their right names.

t A wise Prince will not suffer a small courtesie to be unrewarded.

u Effeminate and delicate persons are unmeet for affairs of State.

He that will be false unto his owne haires, is not worthy to be trusted in weighty affairs. There was one *Machetas* pleaded his cause before him when he was very sleepy, in such sort, that for default of well conceiving and understanding the matter, he condemned him wrongfully: whereupon *Machetas* cried aloud; I appeale: *Philip* moved hereat and taking great indignation, demanded presently of him unto whom he would appeale? even unto your selfe (quoth he) my good Lord, when you are throughly awake, and will give better attention unto my cause: *Philip* touched with these words, arose up on his feet, and comming better to himselfe, knew very well that he had done *Machetas* manifest injury by giving sentence against him: howbeit, revoke he would not, nor reverse the judgement once passed; mary he (*x*) was content to pay out of his own purse, as much as the cost and dammages came to of the suit in which he was cast. *Harpalus* had a kinsman and friend named *Crates*, attaint and convict of great crimes, who besought King *Philip* that the man might make paiment of the fine and penalty; but in no wise that the sentence of condemnation should be pronounced against him, for avoiding of shame and discredit belonging thereto; but *Philip* answered againe: It were better for himselfe to beare the dishonour for his own fault and trespasse, than that I should runne into obliquy and ill name for him. His familiar friends were highly offended and angry, that the Peloponnesians, who had received so many benefits at his hands, hissed so at him, as they did at their festivall Olympian games: What would they do then (quoth he) if we should offer to do them any displeasure? Lying in the camp upon a time, he slept one morning longer then his accustomed manner was; and being awakened in the end, he gat up and said: I might sleep well enough in security, so long as *Antipater* is awake. Another time when he slept in the day time, insomuch as the Greeks who thronged about his pavilion doors, and gave long attendance, were displeased and complained of him for it; *Parmenio* spake unto them in his behalfe saying: Marvell not my masters if he now take his rest; for many times when you are fast asleep, he lieth broad awake. A certaine minstrell or musician had plaied before him on a time as he sate at supper, and the King would seem to correct him in some points, yea, and begin to reason and enter into sad disputation with him about the stroke and true fingering of certaine instruments: Now (*y*) God forbid (quoth he) O King, that you should come to so low an ebbe and hard fortune, as to be more skilfull in these matters than I am. He was fallen out upon a time with his wife *Olympias*, and his sonne *Alexander*, during which jarre and difference, *Demaratus* a noble man of *Corinth* came to visit him: and *Philip* asked him in what tearms the Greeks stood one with another? You do very well indeed O *Philip* (quoth *Demaratus*) to take care of the union and concord of the Greeks, when those persons that touch you neerest, and whom you ought to hold most dear can agree no better with you. These words of his wrought so with him, that he began to think better of the matter, appeased his wrath, and was reconciled unto them. A poor old woman there was, who besought him to hear her cause and be her judge; and she importuned him so long, that at length he answered her short, and said: He had no leisure, nor could not have time to intend it: whereupon the old woman cried out aloud unto him: Why (*z*) then sir be no longer a King; at which speech of hers he being touched to the quick and astonied; gave eare not onely to her, but to other suters also at their first comming.

x A good Prince will retract in effect his unjust sentence of judgement

y Great personages are not to be seen in small matters.

z Princes ought to do justice as well to poor as to the rich

Alexander [the Great] being yet a child, was nothing well pleased and glad, when he heard the report that went of his father how he won and conquered all, whereto ever he came: but said unto those noble mens children who were his play-feres, and brought up with him: My father I see well will leave me nothing to do, nor to win: What need you care for that? said they againe, considering that it is for you that he maketh these conquests: What will it do me good (quoth he) (*a*) to have much, and to doe nothing for it? He was wonderfully nimble and deliver of body but in footmanship especially he excelled; insomuch as his father was in hand with him one time to runne a course in the race, for the prize in the Olympick games. I could be very well content and willing (quoth *Alexander*) so to doe, in case I might have Kings to bee my concurrents, and to run with me. One evening when it was very late, there was brought unto him a young wench for to be his bedfellow: and when he demanded of her the cause why she came so late? she answered, that shee tarried untill her husband was in bed: whereupon hee chid and rebuked the pages and grooms of his chamber saying: (*b*) I went within a very little of committing adultery, and all by your means. When he sacrificed on a time to the gods, he spared for no sweet perfumes and odours, but would run oftentimes to the frankincense, and take whole handfuls thereof to cast into the fire; which his governour and schoo-master *Leonidas* being present, marked well enough and reproved him for it, saying: When you have conquered that Province which yeeldeth this incense, then you may burn as much as you will of it. And therefore afterwards when he had made conquest of *Arabia*, he wrote unto *Antipater* a letter to this effect: I send unto you 500. quintals or talents weight of frankincense and of cassia; to the end that you may no more hereafter be a niggard in offering sweet odours unto the gods: for I doe you understand that now wee are Lords of that Province which bringeth forth these aromaticall spices. The day before that he fought the famous field before *Granicum*, hee willed the Macedonians to make good cheere and be merry at supper over-night; yea, and to spend all the provision of victuals which they had; for that the next morrow they should supp at their enemies charges. One named *Perillus* a friend of his, asked money of him for to give with his daughters in marriage: and he caused to be delivered unto him fifty talents; but the other said that ten only would content him; whereupon *Alexander* replied again and said;

a A great heart and minde will not be hidden.

b Rare continency in Princes.

If

If so much be enough for thee to receive, yet it is not enough for me to give. He commanded likewise his treasurers to give unto *Anaxarchus* the Philosopher whatsoever he demanded: his treasurers brought him word, that he craved an excessive summe, to wit, 100. talents; unto whom he answered thus: The man doth very well, knowing as he doth that he hath such a friend of me, as both can and will bestow so much upon him. In the City of *Miletus*, he beheld many goodly great statues of worthy champions, who in old time had won their prizes at the solemn games, as well Olympick as Pythick. But where were these stout Champions (quoth hee) to the Milesians, when the Barbarians besieged, assaulted, and won your City? The Queen of *Caria*, named *Ada*, was evermore sending unto him many dainty Cates, and exquisite Marchpanes and Junkets curiously wrought by most excellent Cooks, Confectioners, and workmen in pastry, which she did of a brave mind, and to shew her magnificence: But *Alexander* sent word againe unto her, that he had farre better Cooks and patte-makers more singular then she had any; to wit, for to dresse his dinner, early rising in a morning; and travelling in the night before day light, and to prepare his supper a spary dinner. When his army stood arranged and ready to give *Darius* battell, his Captains came unto him to know his pleasure, and what he had else to command them? Nothing (quoth he) but to shave the Macedonians beards; and when *Parmenio* among the rest marvelled at this commandement; Why (quoth *Alexander*) knowest not thou that in the conflict and medley, there is no better hold than by the beard to catch an enemy fast? When *Darius* made offer unto him of ten thousand talents, and besides to part all *Asia* equally with him, insomuch as *Parmenio* said; Sir, I would accept of this offer if I were *Alexander*: And so would I too (quoth *Alexander*) if I were *Parmenio*; but unto *Darius* hee made this answer: (*d*) That neither the earth could abide two Sunnes, nor *Asia* endure two Kings: when he was at the very point to strike that last battell with him, which was to try the fortune of the mainechance, and which was to try the issue, and decide all, neer unto the village *Arbela*, and to fight against the Persians, being ten hundred thousand men strong, and well armed, there came unto him certaine of his minions with tales and accusations of his souldiers; for that they were heard in their tents to whisper and conspire together, yea, and to give out, that they would bring no part of the pillage into the Kings pavilion, but keep all for themselves: *Alexander* hereat laughed a good, and said unto them: I heare of no harms (*e*) these are very good tidings that you report unto me; for surely they be the speeches of resolute men, who are determined to winne the day, and not to run away. Many of the souldiers themselves resorted unto him and said: Sir, be of good cheer, and feare not the exceeding number of our enemies, for they will never be able to abide so much as the sent or stinking smell of our armepits. But as hee was setting his army in order of battell, he perceived one souldier above the rest, busie in mending the loop of his javelin or dart, by which he was to sling it from him; him he cashered presently and (*f*) chased from among the other bands, as being a naughty souldier, and not worthy to have place in any company, who would be frobishing and trimming his weapons at the very instant when there was more need to use them. One time as hee was reading certeine letters missive from his mother *Olympias*, conteining divers secrets, and namely many imputations wherewith she charged *Antipater*; *Hephæstian* his familiar friend drew neer and joined with him to read the said letters, as his accustomed manner was to do; *Alexander* debarred him not; but after that *Hephæstian* had perused the letter and read it out to the very end: he took the signet from his own finger, and set it (*g*) close to his lips. Being in the Temple of god *Hammon*, he was entituled and stiled by the high priest of that place, *Jupiters* sonne: wherto he answered; This is no marvell nor strange thing, for *Jupiter* by nature is the father of all, but he adopteth and avoweth those particularly for his sonnes indeed, who are the best and most valiant men. In a certaine skirmish he chanced to be shot in the leg with an arrow, and no sooner was he hurt, but there came quickly running and flocking about him a number of those who in flattery were wont to call him God: unto whom with a smiling countenance hee said as he shewed unto them his wound bleeding; Behold (*h*) this is very blood indeed, as yee may plainly see,

And not that humour fay all what you will,
Which from the gods most blessed doth distill.

When some there were who much praised unto him the plainnesse and homely simplicity of *Antipater*, saying that he lived an austere and hard life, without all superfluities and delicious pleasures whatsoever: Well (quoth he) *Antipater* weares (*i*) in outward shew his apparell with a plaine white welt or guard, but he is within all purple (I warrant you) and as red as scarlet. A certein friend of his feasted him upon a time at his house in the midst of winter, when the weather was extream cold, and brought into the dining room a little fire pan, with a smal deal of fire (god wot) in it, which when *Alexander* saw: Either bring (quoth he) good store of wood, or else some frankincense. *Antipatrides* caused to be brought into the place where he was feasted, a proper fair young wench who could both play and sing exceeding well, insomuch as *Alexander* at the first sight, seemed to cast a fancie and affection toward her, but before he set his mind fully upon her, he asked *Antipatrides* whether he was not himselfe in love with her, and when he confessed that he was: Thou cursed villain that thou art (quoth he) (*k*) away with her, and that quickly out of my sight I adviise thee. Another time (*l*) *Cassander* forced him even against his will to kisse a young baggage or Calamite, named *Python*, upon whom *Eunus* the excellent musician was enamoured; and *Alexander* perceiving that *Eunus* was offended thereat, rose up in great anger, and flew upon *Cassander*, crying out and saying, what

He that is liberall as it is able may be pleaseth him.

d Lordship loves no fellowship. Ambition will have all or none.

e A wise chieftain will bear with his souldiers, so they be resolute.

f He that thinks not of his duty, but at the very pinch & time of necessity, is worthy to be rejected.

g Secrecy is commendable in free minded.

h Infirmities of the body beway that men are mortall.

i A man is not to be judged by his exterior habit and shew.

k The rare continency of Alexander a mighty Monarch.

l This action of Cassander discovereth the unnatural filthinesse of the Greeks in those daies.

what: Shall none love where they list, for us and our pride. As he discharged his camp of those who were sick, impotent and maimed, and sent them back to the sea for to be conveighed and conducted home to their own houses, word came unto him that one named *Antigenes* caused himselfe to be written in the bill or roule of the diseased and impotent persons, whereas he was neither the one, nor the other; whereupon hee sent for the said *Antigenes* to come before him; the souldier was no sooner charged herewith, but hee confessed at the first that hee feigned himselfe sick, and was not, which hee did by reason of the love that he bare unto a young woman named *Telestippe*, who was about to return toward the sea side: then *Alexander* demanded of him, to whom hee would have him to speak, for to cause her to stay behind; but when he heard that she was no mans slave, but a woman of free condition: (*m*) Why then (quoth he unto them) let us assay by all good and gentle meanes to winne her, that she may be content to tarry with us still; for to detaine perforce a free born woman, I will never yield nor grant. After a battell which he had won against King *Darius*, when divers Greeks were come into his hands and his prisoners, who had served his enemy and received pay; as many as were Athenians he commanded to be kept in irons, for that having good meanes to live and be maintained in the state wherein they lived, yet they would needs take wages of Barbarians; the Thessalians (*n*) likewise he so served, because they having a rich soil and fertile Countrey of their own, would not stay at home to till and husband it, but chuse rather to serve a barbarous nation; but as for the Thebans, he commanded that they should be set free, and have liberty to go whither they would; and why so? because (quoth hee) wee have left them neither City to inhabite, nor ground to occupy and labour in. Having taken prisoner a certaine Indian, who had the name of an excellent Archer, and was no lesse indeed, for that he would never faile but shoot an arrow within the compasse of a little hoop or small ring, he commanded him to shoot in his presence, that he might see a proofe of his skill: the Indian refused so to do; whereat *Alexander* in great indignation gave order presently, that he should be put to death: but as hee was going to execution, he said unto those who had the leading of him: That he had not for many daies past practised nor exercised his hand, and in that regard he was afraid that he should faile, and therefore denied to shoot: which when the King understood, he wondered at the man, charged expressly that he should be let go, yea, and sent unto him a reward, for that he had shewed herein his (*o*) magnanimity, and chose rather to suffer death, than to be disgraced and found unworthy of the fame that went of him. *Taxiles*, one of the Indian Kings, met *Alexander* upon the way as he marched, and praied him that they might not warre one against another: But let us grow (quoth he) to this composition: If you be inferiour unto mee, receive favours and good turns at my hand; but if you be greater then my selfe, I will take the like of you. To this motion of his, *Alexander* made answer thus: Be it so (quoth he:) yet we must fight first, even about this point, to know whether of us bee the superiour, and able to do more good to the other? Being advertised of a certaine sort situate upon a rock in *India*, called *Aorne*, and namely, that it was impregnable in it selfe, howbeit, the Captaine who had the keeping of it was but a coward: (*p*) Why then (quoth hee) the place is easie to be won. Another who held a Castle which was likewise thought inexpugnable, rendered up the same unto him, and yeelded both his own person, and the peece also into his hands. Then *Alexander* put him againe into that fort, and willed him to hold it as hee did before: hee laied unto it also more lands, which he bestowed likewise freely upon him, saying withall: This man hath done well and wisely, to repose more trust in the vertue of a Prince, than in a place of strength. After the winning of the strong hold *Aorne* aforesaid, one of his flattering favourites and minions came unto him, saying, that he had surmounted *Hercules* in glorious deeds: unto whom he answered: You may say your pleasure, and so forth; but for mine own part, I do not esteem all mine acts with my whole Empire and Dominion, to bee compared unto one word or saying of *Hercules*. Having intelligence that some of his familiar friends used to play at dice not moderately for sport and passtime but excessively, even to the utter undoing of themselves; he set a good round fine upon their heads. Of all those that came about him and neerest unto his person he honoured *Craterus* most, but he affected *Hephestian* best: For *Craterus* (quoth he) loveth the King, and *Hephestian* loveth *Alexander*; meaning that *Craterus* a wife and valiant man, loved the greatnesse of his Lord and Master, but *Hephestian*, a good and kinde companion, embraced rather the person of his Prince. He sent upon a time fifty talents as a gift unto the Philosopher *Xenocrates*, who refused the same, and would take nothing at all; saying, that he had no need thereof. This was reported unto *Alexander*, who demanded againe: What had *Xenocrates* never a friend to bestow that mony upon, if he stood himselfe in no need thereof? I assure you for mine own part, all the chievance and revenues of King *Darius* hardly served my turn for to deal among my friends. *Porus*, one of the Kings of *India* was taken prisoner by him in a battel: and afterwards *Alexander* came unto him, and said: How would you have me to entreat you? Mary (quoth *Porus*) roially: and being asked the second time: If he would nothing else: No (quoth he) for in this one word, Roially, is comprised all. *Alexander* admiring aswell the wit as the valour of the man, not onely gave unto him his Kingdome again, but also adjoined thereto more lands and territories. Word was brought unto him one day, that there was a certaine fellow at a feast, who did nothing else but miscall and revile him; he made answer againe: That it was a roiall and Kingly act, patiently to suffer blame for well doing. When he lay at the point of death, looking upon his familiar friends about him, he said, I see well that my Epitaph and funerals will be very great; meaning, the troubles that would ensue upon the death of

m A commander ought to beare out his souldiers no further than in honest and just causes.

n Mercenary soudiers taking pay in wars wherein they have nothing to do, are to be hardly intreated.

o Honour is more dear than life, to men of haughty minds; and such ought to be of good respect with Princes.

p A strong hold kept by a coward, is pregnable.

of so mighty a Prince. After he was departed this life, *Demades* an orator of *Athens* seeing the army of the Macedonians left without an head that should rule and command it, said: That in his conceit it resembled the Giant *Polyphemus* or *Cyclops*, after that *Ulysses* had put out that only eie which he had.

Ptolomæus the sonne of *Lagus* [King of *Ægypt*] both supped and also took his bed for the most part in his friends houses; and if at any time he bad them to supper, he used their furniture: for he would send unto them to borrow their vessels, their boards, carpets and table-clothes, for that he had never about him any more than was sufficient for the service of his own person: and hee was wont to say: That to enrich others, seemed more regall than to enrich himselfe.

Antigonus levied great summes of money of his subjects, and exacted the same with no lesse rigour; by occasion whereof, one said unto him: King *Alexander* the great never did so by us: And no marvell (quoth hee againe) for hee had the reaping of *Asia*, whereas I doe but come after and gleane, or rather rake the stubble. He espied upon a time within his camp, certaine common souldiers playing at the ball and bowling, having their corslets on their backs, and their morions upon their heads, he took a great pleasure therein, and called for their Captaines, intending for to praise them for it: but when he understood that they were in a tipling house or tavern a drinking, he (*q*) cashiered them and discharged them of their companies, giving their places unto the foresaid souldiers. Being grown aged, he began to shew himselfe more mild and gracious to every one, than he was wont to be, yea, and carried himselfe with greater courtesie and humanity in all matters, whereof all men wondered, and desired to know the cause; unto whom he answered thus: Heretofore (quoth he) I fought to make my selfe great, and had need of might and puissance; but now that I have atteined thereto, I stand more in need of glory and benevolence. A sonne of his, named *Philip*, asked of him one day in the presence and hearing of many: When shall we break up the camp and dislodge? unto whom he answered: (*r*) Why? art thou afraid that thou alone shalt not hear the trumpet sound the remove? The selfe same sonne had (being a very youthfull gentleman) one time procured, that he should have his lodging within an ancient widowes house, who had three faire maidens to her daughters: the King his father being told thereof, sent for the marshall or chiefe harbenger for providing of lodgings, and said unto him (*s*) Will you not remove my sonne out of that straight lodging? Hee lay sick a long time of a lingering disease; and afterwards, when he was recovered, and well againe: We have gotten no harm (quoth he) by this long sicknesse, for this hath taught me not to be so proud, by putting mee in mind that I am but mortall. *Hermodotus* the Poet in certain Poems which he wrote, called him the sonne of the Sunne: but he to check that speech of his: He that useth (quoth he) to empty my close stoole, knoweth as well as I that it is nothing so. There was one who in his presence said: That all things were honest and just with Kings; True indeed (quoth hee) it is so with Kings of barbarous nations, but unto us, that is onely honest and just, which is so by nature and in it selfe. *Marsias* his brother had a cause or controversie that came before him, and he desired instantly that it might be pleaded, debated, and judged privately within his house: Nay mary (quoth he) but it shall be heard and tried in the open face of the Court, and in the sight of the whole world, (*t*) if we meane to do no man wrong. He was once in winter time driven to encamp in a place destitute of all commodities necessary for the life of man; by occasion whereof, certaine souldiers not knowing that he was so nigh unto them, spake very badly of him, and reviled him; but he opening the cloth or curtain of his pavilion with his walking staffe: If you go not farther off (quoth he) to raile upon me, I will make you to repent it. It was supposed that *Aristodemus* one of his familiars, was the sonne of a Cook, or Clark of a kitchen, in regard whereof, when he dealt with the King to cut off some expences of his ordinary, and not to be so free of gift: Thy words (quoth he) O *Aristodemus*, smell strongly of a Cooks apron. The Athenians had enfranchized and endued with the Bourgeoisi of their City a slave of his, supposing him to be a free man, and all to doe him honour; but he said unto them: I would not that any one Athenian should be scourged by me. A certain young man there was, one of *Anaximenes* the Rhetoricians Scholars, who pronounced by heart before him an oration composed long before with great premeditation; after he had made an end, the King asked him a question, as being desirous to learn somewhat of him: the young man who knew not what answer to make, stood still and had not a word to say; whereupon the King: What saiest thou (quoth he) is there nothing in thee, but all in those writing tables there? Another Rhetorician like unto the same, made an Oration before him, and when he came to these words: The snowy spring hath caused the grasse in the field to be very short: he could no longer hold, but breake off his speech and say: What sirrah, can you make no end, but speake unto me as you would doe to the ignorant multitude? *Thrasylus* the Cynick Philosopher craved one day that hee would give him a single drachme: A drachme (quoth) *Antigonus*, that is not a gift for a King to give: Why then (quoth the Philosopher) bestow upon me a whole talent of silver: Neither is that (quoth the King) a reward for a dog or Cynick to receive. When he sent *Demetrius* his sonne into *Greece* with a puissant Armada, and a great power of men for to deliver the Greeks from servitude, he made a reason thereof and said: That his glory would from *Greece* shine out into all continents and habitable parts of the earth, no lesse than a burning light from some high watch-tower. The Poet *Antagoras* being in his camp upon a time, was seething of a conger, and himselfe with his owne hand stirred the kettle or pan wherein it boiled; *Antigonus* behind his back, seeing him so to doe:

The succession of Alexander.

q An example of marshall justice.

r Against curiosity.

s The occasion of sinne is to be removed.

t He that meaneth ill, hateth the light.

doe: What! *Antagoras*, doſt thou think that *Homer* thy maſter when he deſcribed the noble acts of King *Agamemnon*, was amuſed upon ſeething a conger? *Antagoras* returned this upon him againe, ſaying; And think you, Sir, that King *Agamemnon* when he atchieved thoſe worthy exploits which *Homer* did deſcribe, (*u*) buſied himſelfe thus, and went up and down his Camp peering and ſpying whether any one were ſeething of a conger? (*x*) He dream'd one night that he ſaw *Mithridates* reaping corn that bare golden eares, whereupon he reſolved to put the ſaid *Mithridates* to death; but he did communicate this deſigne of his unto *Demetrius* his ſonne, forcing him to ſweare that he would keep counſell and ſay nothing: howbeit *Demetrius* drawing *Mithridates* apart, and training him along the ſea ſide with him, as he walked upon the ſhore wrote with the end of his javelin within the ſand theſe words; *Flie Mithridates. Mithridates* conceiving preſently what his meaning was, fled incontinently over ſea, into the realme of *Pontus*, where afterwards he reigned King all the daies of his life.

u Needleſs curioſity in reſting matters beſeemeth not a Prince.

x Great Potentates cannot abide ſo much as to dream of any equall to them

Demetrius whiles he laid ſiege unto the City of *Rhodes*, found in one of the villages or ſuburbes neer that City, the table of the famous Painter *Protogenes*, wherein he painted *Jalyſus*. The Rhodians ſent unto him an herald of arms, and beſought him to ſpare that excellent picture, and not to deface it: who returned this anſwer unto them: That hee would ſooner deſtroy the portraits and images of his own father, than that picture. After he had compounded with the Rhodians, and was growne to agreement, he left behind him unto them that mighty fabrick of battery called *Helepolis*, that is as much to ſay, as an engine to force Cities, which he did, to teſtifie unto poſterity the grandeur of his works, and the valour of his courage. When the Athenians rebelled againſt him, he won by aſſault their City, which before was much diſtreſſed for default of corn: but being maſter of the Town, he cauſed immediately the whole body of the City to be aſſembled before him, unto whom he declared that he beſtowed upon them freely and in gift a great quantity of grain: but in this ſpeech of his unto the people, he chanced to commit an incongruity in grammer: then preſently one of the Citizens who was ſet there by to hear him, roſe up, and with an audible and lond voice, pronounced that word aright, which he ſhould have done: For the correction of this one ſolœciſme (quoth he then) I give unto you over and above my former gift, 500. medimns more of come.

Antigonus, the ſecond of that name, when *Demetrius* his father being taken priſoner, had ſent him word by one of his truſty and familiar friends, that whatſoever he wrote unto him, he ſhould take no heed thereof, and neither give credit thereto, nor do any thing that was conteined in his letters, if haply he ſhould be forced to it by *Seleucus* who held him priſoner, and in no wiſe to render any Cities which he then was ſeized of, into his hands, any thing in his letters to the contrary notwithſtanding; but he contrariwiſe (*y*) wrote unto *Seleucus* to this effect: That he would yield unto him all the Lords under his obeiſance, yea, and deliver his owne perſon as hoſtage for ſecurity, upon condition that he would diſmiſſe his father in ſafety. At the very point when he was ready to give battell at ſea, unto the lievetenants and Captains of *Ptolomeus*, the Pilot of his own gally came unto him and ſaid; That their enemies had a greater number of ſhips by farre then they: But being here in proper perſon (quoth he) (*z*) as I am, for how many ſhips doſt thou reckon me. As he retired upon a time before his enemies who advanced forward to charge upon him, he ſaid: That he fled not, but purſued and followed after the utility and vantage which was behinde him. When a certaine young man who had to his father a valiant warriour, but otherwiſe himſelfe was taken for no great good ſoul'dier, made earneſt ſute, and beſought him that he might have his fathers pay: Know you (quoth he) good young man, that my manner is to give wages and liberall gifts to ſuch as are themſelves valiant, and not to thoſe (*a*) who are but the ſons of valiant men. When *Zeno* the *Citieian*, whom of all other Philoſophers he eſteemed beſt, was departed this life; he ſaid: That the Theater of his noble acts was taken away; (*b*) as the onely man whom for his own glories ſake he deſired to be the ſpectator and approver of his deeds above any other.

y Notable pitty and kindneis of a ſon to his father.

z The preſence of a wiſe Captain availeth more than a number of ſouldiers.

a Vertue enobleth a man, and not parentage.

b The death of learned men is a great loſs to Princes.

Lyſimachus being ſurprized in the Country of *Thracia* by King *Dromichetes*, within a certaine ſtreight, where for very extream thirſt he was driven to yeeld himſelfe and all his army to the mercy of his enemy; after he had drunk, being now a priſoner: O God (quoth he) (*c*) for how little pleaſure am I become a ſlave, who ere-whiles was a King? As he deviſed and talked upon a time with *Philippides* the comicall Poet, a friend and familiar of his, he ſaid unto him: What wouldſt thou have me to impart unto thee of all that mine is? Even what it ſhall pleaſe you, Sir, (anſwered the Poet) (*d*) ſo it be none of your ſecrets.

c Occaſions of evil are to be avoided.

d The ſecrets of Princes ought not to be ſearched into.

Antipater having heard the newes of *Parmenio*, how *Alexander* the King had put him to death, wondered thereat and ſaid: If *Parmenio* laid wait to take away the life of *Alexander*, whom may a Prince truſt? if not, what ſhould a man do? Of *Demades* the Orator being now grown in yeers, he was wont to ſay, That he was like unto a ſacrifice burnt and conſumed upon the Altar; for that he had nothing left but the belly and the tongue.

Antigonus the third, wrote unto all the Cities and States under his obeiſance to this effect: That if peradventure he ſhould command them by his letters to do any thing contrary to the lawes, they ſhould not obey his commandement; but take ſuch letters diſpatched, as if he wrote hee wiſt not what or ſent without his privity and knowledge. Seeing one day a religious votary or Prieſteſſe of *Diana*, exceeding faire and beautifull; he preſently diſlodged and departed from *Epheſus* (*e*) for feare leſt he might be overtaken with wanton love, and ſo forced to commit againſt his will ſome unlawfull and ungodly act.

Antiochus

Antiochus ſurnamed *Hierax*, that is, a * Sacre, warred upon his brother *Seleucus*, even for the title of the Crown, and to try who ſhould be King: and yet after that *Seleucus* was vanquiſhed in a battell by the Galatians, and ſuppoſed to be himſelfe hew'd in pieces in the heat of the execution, (for that he was not to be found nor ſeen:) *Antiochus* (*f*) laid off his robes of purple, and put on black: but within a while after when tidings came that his brother was alive and ſafe, he ſacrificed unto the gods in token of thanksgiving for this good tidings; and commanded all the Cities under his dominion to keep holiday, and weare chaplets of flowers upon their heads for joy.

* A Kinde of hawke.

f Variance between brethren ought not to anull the lawes of nature.

Eumenes hapned to be entrapped in an ambuſh which King *Perſeus* had laid for him, whereupon there ran a rumour incontinently, that he was dead: in ſuch ſort, that upon the newes thereof being reported in the City of *Pergamus*; *Attalus* his brother forthwith took the toiall frontall called a diadem, and did it about his own head, yea, and more then ſo, eſpouſed his brothers wife, and reigned as King in his ſtead: but not long after having more certaine intelligence that *Eumenes* was living in ſafety, and upon his return home, he (*g*) he went forth to meet him upon the way, with other of the Squires and guard of the Kings body, bearing himſelfe a partiſan or javelin in his hand, as he was wont to doe before: and *Eumenes* for his part ſaluted and embraced him very amiably, howbeit rounding him in his eare and ſaying thus:

Make heſt no more my wife to wed,
Before you know that I am dead.

g Extraordinary amity of brethren.

and never after unto his dying day, either did or ſaid ought unto him that might argue ſuſpicion of diſtruſt; but when hee died, he recommended unto his ſaid brother, both his wife, and alſo the Kingdome. And he againe for his part in recompence of that kindneſſe, would never nouriſh and bring up any of his own children for to inherit the Kingdome, although he had many by her, but during his life made over the Realme unto his brother *Eumenes* ſonne, ſo ſoon as he was come to full age and able to govern.

Pyrrhus King of the *Epirotes*, had many ſons; who being yet very children, asked of their father upon a time, unto which of them he would leave the Crown after his deceaſe: Mary unto him (quoth hee) who ſhall have the ſharpeſt ſword. He was demanded the queſtion one day, which was in his opinion the better minſtrell of the twaine to play upon the flute, *Python* or *Cephiſius*? (*h*) *Polyſperchon* (quoth he) the Generall is the beſt Captaine. Having defeated the Romans in two battels, but with great loſſe of his beſt leaders, and moſt (*i*) truſty friends and ſervitours: One ſuch another victory over the Romans as theſe were (quoth he) will undoe us for ever. When he took ſea and was embarked for to depart out of *Sicily*, becauſe he was paſt hope ever to win and keep it, he turned back to his friends behind and ſaid: Oh what a goodly wreſtling place have we left for the Romans and the Carthaginians, to skuffle in and cope together! His ſouldiers ſurnamed him the Ægle, unto whom he would ſay: And why not! conſidering that your armes and weapons are the very flight-wing, and by which (*k*) I mount up toward Heaven? Being let to underſtand that certaine young men as they ſate drinking together at a table, gave out vile and opprobrious ſpeeches againſt him, he commanded them all to be convented before him the next morrow: when they were all come into his preſence, he demanded of the foremoſt of them, whether it was true that they had ſuch unſeemely talke of him or no? True it is my liege Lord (quoth he) but wee had ſaid a great deal more than we did, if the (*l*) wine would have held out longer.

h A man is to judge of that wherein he hath skill.

i A dear victory which coſteth the life of the beſt ſouldiers

k Valiant men lift up their Princes aloft.

l Wine is a dangerous counſeller.

Antiochus [the Great] he who made two great expeditions among the Parthians, having in a certaine chaſe or purſuit after his game as he was a hunting, engaged himſelfe ſo farre in the wild forreſt, that he had loſt himſelfe, and the company of all his friends and ſervitours, was driven to take up his lodging for one night in a cottage of a certain poor peſant, unto whom he was altogether unknown: where, as he ſate at ſupper, he moved ſome talke as touching the King to know what was the common voice and opinion of the people concerning him: and they gave out: That the King was held to be a good Prince in many reſpects, only in this he came ſhort of his Kingly duty, that he would not himſelfe in perſon take paines to mannage the affairs of State, but refer moſt matters to his minions and Courtiers: who were men of no worth, and ſo paſſed them over in great negligence; ſo much given he was unto his hunting. To theſe reports he anſwered not a word for the preſent; but the next morrow by break of day, when his guard and penſioners were come to this cottage where hee had been lodged; he diſcovered himſelfe and would be known, by putting on his roiall habit of purple, and ſetting the regall frontall or diadem to his head; and then (*m*) he uſed this ſpeech unto them: From the very firſt day that I entertained you into my ſervice, I never heard untill yeſternight ſo much as one true word and report that went of me. During the time that he lay in ſiege before the City of *Hieruſalem*, the Jewes requeſted a truce and ſurceaſe from armes for a ſevennight ſpace, that they might without trouble ſolemnize their greateſt feaſt: which he not only granted, but alſo provided a great number of buls with guilt horns, and a mighty quantity of ſweet odours and aromaticall ſpices for incenſe, the which he conducted himſelfe in perſon with a goodly pompe and proceſſion to the very gate of the City, and delivered them for a ſacrifice into the hands of their Prieſts and returned againe into his camp. The Jewes wondering at his bounty, (*n*) preſently after the ſaid feaſt was ended, yeelded themſelves to his devotion.

m Princes herein be more unfortunate then others.

n Liberality and kindneſs oftentimes availeth more than fine force.

Themiſtocles in his youthfull daies did nothing but follow drunkenneſſe and whoredome: but after that *Miltiades* the Captaine Generall of the Athenians had vanquiſhed the Barbarians upon the plaine of *Marathon*, hee was never known to commit any riot or diſorder. And when

ſome

some marvelled to see in him so great a change said he: (o) that the Trophee or monument of *Miltiades* his victory, would not give him leave to sleep or take repose. The question was put unto him upon a time, whether hee would chuse rather to be *Achilles* or *Homer*? Tell me first (quoth he) unto the party that moved the question, whether thy selfe hadst leither bee the Champion who won the prize in (p) the Olympick games, or the cryer who with sound of trumpet proclaimeth the victors? When King *Xerxes* arrived in *Greece* with so puissant an Armada, *Themistocles* fearing left *Epicides* the Oratour, who was in great account with the people for his eloquence, but otherwise a coward in the field, and noted for avarice, should so far prevaile, as by their voices to be chosen generall in this warre for *Athens*, and so hazard the losse of the City and State: (q) he so wrought with money, that he was put besides that honour and had the repulse. *Adimantus* the generall of the Athenian Army, had not the heart to joine battell at sea; and *Themistocles* did what he could to move the Greeks thereto, insomuch as the other said unto him in open Councell: O *Themistocles*, they who arise before their turne, commeth to enter into combat in the publike games, are evermore wont to be whipped for it: True (quoth *Themistocles*) and even so, they that tarry last and lag behind, are never crowned. *Eurybiades* thereat lift up the batton or staffe that he had in his hand, offering to strike him: Strike hardily *Eurybiades* (quoth he) if thou wilt, so thou hear me. But when he could not perswade *Eurybiades* the Generall to give battell within the channell or straights of *Salamis*; he sent secretly and underhand unto the King of the Barbarians, exhorting him in any wise not to (r) be affraid of the Greeks, nor to let them escape, for that they were minded to flye: Unto which intelligence of his, the King giving eare, bad them battell, in which he had the overthrow, for that he fought in a long and narrow arm of the sea, which was greatly for the Greeks advantage: whereupon he sent a courrier again unto the King, and willed him to flye in all haste to the straights of *Hellespont*, for that the Greeks were fully minded to break the bridge which he had made for passage over that arme of the sea. Thus in saving the Greeks, he made semblant that he did all for his safety. An inhabitant of the little Isle *Seriphos*, said upon a time unto him by way of scorn and reproach, that he was so famous, not for himselfe, but in regard of the City of *Athens*, whereof he was a Citizen; Thou saiest even true indeed (quoth *Themistocles*) to him; for neither I if I were a Seriphian, nor thou if thou wert an Athenian could ever be renowned. *Antiphates* that faire boy, at the first disdained and avoided *Themistocles*, being enamoured upon him; but afterwards when he perceived that he grew to great credit and reputation, he came to seek him out, he flattered and fawned upon him; unto whom *Themistocles* said: (f) My good youth, we have now more wit and are become wiser both of us 1 trow, although it be late first, *Simonides* the Poet, requested him to give judgement of his side in an unlawful and unjust cause; unto whom he made this answer: Neither were you, O *Simonides*, a good Poet or musician, in case you sing against the rules of measures: Nor I a good Magistrate if I should judge against the lawes. He was wont to say unto a sonne that he had, who could make his mother do what him list, and whom she made a wanton, that he was the mightiest person of all the Greeks: For why? (quoth he) the Athenians command all *Greece* besides; I command the Athenians; thy mother me, and thou thy mother. Two sisters there were who wooed his daughter by way of marriage, and made meanes unto him for his good will; but he preferred the more honest man before the richer; for he said: Give me a man that wanteth goods rather then goods that want a man. He was to sell a piece of land that he had and gave order to the Crier who proclaimed the sale, to put in this and cry: That it had besides good (t) neighbors neare unto it. When the Athenians being full of him, took pleasure to raise slanders and contumelious reproaches of him, he said unto them: Why are you weary of receiving so many good turns and services of the same persons? He was wont to say unto them: That he was like to these great and broad plane trees, under the boughes whereof men are wont to runne and shroud themselves, when they are overtaken with a showre of raine or a tempest; but if the weather be faire, they use to crop and shrig the branches thereof, yea and revile it. He said unto the Eretrians in mockage that they resembled the sword-fishes: for howsoever they had blades and weapons enough, yet hearts they had none. Being banished out of *Athens* first, and afterwards out of all *Greece*: he retired himselfe to the great King of *Persia*, where having audience given him to speak, he said: That a mans speech might very well be likened unto clothes of rapestry, wrought with imagery and story-work, for both the one and the other, if they be displaied and unfolded at length, discover plainly and openly the figures drawn within; but if they be folded or rolled up, all the pourtraictures be hidden, and to no purpose: he requested therefore the rearm of a certein time, in which space he might learn the Persian language, to the end that from thenceforward he might be able to declare and deliver his own mind unto the King by himselfe, and not by a truch-man or interpreter. The King most honourably had bestowed upon him many rich presents; whereupon he quickly became exceeding wealthy, insomuch as he would say unto his servitours about him: (u) My sonnes, we had been utterly undone for ever, if we had not been undone.

Myronides a Captaine generall of the Athenians, put himselfe into the field, purposing to make war upon the Bœotians, having given commandement to those of *Athens* for to follow him with their armies: but at the very point when they were ready to joine battell, certeine Centineirs came and brought him word that their men were not yet all come: Tush (quoth he) all those that are minded to fight are come already, and so leading those onely who were forward and resolute to serve, he encountered his enemies, and won the honour of the day.

Aristides,

o Of what power emulation is.

p To do well is better than to say well.

q Spare for no cost to preserve thy countrey.

r All means are to be attempted to the safety of the countrey.

f Better late than never to learn wisedome.

t A good neighbour is a great treasure.

u An ill wind that bloweth nothing to good. And adversity turneth to the good of some.

Aristides surnamed the *Just*, came to bear office and alwaies mannaged the affairs of policy and State by himselfe, who of set purpose avoided all banding, siding, and parts-taking of friends, as being of opinion that authority (x) and credit gotten so, by the jugling practises and packing of friends, did incite and move men in place of government to many bad courses and unjust proceedings. When the Athenians were assembled together in the generall Councel, and hotly set to proceed unto that banishment which they called *Ostracisme*: there was a certaine rude and rusticall pesant, one that knew never a letter of the book, and could neither write nor read, came with a shell in his hand (as the manner was) unto *Aristides*, and desired him to write within it the name of *Aristides*: Why (quoth he) knowest thou *Aristides*? Nay in good faith (quoth the clownish sot) I ken him not, but ich am greeved to heare him called Just: *Aristides* answered him never a word, but wrote his own name within the shell, and gave it him againe. Being an enemy unto *Themistocles*, and sent by the State together with him in embassage under one commission: when they were gone as farre on their way as to the uttermost confines of *Attica*: Now (quoth he) to *Themistocles*, are you content that even hereupon the very limits of our countrey, we lay down and leave all our enmity: (w) and when we have performed our embassage, and returned hither, we will take it up againe, if you think so good? After he had set down a certaine taxe to be levied out of all *Greece*, and imposed upon every City what they should pay, he (x) returned home poorer then he went, by how much the charges came to by the way in his journey. *Æschylus* the Poet had before time written these verses in a certaine Tragedy as touching *Amphiaraus*:

He seeketh not to seem the very best,
But for to be the best in word and deed,
He sowed hath within his worthy brest,
In furrow deep all good and vertuous seed,
Which yield both life and fruit in season due,
I meane suge counsell joined with honour true.

which when they were rehearsed and pronounced in the open Theater, all the assistance and audience, cast their eies upon *Aristides*.

Pericles whensoever hee was chosen Captaine Generall, so often as hee put on his rich coat of armes, was wont to say unto himselfe: *Pericles* take heed and look well about thee; thou goest forth now to command men of free condition, and those Greeks; yea, and that which is more, Athenians. A friend of his requested him, for his sake to beare false witnesse, where he was to bind the same also with an oath: You shall pardon me (quoth *Pericles*) I am your friend indeed: but (y) so far only as the Altar, that is to say, saving my conscience, and that I do not offend the gods. He perswaded the Athenians to take away the Isle *Ægina*, which was a very eie-sore that troubled their Port or Haven *Piræum*. Lying at the point of death, and ready to yield up the ghost, he was heard to say these last words: That he reputed himselfe happy, in that by his meanes there was never any one Athenian did weare black or mourning weeds.

Alcibiades being yet a yong boy, chanced in wrestling to give another the vantage, to take such sure hold of him, that he could not well shift from him, and make the party leave his hold, insomuch as he made no more ado, but set his teeth in his hand that held him: whereat the other cried; This is soule play, *Alcibiades*; bitest thou indeed as women do? No said he, but rather as lions do. Having a most beautifull and faire dog every way, which cost him seven hundred * drachmes, he cut off his taile quite: To the end (quoth he) that the Athenians may have matter to talke of mee for my curtailed dog, and not otherwise busie themselves to search curiously into my doings any further. He entred upon a time into a Grammar-school, and called unto the School-master for the *Iliads* of *Homer*: Who said unto him that he had none of *Homer*'s works; with that he gave him a box of the ear, and so passed by him and went his way. One day he knocked at *Pericles* his doore, and when answer was made him that he was not at leisure to be spoken with, for that he studied and was amused how to render up his accounts to the Athenians of their money: And were it not better for him (quoth he) to occupy his wits and cast about, not to yield them any account at all? Being called out of *Sicily* by the Athenians, and cited peremptorily to appeare and make his answer judicially in a criminall matter, as much as his life was worth, he hid himselfe and kept out of the way, saying: That he was a simple fool that would seek to quit himselfe of a capitall crime, if he could otherwise avoid the tryall. And when one said unto him, what, and will you not trust your own Countrey, and put your selfe upon them, to be judged by them? No (quoth he) nor my own mother, for feare lest ere she be aware, she should upon an errour cast in a black beane for a white, and chance to say guilty, for unguilty. Being advertised that himselfe, together with his complices and adherents, were condemned by the Athenians to dye: Let us shew our selves (quoth hee) unto them that wee bee yet alive; and so he sided and banded with the Lacedemonians, and raised that war against the Athenians, which was called the Decelick warre.

Lamachus rebuked and checked a certaine Captaine of footmen, for some fault committed in his charge: and when the other said for himselfe; That he would do no more so; he replied againe: Yea, but you must not (z) fault twise in warre.

Iphicrates became despised, for that he was taken to be a shooe-makers or curriers son: but the first reputation that hee won for valour and prowesse, was upon this, that when hee was himselfe wounded in fight, he seized upon his enemies body, and brought him perforce armed as hee was alive,

x He that entreth into publike government by unlawfull and indirect meanis is like to do more hurt then good.

w He must renounce and lay downe particular and private quarrels, who would be in the traine of doing good to the Common wealth.

x Good magistrates will not be inriched by the publike weal.

y How farre forth friendship may extend.

* Or Minæ.

z Errors committed in warre be irreparable.

alive, out of his galley into his own. Being encamped in the land of his friends and confederates, yet nevertheleſſe he fortified his camp with a deep trench and high rampart round about very carefully; and when one ſaid unto him, what needs all this? and whom are we to feare? The worſt ſpeech (quoth he) that can come out of a Captaines mouth is this; Had I wiſt, or I never looked for ſuch a thing. As he was putting his army in array, for to give battell unto the Barbarians; he ſaid that he feared nothing at all, but that they ſhould not take knowledge of *Iphicrates*, whoſe very name and preſence was enough to affright all their enemies. Being accuſed of a capitall crime, he ſaid unto the Sycophant who had enformed and drawn a bill of enditement againſt him: Canſt thou tell what thou doſt good fellow? when the City is environed with warre on every ſide, thou perſwadeſt the people to conſult about me, and not to take counſell with me. *Harmodius* (who was deſcended from the race of that antient and noble *Harmodius*) reproached him one day for his meane parentage, as being come from an houſe of baſe degree: The nobleneſſe (quoth hee) of my line beginneth in me, but thine endeth in thee. An Orator making a ſolemne ſpeech in the aſſembly of the people, grew to theſe tearms with him before them all: And what are you, Sir, if we may be ſo bold as to know, that you beare your ſelfe ſo bigge, and think ſo well of your ſelfe, are you a man at armes? are you an archer, a pike-man, or a foot-man? or what are you? I am not indeed (quoth he) any of theſe; but he I am, who knowes how to command and direct all theſe?

Timotheus had the name to be a fortunate Captaine, rather then otherwiſe a ſpeciall warriour; and ſome who envied his good eſtate, ſhewed him a picture, wherein certaine Cities were entrapped, and of themſelves fallen into the compaſſe of net and toile, whiles he lay aſleep; whereupon he ſaid unto them: Conſider now, if I can catch and take ſuch Cities lying aſleep, what ſhall I be able to do when I am awake? When one of theſe venturous and too forward Captaines, ſhewed upon a glorious bravery unto the Athenians, what a wound he had received upon his body: But I (quoth he) my ſelfe was (*a*) greatly abaſhed and aſhamed one day, being your Captaine Generall before the City of *Samos*, that a ſhot diſcharged from the walls, light but neer unto me. When the Orators highly praiſed and recommended Captaine *Chares*, ſaying: Lo what a brave man is here to make the Generall of the Athenians, ſhewing his goodly perſonage. *Timotheus* anſwered againe with a loud voice: Never ſay Generall, but, rather a good, ſtout groom to carry the truſſe of a Captaines bedding after him.

a It is no' commendable part in a Captaine to expoſe himſelfe wilfully unto great hazards.

Chabrias was wont to ſay, that they were the beſt Captaines who had moſt intelligences of their enemies deſigns and proceedings. Being accuſed together with *Iphicrates* of treaſon, he gave not over for all that, to frequent the publike place of exerciſes, and to take his dinner at his accuſtomed houres: and when *Iphicrates* rebuked him for being ſo retchleſſe, ſtanding in ſuch danger as he did; he anſwered him in this manner: In caſe the Athenians proceed againſt us otherwiſe than well, they ſhall put you to death, all ſoule and faſting, but me full and faire clean waſhed, annointed, and having well dined. This was his ordinary ſpeech: That an army of ſtags and hindes having a lion for their leader, was better an army of lions led by a ſtag.

Hegeſippus ſurnamed *Crobylus*, ſolicited and incited the Athenians to take armes againſt King *Philip*: and when one ſpake unto him aloud from out of the aſſembly: What, Sir, will you that we draw upon us war: Yea, verily (quoth he) and bring (*b*) in among us mourning robes, ſolemn and publike obſequies, yea, and funerall orations too, if we deſire to live free ſtill, and not to be ſervile and ſubject to the Athenians.

b Love of liberty caſteth no doubts and careth not for dangers.

Pytheas being but yet very young, preſented himſelfe one day in open place to croſs and contradict the publike decrees which had paſſed by the peoples voices, in the honour of King *Alexander*; what ſaith one unto him: Dare you preſume, ſo young as you are to ſpeak of theſe ſo weighty matters? And why not (quoth he) ſeeing that *Alexander* whom you will needs make a god by your ſuffrages, is younger than my ſelfe?

Phocion the Athenian was a man of ſo ſtaied and conſtant behaviour, that hee was never ſeen of any perſon, either to laugh or weep. Upon a time in a great aſſembly of the City, one ſaid unto him: You are very ſad and penſive *Phocion*, it ſeemeth you are in a deep ſtudy. Gueſſe againe (quoth hee) and gueſſe worſe; for I am indeed ſtudying and deviſing with my ſelfe, how I may cut off ſomewhat of that which I have to ſpeake unto the Athenians. The Athenians underſtood by an oracle that they had one man among them in the City, who was thwart and contrary to the opinion and advice of all others. Now when they cauſed diligent ſearch and enquiry to be made for this fellow, and cried our upon him in great fury whoſoever he was; *Phocion* ſtood up, and with a loud voice, I am the very man (quoth he) ſeek no further; for I am he (*c*) alone, who am nothing at all pleaſed with whatſoever the people either doth or ſay. One day when he had delivered his advice in a frequent aſſembly of the people, he pleaſed the whole audience very well, and ſeeing that they all with one accord approved his ſpeech, hee was abaſhed thereat, and turning towards his friends: What (quoth he) have I let fall and eſcaped ſome words that are not good, and otherwiſe than I meant? The Athenians were minded upon a time to ſolemnize a great and feſtivall ſacrifice; and for the better furniſhing of this ſolemnity, they demanded of every man a contribution of money toward it: all others gave liberally, only *Phocion* after he had been called upon by name ſundry times to do the like, in the end ſaid thus unto them: (*d*) I would bee abaſhed to give any thing (I trow) unto you, and not be able to pay him there, pointing with his finger to an uſurer, unto whom he was indebted. When *Demades* ſaid unto him: The Athenians wil one of theſe daies kil thee, if they fall

c Wiſe men and fools hardly fort together.

d Poverty is no ſhame to a vertuous man

fall once into their furious fits: True indeed (quoth he) they will kill me in their mad mood, but thee they will put to death when they be come againe into their right wits. *Ariſtogiton* the ſycophant or falſe promoter, being condemned to death for troubling men with wrongfull imputations, and at the point to be executed within the priſon, ſent unto *Phocion*, requeſting him to come and ſpeak with him; but *Phocion's* friends would not let him go to talk with ſuch a lewd and wicked wretch: Why (quoth hee unto them) in what place may honeſt men more willingly and better ſpeake with *Ariſtogiton*? When the Athenians were highly offended and angry with the Byzantines, for that they would not receive into their City Captaine *Chares*, whom they had ſent with a power to aid them againſt King *Philip*, *Phocion*, came among them, and ſaid: That they were not to bee diſpleaſed with their confederates for being miſtruſtfull, but rather with ſuch Captaines as they miſtruſted: upon which remonſtrance of his, he was himſelfe immediately choſen Captaine; who being admitted and well truſted by the Bizantines, defended them ſo valiantly againſt King *Philip*, that he forced him to raiſe his ſiege, and retire from thence without effect. King *Alexander* the Great ſent unto him a preſent of one hundred talents; but he demanded of the meſſengers that brought it, why the King their maſter ſent unto him alone, conſidering there were ſo many Athenians beſide himſelfe; they anſwered: It was becauſe he eſteemed him to be the onely honeſt and vertuous man among them all: Why then (quoth he) could not he let me both to ſeem and alſo to be a good man ſtill? *Alexander* upon a time demanded of the Athenians certein gallies; whereupon the people called unto *Phocion* by name, for to give his advice, and to counſell them what was beſt to be done in this caſe: then he ſtood up and ſaid: My counſell unto you is this; That you make means either to be your ſelves the (*e*) ſtronger in armes, or elſe at the leaſtwiſe friended by them who are mightier then you. When a brute was blazed abroad without any certaine author, that King *Alexander* the Great was deceaſed, the Orators at *Athens* mounted the Pulpits by and by, and ſtrave avie who could perſwade the people moſt, even in all haſte to put themſelves in armes and rebell; (*f*) but *Phocion* was of a contrary minde to them all: and his opinion was; That they ſhould ſtay and reſt quiet, untill more aſſured newes came of his death: For (ſaith he) if he be dead to day, he will be ſo to morrow, yea, and afterwards alſo. When *Leoſthenes* had ſet the City all upon warre, feeding the peoples hearts with great hopes of recovering their freedome and the ſovereignty of all *Greece*, *Phocion* compared theſe projects of theirs (*g*) unto the *Cypres* trees: For they (quoth he) be faire, ſtreight and tall, but not a whit of fruit do they beare: howbeit, when the Athenians at the firſt ſped well in ſundry battels and wan the field, whereupon the City made ſacrifices unto the gods for the good newes thereof, ſome would come unto him, and ſay: How now *Phocion*, are you not pleaſed herewith? and would you wiſh all undone againe? I am (*h*) contented very well (quoth he) that it hath ſo fallen out, but yet I repent never a whit of my former counſell. The Macedonians immediately after this, made rodes into the Countrey of *Attica*, and began to over-run, harry and ſpoile all the ſea coaſts: for remedy whereof, he cauſed all the luſty men of the City, who were of age to beare armes, to enter into the field; and when many of them came running unto him, ſome calling upon him to ſeize ſuch an hill, others as inſtant with him to put his men in battel-ray in ſuch a place: O *Herculeſ* (quoth he) what a number of Captaines do I ſee, and how few good ſouldiers? howbeit, he gave the enemies battell, wan the victory, and ſlew *Nicion* the Captaine Generall of the Macedonians in the place. Not long after, the Athenians being vanquiſhed in warre, were reſtrained to receive a garriſon from *Antipater*, and *Menillus* Captaine of the ſaid garriſon ſent unto him in free gift, certeine money; wherewith he being offended, ſaid: That neither *Menillus* was better then *Alexander*, nor the cauſe ſo good, for which he ſhould take any gift at his hand at this preſent, conſidering that he refuſed the like from *Alexander*. Moreover, *Antipater* was wont to ſay: That he had two friends at *Athens*, the one of whom, to wit, *Phocion*, he could never perſwade to take any thing; and the other, who was *Demades*, he could not ſatisfie whatſoever he gave him. When *Antipater* was in hand with him to do a thing that was not juſt: (*i*) You cannot (quoth he) O *Antipater*, have me to be your friend and a flatterer too. After the death of *Antipater*, when the Athenians had recovered their liberty and free ſtate or popular government, concluded it was, and pronounced in a generall aſſembly and counſell of the people, that *Phocion* together with his friends and aſſociats, muſt ſuffer death: as for the reſt they went weeping and lamenting as they were led to execution, but *Phocion* marched gravely, and gave not a word: now as he was going upon the way, one of his enemies met him and ſpet upon his face: whereupon he turned back to the Magiſtrates, and ſaid: Is there no man here to repreſſe the inſolency and villany of this wretched varlet? one of them who were to ſuffer with him, took on and tormented himſelfe exceedingly: What (quoth he to him) O *Euippus*, (*k*) doth it not thee good that thou goeſt to take thy death with *Phocion*? And when the deadly cup was preſented to him to drink his laſt draught of hemlock, he was asked the queſtion, whether he had any more to ſay, or no: then addreſſing his ſpeech unto his ſonne: I charge thee (quoth he) and beſeech thee, not to carry any rancor and malice in thy heart to the Athenians for my death.

e In warre we muſt lay to be ſtrongeſt, or friended by the ſtrongeſt.

f To make haſte in matters of great conſequence, and wherein there is no loſs by delay, is dangerous.

g Frivolous orations be like to fruitleſſe trees.

h A wiſe man will not repent of his good counſel, although the iſſue and event be anſwerable thereto.

i True friendſhip and flattery will not ſute well together.

k It is an honour to dye with good men.

Piſiſtratus, a Tyrant of the Athenians, being advertiſed that ſome of his friends having revolted and conſpired againſt him, had ſeiſed upon the Fort called *Phyle*, went towards them carrying himſelfe about at his back, a fardell of his bedding, and the furniture thereto belonging: whereupon they demanded of him what hee would? I come (quoth hee) with an intent either to perſwade you to returne with mee, or elſe with a reſolution to tarry here with you my ſelfe; and therefore

therefore have I brought my baggage with me. He was advertised that his mother loved a young man, who secretly kept her and used to lie with her; howbeit in great fear, and refusing her company many times; whereupon he invited the man to supper, and after supper he asked him how he did, and how he liked his entertainment? Gaily well (quoth he) Thou shalt (quoth *Pisistratus*) find no worse every day so thou content and please my mother. *Thrasibulus* cast a good liking and fancy to his daughter: and as he met her one time upon the way, bestowed a kisse upon her; whereat her mother was offended, so as she exasperated her husband against him for it: but he mildly answered her in this wise: Why woman, if we set our selves against them that love us and grow to malice them, what shall we do to those who hate us? and so he gave the maiden in marriage to *Thrasibulus*. Certeine lusty yonkers, after they had taken their cups well, went in a maske and plaid the fools through the City, and chancing to meet with his wife, abused her both in word and deed very unseemly and dishonestly; but the morrow after they came weeping before *Pisistratus*, acknowledging their fault, and craving pardon; who made them this answer: As for you, endevour to be more wise and sober from hence forth: (*m*) but I assure you, my wife yesterday went no whither abroad, nor stirred out of her doors. When he was about to marry a second wife; the children whom he had by the former, demanded of him, whether he were in any respect discontented with them, that he should in despight of them espouse another: No, (quoth he) that is the least of my thought; but clean contrary it is, because I like and love you so well, I would willingly have more children to resemble you.

1 A speech unbeseeming Pisistratus.

m A wife man will save the honour & credit of his wife what he may.

Demetrius, surnamed *Phalereus*, counselled King *Ptolomæus* to buy and read those books which treated of pollicy and government of Kingdomes and Seignories; for that which Courtiers and minions durst not say unto their Princes, was written within those books.

Of Lacedæmonians.

Lycurgus who did set down and establish the lawes of the Lacedæmonians, accustomed his Citizens to weare their haire long: For that (saith he) side haire maketh those who are faire, seem more faire and amiable; but those who were foule, more hideous and terrible. In the reformation of the Lacedæmonians State, some one there was who perswaded him to erect the popular government called Democracy, wherein every one in his course hath as much authority as another: unto whom he answered: Begin thou first to set up this government in thine own house. Hee ordeined that in building of houses there should be used nothing but the saw and the axe: For that (quoth he) it were a shame to bring into houses so simply builded, any plate of silver and gold, rich hangings, carpets and furniture of beds, or costly and sumptuous tables. He forbad his Citizens to fight at buffets, or to enter combat in that generall exercise of hand, foot, teeth, and all together, called *Pancratium*, to the end that they should not accustome themselves so much as in sport and game to faint, give over, or yeeld themselves overcome. Likewise hee debarred them from encountring often with their very enemies; for feare they should make them more warlike and better souldiers: Whereupon afterwards when King *Agesilaus* was brought out of the battell very grievously wounded; one *Antalcidas* said unto him: You have met with a faire reward at the Thebans hand, and no lesse than you well deserve for schooling and teaching them to fight whether they will or no.

Charillus the King, being asked the question why *Lycurgus* made so few lawes? answered thus: That they who used few words, had no need of many lawes. One of those slaves whom they call Ilotes, had behaved himselfe somewhat too insolently and knavishly against him: Now I sweare by the two twins (quoth he) *Castor* and *Pollux*, were I not angry, I would do thee to death out of hand. Unto one who demanded the reason why the Lacedæmonians weare long haire: It is (quoth he) because of all trimming and ornaments of the body, it costeth least.

Telechus King of Lacedæmon answered unto a brother of his, who complained unto him of the Citizens of *Sparta*, saying: They use me more uncivilly and uncourteously, than they do you: It is for nothing else (quoth he) but because you know not how to endure and put up any wrongs.

Theopompus being in a certein City, was shewed by one of the inhabitants the wals, and demanded whether he thought them not to be faire and high: Faire (quoth he?) no in very truth, kept though they be by none but women.

Archimidamus during the time of the Peloponnesian warre, when as the allies and confederates of Lacedæmon requested him to set them down a certain taxe and rate which they were to contribute toward the charges thereof; answered them in this manner: War knoweth not how to be gaged and seed within the teddar.

Brasidas chanced to finde a mouse among certeine dried figs, which bit him so, as he was glad to let her go: and thereupon said to those about him: See how there is nothing so little, but is able to make a shift and save the own life, if it have but the heart to defend it selfe against those who assaile it. In a certain skirmish his hap was to be hurt with the head of a partisan, or javelin, which went through his shield; and when he had drawn it out of his wound, with the very staffe and steile of it, he slew his enemy: now when one asked him how it came to passe that he was thus wounded? Forsooth because my shield deceived and betraied me. His fortune was afterwards to dye in the Countrey of *Thrace*, whither he had been sent to deliver and set free the Greeks who inhabited those marches: and the embassadours, who were sent from the said parts to Lacedæmon, went to visit his mother: who at the first asked them whether *Brasidas* her sonne did vallantly and like a man? the embassadors highly praised him, insomuch as they said; That there would never be his like again:

again: Oh, you are mightily deceived (quoth she) true it is that *Brasidas* was a brave and valiant man, but *Lacedemon* hath many better men then he by far.

King *Agis* was wont to say, that the Lacedemonians used not to ask how many their enemies were, but in what place they were. At *Mantua* he was forbidden to strike a battel, because the enemies were many in number to one: It must needs be (quoth he) that whosoever would rule and command many, should likewise fight with many. Unto them who greatly commended the Eliens for observing such good order and formality at the Olympick games: What great marvel is it (quoth he) if the Eliens in four years space use justice one day? but when they continued still in their praise and condemnations: What wonder is it (quoth he) if the Eliens use a good thing well, to wit, justice. A naughty fellow there was and a troublesome, who importuned him exceeding much, by asking him oftentimes, who was the best man of all the Spartans? Marry even he (quoth he) that is most unlike to thee. To another who questioned with him and would needs know how many the Lacedemonians were in number: Enough (quoth he) to drive out all lewd and wicked persons: And when another asked him the same question, he answered; Thou wouldst say they were a great number if thou saweſt them fight.

Lysander would not accept of the rich and sumptuous robes, which *Dionysius* the Tyrant sent unto his daughters, saying: I am afraid that these garments will make them look the fouler. Some there were who reproved and blamed him, for that he exploited the most part of his acts by craft and subtilty, as if it were an unworthy thing for one who vaunted himselfe to be of the race of *Hercules*: unto whom he answered: That where the Lyons skin would not serve, it were good to sew thereto a little piece of a Foxes case. There was some difference and debate between the Argives and Lacedemonians about their confines; and it seemed that the Argives alledged better reasons, and brought forth more pregnant evidences for the land in question; but he drawing out his sword: They (quoth he) who are the better men at handling this, are those who plead the better for the bonds of their Territory. The Lacedemonians found much difficulty in assaulting the walls of *Corinth*; and when he saw them draw back and go unwillingly about that service, he chanced to espy at the very same time an Hare to start from within the trench and town ditch; whereupon he took occasion thus to say: why make you doubt to give the assault unto the walls of those men, who are so idle as to suffer Hares to sleep within the very precinct of their walls? There was a certain Megarian, who in the general assembly of all the States of *Greece*, spake unto him his mind freely and boldly; unto whom he answered thus: Thy (*n*) words have need of a City, that is to say, that *Megara*, whereof he was a Citizen, was not able to make good and maintain his words.

n Brave words without means to effect matters, are worth naought.

Agesilaus used to say; That the inhabitants of *Asia* (to speak of free men) were but bad, and namely so long as they enjoyed liberty: marry they be passing good slaves (quoth he.) These Asians had a custom to call the King of *Persia* the Great King: And why (quoth *Agesilaus*) is hee a greater King then I, if he be not more just and temperate? Being demanded his opinion as touching Fortitude, and Justice, whether of them was the better vertue: we have no need or use (quoth he) of Fortitude if we were all just. Being enforced to break up his Camp, and dislodge one night in great haste out of his enemies Country, and seeing a boy whom he loved well, weeping and all blubbered with tears, for that he was left behind, and could not follow by reason of weakenesse: It is (quoth he) an hard matter to be pitiful and wise both at once. *Menecrates* the Physician who would entitle himselfe with the name of *Jupiter*, wrote a leeter unto him with this superscription; *Menecrates Jupiter* unto King *Agesilaus* long life, &c. Unto whom he returned this answer: King *Agesilaus* unto *Menecrates* better health: meaning indeed that he was brain-sick. The Lacedemonians having defeated those of *Athens* with their allies and confederates neer unto the City of *Corinth*; when he heard what a number of enemies lay dead in the field: O unhappy and unfortunate *Greece*, (quoth he) that hath destroyed so many men of her own, as had been able to have subdued all the Barbarians in the world. Having received an answer from the Oracle of *Jupiter* at *Olympia*, according to his mind; the great Lords Controllers, called *Ephori*, willed him also to consult with the Oracle of *Apollo* as touching the same: when he was therefore at *Delphos*, he demanded of the said god, whether he were not of the same mind as his father was? When he sued for the deliverance of a friend of his who was taken prisoner, and in the hands of * *Idrieus* a Prince of *Caria*, he wrote unto him about it in this manner: If *Nicias* have not trespassed, deliver him for justice take: if he have transgressed, deliver him for my sake; but howsoever it be, in any wise deliver him. He was requested one day to hear a man sing, who could marvellous lively and naturally counterfeit the voice of a Nightingale: I have heard (quoth he) the Nightingale her selfe many a time. After the overthrow at the battel of *Leuctres*, the law ordained that as many as saved themselves by their good footmanship, should be noted with infamy: but the *Ephori* fore-seeing, that in so doing the City would be dispeopled and empty, were willing to abrogate and disanul this ignominy, and for this purpose declared *Agesilaus* for Law-giver; who going into the market place, and mounting up into the Pulpit, ordained that from the next morrow forward, the Laws should remaine in their ancient force and vertue. Sent he was upon a time to aide the King of *Egypt*, where he together with the King was besieged by the enemies who were many more in number then they, and had begun to cast a great trench about their camp, and so beleaguered them that they could not escape: Now when the King commanded him to make a sally upon them, and to

* Or Scarieus

keep them battel: I will not (quoth he) empeach our enemies, but that they may (as I see them go about it) willingly fight with us so many: and finding that their trench wanted but a little of both ends meeting and joining together; in that very distance and space between, he set his souldiers in battel array, and so comming to encounter on even hand, he defeated his enemies. When he died, he charged his friends to make no Image nor Statue of him: For if I have (quoth he) (o) done any thing in my life worthy of remembrance, that will be a sufficient monument and memorial for me after my death; if not, all the Statues and images in the world shall never be able to perpetuate my memory.

o Vertue immortalizeth a man and not works in stone, wood, or brass.

Archidamus the first time that ever he saw the shot discharged out of an engin, or battering peece which had been newly brought out of *Sicily*, cryed out aloud: (p) *Hercules* the prowesse and valour of man I see well now is gone for ever.

p The invention of war like engins buriieth valor.

When *Demades* mocking at the Lacedemonian Courtilasses, said merrily: That they were so little and short, as that the juglers and players at leger-demain, were able to swallow them down whole as they be. *Agis* the younger answered very fitly and said: Yet as short as they be, the Lacedemonians can reach their enemies very well with them. The *Ephori* charged him upon a time to deliver up his souldiers into the hands of a Traitor; I will beware I trow (quoth he) to commit another mans Souldiers to him who betraied his own.

Cleomenes when one promised to give him certain cocks of the game, so courageous, that they would with fighting die in the place and never give over: Give me not (quoth he) those that will die themselves, but such rather as in fight will make others to die.

Pedaretus missing the place to be chosen one of the great Councel consisting of three hundred, returned from the assembly very jocond, merry, and smiling: I am well appayed (quoth he) that in the City of *Sparta* there be found three hundred better men and more sufficient then my selfe.

Damonidas being by the Master of the Revels set in the last place of the Dance: Well fare thy heart (quoth he) thou hast devised a good means to make this place honourable.

Nicostratus Captain of the Argives, being sollicited by *Archidamus* to take a good round summe of money for to deliver up unto him by treason, a place where of he had the keeping, with a promise also, that he should espouse and wed what Damosel he would himselfe chuse in all *Sparta*, excepting those of the Blood-Royal, made him this answer: You are not (quoth he) of the race of *Hercules*; for that *Hercules* went thorow the world, punishing, and putting to death in all places, malefactors, and wicked persons; but you go about to make those naught and lewd who are good and honest.

* Or Eudamidas rather.

* *Eydamonidas* seeing in the great School Academy, *Xenocrates* an ancient man among other young Scholars, Students in Philosophy, and understanding that he sought for vertue: And when will he use vertue (quoth he) if he have not yet found it? Another time hearing a Philosopher to maintain this Paradox: That a learned Sage was only a good Captain: Brave words (quoth he) and a marvellous position; but the best is, he that holdeth it, never in his life heard (q) the sound of a trumpet in the camp.

q It becometh not a clerk to speak of arms.

Antiochus, one of those controllers in *Sparta*, named *Ephori*, being advertized that King *Philip* had given unto the Messenians their Territory: But hath he withal (quoth he) given them the means to vanquish in battel when they shall be put to it, for to defend the same?

Antalcidas answered unto an Athenian who termed the Lacedemonians ignorant persons: Indeed (quoth he) it may well be so, for we are the only men who have learned of you no evil. Another Athenian contested with him and said; we have driven you many a time from the River *Cephisus*, which is in *Attica*: but he replied again and said: And we never yet chased you from the River *Eurotas* which is neer *Lacedemon*. There was a certain Rhetorician would needs rehearse an Oration which he had made concerning the praise of *Hercules*; Why (quoth he) was there ever any man that blamed, or despised him?

So long as *Epaminondas* was Captain General of the Thebans, there was never seen in his Camp any of these sudden foolish frights, without any certain cause, which they call *Panique Terrores*. He was wont to say, that no death was so honourable as to die in the wars: Also, that a man of arms or warriour ought to keep his body not exercised after the manner of Champions, for to be fair and full; but rather hardened with travel, and made lank as becometh good souldiers. He loved therefore to fight with those enemies who were corpulent; and such souldiers as he found in his owne bands grosse and fat, he would be sure to cashire and displace them, if it were for nothing else: For he was wont to say of them, that three or four bucklers would hardly cover their grand-pauch, which bare out so big that they could not see for it their privy parts. Moreover, so strict and precise he was in his living, and hated so much all excesse and superfluity, that one time above the rest being bidden to supper by one of his neighbors, when he saw in the house great provision of viands, cates, junquets, comfitures and sweet perfumes, he said unto him: I had thought you made a sacrifice, and not an expense of superfluity, and so went his way and would not stay supper. When the head Cook or Clerk of the Kitchen gave up his account unto him, and other his companions in government, of their ordinary charges for certaine dayes; he misliked nothing in his Bill but the great quantity of Oyle that was spent; and when his Collegues wondered that hee should fare so at that; he said unto them: That it was not the cost and expense that hee stood upon, but onely this, that so much Oyle should go down mens throats. The City of *Thebes* upon a time made

made a great publick feast, and besides, privately they were all in their banquets, inviting one another, and meeting in companies to make merry together: he contrariwise all this while, without being either annointed with oyl and sweet perfumes, or clad in his best cloaths, all pensive and sad, walked alone thorow the City: and when one of his familiar friends who met him, wondered thereat, and would needs know why he went so alone and out of order and formality; Marry (quoth he) that you all might in security follow your drinking and good cheer, and not to be troubled with thinking of any other cares. He had caused a mean man and of base condition to be put in prison for some light trespasse that he had committed, and *Pelopidas* requested him for to set him at large, but he denied him flatly; howbeit afterwards a woman whom he loved, intreated him, and at her suit he granted his liberty, saying: That in such petty favours and curtesies as these it became him to gratifie Concubines and Harlots; but not Generals and great Warriours. When the Lacedemonians came with a puissant power to make cruel war upon the Thebans, there were brought Oracles unto the Thebans from sundry parts, some promising the victory, others menacing an overthrow: he went up therefore into the tribunal seat and commanded, that the Oracles of Victory should be set upon the right hand, and those of discomfiture on the left: when they were thus disposed and bestowed, he stood up, and in this wise spake unto the Thebans: If you will be directed by your Captains, shew obedience to them, and withall, put on a resolution and good heart to encounter your enemies; these here, (shewing the good Oracles on the right hand) be yours; but if for want of courage you cast doubts and start back for fear of perils, those there (pointing to the bad Oracles on the left hand) are for you. Afterwards as he led the Army into the field, for to meet with the Lacedemonians, it began to thunder; whereat they that were neerest unto him asked, what he thought this might presage and signifie: Surely (quoth he) it betokeneth thus much; that God hath astonished our enemies, and put their brains out of temper, who having such commodious places neer unto them for to encamp in, have pitched here where they are. Of all the honourable and happy fortunes that ever befell unto him, he said; This was most to his hearts joy and contentment; that he had defeated the Lacedemonians in the battel at *Leuctres*, whiles his own father that begat him, and mother who bare him were both alive. Being a man who otherwise all his life time used to be seen abroad, fine, neat, and well annointed, with a cheerful and merry countenance also; the morrow after the said battel, he came forth into the publick Place, all foul, fullied, heavy and pensive; whereupon his friends by and by were in hand with him to know, whether any sinister accident was come unto him: None (quoth he) but I perceived yesterday that for the joy of my victory, my heart was lifted up more then it ought, and therefore to day I do (r) abate and correct that which was the day before too excessive and out of order: knowing full well that the Spartans used to cover and hide as much as they could such misfortunes, and being desirous to make them see and acknowledge the great losse and overthrow which they had sustained, he would not in any wise permit them to gather their dead all together, and pile them up in one entire heape; but to every City hee gave leave one after another to enterre them; by which it appeared, that there were more of the Lacedemonians slain by a thousand. *Jason* a Prince and Monarch of *Thessalia*, being allied and confederate with the Thebans, came one day into the City of *Thebes*, and sent to *Epaminondas* a present of two thousand pieces of Gold, knowing that indeed he was exceeding poor: this Gold would not he receive at his hands; but the first time after that he saw *Jason*, he came unto him and said: You begun twice to offer me injury; and in the mean while he borrowed of a certain Burgesse of the City fifty drams of Silver, for to defray the charges of a journey, or expedition which he intended; and therewith entred in Arms and invaded *Peloponnesus*. After this, when the great King of *Persia* sent him thirty thousand pieces of Gold called Dariques, he was displeased highly with *Diomedes*, and sharply checked him, asking him if he had undertaken so great a voyage, thinking to bribe and corrupt *Epaminondas*; and with that commanded him to deliver this message back unto the King his Master; That so far forth as he intended and procured good unto the Thebans, he should make reckoning of him to be his friend without any penny cost; but if he wrought or practiced any losse or displeasure unto them, he would be his enemy. When the Argives were entred into league and amity with the Thebans, those of *Athens* sent their Embassadours into *Arcadie*, to assay if they could draw the Arcadians to side with them: So these Embassadours began to charge and accuse unto them, as well the Argives as the Thebans, insomuch, as *Callistratus* the Orator, who was their speaker, upbraided both Cities, and hit them in the teeth with *Orestes* and *Oedipus*: then *Epaminondas* who sat in this assembly of Councel, rose up and said: We confesse indeed (my masters) that in times past there was in our City one parricide who killed his own Father, like as another in *Argos* who murdered his own Mother; but when we had chased and banished them for committing these facts, the Athenians received them both. And when the Spartans had charged the Thebans with many great and grievous imputations: Why my Masters of *Sparta* (quoth *Epaminondas*) these Thebans, if they have done nothing else, yet thus much they have effected, that you have forgotten your manner of short speech and using few words. The Athenians had contracted alliance and amity with *Alexander* the Tyrant of *Pheres* in *Thessalia*, a mortal enemy of the Thebans, and who promised to the Athenians for to serve them flesh in the market at halfe an *obolus* a pound weight: And wee (quoth *Epaminondas*) will furnish the Athenians with wood enough for nothing, to roast and seeth the said flesh: for if they begin busily to intermeddle more then we like of, wee

r Excessive joy in prosperity ought to be abated.

will sell and cut down all the trees growing in that Country. Knowing well enough that the Bœotians were lost for idleneſſe, he determined and adviſed to keep them continually in exerciſe of arms: now when the time approached for the election of Governours, and that they were minded to chuſe him their *Bœotarches*, that is to ſay, the Ruler of *Bœotia*: Be well adviſed my Maſters (quoth he) what ye do, whiles it lieth in your hands; for if you elect me your Captain General, make this reckoning, that to war you ſhall. He was wont to call the country of *Bœotia*, becauſe it lieth plaine and open, the ſtage and ſcaffold of war, ſaying that it was impoſſible for the inhabitants to keep and hold it, ſo long as they had not one hand within their ſhield, and the other on their ſword. *Chabrias* the Captain of the Athenians having put to foile and defeated ſome few Thebans about *Corinth* (who for heat of fight had run disbanded and out of array) made a bravado: for which exploit, as if he had won ſome great field, he cauſed a Trophee to be erected in memorial of this victory: whereas *Epaminondas* ſcoffed and ſaid: That he ſhould not have ſet up a *trophæum* there, but rather an *hecatesum*, that is to ſay, the Statue of *Proſerpina*, for that in times paſt, it was an ordinary thing to ſet up the image of *Proſerpina* in manner of a croſſe, at the firſt carrefour or meeting of croſſe-ways which was found neer unto the gate of a City. When one brought him word that the Athenians had ſent an Army into *Peloponneſus* bravely ſet out and appointed with new armour: Now ſurely (quoth he) *Antigenidas* will weep and ſigh when he knoweth once that *Tellis* hath gotten him new flutes and pipes to play upon: now this *Tellis* was a bad minſtrel, and *Antigenidas* an excellent muſician: He perceived upon a time that his Eſquire or ſhield-bearer had received a good peece of money for the ranſome of a priſoner, which was in his hands; whereupon he ſaid unto him: Give me my ſhield, but go thou thy wayes and buy thee a Tavern or Victualling houſe, wherein thou mayeſt lead the reſt of thy life, for I ſee well, that thou wilt no more expoſe thy ſelfe to the dangers of war as before-time, ſince thou art now become one of theſe rich and happy men of the world. He was once demanded the queſtion, whom he reputed to be the beſt Captain, himſelfe, *Cabrias*, or *Iphicrates*, his anſwer was: It is hard to judge, ſo long as we all (*ſ*) be alive. At his return out of the Country of *Laconia*, he was judicially accuſed for a capitol Crime, together with other Captains joined in Commiſſion with him, for holding their charge longer by four-moneths then the Laws allowed: as for his Companions and Collegues aboveſaid, he willed them to derive all the fault from themſelves, and lay it upon him, as if he had forced them ſo to do; but in his own defence he pleaded thus: (*t*) Albeit I cannot deliver better words then I have performed deeds, yet if I be compelled (as I ſee I am) to ſay ſomewhat for my ſelfe before the Judges, I requeſt thus much at their hands, that if they be determined to put me to death, they would command to be engraven upon the ſquare column or pillar of my Sepulchre, my condemnation and the cauſe thereof, to the end that all the Greeks might know how *Epaminondas* was condemned to dye; for that he had forced the Thebans againſt their wills, to waſte and burn the Country of *Laconia*, which in five hundred years before had never been forraged nor ſpoiled: alſo that he had repeopled the City of *Meſſene* two hundred and thirty years after it had been deſtroyed and left deſert by the Lacedemonians: Item, that he had reunited, concorporated and brought into one league all the States & Cities of *Arcadia*: and laſt of all, that he had recovered and reſtored unto the Greeks their liberty; for all theſe acts have been atchieved by us in this voyage; The Judges when they heard this ſpeech of his, roſe from the bench, and went out of the Court laughing heartily; neither would they ſo much as receive the voices or verdicts to be given up againſt him. After the laſt battel that ever he fought, wherein he was wounded to death; being brought into his Tent, he called firſt for *Diophantis*, and after him for *Iolidas*, but when he heard that they were both ſlain, he adviſed the Thebans to compound and grow to an (*u*) agreement with their enemies, as if they had not one Captain more that knew how to lead them to the War; and in truth, the event did verifie his words, and bare witneſſe with him that he knew his Citizens beſt of any man.

f The end crowneth mens works.

t A good conſcience is a brazen wall.

u They that are not able to maintain war, muſt ſue for peace.

Pelopidas joint Captain with *Epaminondas* in the charge of *Bœotia*, when his friends found fault with his neglect in one thing right neceſſary, to wit, the gathering of a maſſe of money together: Money indeed (quoth he) is neceſſary, but for ſuch an one as this *Nicomedes* here, ſhewing a poor cripple, maimed, lame and impotent in hand and foot. When he departed from *Thebes* upon a time to a battel, his wife prayed him to have a regard unto his own ſafety: This is (quoth he) an adverteſſement fit for others; as for a Captain who hath the place of command, he is to be put in mind for to ſave thoſe under his charge, and not himſelfe. To one of his ſouldiers, who ſaid unto him: We are fallen among our Enemies: And why (quoth he) are we fallen among them more then they among us. Moreover, being trecherouſly held priſoner, and kept in irons during a Truce, againſt the law of Arms, by *Alexander* tyrant of the Phereans, he grew to heat, and gave him ſome hard words, calling him perjured Traitor: whereupon the Tyrant asked him if he made ſo great haſte to die: Yea (quoth he) to the end that the Thebans may be more provoked againſt thee, and that ſo much the ſooner thou mayeſt be puniſhed for thy diſloialty. *Thebe* the Tyrants wife came to viſit him in priſon, and ſeeing him, ſaid that ſhe marvelled how he could be ſo jocund, being as he was, a priſoner and bound with chains: Yea, but I rather wonder at you, that being as you are, at liberty and not bound, you can endure ſuch a wicked wretch as *Alexander*. When *Epaminondas* had delivered him out of priſon, he ſaid that he took himſelfe much beholden to *Alexander*: For now (quoth he) by his means I have made a trial of my ſelfe and my reſolution, more then ever before, and namely, how my heart is ſetled not againſt the fear of war only, but alſo of death.

Manius

Manius Curius, when one of his ſouldiers complained, that of the lands conquered from the enemies, he had given to every ſouldier very little, but had incorporated in the Common-weale the greateſt part of the ſaid demeanes: I would it were Gods will (quoth he) that there were not a Roman who thought that land but little, which is ſufficient to nouriſh and maintain one man. The Samnites, after that he had vanquiſhed them in a battel, ſent unto him as a preſent, a good ſum of gold: him they found ſitting by the fire ſide, tending the pot, wherein he boiled certain Rapéroots: and when the Samnite Embaſſadors tendered unto him the ſaid preſent, he made them this anſwer: That he who could content himſelfe with ſuch a ſupper, had no need at all of gold: alſo that hee thought it more honourable to command them who had the gold, then to have gold himſelfe.

Romans.

C. Fabricius hearing of the overthrow that King *Pyrrhus* had given the Romans, * ſaid: That *Pyrrhus* had overcome *Lævinus*, and not the Epirotes vanquiſhed the Romans. Being ſent unto *Pyrrhus* to treat for the deliverance of certain Romans taken priſoners, the King offered him a great ſum of gold, but he would not receive it; the next morrow *Pyrrhus* commanded that the greateſt Elephant which he had, ſhould be brought and ſet juſt behind *Fabricius* without his knowledge, and that ſuddenly he ſhould be forced to bray, which was done accordingly: whereat *Fabricius* turning him about, and looking behind him, began to ſmile and ſay: Neither thy gold yeſterday, nor this beaſt thy Elephant to day, hath once aſtonied me. *Pyrrhus* thought to have perſwaded him to take his part and ſtay with him, with promiſe that he ſhould have all the authority in managing of the affairs next unto himſelfe; but he anſwered him in this ſort; This would not be good and expedient for you: and why? when the Epirotes ſhall know us both well, they will rather have me then you to be their King. When *Fabricius* was created Conſul of *Rome*, King *Pyrrhus* his Phyſician wrote unto him a Letter, wherein he made promiſe unto him for to kill the King his Maſter with poyſon if he would. *Fabricius* ſent the very ſame letter incontinently unto King *Pyrrhus*, willing him to ſee by that, how his judgment ſerved not him well to diſcern and to make choice of his enemies and his friends. When this ambuſh was diſcovered and directed thus unto *Pyrrhus*, which was laid for his life, he cauſed the ſaid Phyſician to be apprehended, and ſent back thoſe Romans whom he had priſoners, unto *Fabricius* without any ranſome paid: howbeit *Fabricius* would not receive them from him as in free gift; for he returned likewiſe as many of his men who remained priſoners with him; which he did, for that he would not be thought to take any thing at his hands by way of reward, or recompenſe for diſcloſing the foreſaid Treaſon: for hee did it not ſo much to gratifie King *Pyrrhus* and do him a pleaſure, as for feare it ſhould be thought that the Romans practiſed his death by treachery, whom they could not vanquiſh by vertue.

* Some reade thus: ſaid unto Lævinus, that Pyrrhus, and not the Epirotes, had overcome the Romans.

Fabius Maximus not willing to fight a ſet battel with *Annibal*, but by tract of time to ſpend his Army; which by that meanes grew to a great default of victuals and money: went alwayes as though he dogged and followed him, keeping the rough places and hilly grounds, coaſting him otherwhiles, but evermore having him in his eye; for which manner of ſervice many mocked him, and called him the Pædagogue of *Annibal*; but hee nothing at all regarding ſuch words, perſiſted ſtill continually in his deſignes and counſels particular to himſelf, ſaying thus to his friends, That he who could not abide a ſcoffe, but feared frumps and reviling words, was a greater coward then he who fled before his enemy. When his Collegue, or Brother in office *Minutius*, had diſcomfited certain of his enemies, in ſuch ſort, as there was no talk of him any more, but every man gave out of *Minutius*, that he indeed was a man worthy of *Rome*; he ſaid: That he feared more the proſperity than the adverſity of *Minutius*: and within a while after, when *Minutius* was fallen into the danger of an ambuſh that *Annibal* had ſet for him, ſo as he and all his men had like to have left their bodies dead behind them, *Fabius* came ſpeedily to his reſcue, and not only delivered him out of this peril, but alſo ſlew a number of his enemies; whereupon *Annibal* ſaid then unto his familiars about him: Did not I foretel you many times, ſeeing as I did this cloud hovering upon the tops of the mountaines, how it would one time or other poure down a good ſhowre upon our heads? After the overthrow at *Canna*, when he was choſen Conſul of *Rome*, together with *Claudius Marcellus*, a valiant and couragious man, who deſired nothing more then ever to bee fighting with *Annibal*; he was of a contrary mind, and hoped, that if he were not fought with, his Army within a while by delayes onely and holding off, would of it ſelfe come to nothing; ſo as *Annibal* would oftentimes ſay: That he feared more *Fabius* that fought not, then he did *Marcellus* who was ever fighting. It was told him that he had in his Camp a Lucane, who was wont to ſteal out by night, forth of the Camp, for the love of a woman whom he uſed to viſit, but otherwiſe he heard ſay, that the man was a right good ſouldier and wonderful hardy in arms; whereupon he gave commandment that the woman upon whom this ſouldier was ſo enamoured, ſhould be ſecretly and without the mans knowledge attached and brought unto him: now when ſhe was come, he ſent for the ſouldier aforeſaid: I am advertiſed (quoth he) that thou againſt the Laws of military diſcipline, uſeſt many times to lie out of the Camp; and I underſtand likewiſe full well, that ſetting that fault aſide, thou art a ſouldier good enough; well, in regard of thy good ſervices, I am content to pardon all that is paſt, but from henceforth thou ſhalt abide and tarry with me, for I have a good pawn and ſurety within that thou ſhalt not ſtart; and with that he cauſed the Woman to come forth and appear, and ſo he gave her into his hands to be his wedded Wife. *Annibal* held all the City of *Tarentum* with a ſtrong garriſon, ſaving only the Caſtle, but *Marcellus* by a wile

and subtile stratageme, trained him as far as he could from thence, and then returning with all expedition, was master of the whole town, and sacked it: in the execution of which service his Scribe or Chancellor asked him what should be done with the sacred images of the gods among the rest of the pillage: Marry let us leave (quoth he) unto the Tarentines their gods, being thus angred as they are with them. When *M. Livius*, who had the keeping of the Cattle, vaunted and boasted that by his meanes the City was won, all the rest who heard him, laughed and mocked him; but *Fabius* answered: Thou saiest truth indeed, for if thou hadst not lost it once, I had never recovered it again. After he was stepped far in years, his Son was chosen Consul, and as he was giving audience in open place, and dispatching certain publick affairs in the presence of many, *Fabius* his Father being mounted on horseback, came toward him: but the Son sent one of his Lictors, or Ushers before to command him to alight from his horse: whereat all the rest there present were abashed, and thought it a great shame and unseemly sight: but the old man dismounting quickly from his horse, came toward his Son as fast as his years would give him leave, embraced him and said: Thou hast well done my Son, to know whom thou dost govern, and to shew that thou art not ignorant what the greatnesse is of that charge which thou hast undertaken.

Scipio the elder, whensoever he was at any leisure and repose either from military affairs, or politick government, employed all that time in his private study at his book; whereupon he was wont to say: That when he was alone, he had the most company; and when he was at leisure, he had greatest businesse. After he had won by assault the City of *New Carthage* in *Spain*, some of his souldiers brought a most beautiful Damosel taken prisoner, and her they offered unto him: I would receive her willingly (quoth he) if I were a private person, but being as I am, a Captain General, I will none of her. Lying at siege before a certain City * situated in a low place, and over which might be seen the Temple of *Venus*, he gave order unto them, that by vertue of Writs were to make appearance in Court, that they should come and plead before him within the said Temple, where they should have audience the third day after; which he made good, for before that day he had forced the City. When one demanded of him being in *Sicily*, ready to embark and passe over to *Africk*, upon what confidence he presumed so much to crosse the Seas with his Armado against *Carthage*: See you not here (quoth he) 300. men how they disport and exercise themselves armed all in military feats of Arms, along an high Tower situate upon the Sea side? I tell you, there is not one of all this number, but if I bid him, will run up to the top of this Tower, and cast himselfe down from thence with the head forward. Being passed over Sea, and soon after Master of the field; when he had burnt the Camps of his Enemies, the Carthaginians sent immediately unto him an Embassage to treat of peace: in which Treaty it was concluded, that they should quit all their vessels at Sea, abandon their Elephants, and besides pay a good grosse sum of money: But so soon as *Annibal* was retired out of *Italy* into *Africk*, they repented themselves of these capitulations and conditions, for the trust which they had in the forces and person of *Annibal*: whereof *Scipio* being advertised, said unto them: That although they would perform the Articles of the foresaid agreement, yet the accord should not stand for good, unlesse over and above they paid 5000. Talents, because they had sent for *Annibal* to come over. Now after that the Carthaginians had been vanquished by him in open battel, they sent new Embassadours for to treat of peace again; but he commanded them presently to depart, for that he would never give them audience, unlesse they brought back unto him *L. Terentius*, a Knight of *Rome*, and a man of worth and honour, who by the fortune of War was taken prisoner, and fallen into the hands of the Carthaginians: now when they had brought *Terentius*, he caused him to sit close by his side in the Councel, and then gave he audience to the foresaid Embassadours, and granted them peace. Afterwards when he entred *Rome* in triumph for this victory; the said *Terentius* followed hard after his triumphant Charriot, wearing a Cap of Liberty on his Head, like an affranchised slave, and avowing that he held his freedom by him; and when *Scipio* was dead, unto all those that accompanied his corps when it was carried forth to Sepulture, *Terentius* allowed to drink a certain kind of Mede, made of Wine and Honey: and for all other complements belonging to an honourable Funeral, hee took order with great diligence; but this was performed afterwards. Moreover, when King *Antiochus* saw that the Romans were passed over into *Asia*, with a puissant Army to make war upon him, he sent his Embassadours to *Scipio*, for to enter into a Treaty of peace, unto whom he answered: This you should have done before, and not at this present, now that your King and Master hath already received the bit of the bridle in his mouth, and the saddle with the rider upon his back. The Senate had granted out a Commission unto him that he should take forth certain money out of the publick chest and chamber of the City: but when the Treasurers would not suffer him that day to open the Treasury, for to be furnished from thence; he said, He would be so bold as open it himselfe; Which (quoth he) I may well do, considering that by my means it was kept fast shut and locked first, for the great quantity of gold and silver which I have caused to be brought into it. *Petilius* and *Quintus*, two Tribunes of the Commons, accused him before the people, and laid many grievous matters to his charge; but he in stead of pleading his own cause, and justifying himselfe, said thus; My Masters of *Rome*, upon such a day as this, I defeated in battel the Carthaginians and *Annibal*, and therefore will I go my selfe directly from hence with a chaplet of flowers upon my head, up into the Capitol to sacrifice and give thanks unto *Jupiter* for my victory; mean while, whosoever will give his voice either for or against me, let him do as he thinketh good: and having thus said, he

* Or named Batheia, as some read, Padia a town in Spain.

he went out of the Court, and all the people followed after him, leaving his accusers to plead there their fil to the bare walls.

T. Quintius, immediately upon his comming to the management of State affairs, grew to such reputation and renoun, that before he had been Ædile, Prætour, or Tribune of the common-weale, he was chosen Consul of *Rome*, who being sent as Captain and Lieutenant General for the people of *Rome*, to war against *Philip* King of *Macedonia*, was counselled and perswaded to a parle and personal conference first with him: *Philip* for the better security of his own person, demanded of him hostages; Because (quoth he) the Romans have here many captives besides you, but the Macedonians have none but my selfe: No marvel indeed (quoth *Quintius*) that you are hereby your selfe alone, for you have done to death all your kinsfolk and friends. After that he had vanquished in battel King *Philip*, he caused proclamation to be made in the solemnity of the Isthmian games: That he restored all the Greeks to their ancient liberties and full freedom, to live from that day forward according to their own Laws; and thereupon the Greeks caused all the Romans to bee sought out throughout all *Greece*, who had been sold thither for slaves during the wars with *Annibal*, and having redeemed and bought them again out of their masters hands for 500. drams a poll, they presented them unto him as a free gift; these followed him in his triumph, with Caps upon their heads, as the custome was of such slaves as were newly affranchised and endued with liberty. The Acheans were minded and fully purposed to enterprise the conquest of the Isle *Zacinthus*: But he admonished them not to go forth of *Peloponnesus*, unlesse they would put themselves into evident danger, like unto the Tortoises, when they stretch forth their heads out of their shels. When the brute was blown over all *Greece* that King *Antiochus* came with a mighty power, insomuch as all men wondered and were afraid to hear what numbers there were of souldiers and fighting men, and what diversity of Armors they brought with them; he made such a speech as this in the general Councel of the Acheans: It was my chance (quoth he) upon a time to be lodged in the house of an old host and friend of mine within the City of *Chalcies*, and as I sat with him at supper, I marvelled how possibly he could come by so many sorts of Venison which I saw served up to the boord before me; at last mine host answered that all was but Swines flesh, and the same altered by sundry kinds of sauces and variety of dressing: Semblably (quoth he) be you not dismaid and troubled at this great Army of King *Antiochus* whom you hear named, his men at Arms, and horsemen armed at all pieces, his light Horse, his Petronels and Archers on horseback, and his footmen, for all these be no more but poor Syrians, men born to servitude and slavery, and no better, differing one from another only in diversity of harnesse and weapons. *Philopæmon* was at that time Captain General of the Acheans, who had a number sufficient both of horse and foot, but he wanted money for their pay: whereat *Quintius* merily scoffing; *Philopæmon* (quoth he) hath hands and feet enough, but he wants a belly; which jest was indeed the more pleasant, for that *Philopæmons* body was in truth naturally so shapen and made so flat, as if he had no belly at all.

C. Domitius, he whom *Scipio* the great left in his place, next after his brother *L. Scipio* in the war against King *Antiochus*; when he had viewed the Army of his enemies standing in battel-array, the Roman Captains who were about him, counselled him with all expedition to give them battel, but he answered them thus: That they had not day enough to massacre and hew in peeces so many millions of men; to spoil also and make pillage of their tents and baggage, and then to return when all was done into the Camp for to refresh and look to themselves; so the morrow after hee charged upon them and slew fifty thousand enemies.

P. Licinius, a Consul of *Rome*, in one battel of horsemen was vanquished by King *Perseus*, and lost about two thousand and eight hundred men, partly slain, and partly taken prisoners in the field: after which victory, *Perseus* sent unto the said Consul Embassadours to treat of peace and attonement; in which Treaty the condition which the vanquished proposed unto the conquerer was; That he should submit himselfe wholly and his whole estate unto the Romans, for to do with them according to their will and discretion.

Paulus Æmylius making suit for his second Consulship, was rejected and took repulse: but afterward when it was seen that the war against King *Perseus* was drawn out in length, and like to hold long through the ignorance, sloth and idlenesse of those Captains which were sent with the Army; the Romans chose him Consul for the second time: but he said unto them, I con you no thank at all now, for that you have not elected me for to gratifie my selfe (because I sought for no office at this time) but in regard that your selves stand in need of a Captain. Being returned from the common Place into his own house, he found a little daughter that he had, named *Tertia*, weeping and all blubbered with tears. What is the matter (quoth he) that my pretty Girle cryeth and weepeth thus: with that the Child; O Father (quoth she) our *Perseus* is dead: (now alittle Puppy she had of that name:) In good hour be it spoken my sweet daughter (quoth he) I take it for a good osse and presage of happy fortune. When he was arrived and come into the Camp, he found much bibble-babble there, and vaunting bravery on every hand of those souldiers, who would busily intermeddle in the affairs properly pertaining to the Captain, and in more matters then concerned them; he willed (x) them to be quiet and still, not to be dealing in such things, but only to look well to their swords, whether they were sharp-edged and well pointed: As for the rest (quoth he) I will provide therefore. Those that kept the night sentinels, he commanded neither to beare Lance, nor weare Sword, to the end that knowing they had no meanes to fight, in

x Captains are to direct. Souldiers to obey and execute.

case

case they should be surprized by the enemy, they should be the more vigilant and careful to withstand sleep. After that he had passed over the mountains in *Macedonia*, and was newly entered into the Camp, he found his enemies ready ranged in battel-array before him: whereupon *Scipio Nasica* advised him to charge out of hand: If I were (quoth he) as young as you, I should be of the same mind that you are; but now long experience forbiddeth me to advance forward, all weary as I am, upon any journey against mine enemies, being set strongly in ordinance of battel. After he had fully defeated *Perseus* in making feasts to his Allies and Confederates, for joy of victory, he said: That it belonged to one and the same skill and experience to know how to range a terrible battel against enemies, and to set out an acceptable feast for friends. *Perseus* being his prisoner, made earnest suit, and humble supplication unto him, that he might not be led in his triumph: That lies (quoth he) in your own power O *Perseus*: by which words he gave him good leave to make himselfe away. Among the treasures of this King, there was found an infinite masse of Gold and Silver, where of he touched not one jot for his own proper use: onely to *Tubero* his Son-in-law, who had married his Daughter, in honour of his vertue he gave one Silver Bowl, weighing five * Lytres; where (by the way) this is to be noted, that (by report) this was the first piece of Silver plate that ever came into the house of the *Æmylii*. Of four Children-males that he had, two of the eldest he had given away before from himselfe to be adopted into other noble families of *Rome*, and of the two youngest which remained behind in his own house and name; the one (being fourteen years of age) died five dayes before his triumph; the other (twelve years old) changed his life five dayes after: whereat the people sorrowed, and took it very heavily, bewailing and pitying his desolate estate: but he himselfe went into the common Place to comfort them, saying; That now from hence forth, he thought to be out of all fear and danger in the behalfe of the Common-wealth, hoping that no infortunity would befal unto it; for that himselfe for them all, bare the heavy load of the envy attending upon so great prosperities which he had atchieved for the weal publick, (y) in that fortune had derived and cast all despite upon his family alone.

* Or pounds.

y Great prosperity is to be suspected: to abate our pride, therefore God doth delay it with some crosse.

Cato the elder, in a solemn speech before the people of *Rome*, reproving sharply their intemperance, riot, and superfluous delicacies: I know full (quoth he) that it is an hard matter to speak unto the belly which hath no ears. He said also, that he wondered how such a City could long stand, wherein a fish was sold dearer then an ox. Also in weighing against the overmuch liberty and power, which was generally given to women; All other men (quoth he) do rule their wives, we rule all men, and our wives rule us. It was a speech likewise of his; That he had rather receive no favour and grace when he had done any good service, then not be punished when he had committed a fault: I pardon moreover (quoth he) all those, who upon error or ignorance have trespassed, (z) but I except my selfe. Furthermore, in soliciting and moving the Magistrates to chastise those who offended the Laws, he plainly said: That whosoever had rule and authority sufficient to represse Malefactors, if they did not execute the same, were themselves the authors and commanders of evil. He delivered these words moreover; That young men who blushed when they were reproved, pleased him better then those that looked pale: and that he could not abide that Souldier, who in his way as he walked, waggeth his hands; in fight stirreth his feet; and when he sleepeth snorteth lowder then he holloweth, as he encountreth his enemy. Item, that he was a bad ruler, who knew not how to rule himselfe. He was of opinion, that every one ought to have more reverence of himselfe, then of any other person whatsoever; for no man was ever from himselfe. Perceiving that many there were who made sure that their statues might be erected: I had rather (quoth he) that men should ask another day, why there was no image set up for *Cato*, then why he had any. He counselled them who had power to do what they would, to spare and make much thereof, to the end that their liberty might last with them for ever. They who deprive vertue (*a*) of honour, take away vertue (quoth he) from youth. He was of advice that no man ought to entreat a Magistrate, or Judge in good and just causes to maintain them, nor sue unto them in bad and unright, as matters to passe-by or wink at them. His saying was: That injustice and wrong-doing, if it brought no peril to him that committed it, yet it was dangerous to all others. He admonished old folk not to adde unto their age the foulnesse of vice: for that they had deformities enough besides. His opinion was, that anger and fury differed in nothing, but that the one endured longer then the other. He was wont to say that they were not lightly envied, who knew how to use their fortune wisely and with moderation: For that (quoth he) it is not our person that is envied, but that which is about us. Also they who are earnest in ridiculous matters, make themselves laughing stocks in serious affairs. Over and besides, this was one of his Sage Sawes: That fair and commendable actions ought to meet with faire and laudable words to set them forth, to the end that they never be without the glory to them belonging. He reprehended the Citizens of *Rome*, for giving alwayes their voices to one and the same person, at the elections of their Magistrates: For it should seem (quoth he) in so doing, that either you do not much esteem the honour of Magistracies, or else that in your judgement you have not men sufficient enough and worthy to bear them. He made semblant upon a time, that he had in great admiration the strength of one who sold and made away his lands that lay along by the sea coast, as being a man more mighty and puissant then the very sea: For (quoth he) that which the sea undermineth, eateth, and wasteth by little and little, this good fellow hath swallowed and devoured all at once. When he stood to be chosen Censor, and saw that other of his competitors and concurrents trudged

z No man chastiseth wise men so much as themselves.

a Honour, steady upon vertue, and is the reward thereof.

trudged up and down, slavering, glosing, and flattering to the people for to insinuate themselves into their good favour and grace: he contrariwise went crying out: That the State and people had need of a rigorous and hard-hearted Physician, both to dismember and cut off some part, and also to give them a strong purgation: and therefore they were not to chuse one who was most gracious, but him that was most severe; thus, whiles he made these remonstrances, he was himselfe chosen before all the rest. In teaching young men for to fight valiantly and with resolution, he said: That a word oftentimes frighted the enemy more then the sword, the tongue also more then the hand, and caused him to take his heeles and run away. Whiles he warred in *Spain* against those who inhabit along the River *Bætis*, he was in great danger, by reason of a great multitude of enemies who were in arms against him; neither could he be provided of aids upon a sudden, but from the Celtiberians, who for to succour him demanded two hundred Talents: now the other Roman Captaines would not yeeld that he should make promise unto those barbarous Nations of this money for their hire and tallary; but *Cato* said: They were much deceived and out of the way; for if we win (quoth he) we shall be able to pay them, not of our own, but of our enemies goods; if we lose the day, there will be none left either to be payed, or to call for pay. Having won more towns in *Spain*, then he had been dayes there (according as he said himselfe) he reserved of all that spoile and pilage for his own use, no more then he did eat and drink; but he divided and dealt to every one of his souldiers a pound weight of silver, saying: That it were better that many should return home out of war with silver in their purses, then a few with gold; for that Rulers and Captains ought not to grow rich themselves by their Provinces and places of government in any thing but in honour and glory. In that expedition or voyage of his, he had with him in his train five of his own servitors; of whom one there was who bought three prisoners taken in war; but when he knew that his master had intelligence thereof, before that ever he came in his sight he hung and strangled himselfe. *Scipio* surnamed *Africanus*, prayed him to favour the causes of the banished and fugitive Acheans, and to be good unto them, name y, that they might be recalled and restored again to their own country; but he made semblance as though he took no great heed and regard to such affairs; and when he saw that the matter was followed hotly in the Senate, and that there grew much speech and debate about it, he stood up and said: Here is a great stir indeed; and as though we had nothing else to doe, we sit here and spend all the long day disputing about these old gray beard Greeks, and all forsooth, to know whether they shall be carried forth to their burial by our Porters and Coarse-bearers here, or by those there. *Posthumius Albius* wrote certain Histories in Greek, in the Preface and Proeme whereof, he prayed the Readers and Hearers to pardon him if he had committed any solecisme or incongruity in that language; but *Cato* by way of a mock, scoffed at him, and said: That he deserved indeed to be pardoned for writing base Greek. in case that by the (*b*) Ordinance and Commandment of the High Commission of the Amphyctiones, who were the chiefe Estates of all *Greece*, he had been compelled against his will, to enterprise and go in hand with the said Histories.

b Selfe do, selfe have.

Scipio the younger, in four and fifty years (for so long he lived) neither bought nor sold, nor yet built; and it is for certain reported, that in so great an house and substance as his might seem to be, there was never found but three and thirty pound weight of silver plate, and two of gold, notwithstanding the City of *Great Carthage* was in his hand, and he had enriched his souldiers more then ever any Captaine did before him. Observing well the precept which *Polybius* gave, he hardly and without much ado would not return out of the Market place, before he had affaied to make in some sort one new friend and familiar or other, of those whom he met withal. Being but yet young he was of such reputation for his valour and wisedom, that *Cato* the elder being demanded his opinion as touching others that were in the Camp before *Carthage*, among whom he was one, deliver'd this commendation of him.

Right, wise and sage indeed alone is he,
The rest to him but flitting shadows be.

whereupon after his return to *Rome* from the Camp, they that remained behind, called for him again, not so much by way of gratification, and to do him a pleasure, but because they hoped by his means more speedily and with greater facility to win *Carthage*: now when he was entred to the very walls, and yet the Carthaginians fought from the Castle, *Polybius* gave counsel to scarter in the Sea between (which was not very deep between his Camp, and the said Castle) certain colthrops of iron, or else planks beset with nail points, to overcast and spread the shallow shelves with sticking upon them, for fear lest that the enemies passing that arme, or firth of the Sea, might come to assaile their ramparts; but he said: It was a meer mockery, considering that they had already gained the walls, and were within the City of their enemies, to make means not to fight with them. Finding the City full of Statues and painted Tables which were brought out of *Sicily*, he made proclamation, that the Sicilians from all their Cities should come for to own and carry away whatsoever had been theirs; but of all the pillage he would not allow any one, either slave, or newly affranchised of his own train, to seize upon, nor so much as buy ought, notwithstanding that there was driving and carrying away otherwise on all hands. The greatest and most familiar friend that he had *Lælius*, sued to be Consul of *Rome*: him he favoured and set forward his suit in all that he could: by which occasion he demanded of one *Pompeius*, who was thought to make labour for the same dignity, whether it were true that he was a Competitor or no? now it was supposed that this *Pompeius* was a minstrels

minstrels son that used to play on the flute; who made answer again, that he stood not for the Consulship; and that which was more, he promised to assist *Lelius*, and to get all the voices that he could for him: thus while they beleeved his words, and expected his helping hand, they were deceived in the end; for they were given to understand for certain, that this *Pompeius* was in the common Hall labouring hard for himselfe, going about unto every Citizen one after another, requesting their voices in his own behalfe; whereat, when all others took stomach and were offended, *Scipio* laughed apace, and said; We are even well enough served for our great folly, thus to stay and wait all this while upon a fluter and piper, as if we had been to pray and invocate not men, but the gods. *Appius Claudius* was in election and concurrence against him for the office of Censorship, saying in a bravery: That he used to salute all the Romans by name and by surname upon his own knowledge of them, without the help of a prompter, whereas *Scipio* scarce knew one of them all: Thou sayest truth (quoth *Scipio*) for I have been always careful not to know many, but rather not to be unknown of any. He gave counsel unto the Roman Citizens, at what time as they warred against the Celtiberians, for to send both him and his competitor together into the camp, in quality either of Lieutenants, or of Colonels over a thousand foot, to the end that they might have the testimony of other Captains and expert warriers indeed, whether of them twain performed his service and devoir better. Being created Censor, he deprived a young Gallant of his horse, for that being given excessively to feast and make good cheer, whiles the City of *Carthage* was besieged, he had caused a certain marchpaine to be made by pastry-work in form of a City, and called it *Carthage*, and when hee had so done, set it upon the boord to be spoiled and sacked (forsooth) by his companions; and when this youth would needs know of him why he was thus disgraced and degraded, as to lose his horse of service, which was allowed him from the State: Because (quoth he) you will needs riffle and pill *Carthage* before me. During the time that he was Censor, he seeing one day *C. Licinius* as hee passed by: Now surely I knew this man (quoth he) for a perjured person, but for that there is none to accuse him, I will not be both his Judge and a Witnesse also to give evidence against him. Being sent by the Senate a third Commissioner with other Triumvirs, according as *Clitomachus* said:

Mens manners to observe and oversee,
Where they do well, and where they faulty be;

to visit also and look into the States of Cities, Nations, and Kings: When he was arrived at *Alexandria*, and disbarked, as he came first to land, he went hooded, as it were, with his robe cast over his head; but the Alexandrians running from all parts of the City to see him, requested him to discover his head, that his face might be the better seen; and he had no sooner uncovered his visage, but they all cried out with great acclamations, applauding and clapping their hands in signe of joy. And when the King himselfe of *Alexandria* strained and strived with great pain, so grosse (so idle, and delicate he was otherwise) to keep pace with him and the other commissioners, as they walked. *Scipio* rounded *Panætius* softly in the ear and said: The Alexandrians have reaped already the fruit, and enjoyed the benefit of my voyage, for that by our means they have seen their King to walk and go afoot. There accompanied him in this voyage a friend of his and a Philosopher named *Panætius*, and five servitors besides to wait upon him, and when one of these five happened to die in this journey, he would not buy another in a forraign country for so supply his place, but sent for one to *Rome*, to serve in his turne. It seemed to the people of *Rome* that the Numantines were invincible and inexpugnable, for that they had vanquished and defeated so many Captains and leaders of the Romans: whereupon they chose this *Scipio* Consul the second time for to mannage this war; now when many a lusty young Gallant made means and prepared to follow him in this service, the Senate empeached them, alledging colourably, that *Italy* thereby should be left destitute of men for the defence of the Countrey, what need soever should be: so they would not suffer him to take that money out of the Treasury which was prest and ready for him, but assigned and ordained certain money from the Publicans and Farmers of the Cities customes and revenues to furnish him, whose dayes of payment were not yet come: As for money (quoth *Scipio*) I stand not in such need thereof, that I should stay therefore, for out of mine own and my friends purses I shall have sufficient to defray my charges, but I complain rather that I may not be allowed to levie and lead forth my souldiers such as I would, and be willing to serve, considering that it is a dangerous war which we are to wage; for if it be in regard of our enemies valour, that our people have so often been beaten and foiled by them, then we shall find it a hot peece of service and a hard, to encounter such; but if it be long of our own mens cowardize, no lesse difficult will it be, because we are to fight with the slender help of such. When he was newly arrived at the camp, hee found there great disorder, much looseneſſe, superstition, and wastful superfluity in all things; so he banished presently all Diviners, Prophets, and Tellers of Fortune; he rid out of the way all sacrificing Priests, all Bauds likewise that kept Brothel-houses he chased forth: and he gave streight charge that every man should send away all manner of Vessels and Utensils, save only a pot or kettle to seeth his meat in, a spit to roast, and a drinking jug of earth; and as for silver plate, he allowed no man more in all then weighed two pounds: he put down all bains and stouphs, but if any were disposed to be annointed, he gave order that every man should take pain to rub himselfe; for he said that beasts who had no hands of their own, needed another for to rub and curry them: he ordained that his souldiers should take their dinner standing, and eat their meat not hot and without

without fire, but at supper, they might sit down who that list, and feed upon bread or single grewel and plain pottage, together with one simple dish of flesh, either boiled or roast: as for himselfe he wore a cassock, or souldiers coat all black, buttoned close, or buckled before, saying; That hee mourned for the shame of his Army. He met with certain Garrons and labouring beasts belonging to one *Memmius*, a Colonel of a thousand men, carrying drinking cups, and other plate enriched with precious stones, and wrought curiously by the hands of *Thericles*; whereupon he said unto him: Thou hast made thy selfe unfit to serve me and thy countrey for these thirty days, being such an one as thou art, and surely being given to these superfluities, thou art disabled for doing thy selfe good all the dayes of thy life. Another there was, who shewed him what a trim shield, or target he had, finely made, and richly adorned; Here is a fair and goodly shield indeed (quoth he) my young man, but I tell thee, a Roman souldier ought to trust his right hand better then his left. There was one who carrying upon his shoulder a bunch of pales, or burden of stakes for to pitch in the rampart, complained that he was overladen; Thou art but well enough served (quoth he) in that thou reposest more confidence in these stakes then in thy sword. Seeing his enemies the Numantines how they (*c*) grew rash, desperate, and foolishly bent, he would not in that fit charge upon them and give battel, but held off still, saying: That with tract of time he would buy the surety and security of his affairs: For a good Captain (quoth he) ought to do like a wise Physician, who will never proceed to the cutting or dismembring of a part, but upon extremity, namely, when all other means of Physick do faile: howbeit when he espied a good occasion and fit opportunity, he assaulted the Numantines and overthrew them; which when the old beaten souldiers or elders of the Numantines saw, they rebuked and railed upon their own men thus defeated, asking them, why they ran away and suffered themselves to be beaten by those whom they had foiled so often before? but one of the Numantines answered; Because the sheep be the very same that they were in times past; marry they have changed their shepherd. After he had forced the City of *Numance* by assault, and entred now the second time with triumph into *Rome*, he fell into some variance and debate with *C. Gracchus*, in the behalfe of the Senate and certain allies and confederates: whereupon the common people taking a spleen and displeasure against him, made such clamours at him upon the Rostra, when he was purposed to speak and give remonstrances unto them, that thereupon he raised this speech: There was never yet any outcries and alarms of whole camps, nor shouts of armed men ready to give battel, that could astonish and daunt me: no more shall the rude cry of a confused multitude trouble me, who know assuredly that *Italy* is not their Mother, but their step-Dame. And when *Gracchus* with his consorts and adherents cried out aloud: Kill the Tyrant there, kill him: Great reason (quoth he) have they to take away my life, who war against their own Country; for they know so long as *Scipio* is on foot, *Rome* cannot fall, nor *Scipio* stand when *Rome* is laid along.

c It is good to lie off and temporize, when enemies are desperate.

Cæcilius Metellus, devising and casting about how to make sure his reproaches and avenues to assault a strong fort, when a Centurion came unto him and said; With the losse but of ten men you may be Master of the piece: Wilt thou then (quoth he) be one of those ten? And when another who was a Colonel and a young man, demanded of him what service he intended to do? If I wist (quoth he) that my wast-coat or shirt were privy to my mind, I would put it off presently and cast it into the fire. He was a great enemy to *Scipio*, so long as *Scipio* lived; but when he was once dead he (*d*) took it very heavily, and commanded his own sons to go under the beere, and carry him upon their own shoulders to burial, saying withal: That he gave the gods hearty thanks, that *Scipio* was born at *Rome*; and in no place else.

d Enmities ought not to be immortal.

C. Marius, being risen from a base degree by birth unto the government of State, and all by the means of Arms, sued for the greater Ædileship, called curule; but perceiving that he could not compasse it, made sute the very same day for the lesse: and notwithstanding that he went besides both the one and the other, yet he said: That he doubted not one day to be the greatest man of all the Romans. Being troubled with the swelling of the veins, called *Varices*, in both his legs: he suffered the Chirurgian to cut those of the one leg, without being bound or tyed for the matter, enduring the operation of his hand, and never gave one groan, or so much as bent his browes all the whiles; but when the Chirurgian would have gone to the other leg, Nay stay there (quoth he) for the cure of such a Malady as this, is not worth the grievous pains that belongeth thereto. He had a Nephew, or Sisters Son named *Lusius*, who in the time that his Uncle was second time Consul, would have forced and abused a youth in the prime of his years, named *Trebonius*, who began but then, under his charge to bear arms: this young springal made no more ado but slew him outright; and when many there were who charged and accused him for this murder, he denied not the fact, but confessed plainly that he had killed his Captain, and withal declared the cause publickly; *Marius* himselfe being advertised hereof, caused to be brought unto him a Coronet, such as usually was given unto those who had performed in war some worthy exploit, and (*e*) with his own hand set it upon the head of this youth *Trebonius*. Being encamped very neer to the Camp of the Tentones, in a plot of ground where there was but little water; when his souldiers complained that they were lost for water, and ready to dye for very thirst, he shewed them a River not far off running along the enemies Camp; Yonder (quoth he) there is water enough for to be bought with the price of your blood: Then lead us to it quickly, answered his souldiers, whiles our blood is liquid and will run, and never let us stay so long till it be cluttered and dried up quite with drought.

e An example of singular justice.

drought. During the time of the Cimbrians war he endued at once with the right of the Burgeoſie
* Or Camertes. of *Rome*, a thouſand men all * Camerines, in conſideration of their good ſervice in that war; a thing that was contrary to Law: now when ſome blamed him for tranſgreſſing the Laws, he anſwered and ſaid: That he could not hear what the Laws ſaid, for the great ruſtling and clattering that harneis and armor made. In this time of the Civil War, ſeeing himſelfe encloſed round about with trenches and ramparts, and ſtreight beleaguered, he endured all, and waited his beſt opportu-
* The ſon of Silo. nity, and when *Popedius* * *Silo* Captain General of the enemies ſaid unto him: *Marius* if thou be ſo great a Warriour as the name goeth of thee, come forth of the Camp, and combat with me hand to hand: Nay, ſaith he, and if thou art ſo brave a Captain as thou wouldeſt be taken, force me to combat if thou canſt.

Catulus Luctatius in the foreſaid Cimbrian war, lay encamped along the River *Atheſis*, and when the Romans ſaw that the Barbarians were about to paſſe over the water, and to ſet upon them, retired and diſlodged preſently, what reaſons and perſwaſions ſoever their Captain could uſe to the contrary: but when he ſaw he could do no good, nor cauſe them to ſtay, himſelfe ran away with the formoſt, to the end that it ſhould not ſeem that they fled cowardly before their enemies, but dutifully followed their Captain.

Sylla, ſirnamed *Felix*, i. e. Happy, among other proſperities, counted theſe two for the greateſt: the one, that he lived in love and amity with *Metellus Pius*; the other, that he had not deſtroyed the City of *Athens*, but ſaved it from being razed.

C. Popilius, was ſent unto King *Antiochus* with a letter from the Senate of *Rome*, the tenour whereof was this: That they commanded him to withdraw his forces out of *Egypt*, and not to uſurp the Kingdom which appertained to the Children of *Ptolomaus*, being Orphans. The King ſeeing *Popilius* comming toward him through his Camp, ſaluted him a far off very courteouſly: but *Popilius* without any reſalutations, or greeting again, delivered him the letter; which *Antiochus* read, and after he had read it, anſwered him that he would think upon the matter that the Senate willed him to do, and then give him his diſpatch: whereupon *Popilius* drew a circle round about the King, with a vine rod that he had in his hand, ſaying: Reſolve I adviſe you ſir, before you paſs forth of this compaſſe, and give me my anſwer: all that were preſent wondered, and were aſtoniſhed at the boldneſs and reſolution of this man: but *Antiochus* preſently anſwered him: That he would do whatſoever pleaſed the Romans; then *Popilius* ſaluted him moſt lovingly and embraced him.

Lucullus in *Armenia* went with ten thouſand footmen, and one thouſand horſe, to meet with King *Tigranes*, who was an hundred and fifty thouſand ſtrong, for to give him battel: the ſixt day it was of October, and the very day of the month upon which before time the Roman Army under the conduct of one of the *Scipioes* had been defeated by the Cimbrians; and when one ſaid unto him; That the Romans fear that day exceedingly, as being diſmal and infortunate: Why (quoth he) even therefore ought we this very day to fight couragiouſly and valiantly, to the end that wee may make this day to be joyful and happy, which the Romans hold as curſed and unhappy: Now when the Romans did moſt dread the men at arms of *Armenia*, ſeeing them in their compleat harneſs, armed at all pieces, and mounted on bard horſes, he bade them be of good cheer and not to fear: For (ſaith he) you ſhall find more ado to diſpoil and diſarm them, then you ſhall have in killing them: himſelfe mounting firſt up to the top of a certain little hill, after he had well viewed and conſidered the Barbarians how they moved and waved to and fro; he cried out with a loud voice unto his ſouldiers: My good friends and companions, the day is ours; and in very truth, they were put to flight all at once of their own ſelves, without any onſet or charge given them; and in ſuch ſort *Lucullus* followed the chaſe, that he killed in the very rout, above one hundred thouſand, and loſt not of his own but five men only.

Cneus Pompeius, ſirnamed *Magnus*, i. e. the Great, was as well beloved of the Romans as his Father before him was hated; who being yet very young, he ſided to the faction of *Sylla*: and notwithſtanding that he had no office of State, nor was ſo much as one of the Senate; yet he levied a mighty power of armed men from all parts of *Italy*: now when *Sylla* called him unto him, he ſaid: That he would not make ſhew of his ſouldiers unto his Soveraign and General, before they had made ſome ſpoil, and drawn blood of their enemies: and in very deed he came not unto him with his power, before that he had defeated in many battels ſundry Captains of his enemies. Afterwards being ſent by *Sylla* with commiſſion of a Commander into *Sicily*, underſtanding that his ſouldiers as they marched brake out of order and rank, and would go forth to rob and ſpoil, and commit many riots by the way, he put to death all ſuch as without licence departed from their Colours, and went running up and down the country; and as for ſuch as he ſent abroad with warrant about any Commiſſion or buſineſs of his, he ſealed up their ſwords within the ſcabberds with his own ſignet. He was at the very point to have put all the Mamertines to the ſword, for that they banded againſt *Sylla*; but *Sthenis* one of the inhabitants, an Orator, and a man that could do much with the people and lead them with his perſwaſive Orations, ſaid unto him: That it were not well, that for one mans fault he ſhould cauſe ſo many innocents to die; for I (quoth he) am the only man culpable, and the cauſe of all this miſchiefe, having by my perſwaſions induced my friends, and with threats forced mine enemies to take part with *Marius*, and follow his ſtanderd: *Pompeius* wondering at this reſolute remonſtrance of his, ſaid: That he was content to pardon the Mamertines, who ſuffered themſelves to be led and perſwaded by ſuch a perſonage, as held the ſafety of his owne

Country

Countrey more deare than his own life; for he forgave the whole City and *Sthenis* himſelfe. After this, being paſſed over ſea into *Africa* againſt *Domitius*, and having won the field, in a great battell, when his ſouldiers ſaluted him by the name of Emperour or Soveraigne Captaine generall, he ſaid unto them, That he would not accept of that honourable title, ſo long as the rampart about his enemies campe ſtood: he had no ſooner ſaid the word, but they ran all at once to this ſervice, notwithſtanding it was a great ſhowre of raine, plucked down the pallaiſada, mounted over the rampart, entred the campe and ſacked it. At his returne home, *Sylla* made exceeding much of him otherwiſe, and did him great honour, but among many other, he was the firſt man that ſtiled him with the ſurname of *Magnus*: howbeit, when he minded to enter triumphant into *Rome*, *Sylla* would have hindered him, alledging for his reaſon, That he was not as yet admitted and ſworne a Senatour: whereat *Pompeius* turning to thoſe that were preſent: It ſeemeth (quoth he) that *Sylla* is ignorant how there be more men that worſhip the ſun riſing than ſetting: which words when *Sylla* heard, he cried out with a loud voice, Let him triumph a Gods name for I ſee well he will have it: and yet for all that, *Servilius* a man of the ſenatours degree, withſtood his triumph, and tooke great indignation againſt him; yea, and many of his own ſouldiers ſet themſelves againſt him and daſht it quite, if they might not have certaine gifts and rewards, which they pretended were due unto them: but *Pompey* ſaid with a cleare and audible voice, That he would ſooner leave triumph and all, than to be ſo baſe minded as to flatter and make court unto his ſouldiers: at which words *Servilius* ſaid unto him: By this now I ſee well (O *Pompeius*) that thou art truly named *Magnus*, *i.e.* Great and worthy indeed to triumph. There was a cuſtome at *Rome*, that the Knights or Gentlemen, after they had ſerved in the wars the compleat time ſet down and limited by the laws, ſhould preſent their horſes in the market place before the two reformers of manners, called Cenſours; and there openly recount and relate unto them in what wars or battels they had fought, and the Captaines under whom they had borne armes, to the end that according to their demerits they might receive condigne praiſe or blame. It fell out that *Pompeius* being Conſull, himſelfe led his own horſe of ſervice by the bridle, and preſented him before *Gellius* and *Lentulus*, Cenſours for the time being; and when they according to the order and manner in that behalfe, demanded of him whether he had ſerved in the wars ſo many yeares as the Law required: Even all (quoth he) fully, and that under my ſelfe, the ſoveraigne Commander at all times. Being in *Spaine*, he light upon certaine papers and writings of *Sertorius*, wherein were many letters miſſive ſent from the principall Senatours of *Rome*, and namely ſuch as ſollicited and called *Sertorius* to *Rome*, for to raiſe ſome innovations, and make a change in the State: theſe letters he flung all into the fire, giving them occaſion and opportunity by this means, who intended miſchiefe and were ill bent, to change their minds, repent, and amend. *Phraates* King of the Parthians ſent unto him certaine Embaſſadours to requeſt him that he would not paſſe over the river *Euphrates*; but to make it the middle frontier and bound between them both: Nay rather (quoth *Pompeius*) let juſtice be the indifferent limit between the Parthians and the Romans. *L. Lucullus*, after he was returned from his wars and conqueſts, gave himſelfe over exceſſively to all pleaſures, and to live moſt ſumptuouſly, reproving *Pompeius* for this: That he deſired alwaies from time to time more and more, great charges and employments even above his age, and unfitting thoſe yeares of his: unto whom *Pompeius* made this anſwer: That it was a thing more unbeſeeming old yeares, for a man to abandon himſelfe to delights and pleaſures, than to attend the weighty affaires of the Common-weale. Upon a time when he was ſick, the Phyſicians preſcibed that he ſhould eate of a black-bird; great laying there was in many places for that bird, but none could be found, for that it was not their ſeaſon nor the time of the yeare; but one there was, who ſaid that if he would ſend to *Lucullus*, he might have of them, for he kept them in mue all the yeare long: And what needs that (quoth he) cannot *Pompey* recover and live, if *Lucullus* were not a waſter and a delicate given to belly-cheare? And ſo leaving the Phyſicians preſcript diet, he compoſed and framed himſelfe to eate that which was ordinary and might be found in every place. In regard of a great famine and ſcarcity of corne and victuals at *Rome*, he was ordained in outward ſhew of words, the grand purveyour or generall ſuperintendent and over-ſeer for victuals, but in effect and authority, Lord indeed both of ſea and land: by which occaſion he made voyages into *Africke*, *Sardinia* and *Sicily*, where, after he had provided a mighty deale of corne, he intended preſently to have returned with all ſpeed to *Rome*; but there aroſe a terrible tempeſt, inſomuch as the Pilots and Marriners themſelves made no haſte to go to ſea and ſet ſaile; but he in his own perſon embarked firſt, and when he was on ſhip-board, he commanded to weigh anchor, ſaying with a loud voice, Saile we needs muſt, there is no remedy, but to live there is not ſuch neceſſity. When the quarrell between him and *Ceſar* was broken out and fully diſcovered, there was one *Marcellinus*, (a man that before time had been advanced by him, and yet afterwards turned to the adverſe part and faction of *Ceſar*) who in a frequent aſſembly of the Senate, charged and challenged him to his face for many things, and ſpake ſpitefull words againſt him: *Pompeius* could not hold, but anſwered him thus: Baſheſt not thou *Marcellinus*, in this open place to miſcall and raile upon me, who have made thee eloquent, whereas before thou couldſt not ſpeake at all? Who have fed thee full, even untill thou be ready to caſt up thy ſtomacke, where before thou wert hungry and ready to pine for famine? Unto *Cato*, who chid and reproved him ſharply for that he would never beleeve his words, when he foretold him many times, that the puiſſance and increaſe of *Cæſars* State, unto whom he lent his hand, would one day greatly prejudice

and hurt the weale-publike, he answered, Your counsell indeed was wiser, but mine more loving and friendly. In speaking of himselfe freely, he said, That all offices of State he both entred sooner upon than he looked himselfe; and also forwent them before it was expected that he would. After the battell of *Pharsalia* when he fled into *Ægypt*, and was to passe out of his gally into a little barke or fisher-boat, which the King had sent unto him for to bring him to land, he turning unto his wife and son, said no more but this verse out of *Euripides*:

Who once in court of Tyrant serve, become
His slaves anon, though free they thither come.

Being passed over in this barke, after he had received one blow with a sword, he gave only a sigh and groane, and without saying one word, he covered his own face with his garment, and yeelded himselfe to be killed.

Cicero the great Orator was mocked of some for that surname of his which alludeth unto a Cich-pease; insomuch as his friends gave him counsell to change his name: but he contrariwise said, that he would make the name of the *Ciceroes* more noble and renowned than the *Catoes*, the *Catuli*, or the *Scauri*. He offered unto the gods a goodly faire vessell of silver, in which he caused to be engraven his two fore-names, *Marcus* and *Tullius* in letters; but for the third, to wit, *Cicero* his surname, he commanded to be embossed or chaced the forme of a Cich-peale. He said that those Orators who used to straine their voices, and cry aloud in the Pulpit, were privy to their owne weakenesse and insufficiency otherwise, and had recourse to this one help, like as creeples and lame-folke to their horses for to mount upon. *Verres* had a son defamed for the abuse of his body in the floure of his youth; and yet the said *Verres* stuck not to slander *Cicero* and raile upon him, even to these broad and foule tearmes, as to call him a filthy wanton and a buggerer; whereto *Cicero* answered thus: Thou dost not know that it were more seemely to rebuke thy children for this within doores in some secret part of thy house close shut. *Marcellus* one day in debating and contesting with him, said, Thou hast brought more to their death by thy testimonies and depositions, than thou hast saved with all thy good pleading: I confesse as much (quoth *Cicero* againe) for I have more truth and fidelity in me by far than eloquence. The same *Metellus* demanded of him who was his father, reproaching him (as it were) thereby that he was a new upstart, and a gentleman of the first head: Unto whom readily, Thy mother (quoth he) hath made this question more hard on thy part to be answered: now was *Metellus* his mother thought to be an unchaste woman and naught of her body; and *Metellus* himselfe was counted a vaine braine-sicke and slippery fellow, given over to his wanton lusts and desires. This *Metellus* had caused to be set upon the sepulchre of one *Diodorus*, who had been his Master sometime to teach him Rhetorick, the pourtraiture of a Crow in stone: whereupon *Cicero* tooke occasion to come upon him in this wise: A just recompence indeed and fit for him, because he hath taught this man to flie and not to speake, **Vatinius* was a lewd man, and his adversary: now a rumour ran abroad that he was dead; but afterwards when he found it to be a false brute: A mischiefe take him for me (quoth *Cicero*) that made this lie first. There was one supposed to be an *Affricane* borne, who said unto him: That he heard him not when he spake: I marvell at that (quoth *Cicero*) considering thine (*f*) eares be bored as they are and have holes in them. C. *Popilius* would have been taken and reputed for a great lawyer, although he had no law in the world in him, and was besides a man of very grosse capacity: this man was served with a writ to appeare in the court for to beare witnesse of a truth, touching a certaine fact in question; but he answered, That he knew nothing at all: True (quoth *Cicero*:) for peradventure you meane of the Law, and thinke that you are asked the question of it. *Hortensius* the Orator, who pleaded the cause of *Verres*, had received of him for a fee or a gentle reward, a jewell with the pourtraicture of *Sphinx* in * silver: it fell out so, that *Cicero* chanced to give out a certaine dark and ambiguous speech: As for me (quoth *Hortensius*) I cannot tell what to make of your words, for I am not one that useth to solve riddles and ænigmatical speeches: Why man (quoth *Cicero*) and yet you have *Sphinx* in your house. He met upon a time with *Voconius* and his three daughters the foulest that ever looked out of a paire of eyes: at which object he spake softly to his friends about him:

This man (I weene) his children hath begot
In spight of Phœbus, *and when he would it not.*

Faustus the son of *Sylla* was in the end so far indebted, that he exposed his goods to be sold in open sale and caused bills to be set up on posts in every quarter to notifie the same: Yea mary (quoth *Cicero*) I like these bills and (*g*) proscriptions better than those that his father published before him. When *Cæsar* and *Pompeius* were entred into open war one against another: I know full well (quoth *Cicero*) whom to flie, but I wot not unto whom to flie. He found great fault with *Pompeius* in that he left the City of *Rome*, and that he chose rather in this case to imitate the policy of *Themistocles* than of *Pericles*, saying That the present state of the world resembled rather the time of *Pericles* than of *Themistocles*. He drew at first to *Pompeius* side, and being with him, repented thereof. When *Pompey* asked him where he had left *Piso* his son-in-law; he answered readily: Even with your good father-in-law; meaning *Cæsar*. There was one who departed out of *Cæsars* Campe unto *Pompey*, and said, That he had made such haste that he left his horse behind him; Thou canst skill (I perceive) better to save thy horses life than thine owne. Unto another, who brought word that the friends of *Cæsar* looked soure and unpleasant: Thou saiest (quoth he) as much as if they

* Or Varius.

† Noting that by condition he was a slave.

* Or gold.

‡ It is a pleasure to see the ruin and overthrow of such caterpillers and commorants houses.

they thought not well of his proceedings. After the battell of *Pharsalia* was lost, and that *Pompeius* was already fled, there was one *Nonius* who came unto him, and willed him not to despaire, but be of good cheare, for that they had yet seven eagles left, [which were the standards of the legions:] Seaven eagles (quoth he;) that were somewhat indeed, if we had to war against jaies and jackdaws. After that *Cæsar*, upon his victory, being Lord of all, had caused the statues of *Pompey*, which were cast downe, to be set up againe with honour; *Cicero* said of *Cæsar*, In setting up these statues of *Pompey*, he hath pitched his owne more surely. He so highly esteemed the gift of eloquence and grace of well speaking, yea, and he tooke so great paines with ardent affection, for to performe the thing, that having to plead a cause only before the Centumvirs or hundred judges, and the day set down being neare at hand for the hearing and triall thereof; when one of his servants *Eros*, brought him word that the cause was put off to the next day, (*h*) he was so well contented and pleased therewith, that incontinently he gave him his freedome for that news.

h A man of honour can not be too carefull for to spur him well in his calling and vocation.

Caius Cæsar, at what time as he being yet a young man, fled and avoided the fury of *Sylla*, fell into the hands of certaine pirats or rovers, who at the first demanded of him no great sum of money for his ransome, whereat he mocked and laughed at them, as not knowing what manner of person they had gotten; and so of himselfe promised to pay them twise as much as they asked; and being by them guarded and attended upon very diligently, all the while that he sent for to gather the said sum of money which he was to deliver them, he willed them to keepe silence and make no noise, but he might sleep and take his repose: during which time that it was in their costodie, hee exercised himselfe in writing as well verse as prose, and read the same to them when they were composed; and if he saw that they would not praise and commend those Poems and Orations sufficiently to his contentement, he would call them senselesse sots and barbarous, yea, and after a laughing manner, threaten to hang them: and to say a truth, within a while after, he did as much for them: for when his ransome was come, and he delivered once out of their hands, he levied together a power of men and ships from out of the coasts of *Asia* set upon the said rovers, spoiled them and crucified them. Being returned to *Rome*, and having enterprised a suite for the soveraign Sacerdotall dignity against (*Caulus*, who was then a principall man at *Rome*; when as his mother accompanied him as far as to the utmost gates of his house, when he went into Mars field where the election was held, he took his leave of her and said: Mother you shall have this day your son to be chiefe Pontifice and high Priest, or else banished from the City of *Rome*. He put away his wife *Pompeia*, upon an ill name that went of her, as if she had been naught with *Clodius*: whereupon when *Clodius* afterwards was called into question judicially for the fact, and *Cæsar* likewise convented into the court, peremptorily for to beare witnesse of the truth; being examined upon his oath, he sware that he never knew any ill at all by his wife: and when he was urged and replied upon againe, wherefore he had put her away? He answered, That the wife of *Cæsar* ought not only to be innocent and cleare of crime, but also of all suspicion of crime. In reading the noble acts of *Alexander* the great, the teares trickled down his cheeks; and when his friends desired to know the reason why he wept; At my age (quoth he) *Alexander* had vanquished and subdued *Darius*, and I have yet done nothing. As he passed along through a little poor town situate within the Alps: his familiar friends about him merrily asked one another whether there were any factions and contentions in that burrough about superiority, and namely, who should be the chiefe? whereupon he staid suddenly; and after he had studied and amused awhile within himselfe: I had rather (quoth he) be the first here, than the second in *Rome*. As for haury and adventurous enterprizes, he was wont to say, They should be executed and not consulted upon: and verily when he passed over the river *Rubicon*, which divideth the province of *Gaul* from *Italy*, for to lead his power against *Pompeius*: Let the Die (quoth he) be thrown for all: as if he would say. * This cast for it, there is but one chance to lose all. When *Pompey* was fled from *Rome* to the sea side, and *Metellus* the superintendent of the publike treasury, would have hindered him for taking forth any money from thence, keeping the treasure house fast shut, he threatned to kill him; whereat *Metellus* seeming to be amazed at his audacious words: Tush, tush, (quoth he) good young man, I would thou shouldst know that it is harder for me to speake the word than to do the deed. And for that his souldiers staid long ere they were transported over unto him from *Brundusium*, to *Dyrrhachium*, he embarked himselfe alone into a small vessell without the knowledge of any man who he was, purposing to passe the seas alone without his company; but it hapned so, that he was like to have been cast away in a gust, and drowned with the waves of the sea: whereupon he made himselfe knowne unto the Pilot, and spake unto him aloud: Assure thy selfe and rest confident in fortune, for wot well thou hast *Cæsar* a ship-board: howbeit for that time he was empeached that he could not crosse the seas, as well in regard of the tempest which grew more violent, as also of his souldiers who ran unto him from all sides, and complained unto him for griefe of heart, saying, That he offered them great wrong to attend upon other forces, as if he distrusted them. Not long after this he fought a great battell, wherein *Pompeius* had the upper hand for a time, but for that he followed not the traine of his good fortune, he retired into his campe; which when *Cæsar* saw, he said, The victory was once this day our enemies, but their head and Captaine knew not so much. Upon the Plaines of *Pharsalia*, the very day of the battell, *Pompey* having arranged his army in array, commanded his souldiers to stand their ground, and not to advance forward, but to expect their enemies, and receive the charge; wherein *Cæsar* after wards said: He did amisse and grossely

* Or thus, I have put it upon the dice, come what will of it.

failed, for that thereby he let slack as it were the vigour and vehemency of his souldiers, which is ministred unto them by the violence of the first onset, and abated that heat also of courage which the said charge would have brought with it. When he had defeated at his very first encounter, *Pharnaces* King of *Pontus*; he wrote thus unto his friends: I came, I saw, I vanquished. After that *Scipio* and those under his conduct were discomfited and put to flight in *Africk*; when he heard that *Cato* had killed himself, he said, I envy thy death O *Cato*, for that thou hast envied me the honour of saving thy life. Some there were who had *Antony* and *Dolabella* in jealousie and suspicion, and when they came unto him and said, That he was to look unto himself, and stand upon his good guard; he made them this answer, That he had no distrust nor feare of them who led an idle life, be well coloured, and in so good liking as they: but I feare (quoth he) these pale and leane fellows, pointing unto *Brutus* and *Cassius*. One day as he sate at the table when speech was moved, and the question asked, what kind of death was best? Even that (quoth he) which is sudden and least looked for.

Cæsar, him I meane who first was surnamed *Augustus*, being as yet in his youth, required and claimed of *Antony* as much money as mounted to two thousand five hundred *Myriades, which he had transported out of *Julius Cæsars* house after he was murdered, and gotten into his owne hands; for that he intended to pay the Romans that which the said *Cæsar* had bequeathed unto them by his last will and testament: for he had left by legacy unto every Citizen of *Rome* 75. * drams of silver; but *Antony* detained the said sum of money to himselfe, and answered young *Cæsar*, that if he were wise he should desist from demanding any such monies of him: which when the other heard, he proclaimed open port sale of all the goods that came to him by his patrimony, and indeed sold the same; and with the money raised thereof he satisfied the foresaid legacies unto the Romans: in which doing he won all the hearts of the Citizens of *Rome* to himselfe, and brought their ill will and hatred upon *Antonie*. Afterwards *Rymetalces* King of *Thracia* left the part of *Antonius*, and turned to his side; but he overshot himself so much at the table, being in his cups, and namely, in that he could talke of nothing else, but of this great good service, and casting in his teeth this worthy alliance and confederacy of his, so as he became odious therefore; insomuch as one time at supper *Cæsar* taking the cup, drank to one of the other Kings who sate at the boord, saying with a loud voice, Treason I love well, but traitors I hate. The Alexandrians after their City was won, looked for no better than to suffer all the extremities and calamities that might follow upon the forcing of a City by assault: but this *Cæsar* mounting up into the publike place to make a speech unto the Citizens, having neare by unto him a familiar friend of his; to wit, *Arius*, an Alexandrian borne; pronounced openly a generall pardon, saying that he forgave the City: first, in the regard of the greatnesse and beauty thereof; secondly, in respect of King *Alexander* the Great their first founder: and thirdly, for *Arius* his sake, who was his loving friend. Understanding that one of his Procuratours named *Eros*, who did negotiate for him in *Ægypt*, had bought a quaile of the game, which in fight would beat all other quailes, and was never conquered himself; but continued still invincible; which quaile notwithstanding, the said slave had caused to be roasted and so eaten: he sent for him and examined him thereupon whether it was true or no? And when he confessed Yea, he commanded him presently to be crucified and nailed to the mast of his ship. He placed *Arius* in *Sicily* for his agent and procuratour, instead of one *Theodorus*: and when one presented unto him a little booke or bill, wherein were written these words, *Theodorus* of *Tharsis* * the bald is a thiefe, how thinke you is he not? when he had read this bill, he did nothing else but subscribe underneath? I thinke no lesse. He received yearely upon his birth day from *Mecænas*, (one of his familiar friends who converted daily with him) a cup for a present. *Athenodorus* the Philosopher being of great yeares, craved license with his good favour to retire unto his own house from the court, by reason of his old age; and leave he gave him, but at his farewell *Athenodorus* said unto him, Sir, when you perceive your selfe to be moved with choler, neither say nor do ought before you have repeated to your selfe all the 24. letters in the Alphabet: *Cæsar* hearing this advertisement, took him by the hand: I have need still (quoth he) of your company and presence, and so retained him for one yeare longer, saying withall this verse,

The hire of silence, now I see
Is out of peril and jeopardy.

Having heard that King *Alexander* the Great at the age of two and thirty yeares, having performed most part of his conquests, was in doubt with himselfe and perplexed what to do and how to be employed afterwards: I wonder (quoth he) that *Alexander* thought it not a more difficult matter to governe and preserve a great Empire after it is once gotten, than to win and conquer it at first. When he had enacted the law *Julia* as touching adultery, wherein is set down determinately the manner of processe against those that be attaint of that crime, and how such are to be punished who be convict thereof: it hapned that through impatience and heat of choler, he fell upon a young gentleman, who was accused to have committed adultery with his daughter *Julia*, insomuch as he buffeted him well and thorowly with his owne fists: the young man thereupon cried unto him: Your selfe have made a law, *Cæsar*, which ordaineth the order and forme of proceeding against adulteries: whereat he was so dismaied and abashed yea, and so repented himselfe of this miscarriage, that he would not that day eat any supper. When he sent his nephew or daughters sonne *Caius* into *Armenia*, he praied unto the gods to accompany him with that good will of all men which *Pompey* had, with the valiantnesse of *Alexander* the Great, and with his own

*i 30 Millions of Sesterces or Denarii.

*i. Denarii.

*Or read thus, Fr. either the bald or a theefe, according to some Greeke Copies.

own good fortune. He said, that he left unto the Romans for to succeed him in the Empire, one who never in his life had consulted twise of one thing, meaning *Tiberius*. Minding to appease certain young Romane Gentlemen of honour and authority, who made a great noise and stirre in his presence; when he saw that for all his first admonitions he could do no good, he said unto them: Young Gentlemen give eare unto me an old man, whom when I was young as you are, ancient men would give eare unto. The people of *Athens* had offended and done him some displeasure, unto whom he wrote in this wise: You are not ignorant (I suppose) that I am displeased with you, for otherwise I would not have wintered in this little Isle *Ægina*: and more than thus, he neither did nor said afterwards unto them. When one of *Eurycles* his accusers had at large with all liberty and licentiousnesse of speech uttered against him (without any respect) what he would, he let him run on still, untill he came to these words: And if these matters (*Cæsar*) seeme not unto you notorious and hainous, command him to rehearse unto me the seventh book of *Thucydides*. *Cæsar* offended now at his audacious impudency, commanded him to be had away and led to prison; but being advertised that he was the only man left of the race and line of Captaine *Brasidas*, he sent for him, and after he had given him some few good admonitions, let him go. *Piso* had built him a most stately and magnificent house, even from the foundation to the roofe thereof, which when *Cæsar* saw, he said, It rejoyceth my heart exceedingly to see thee build thus, as if *Rome* should continue world without end.

Laconick Apophthegmes, or the notable Sayings of Lacedæmonians.

The Summary.

PLutarch *had in the collection precedent among the Apophthegmes of renowned Greeks, mingled certaine notable sayings of King* Agesilaus *and other* Lacedæmonians: *but now he exhibiteth unto us a Treatise by it selfe of the said* Lacedæmonians, *who deserve no doubt to be registred apart by themselves, as being a people, who (of all other nations destitute of the true knowledge of God) least abused their tongue. In which regard also he maketh a more ample description of their Apophthegmes, shewing sufficiently by so many pleasant speeches and lively re-encounters, that it was no marvell if so small a State (as* Sparta *was) flourished so long, being governed and peopled by men of such dexterity, and so well qualified in the parts both of body and mind, and yet who knew better to do than to say. Moreover, this Catalogue here is distinguished into foure principall portions; whereof the first representeth the worthy speeches of Kings, Generall Captaines, Lords and men of name in* Lacedæmon; *the second containeth the Apophthegms of such Lacedæmonians, whose names are unknown; the third describeth briefly the customes and ordinances which serve for the maintenance of their estate; and the fourth compriseth certaine sayings of some of their women, wherein may be seen so much the more the valour and magnanimity of that Nation. As touching the profit that a man may draw out of these Apophthegmes it is very great in every respect: neither is there any person of what age or condition soever, but he may learne herein very much, and namely, how to speake little, to say well, and to carry himselfe vertuously, as the reading thereof will make proofe. We have noted also and observed somewhat in the Margin, not particularizing upon every point: but only to give a taste and appetite unto the Reader for to meditate better thereof, and to apply unto his own use, both it and all the rest which he may there comprehend and understand.*

Laconick Apophthegmes, or the notable Sayings of Lacedæmonians.

Agesicles a King of the Lacedæmonians, by nature given to heare and desirous to learne; when one of his familiar friends said unto him: I wonder sir since you take so great pleasure otherwise to heare men speake well and eloquently, that you do not entertaine the famous Sophister or Rhetorician *Philophanes* for to teach you? made him this answer: It is because I desire (*a*) to be their Scholer, whose son also I am, that is, among whom I am borne. And to another who demanded of him, how a Prince could raign in safety, not having about him his guards for the surety of his person; Mary (quoth he) if he rule his subjects as a good father governeth his children.

a A Prince is to honor his native Country.

Agesilaus the Great, being at a certaine feast, was by lot chosen the Master of the said feast; and to him it appertained to set down a certaine law, both in what manner and how much every one ought to drink: now when the butler or skinker asked him how much he should poure out for every one, he answered: If thou be well provided and have good store of wine, fill out as much as every man list to call for; but (*b*) if thou have no great plenty of it, let every guest have alike. There was a malefactor who being in prison endured constantly before him all manner of torments; which when he saw: What a cursed wretch is this & wicked in the highest degree, who doth employ this (*c*) patience and resolute fortitude in the maintenance of so shameful and mischievous parts, as he hath committed! One highly praised in his presence a certaine Master of Rhetorick, for that he could by his eloquent

b Expences proportionable to the purse.

c Patience ill employed is extreme wickedness.

eloquent tongue amplifie small matters, making them seeme great, whereupon he said: I take him not to be a good shoomaker, who putteth on a big shooe upon a little foot. When one in reasoning and debating a matter upon a time challenged him, and said, Sir, you gave your consent once unto it; and eftsoones iterating the same words, charged him with his grant and promise: True indeed (quoth he) if the cause were just, I approved it in good earnest and gave my promise; but if not, I did but barely say the word and no more: but as the other replied again and said, Yea, but Kings ought to accomplish and performe whatsoever they seem once to grant, and it be but with the nod of the head: Nay, (said he again) they are no more bound thereto, than those that come unto them are tied for to speake and demand all things just and reasonable, yea, and to observe the opportunity, and that which fitteth and sorteth well with Kings. When he heard any men either to praise or dispraise others, he said: That it behoved to know the nature, disposition, and behaviour no lesse of those who so spake, than of the parties of whom they did speak. Being whiles he was very young, at a certain publike and festival solemnity, wherein young boies daunced (as the manner was) all naked, the warden or overseer of the said shew and dance, appointed him a place for to behold that sight, which was not very honourable: wherewith notwithstanding he stood well contented, albeit he was known to be heire apparant to the Crown, and already declared King; and withall said: It is very well: for I will shew, that it is not the place which crediteth the person, but the person that giveth credit and honour to the place. A certain Physician had ordained for him in one sickneſſe that he had a course of Physick to cure his malady, which was nothing easie and simple, but very exquisite, curious, and withall painfull: By *Castor* and *Pollux* (quoth he) if my destiny be not to live, I shall not recover though I take all the drugs and medicines in the world. Standing one day at the altar of *Minerva*, surnamed *Chalcœcos*, where he sacrificed an oxe, there chanced a louse to bite him; and he was nothing dismaied and abashed to take the said louse, but before them all who were present, killed her, and swore by the gods, saying, That it would do him good at the heart to serve them all so who should treacherously lay wait to assaile him, yea, though it were at the very altar. Another time, when he saw a little boy drawing a mouse which he had caught out of a window, and that the said mouse turned upon the boy and bit him by the hand, insomuch as she made him leave his hold, and so escaped: he shewed the sight unto those that were present about him, and said: Loe, (*d*) if so little a beast and silly creature as this hath the heart to be revenged upon those that do it injury, what think you is meet and reason that men should do? Being desirous to make war upon the King of *Persia*, for the deliverance and freedom of those Greeks who did inhabit *Asia*; he went to consult with the Oracle of *Jupiter* within the forest *Dodona*, as touching this design of his: and when the Oracle had made answer according to his mind, namely, That if it pleased him, he should enterprise that expedition; he communicated the same to the controllers of State called *Ephori*; who willed him also to go forward, and aske the counsell likewise of *Apollo* in the City of *Delphos*; and being there, he entred into the Chappell from whence the Oracles were delivered, and said thus: O *Apollo*, art thou also of the same mind that thy father is? And when he answered, yea; thereupon he was chosen for the generall to conduct this war, and set forth in his voyage accordingly. *Tissaphernes*, lieutenant under the King of *Persia* in *Asia*, being astonied at his arrivall, made a composition and accord with him at the very first; in which treaty he capitulated and promised to leave unto his behoofe all the Towns and Cities of the Greeks which are in *Asia*, free and at liberty to be governed according to their own laws: meane while he dispatched messengers in post to the King his Master, who sent unto him a strong and puissant Army; upon the confidence of which forces he gave defiance, and denounced war, unlesse he departed with all speed out of *Asia*: *Agesilaus* being well enough pleased with this treacherous breach of the agreement, made semblant as though he would go first into *Caria*; and when *Tissaphernes* gathered his forces into those parts to make head against him, all on a sudden he invaded *Phrygia*, where he won many Cities, and raised rich booties from thence, saying unto his friends: That to break faith and promise unjustly, made unto a friend was impiety; but to abuse and deceive an enemy, was not only just, but also peasant and profitable. Finding himselfe weak in cavalry, he returned to the City *Ephesus*, where he intimated thus much unto the rich men, who were willing to be exempt from going in person unto the wars, that they should every one set forth one horse and a man: by which means within few daies he levied a great number both of horse and also of men able for service, instead of those that were rich and cowards; wherein he said, That he did imitate *Agamemnon*, who dispensed with a rich man who was but a dastard and durst not go to the war, for one faire and goodly mare. When he sold those prisoners for slaves, whom he had taken in the wars, the officers for this sale, by his appointment, made money of their cloaths and other furniture apart, but of their bodies, all naked by themselves; now many chapmen there were, who willingly bought their apparell, but few or none had any mind to the persons themselves, for that their bodies were soft and white, as having been delicately nourished and choicely kept within house and under covert, and so seemed for no use at all, and good for nothing: *Agesilaus* standing by: Behold my masters (quoth he) this is that for which you fight, shewing their spoiles; but these be they against whom you fight, pointing to the men. Having given *Tissaphernes* an overthrow in battell within the Country of *Lydia*, and slaine a great number of his men, he over-ran and harried all the Kings Provinces: and when he sent unto him presents of gold and silver, praying him to come to some agreement of peace, *Agesilaus* made this answer: As touching the treaty of peace, it was in the City of *Lacedæmons* power to do what they would; but otherwise, for his own part he tooke greater pleasure to

(*d*) Naturall it is for every thing to defend it selfe.

to enrich his souldiers than to be made rich himselfe: as for the Greeks, they reputed it an honour not to receive gifts from their enemies, but to be Masters of their spoiles. *Megalostates* the young son of *Spithridates*, who was of visage most faire and beautifull, came toward him as it were to embrace and kisse him, for that he thought (as he was right amiable) to be exceedingly beloved of him: but *Agesilaus* turned his face away, insomuch as the youth desisted and would no more offer himselfe unto him; whereupon *Agesilaus* demanded the reason thereof, and seemed to call for him; unto whom his friends made answer: That himselfe was the only cause, being afraid to kisse so faire a boy; but if he would not seeme to feare, the youth would returne and repaire unto him in place right willingly: upon this he stood musing to himselfe a good while, and said never a word; but then at length he brake forth into this speech: Let him even alone, neither is there any need now that you should say any thing to perswade him; for mine own part I account it a greater matter to be the conquerour, and have the better hand of such, than to win by force the strongest hold, or the most puissant and populous City of mine enemies; for I take it better for a man to preserve and save his own liberty to himselfe, than to take it from others. Moreover, he was in all other things a most precise observer in every point of whatsoever the laws commanded, but in the affaires and businesse of his friends, he said, That straightly to keep the rigour of justice, was a very cloake, and colourable pretence, under which they covered themselves who were not willing to do for their friends: to which purpose there is a little letter of his found written unto *Idrieus* a Prince of *Caria*, for the enlarging and deliverance of a friend of his, in these words: If *Nicius* have not transgressed, deliver him; if he have, deliver him for the love of me; but howsoever yet deliver him: and verily thus affected stood *Agesilaus* in the greatest part of his friends occasions; howbeit; there fell out some cases, when he respected more the publike utility, and used his opportunity therefore, according as he shewed good proofe. Upon a time, at the dislodging of his campe in great haste and hurry, insomuch as he was forced to leave a boy whom he loved full well behind him, for that he lay sick: when the party called instantly upon him by name, and besought him not to forsake him now at his departure, *Agesilaus* turning back, said: Oh how hard is it to be pitifull and wise both at once! Furthermore, as touching his diet and the cherishing of his body, he would not be served with more nor better than those of his traine and company. He never did eate untill he was satisfied, nor tooke his drinke untill he was drunke, and as for his sleepe, it never had the command and mastery over him, but he tooke it only as his occasions and affaires would permit: for cold and heat he was so fitted and disposed, that in all seasons of the yeare he used to weare but one and the same sort of garment: his pavilion was alwaies pitched in the midst of his souldiers, neither had he a bed to lye in, better than any other of the meanest: for he was wont to say, That he who had the charge and conduct of others, ought to surmount those private persons, who were under his leading, not in daintinesse and delicacy, but in sufferance of paine and travell, and in fortitude of heart and courage. When one asked the question in his presence: What it was wherein the laws of *Lycurgus* had made the City of *Sparta* better? he answered, That this benefit it found by them; to make no reckoning at all of pleasures. And to another who marvelled to see so great simplicity and plainesse, as well in seeding as apparell both of him and also of other Lacedæmonians, he said, The fruit (my good friend) which we reape by this straight manner of life, is liberty and freedome. There was one who exhorted him to ease and remit a little this straight and austere manner of living: For that (quoth he) it would not be used but in regard of the incertitude of fortune; and because there may fall out such an occasion and time as might force a man so to do: Yea, but I (said *Agesilaus*) do willingly accustome my selfe hereto, that in no mutation and change of fortune, I should not seeke for change of my life. And in very truth, when he grew to be aged, he did not for all his yeares give over and leave his hardnes of life: and therefore when one asked him, Why (considering the extreame cold winter, and his old age besides) he went without an upper coat or gaberdine? he made this answer, Because young men might learne to do as much, having for an example before their eyes, the eldest in their country, and such also as were their governours. We read of him, that when he passed with his Army over the Thasians countrey, they sent unto him for his refection meale of all sorts geese and other foules, comfitures, and pastry workes, fine cakes, marchpanes and sugar-meats, with all manner of exquisite viands, and drinkes most delicate and costly: but of all this provision, he received none but the meale aforesaid; commanding those that brought the same to carry them all away with them, as things whereof he stood in no need, and which he knew not what to do with: In the end after they had been very urgent, and importuned him so much as possibly they could to take that curtesie at their hands, he willed them to deale all of it among the Ilots, which were indeed the slaves that followed the Campe: whereupon when they demanded the cause thereof, he said unto them: That it was not meet for those who professed valour and prowesse to receive such dainties; Neither can that (quoth he) which serveth instead of a bait to allure and draw men to a servile nature, agree well with those who are of a bold and free courage. Over and besides, these Thasians having received many favours and benefits at his hands, in regard whereof they tooke themselves much bound and beholding unto him, dedicated Temples to his honour, and decreed divine worship unto him, no lesse than unto a very god, and hereupon sent an embassage to declare unto him this their resolution: when he had read their letters and understood what honour they minded to do unto him, he asked this one question of the Embassadours; whether their State and Countrey was able to deifie men? And when they answered, Yea: Then (quoth he) begin to make your selves gods first,

and

and when you have done so, I will beleeve that you also can make me a god. When the Greeke Colonies in *Asia*, had at their Parliaments ordained in all their chiefe and principall Cities to erect his statues; he wrote back unto them in this manner: I will not that you make for me any statue or image whatsoever, neither painted nor cast in mould, nor wrought in clay, ne yet cut and engraven any way. Seeing whiles he was in *Asia*, the house of a friend or host of his, covered over with an embowed roofe of plankes, beames, and spars foure-square; he asked him whether the trees in those parts grew so square? And when he answered, No, but they grew round: How then (quoth he) if they had grown naturally foure cornered, would you have made them round? He was asked the question upon a time, how far forth the marches and confines of *Lacedæmon* did extend: then he shaking a javelin which he held in his hand: Even as far (quoth he) as this is able to go. One demanded of him, why the City of *Sparta* was not walled about? See you not (quoth he) the walls of the Lacedæmonians; and therewith shewed him the Citizens armed. Another asked him the like question, and he made him this answer: That Cities ought not to be fortified with stones, with wood and timber, but with the proweſſe and valiance of the Inhabitants. He used ordinarily to admonish his friends, not to seeke for to be rich in money, but in valour and vertue. And whensoever he would have a worke to be finished, or service to be performed speedily by his souldiers; his manner was, to begin himselfe first to lay hand unto it in the face of all. He stood upon this and would glory in it; that he travelled as much as any man in his company: but he vaunted of this; that he could rule and command himselfe more than in being a King. Unto one who wondering to see a Lacedæmonian maimed and lame, go to war, said unto the party: Thou shouldst yet at leastwise have called for an horse to serve upon: Knowest not thou (quoth he) that in war we have no need of those that will flie away, but of such as will make good and keep their ground? It was demanded of him, how he won so great honour and reputation? In despising death (quoth he.) And being likewise asked why the Spartanes used the sound of flutes when they fought? To the end (said he) that when in battell they march according to the measures, it may be known who be valiant, and who be cowards. One there was who reputed the King of *Persia* happy, for that he attained very young to so high and puissant a State: Why so (quoth he) for *Priamus* at his age was not unhappy nor infortunate. Having conquered the greater part of *Asia*, he purposed with himselfe to make war upon the King himselfe, as well for to break his long repose, as also to hinder him otherwise and stop his course, who minded with money to bribe and corrupt the Governours of the Greek-Cities, and the Oratours that lead the people: but amidst this designe and deliberation of his he was called home by the *Ephori*, by reason of a dangerous war raised by the Greek-States, against the City of *Sparta*, and that by means of great sums of money which the King of *Persia* had sent thither; by occasion whereof forced he was to depart out of *Asia*, saying, That a good Prince ought to suffer himselfe to be commanded by the laws; and he left behind him much sorrow, and a longing desire after him among the Greek-Inhabitants in *Asia* after his departure: and for that on the Persian peeces of coine, there was stamped or imprinted the image of an Archer; he said when he brake up his Campe, that the King of *Persia* had chased him out of *Asia* with thirty thousand Archers: for so many golden Dariques had been carried by one *Timocrates* unto *Thebes* and *Athens*, which were divided among the Oratours and Governours of those two Cities, by means whereof they were sollicited and stirred to begin war upon the Spartanes: so he wrote a letter missive unto the *Ephori*, the tenour whereof was this: *Agesilaus* unto the *Ephori*, greeting. "We have subdued the greatest part of *Asia*, and driven the Barbarians from "thence; also in *Ionia* we have made many armours; but since you command me to repaire "home by a day appointed: Know ye that I will follow hard after this letter, or peradventure prevent it; for the authority of command which I have, I hold not for my selfe, but for my native "Countrey and confederates: and then in truth doth a Magistrate rule according to right and justice, when he obeyeth the laws of his Countrey and the *Ephori*, or such like as be in place of government within the City. Having crossed the straights of *Hellespont*, he entred into the Countrey of *Thrace*, where he requested of no Prince nor State of the Barbarians passage; but sent unto every one of them, demanding whether he should passe as through the land of friends or enemies? And verily all others received him friendly, and accompanied him honourably as he journied through their Countries: only those whom they call Troadians, (unto them as the report goeth, *Xerxes* himselfe gave presents, to have leave for to passe,) demanded of him for licence of quiet passage, a hundred Talents of silver, and as many women: but *Agesilaus* after a scoffing manner asked those who brought this message: And why do not they themselves come with you for to receive the money and women? So he led his Army forward; but in the way he encountred them well appointed, gave them battell, overthrew them, and put many of them to the sword, which done, he marched farther. And of the Macedonian King he demanded the same question as before; who made him this answer, That he would consult thereupon: Let him consult (quoth he) what he will, meane whilewe will march on: the King wondring at his hardinesse, stood in great feare of him, and sent him word to passe in peaceable and friendly manner. The Thessalians at the same time were confederate with his enemies: whereupon he forraged and spoyled their Countries as he went, and sent to the City of *Larissa* two friends of his, *Xenocles* and *Scytha*, to sound them and see if they could practise effectually for to draw them to the league and amity of the Lacedæmonians, but those of *Larissa* arrested those Agents, and kept them in prison; where-

whereupon all the rest taking great indignation, were of this mind, that *Agesilaus* could do no lesse, but presently encampe himselfe and beleaguer the City *Larissa* round about: but he said that for to conquer all *Thessalie*, he would not leese one of those twaine: so upon composition and agreement, he recovered and got them againe. Being given to understand that there was a battell fought neare to *Corinth*, in which very few Lacedæmonians were slaine, but of Athenians, Argives, Corinthians, and their Allies, a great number: he was not once seene to have taken any (*e*) joy or contentment at the news of the victory; but sighed deeply from the bottome of his heart, saying, Alas for unhappy *Greece*, who hath her selfe destroyed so many men of her own, as had been sufficient in one battell to have defeated all the Barbarians at once. But when the Pharsalians came to set upon the taile of his Army in his march, and to do them mischiefe and dammage; with a force of five hundred horse, he charged and overthrew them; for which lucky hand he caused a Trophee to be erected under the mountaines called *Narthacii*; and this victory of all others pleased him most, for that with so small a troupe and cornet of his owne horsemen which himselfe put out and addressed against them, he had given those the overthrow, who at all times vaunted themselves to be thebest men at armes in the world. Thither came *Diphridas*, one of the *Ephori*, unto him, being sent expresly from *Sparta*, with a commandement unto him, that incontinently he should with force and armes invade the countrey of *Bœotia*; and he although he meant and purposed of himselfe some time after to enter with a more puissant power; yet would he not disobey those great Lords of the State, but sent for two Regiments of ten thousand apeece, drawn out of those who served about *Corinth*, and with them made a rode into *Bœotia*, and gave battell before *Coronæa* unto the Thebans, Athenians, Argives, and Corinthians, where he won the field: which, as witnesseth *Xenophon*, was the greatest and most bloudy battell that had been fought in his time: but true it is, that he himselfe was in many places of his body sore wounded, and then being returned home, notwithstanding so many victories and happy fortunes, he never altered any jot in his own person, either for diet or otherwise for the manner of his life. Seeing some of his Citizens to vaunt and boast of themselves, as if they were more than other men, in regard that they nourished and kept horses of the game to run in therace for the prize; he perswaded his sister, named *Cynisca*, to mount into her Chariot, and to go unto that solemnity of the Olympick games, there to runne a course with her horses for the best prize; by which, his purpose was to let the Greekes know, that all this running of theirs was no matter of valour, but a thing of cost and expence, to shew their wealth only. He had about him *Xenophon* the Philosopher, whom he loved and highly esteemed; him he requested to send for his sons to be brought up in *Lacedæmon*, and there to learne the most excellent and singular discipline in the world, namely, the knowledge how to obey and to rule well. Being otherwise demanded, wherefore he esteemed the Lacedæmonians more happy than other nations: It is (quoth he) because they professe and exercise above all men in the world, the skill of obeying and governing. After the death of *Lysander*, finding within the City of *Sparta* great factions and much fiding, which the said *Lysander*, incontinently after he was returned out of *Asia*, had raised and stirred up against him, he purposed and went about to detect his lewdnesse, and make it appeare unto the inhabitants of *Sparta*, what a dangerous medler he had been whiles he lived: and to this purpose having read an oration, found after his decease among his papers, which *Creon* verily the Halicarnassian had composed; but *Lysander* meant to pronounce before the people in a generall Assembly of the City, tending to the alteration of the State, and bringing in of many novelties, he was fully minded to have divulged it abroad: but when one of the ancient Senatours had read the said oration, and doubted the sequell thereof, considering it was so well penned, and grounded upon such effectuall and perswasive reasons, he gave *Agesilaus* counsell not to digge up *Lysander* againe, and rake him as it were out of his grave, but let the oration lie buried with him: whose advice he followed, and so rested quiet and made no more ado: and as for those who underhand crossed him and were his adversaries, he did not course them openly, but practised and made meanes to send some of them forth as Captaines into certaine forraine expeditions, and unto others to commit certaine publike Offices: in which charges they carried themselves so, as they were discovered for covetous and wicked persons, and afterwards when they were called into question judicially, he shewed himselfe contrary to mens expectation to help them out of trouble, and succour them so, as that he gat their love and good wils, insomuch as in the end there was not one of them his adversarie. One there was who requested him to write in his favour to his hosts and friends which he had in *Asia*, letters of recommendation, that they would defend and maintaine him in his rightfull cause: My friends (quoth he) use to do that which is equity and just, although I should write never a word unto them. Another shewed him the walls of a City how wonderfull strong they were and magnificently built, asking of him whether he thought them not stately and faire: Faire (quoth he) yes no doubt, for women to lodge and dwell in, but not for men. A Megarian there was who magnified and highly extolled before him the City *Megara*: Young man (quoth he) and my good friend, your brave words require some great puissance. Such things as other men had in great admiration, he would not seeme so much as to take knowledge of. Upon a time one *Callipides* an excellent player in Tragedies, who was in great name and reputation among the Greekes, insomuch as all sorts of men made no small account of him, when he chanced to meet him upon the way, saluted

(e) A good man rejoyceth not in the victory obtained in civill wars.

ted him first, and afterwards presumptuously thrust himselfe forward to walke among others, with him, in hope that the King would begin to shew some lightsome countenance, and grace him; but in the end, seeing that it would not be, he was so bold as to advance himselfe, and say unto him: Sir King, know you not me? And have you not heard who I am? *Agesilaus* looking wistly upon his face: Art not thou (quoth he) *Callipides Deicelictas*? (for so the Lacedæmonians use to call a jester or player.) He was invited one day to come and heare a man who could counterfeit most lively and naturally the voice of the Nightingale; but he refused to go, saying: I have heard the Nightingales themselves to sing many a time. *Menecrates* the Physician had a lucky hand in divers desperate cures; whereupon some there were who surnamed him *Jupiter*, and he himselfe would over arrogantly take that name upon him, insomuch as he presumed in one letter of his, which he sent unto him, to set this superscription: *Menecrates Jupiter*, unto King *Agesilaus* wisheth long life: but *Agesilaus* wrote back unto him in this wise: *Agesilaus* to *Menecrates* wisheth (*f*) good health. When *Pharnabasus* and *Conon* the high-admirals of the Armada under the Persian King, were so far-forth Lords of the sea, that they pilled and spoiled all the coasts of *Laconia*; and besides, the walls of *Athens* were rebuilded with the money that *Pharnabasus* furnished the Athenians withall; the Lords of the Councill of *Lacedæmon* were of advice, that the best policy was, to conclude peace with the King of *Persia*; and to this effect sent *Antalcidas* one of their Citizens to *Tiribasus*, with Commission treacherously to betray and deliver into the barbarous Kings hands, the Greekes inhabiting *Asia*; for whose liberty *Agesilaus* before had made wars: by which occasion *Agesilaus* was thought to have had his hand in this shamefull and infamous practice: for *Antalcidas*, who was his mortall enemy, wrought by all meanes possible to effect peace, because he saw that war continually augmented the credit of *Agesilaus*, and made him most mighty and honourable: yet nevertheless he answered unto one that reproached him with the Lacedæmonians, saying, That they were Medified, or turned Medians: Nay rather (quoth he) the Medians are Laconified and become Laconians. The question was propounded upon him for a time, whether of these two vertues in his judgement was the better, Fortitude or Justice? And he answered: That where Justice reigned, Fortitude bare no sway, and was nothing worth; for if we were all righteous and honest men, there would be no need at all of Fortitude. The people of *Greece* dwelling in *Asia*, had a custome to call the King of *Persia*, The Great King: And wherefore (quoth he) is he greater than I, unlesse he be more temperate and righteous? Semblably he said, That the inhabitants of *Asia* were good slaves, but naughty freemen. Being asked how a man might win himselfe the greatest name and reputation among men, he answered thus: If he say well, and yet do better. This was a speech of his: That a good Captaine ought to shew unto his enemies valour and hardinesse; but unto those that be under his charge, love, and benevolence. Another demanded of him, what children should learne in their youth? That (quoth he) which they are to do and practice when they be men grown. He was judge in a cause, where the plaintife had pleaded well, but the defendant very badly; who eftsoones and at every sentence did nothing but repeat these words: O *Agesilaus*, a King ought to protect and help the laws: unto whom *Agesilaus* answered in this wise: If one had (*g*) undermined thy house, or robbed thee of thy raiment, wouldst thou thinke and looke that a carpenter or mason were bound to repaire thy house, and the weaver or tailor for to supply thy want of cloaths? The King of *Persia* had writ unto him a letter missive after a generall peace concluded; which letter was brought by a Gentleman of *Persia*, who came with *Callias* the Lacedæmonian, and the contents thereof was to this effect: That the King of *Persia* desired to enter into some more especiall amity and fraternity with him; but he would not accept thereof, saying unto the messenger: Thou shalt deliver this answer from me unto the King thy Master; that he needed not to write any such particular letters unto me, concerning private friendship; for if he friend the Lacedæmonians in generall, and shew himselfe to love the Greeks, and desire their good, I also reciprocally will be his friend to the utmost of my power; but if I may find that he practiseth treachery, and attempteth ought prejudiciall to the state of *Greece*, well may he write Epistle upon Epistle, and I receive from him one letter after another, but let him trust to this: I will never be his friend. He loved very tenderly his own children when they were little ones, insomuch as he would play with them up and down the house, yea, and put a long cane between his legs, and ride upon it like an hobby horse with them for company; and if it chanced that any of his friends spied him so doing, he would pray them to say nothing unto any man thereof, untill they had babes and children of their own. But during the continuall wars that he had with the Thebans, he fortuned in one battell to be grievously wounded; which when *Antalcidas* saw, he said unto him, Certes you have received of the Thebans the due sallary and reward that you deserved, for teaching them as you have done, even against their wills how to fight, which they neither could nor ever would have learned to do: for in truth it is reported, that the Thebans then became more martiall and warlike than ever before-time, as being inured and exercised in armes by the continuall roads and invasions that the Lacedæmonians made; which was the reason that ancient *Lycurgus* in those laws of his which he called Rhetræ, expresly forbad his people to make warre often upon one and the same nation, for feare lest in so doing their enemies should learne to be good souldiers. When he heard, that the Allies and Confederates of *Lacedæmon* were offended and tooke this continuall warfare ill, complaining that they were never in manner out of armes, but carried their harnesse continually upon their backs; and besides, being many more in number, they followed yet the Lacedæ-

(f) Signifying that he was craftick, and his head out of temper.

(g) He that hath done the injury is to make amends.

Lacedæmonians, who were but an handfull to all them: he being minded to convince them in this, and to shew how many they were, commanded all his said Confederates to assemble together, and to set them down pell-mell one with another; the Lacedæmonians likewise to take their place over-against them apart by themselves; which done, he caused an herald to cry aloud in the hearing of all: That all the potters should rise first; and when those were risen, that the brasse-founders and smiths should stand up; then the carpenters; after them the masons; and so all other Artizans and handy-crafts men, one after another; by which meanes all the Confederates well-neare were risen up, and none in manner left sitting; but all this while not a Lacedæmonian stirred off his seat, for that forbidden they were all to learne or exercise any mechanicall craft: then *Agesilaus* took up a laughter, and said, Lo, my masters and friends, how many more souldiers are we able to send into the wars than you can make? In that bloudy battell fought at *Leuctres*, many Lacedæmonians there were that ran out of the field and fled, who by the laws and ordinances of the countrey were all their life time noted with infamy; howbeit, the *Ephori* seeing that the City by this means would be dispeopled of Citizens and lie desert, in that very time when as it had more need than ever before of souldiers, were desirous to devise a policy how to deliver them of this ignominy, and yet notwithstanding preserve the laws in their entire and full force: therefore to bring this about, they elected *Agesilaus* for their law-giver, to enact new Laws; who being come before the open audience of the City, spake unto them in this manner: Ye men of *Lacedæmon*, I am not willing in any wise to be the author and inventor of new Laws; and as for those which you have already, I mind not to put any thing thereto, to take fro, or otherwise to alter and change them; and therefore me thinkes it is meet and reasonable, that from to morrow forward, those which you have should stand in their full vigour, strength, and vertue accustomed. Moreover, as few as there remained in the City; (when *Epaminondas* was about to assaile it with a great fleet and a violent tempest (as it were) of Thebans and their Confederates, pusfed up with pride for the late victory atchieved in the Plaine of *Leuctres*) with those few (I say) he put him and his forces back, and caused them to returne without effect: but in the battell of *Mantinea*, he admonished and advised the Lacedæmonians to take no regard at all of other Thebans, but to bend their whole forces against *Epaminondas* only, saying, That wise and prudent men alone, and none but they, were valiant and the sole cause of victory; and therefore if they could vanquish him, they might easily subdue all the rest, as being blockish fooles and men indeed of no valour; and so in truth it proved: for when as the victory now enclined wholly unto *Epaminondas*, and the Lacedæmonians were at the very point to be disbanded, discomfited, and put to flight: as the said *Epaminondas* turned for to call his own men together to follow the rout, a Lacedæmonian chanced to give him a mortall wound, wherewith he fell to the ground, and the Lacedæmonians who were with *Agesilaus* called themselves, made head againe, and put the victory into doubtfull ballance: for now the Thebanes abated much their courage, and the Lacedæmonians tooke the better hearts. Moreover, when the City of *Sparta* was neare driven and at a low ebbe for money to wage war, as being constrained to entertaine mercenary Souldiers for pay, who were meere strangers; *Agesilaus* went into *Ægypt*, being sent for by the King of *Ægypt* to serve as his pensioner; but for that he was meanely and simply apparelled, the inhabitants of the Countrey despised him, for they looked to have seen the King of *Sparta* richly arrayed and set out gallantly, and all gorgeously to be seen in his person like unto the Persian King; so foolish a conceit had they of Kings: but *Agesilaus* shewed them within a while, that the magnificence and Majesty of Kings was to be acquired by wit, wisdome, and valour: for perceiving that those who were to fight with him and to make head against the enemy, were frighted with the imminent perill, by reason of the great number of enemies, who were two hundred thousand fighting men, and the small company of their own side; he devised with himselfe before the battell began, by some stratagem to encourage his own men, and to embolden their hearts; which policy of his he would not communicate unto any person; and this it was; He caused upon the inside of his left hand to be written this word, Victory, backward; which done he tooke at the Priests or Soothsayers hand, who was at sacrifice, the liver of the beast which was killed, & put it into the said left hand thus written within and so held it a good while, making semblance as if he mused deeply of some doubt, and seeming to stand in suspence and to be in great perplexity, untill the characters of the foresaid letters had a sufficient time to give a print and leave their marke in the superficies of the liver; then shewed he it unto those who were to fight on his side, and gave them to understand that by those characters the gods promised victory: who supposing verily that there was in it a certaine signe and prelage of good fortune, ventured boldly upon the hazard of a battell. And when the enemies had invested and beleaguered his Campe round about: such a mighty number there were of them, and besides had begun to cast a trench on every side thereof, King *Nectanebas* (for whose aid he was thither come) solicited and intreated him to make a sally and charge upon them before the said trench was fully finished, and both ends brought together, he answered, That he would never impeach the designe and purpose of the enemies, who went (no doubt) to give him meanes to be equall unto them, and to fight so many to so many: so he stayed untill there wanted but a very little of both ends meeting; and then in that space between he ranged his battell; by which device they encountred and fought with even fronts, and on equall hand for number: so he put the enemies to flight, and with those few souldiers which he had he made a great carnage of them; but of the spoile and booty which he won,

*Or Nectabis.

won, he raised a good round masse of money, and sent it all to *Sparta*. Being now ready to embarke for to depart out of *Ægypt*, and upon the point of returne home, he died: and at his death expressly charged those who were about him, that they should make no Image or Statue whatsoever representing the similitude of his personage: For that (quoth he) if I have done any vertuous act in my life time, that will be a monument sufficient to eternize my memory; if not, all the images, statues, and pictures in the world will not serve the turne, since they be the works only of mechanicall artificers which are of no worth and estimation.

Agesipolis the son of *Cleombrotus*, when one related in his presence that *Philip* King of *Macedon* had in few daies demolished and razed the City *Olinthus*: *Par di* (quoth he) *Philip* will not be able in many more daies to build the like to it. Another said unto him by way of reproach, that himselfe (King as he was, and other Citizens men grown of middle age) were delivered as hostages, and neither their children nor wives: Good reason (quoth he) and so it ought to be according to justice, that we our selves, and no others, should beare the blame and paine of our faults. And when he was minded to send for certain dog-whelps from home; one said unto him; that there might not be suffered any of them to go out of the Countrey: No more was it permitted heretofore (quoth he) for men be to lead forth, but now it is allowed well enough.

Agesipolis the son of *Pausanias* (when as the Athenians said to him, That they were content to report themselves to the judgement of the Megarians as touching certaine variances and differences between them, and complaints which they made one against another) spake thus unto them: Why my Masters of *Athens*, this were a great shame indeed, that they who are the chiefe and the very leaders of all other Greeks, should lesse skill what is just than the Megarians.

Agis the son of *Archidamus*, at what time as the *Ephori* spake thus unto him: Take with you the young and able men of this City, and go into the countrey of such an one, for he will conduct you his own selfe, as far as to the very Castle of his City: And what reason is it (quoth he) my Masters, you that be *Ephori*, to commit the lives of so many lusty gallants into his hands, who is a traitor to his native country? One demanded of him what science was principally exercised in the City of *Sparta*: Mary (quoth he) the knowledge how to obey and how to rule. He was wont to say, that the Lacedæmonians never asked, how many their enemies were? but where they were. Being forbidden to fight with his enemies at the battell of *Mantinea*, because they were far more in number: He must of necessity (quoth he) fight with many that would have the command and rule of many. Unto another who asked what number there might be in all of the Lacedæmonians? As many (quoth he) as are enough to chase and drive away wicked persons. In passing along the walls of *Corinth*, when he saw them so high, so well built, and so large in extent: What (*b*) manner of women (quoth he) be they that inhabit within: To a great Master of Rhetorick, who, praising his own skill and profession, chanced to conclude with these words; when all is done, there is nothing so puissant as the speech of man: Why then belike (quoth he) so long as you hold your peace you are of no worth. The Argives having been once already beaten and defeated, returned nevertheless into the field and shewed themselves in a bravado more gallantly than before, and prest for a new battell: and when thereupon he saw his auxiliaries and confederates to be somewhat troubled and frighted: Be of good cheere (quoth he) my masters and friends, for if we, who have given them the foile be affraid, what thinke you are they themselves. A certaine Embassadour from the City *Abdera*, came to *Sparta*, who made a long speech as touching his message, and after he had done, and held his tongue a little, he demanded at last a dispatch, and said unto him: Sir, what answer would you that I should carry back to our Citizens: You shall say unto them (quoth *Agis*) that I have suffered you to speak all that you would, and as long as you list? And that I lent you mine eare all the while without giving you one word againe. Some there were who commended the Eliens for most just men and precise in observing the solemnity of the Olympick games: And is that so great a matter and such a wonder (quoth he) if in five yeares space they exercise justice one day? Some buzzed into his eares that those of the other royall house envied him: Then (quoth he) do they suffer a double paine; for first and formost their own evils will vexe and trouble themselves; then in the second place, the good things in me and my friends will torment them. Some one there was of advice, that he should give way and passage to his enemies when they were put to flight: Yea, but marke this (quoth he) if we set not upon them who run away for cowardise, how shall we fight against them that stay and make good their ground by valour? One there was who propounded a meanes for the maintenance of the Greekes liberty; which (no doubt) was a generous and magnanimous course, howbeit very hard to execute; unto whom he answered thus: My good friend, your words require great store of money, and much strength. When another said that King *Philip* would watch them well enough that they should not set foot within other parts of *Greece*: My friend (quoth he) it shall content us to remaine and continue in our own countrey. There was another Embassadour from the City *Perinthus* came to *Lacedæmon*, who having likewise made a long oration, in the end demanded of *Agis* what answer he should deliver back to the Perinthians: Mary what other but this (quoth he) that thou couldest hardly find the way to make an end of speaking, and I held my peace all the while. He went upon a time sole Embassadour to King *Philip*, who said unto him, You are an Embassadour alone indeed: True (quoth he) and good enough to one alone as you are. An ancient Citizen of *Sparta* said unto him one day, being himselfe aged also, and far stept in yeares: Since that the old Lawes and Customes went every day to ruine and were neglected, seeing also that others far worse were brought

(b) High walls a fortresse for women.

brought in and stood in their place, all in the end would be naught and run to confusion; unto whom he answered merrily thus: Then is it as it should be, and the world goes well enough if it be so as you say; For I remember when I was a little boy, I heard my father say, that every thing then was turned upside down, and that in his remembrance all went kim kam; and he also would report of his father that he had seen as much in his dayes; no marvell therefore if things grow worse and worse; more wonder it were if they should one while be better, and another while continue still in the same plight. Being asked on a time how a man might continue free all his life time; he answered: By despising death.

Agis the younger, when *Demades* the orator said unto him: That the Lacedæmonians swords were so short that these juglers and those that play legerdemain, could swallow them down all at once; made him this answer: As short as they be the Lacedæmonians can reach their enemies with them well enough. A certain leud fellow and a troublesome, never linned asking him, who was the best man in *Sparta*: Marry (quoth *Agis*) even he who is unlikest thy selfe.

Agis, the last king of the Lacedæmonians, being forelaid and supriſed by trechery, so that he was condemned by the *Ephori* to die; as he was led without forme of law and justice to the place of execution for to be strangled with a rope, perceiving one of his servants and ministers to shed teares; said thus unto him; Weepe not for my death; for in dying thus unjustly and against the order of law, I am in better case than these that put me to death; and having said these words, he willingly put his neck within the halter.

Acrotatus, when as his own father and mother requested his helping hand for to effect a thing contrary to reason and justice, staied their suit for a time: but seeing that thy importuned him still and were very instant with him; in the end he said unto them: So long as I was under your hands, I had no knowledge nor sence at all of justice; but after that you had betaken me to the common-weale, to my countrey, and to the lawes thereof; and by that means informed and instructed me in what you could in righteousnesse and honesty, I will endeavour and strain my selfe to follow the said instruction and not you; and for that I know full well that you would have me do that which is good, and considering that those things be best (both for a private person, and much more for him who is in authority and a chiefe magistrate) which are just; sure I will do what you would have me, and refuse that which you say unto me.

Alcamenes the son of *Teleclus*, when one would needs know of him, by what meanes a man might preserve a kingdome best, made this answer: Even by making no account at all of lucre and gain. Another demanded of him wherefore he would never accept and receive the gifts of the Messenians? Forsooth (quoth he) because if I had taken them, I should never have had peace with the lawes. And when a third person said: That he marvelled much how he could live so straight and neer to himselfe, considering he had wherewith and enough: It is (quoth he) a commendable thing, when a man having sufficient and plenty can nevertheless live within the compass of reason, and not according to the large reach of his appetite.

Alexandridas the son of *Leon*, seeing one to torment himselfe, and taking on desperately because he was banished out of his native country: My friend (quoth he) never fare so for the matter nor vex thy heart so much, for being constrained to remove so far from thy country, but rather for being so remote from justice. Unto another who in delivering good matter unto the *Ephori*, and to very great purpose, but in more words a great deale than need was: My friend (quoth he) thou speakest indeed that which becometh, but otherwise than is becomming. One asked him why the Lacedæmonians committed the charge of all their lands unto the Ilotes their slaves, and did not husband and tend them their own selves: Because (quoth he) we conquered and purchased them, for that we would look to our selves, and not tend them. Unto another who held that it was nothing but desire of credit and reputation that undid men, and whosoever could be delivered from the care thereof were happy: he replied thus again: If it be true that you say, we must confesse and grant that wicked men, who do wrong unto others are happy; for how can a church-robber or thief who spoileth other men of their goods be desirous of honour and glory? When another demanded of him, how it came to pass that the Lacedæmonians were so hardy and resolute in all occurrences and dangers of war, he rendred this reason: Because (quoth he) we study and endeavor to have a reverend regard of our lives, and not to entertain the fear of our lives, as others do. It was demanded of him, wherefore the Seniors or Elders sat many dayes in deciding and judging criminall causes? and why albeit the accused party were by them acquit, yet he continued nevertheless in the state of a guilty and accused person? As for the Senatours (quoth he) they be long in deciding capitall matters, where men are brought in question for their life; because those judges who have committed an errour in condemning a man to die, can never rectify and amend that sentence: and as to the party absolved and enlarged, he must remain alwayes liable and subject to the law, because they might ever after enquire and judge better of his fact according to the law.

(i) A man ought to grieve more for committing sin, than for being exiled.

Anaxander the son of *Eutycrates*, being asked the question why he and such other did not gather mony and lay it up in the publick treasury, made this answer: For fear lest we being keepers thereof, should be corrupted and perverted thereby.

Anaxilas, unto one who marvelled why the *Ephori* rose not up and made obeisance to the kings, considering that by the kings they were ordained and put into that place? gave this reason

Even because they are created *Ephori*, that is to say, overseers and controllers of them.

Androclidas the Laconian, being maimed and lame of a leg, would nevertheless be enrolled in the number of those who were to serve in the wars; and when some withstood him because he was impotent of that leg: Why my masters (quoth he) they be not the men of good footmanship, who can run away, but such as stand their ground, that must fight with enemies.

Antalcidas making means to be admitted into the confraternity of the Samothracian religion, when the priest his confessour, in houseling and shriving him, demanded which was the greatest sin that ever he had committed in all his life? If (quoth he) I have committed any sin all my life time, the gods know the same well enough themselves. When a certain Athenian miscalled the Lacedæmonians, terming them ignorant and unlearned sots: Indeed (quoth he) we only of all the Grecians, are the men which have not learned of you to do ill. And when another Athenian bragged, and said: We have chased you many times from the river *Cephisus*: But we (quoth he) never yet drave you from the river *Eurotas*. Unto another, who was desirous to know how one might please men best, he shaped this answer: In case he speak always that which pleaseth, and do that which profiteth them. A certain great master and professour of Rhetorick, would needs one day rehearse and pronource before him an oration composed in the praise of *Hercules*: And who ever (quoth he) dispraised him? And unto *Agesilaus*, being sore wounded in a battel by the Thebans: Nay (quoth he) you are well enough served and receive a due Minervall for your schoolage at the Thebans hands, whom you have taught even against their wills that which they knew not, nor were willing to learn, to wit, for to fight: for in truth, by meanes of the continuall incursions and expetions that *Agesilaus* made against them, they became valiant warriours. Himselfe was wont to say: That the walles of *Sparta*, were their young men; and their confines, the heads of their pikes. Unto another, who demanded why the Lacedæmonians fought with such short curtelaxes: To the end (quoth he) that we might cope and close more neerely to our enemies.

Antiochus being one of the *Ephori*, heard say that king *Philip* had bestowed upon the Messenians certain lands for their territory: But hath *Philip* (quoth he) given them withall, forces to be able for to defend the same?

Arigeus, when some there were that highly commended certain dames, not their own wives, but wedded to other men: By the gods (quoth he) of good, honest, and faire women, there ought no vaine speeches to be made, for that indeed they are not known of any other but their husbands who live ordinarily with them. As he passed once through the city *Selinus* in *Sicily*, he chanced to read this epitaph engraven upon a sepucher or tomb:

These men before Selinus *gates*
were slain in bloody fight,
As whilom they sought for to quench
the lawless tyrants might.

And well deserved you (quoth he) to die, for seeking to extinguish tyranny when it burneth out of a light fire; for clean contrariwise, you should have kept it from burning altogether.

Ariston hearing one praise and discourse of a sentence that king *Cleomenes* was wont to use, at what time as the question was asked: What was the office of a good king? Mary even to do good unto his friends and hurt unto his enemies: But how much better (answered *Ariston*) my good friend, were it to benefit friends indeed, and of enemies to make good friends? but of this notable sentence, no doubt, *Socrates* was the authour, and upon him it is rightly fathered. Also when one demanded of him how many in number the Lacedæmonians were: As many (quoth he) as be sufficient to chase away their enemies. A certain Athenian pronounced a funerall oration which he had penned in the praise of their own citizens, who had been defeated and were slain by the Lacedæmonians in a battel; If your countrymen (quoth he) were so valiant as you say, what think you then of ours, who vanquished them? When one praised *Charilaus* upon a time, for that he shewed himselfe courteous indifferently to all men. And how can he deserve (quoth *Ariston*) to be commended, who is kind and friendly to wicked persons? Another reproved *Hecataus* a professor in Rhetorick, who being invited to eat with them at their feasts which they call *Syssitia*, spake never a word all dinner time; unto whom he made this answer: It seemeth that you are ignorant, that he who knoweth how to speak well, can skill likewise of the time when it is good to speak and when to keep silence.

Archidamus the son of *Zeuxidamus*, when one asked him who they were that governed the city *Sparta*? answered: The lawes first, and then the magistrates, who ruled according to those lawes. When he heard one praising exceedingly a player on the harp, and for his skill in musick having him in singular admiration: My friend (quoth he) what honourable reward shall they have at your hands, who be men of prowesse and valour, when you commend so highly an harper? Another recommended unto him a musician and said: Oh, what an excellent chanter is there? This is (quoth he) even as much as a good cooke or maker of pottage among us: meaning that there was no difference at all between giving pleasure by sound of voice or instruments and the dressing of viands or seasoning sewes. One promised to give him wine that was very sweet and pleasant: And to what purpose? (quoth he) considering that it serveth but for to draw on more wine, and to make folk drink the rather; and besides, to cause men to be less valiant and unfit for any good things. Lying at siege before the city of *Corinth*, he marked how there were hares started even close under the

the walls thereof; upon which sight he said thus to those that served with him: Our enemies are easie to be surprised and caught, when they are so lazie and idle, as to suffer hares to lie and harbour hard under their city walls, even within the trench and town-ditch. He had been chosen an umpire between two parties who were at variance, for to make them friends; and he led them both into the temple of *Diana* surnamed *Chalceacos*, where he willed them both to promise and swear, laying their hands upon the altar of that goddess, that they would both twain observe from point to point whatsoever he should award; which they undertooke to do, and bound it with an oath accordingly; I judge them (quoth he) that neither of you both shall depart out of this temple, before you have made an attonment, and pacified all quarrels between you. *Dionysius* the tyrant of *Sicily*, had sent unto his daughters certain rich robes to wear; but he refused them, and said: I greatly fear that when they have this raiment upon them, they will seem more foule and ilfavoured than now they do. Seeing his own son in a battel, fighting deiperately against the Athenians: Either (quoth he) augment thy strength, or abate thy courage.

Archidamus the son of *Agesilaus*, when king *Philip* after the battle which he had won against the Greeks, neer unto *Cheronea*, wrot unto him a rough and sharp letter; returned unto him back again this answer in writing: If you take measure now of your own shadow, you shall finde it no bigger than it was before in victory. Being demanded the question upon a time, how far the territory of the Lacedæmonians did extend? he answered: Even as far as they can reach with their javelins. *Periander* the Physician was a sufficient man in his art, and esteemed with the best and most excellent, howbeit he wrote in verse, but with a bad grace; unto whom he said one day thus: I marvell much *Periander* whether you would be named an ill poet, or to be a good physician? In the war which the Lacedæmonians made against king *Philip*, some gave him counsell to be well advised where he fought, and to joine battel as far as he could from his own country, unto whom he replied again: This is not the thing (quoth he) that we ought to regard, but rather to consider and think upon this, how we may quit our selves to well in fight, that we be winners in the end. And to those who praised him for that he had won a field of the Arcadians, he made this answer: It had been better that we had overcome them rather in wisdome and prudence than in might and force. About the time that he entred by force and armes into the country of *Arcadia*, being advertised that the Eleans sent aid and succour unto the Arcadians, he wrot unto them in this sort: *Archidamus* to the Eleans, greeting: A blessed thing it is to be quiet and at repose. When the confederate and allied nations in the Peloponnesiack war demanded how much mony would serve for the defraying of the charges to the said war belonging? and requested him to tax each one how much they should contribute: War (quoth he) knoweth no sum, and is not waged at any certain rate. Seeing a shot which was levelled from an engine of battery newly brought out of *Sicily*: O *Hercules* (quoth he) now is mans prowesse gone for ever. And for that the Greeks would not give credit and be perswaded by him, to performe those conditions of peace which had been made with *Antigonus* and *Craterus*, two Macedonians, for to live in their ancient liberty; alledging that the Lacedæmonians would be lords more rigorous and insupportable than the Macedonians: the sheep (quoth he) hath always one and the same voice; but man changeth it oftentimes in divers sorts, untill he have brought about and finished his designes.

Asteratidas, when one said, after that king *Agis* had lost the field to *Antigonus*, about the city *Megale*; O poore Lacedæmonians, what will you do now? will you become slaves to the Macedonians? answered thus: And why so? Can * *Antigonus* forbid and let us, but we will die in fight for *Sparta*? * or Antipater.

Bias being surprised by an ambush, which was laid for him by *Iphicrates* captain of the Athenians, when his souldiers said: Now captain what is to be done? What else (quoth he) but to advise you to save your selves, and to resolve my selfe to die in fight.

Brasidas found among dried figs a mouse that bit him by the hand, so as he was glad to let her go, whereupon he said unto those that were present: Lo, how there is not the least creature that may be, but it is able to make shift and save it's life in case it have but the heart to defend it selfe against those who assaile it? In a certain skirmish he was wounded with a javelin through his buckler, and when he had drawn the head out of his body, with the very same weapon he slew his enemy who had hurt him: and to those who asked him how he came so wounded? he answered thus? Because my buckler deceived me. When he put himselfe into his journy to the warres, he wrot thus unto the *Ephori*: All that is requisite for this war as touching the war, do I will to my power or die for it. After he had lost his life in the quarrell of delivering the Greeks out of servitude who inhabit in *Thracia*, the embassadours which were sent from those parts to give thanks unto the Lacedæmonians, went to visite his mother *Argileonis*; of whom she demanded first, whether her son *Brasidas* died manfully or no? And when the Thracian embassadours highly praised him insomuch as they said, that he had not left his fellow behind him: Oh (quoth she) you are much deceived my friends; *Brasidas* was indeed a valiant and hardy man, but there be in *Sparta* many more far better than he.

Damonidas hapned to be placed last in the dance by him who was the master chorister; whereat he was no otherwise displeased, but said thus unto him: Well done, for thou hast found the means to make this place honourable, which heretofore was but base and infamous.

Damis, when letters had been written unto him as touching *Alexander* the great, namely,

how *Alexander* by their ſuffrages was declared a god; wrot back in this wiſe: We grant that *Alexander* ſhould be called a god ſince he will needs have it ſo.

Damindas, when king *Philip* was entred with a main army unto *Peloponneſus*, whereupon one ſaid unto him: The Lacedæmonians are in danger to ſuffer many calamities, unleſs they can make means to agree and compound with him: Thou womaniſh-man (quoth he) how can he bring us to ſuffer any miſeries, conſidering that we make no reckoning at all of death.

Dercilidas was ſent embaſſadour unto King *Pyrrhus*, what time as he had his army encamped upon the very confines of *Sparta*: and *Pyrrhus* enjoyned the Lacedæmonians to receive again their King *Cleonimus* whom they had baniſhed, or elſe he would make them to underſtand, that they were no more valiant than other men; upon whom *Dercilidas* thus replied: If you be a god we feare you not, becauſe we have no way offended you, but if you be a man, know you that you are no whit better than we.

Demaratus talked and communed one day with *Orontes*, who gave him blunt ſpeeches and hard words; and when one who heard their talk, ſaid afterwards: *Orontes* is very bold with you, and uſeth you but homely O *Demaratus*: Nay (quoth he) he hath nothing faulted to me-ward; for thoſe who gloſe and flatter in all their ſpeech, be they who do moſt harme, and not ſuch as ſpeak upon ill will and malice. One ſeemed to demand of him, wherefore at *Sparta* thoſe were noted with infamy, who in a diſcomfiture threw away their bucklers, and not they who caſt from them their morrions, cuiraces or breaſt-plates: Becauſe (quoth he) theſe armours and head-pieces, ſerve only for thoſe who wear them; but their ſhields and bucklers, have their uſe alſo for the common ſtrength of the whole battalion. When he heard a certain muſician ſing: Believe me (quoth he) the fellow plaies the fool very well. He was upon a time in a great company and aſſembly, where he continued a long while and ſpake never a word; by occaſion whereof one ſaid unto him: Is it for folly and want of matter to talk of, that you are ſo ſilent? How can it be folly (quoth he) for a fool can never hold his peace? One asked of him what was the cauſe he was baniſhed out of *Sparta*, being king thereof? Becauſe (quoth he) the lawes there be miſtreſſes and command all. A certain Perſian by continuall gifts had inveigled and gotten from him in the end a young boy whom he loved, and afterwards in manner of a ſcorn ſaid unto him: I have ſo well hunted, that at laſt I have caught your love: Not ſo (quoth he) I ſwear by the gods, but rather you have bought it. A certain gentleman of *Perſia* there was, who had rebelled againſt the king of *Perſia*; but *Demaratus* by reaſons and remonſtrances ſo wrought with him, that he perſwaded him to yeeld and returne again to his allegiance; the king incontinently minded to put this Perſian to death; but *Demaratus* diverted him and ſaid: Sir, this were an utter ſhame for you, if when you could not puniſh him for rebellion being your enemy you ſhould proceed to his execution now, when he is become again your ſervitor and friend. There was a certain jeſter and paraſite who uſed to play his part at the kings table; and gave unto *Demaratus* eſtſoones, biting quips, and taunts by way of reproach for his exile; but he anſwered him and ſaid: Good fellow, I am not diſpoſed to fight with thee now at this time, being put as I am out of my biaſs and the raunge of my life, and having loſt my ſtanding.

* *Emereper* the *Ephorus*, cut two ſtrings of the nine with an hatchet, in *Phrynis* his harp, ſaying withall: Then marre not muſick.

Epaenetus was wont to ſay: That liers were the cauſe of all offences and crimes in the world.

Euboidas hearing ſome to praiſe another mans wife, reproved him for it, and ſaid: That ſtrangers who were not of the houſe, ought not in any reſpect to ſpeak of the behaviour and manners of any dame.

Eudamidas the ſon of *Archidamus* and brother to *Agis*, having eſpied *Xenocrates*, a man well ſtriken in yeers, ſtudying philoſophy hard, with other young ſchollers in the *Academie*, demanded what old man that might be: one ſtanding by, anſwered, that he was a wiſe man and a great clerk, one of thoſe who ſought after vertue: If he be ſtill ſeeking of it (quoth he) when will he uſe and practiſe it? Having heard a Philoſopher diſpute and diſcourſe upon his paradox: That there was no good captain in war, but the great clerk and learned Sage only: This is (quoth he) a ſtrange propoſition and a wonderfull, but the beſt is, he that maintaineth it, is in no wiſe to be credited, for his years were never yet acquainted ſo much as with the ſound of a trumpet. He came one day into the open ſchool or auditory to hear *Xenocrates* diſcourſe at large upon ſome queſtion; but it fell out ſo, that he had new done when he entred into the place: then one of his company began to ſay, Surely, ſo ſoone as we were preſent, he became ſilent: He did well (quoth *Eudamidas*) if he had made an end of that which he had to ſay: but when the other replied: It were not amiſs yet that you heard him & that he would ſet to it again: If we (quoth *Eudamidas*) ſhould go to viſit a man in his houſe who had ſupped already before we came, were it well done of us to pray him to go to a new ſupper for the love of us? It was once demanded of him why he alone would ſeem to approve reſt, quietneſſe and peace, conſidering that all his fellow-citizens with one conſent were of opinion to take armes and make war upon the Macedonians? It is (quoth he) becauſe I neither need nor am deſirous to convince them of their errour and lying. Another for to animate him to this war, alledged the proweſſes and worthy exploits atchieved by them at other times againſt the Perſians: Me thinks (quoth he) you know not what you ſay, namely, that becauſe we have overcome a thouſand ſheep, we ſhould therefore ſetupon fifty wolves.

He

He was upon a time in place to hear a muſician ſing, who did his part very well; and one asked him how he liked the man, and what he thought of him? Mary (quoth he) I take him to be a great amuſer of men in a ſmall matter. When another highly extolled the city of *Athens* in his preſence: And who can juſtly and duly (quoth he) praiſe that city which no man ever loved, for being made better in it? When *Alexander* the great had cauſed open proclamation to be made in the great aſſembly at the Olympick games: That all baniſhed perſons might returne unto their own countries, except the Thebanes: Behold (quoth *Eudamidas*) here is a wofull proclamation for you that be Thebans; howbeit honourable withall, for it is a ſigne that *Alexander* feareth none but you in all *Greece*. A certaine citizen of *Argos* ſaid one day in his hearing: That the Lacedæmonians after they be gone once out of their own country, and from the obeiſance of their lawes, prove worſe for their travelling abroad in the world: But it is contrary with you that be Argives and other Greeks (quoth he) for being come once into our city *Sparta*, you are not the worſe, but prove the better by that means. It was demanded of him what the reaſon might be, wherefore they uſed to ſacrifice unto the Muſes before they did hazard a battel: To the end (quoth he) that our valiant acts might be well and worthily written.

Eurycratidas the ſon of *Anaxandrides*, when one asked him why the *Ephori* ſat every day to decide and judge of contracts between men: for that (quoth he) we ſhould learn to keep our faith and truth even among our enemies.

Zeuxidamus likewiſe anſwered unto one who demanded of him why the ſtatutes and ordinances of proweſs and martiall fortitude, were not reduced into a book, and given in writing unto young men for to read? Becauſe (quoth he) we would have them to be acquainted with deeds and not with writings. A certain *Aetolian* ſaid: That war was better than peace, unto thoſe who were deſirous to ſhew themſelves valorous men: And not war only (quoth he) for by the gods, in that reſpect better is death than life.

Herondas chanced to be at *Athens*, what time as one of the citizens was apprehended, araign'd, and condemned for his idleneſs, judicially and by forme of law; which when he underſtood, and heard a brute and noiſe about him, he requeſted one to ſhew him the party that was condemned for a gentlemans life.

Thearidas whetted his ſword upon a time, and when one asked him if it were ſharp, he anſwered: Yea, ſharper than a ſlanderous calumniation.

Themiſtes being a propher or ſouthſaier, foretold unto king *Leonidas* the diſcomfiture that ſhould happen within the paſſe or ſtreights of *Thermopyla*, with the loſſe both of himſelfe and alſo of his whole army: whereupon being ſent away by *Leonidas* unto *Lacedæmon*, under a colour and pretence to enforme them of theſe future accidents; but in truth, to the end that he ſhould not miſcary and die there with the reſt; he would not ſo do, neither could he forbear but ſay unto *Leonidas*; I was ſent hither for a warrior to fight, and not as an ordinary courrier and meſſenger to carry newes between.

Theopompus when one demanded of him how a king might preſerve his kingdome and roiall eſtate in ſafety? ſaid thus: By giving his friends liberty to ſpeake the truth, and with all his power by keeping his ſubjects from oppreſſion. Unto a ſtranger who told him that in his own country and among his citizens he was commonly ſurnamed *Philolacon*, that is to ſay, a lover of the Laconians: It were better (quoth he) that you were called * *Philopolites* than *Philolacon*. Another Embaſſadour came from *Elis*, who ſaid: That he was ſent from his fellow-citizens, becauſe he only of all that city loved and followed the Laconick manner of life: of him *Theopompus* demanded: And whether is thine or the other citizens life the better? he anſwered, Mine. Why then (quoth he) how is it poſſible that a city ſhould continue ſafe, in which there being ſo great a number of inhabitants, there is but one good man? There was one ſaid before him, that the city of *Sparta* maintained the ſtate thereof entire, for that the kings there knew how to govern well: Nay (quoth he) not ſo much therefore, as becauſe the citizens there can skill how to obey well. The inhabitants of the city *Pyle*, decreed for him in their generall councell exceeding great honours; unto whom he wrote back again: That moderate honours time is wont to augment, but immoderate to diminiſh and wear away

* A lover of your fellow citizens.

Therycion returning from the city *Delphos*, found king *Philip* encamped within the ſtreight of *Peloponneſus*, where he had gained the narrow paſſage called *Iſthmos*, upon which the city of *Corinth* is ſeated; whereupon he ſaid, *Peloponneſus* hath but bad porters and warders of you, Corinthians.

Theſtamenes, being by the *Ephori* condemned to death, went from the judgement place ſmiling away; and when one that was preſent asked him, if he deſpiſed the lawes and judiciall proceedings of *Sparta*? No iwis (quoth he) but I rejoice hereat, that they have condemned me in that fine which I am able to pay and diſcharge fully, without borrowing of any friend, or taking up mony at intereſt.

Hippodamus, as *Agis* was with *Archidamus* in the camp, being ſent with *Agis* by the king unto *Sparta*, for to provide for the affaires of weale publick and to looke unto the State; refuſed to go, ſaying: I cannot die a more honourable death, than in fighting valiantly for the defence of *Sparta*: now was he fourſcore yeers old and upward, and tooke armes, where he ranged himſelfe on the right hand of the king, and there, fighting by his ſide right manfully, was ſlain.

Hippocratidas, when a certain prince or great lord of *Caria* had written unto him, that he had

had in his hands a Lacedæmonian, who having been privy unto a conſpiracy and treaſon intended againſt his perſon, revealed not the ſame; demanding withall, his counſell what he ſhould do with him; wrote back again in this wiſe: if you have heretofore done him any great pleaſure and good turne, put him to death hardly and make him away; if not, expell him out of your country, conſidering he is a baſe fellow uncapable altogether of vertue. He chanced to encounter upon the way a young boy, after whom followed one who loved him; and the boy bluſhed for ſhame; whereupon he ſaid unto him: Thou oughteſt to go in their company my boy with whom thou being ſeen, needeſt not to change colour for the matter.

Callicratidas being admirall of a fleet, when the friends of *Lyſander* requeſted him to pleaſure them in killing ſome of their enemies; & in conſideration thereof he ſhould receive of them fifty talents; notwithſtanding he ſtood then in very great need of mony for to buy victuals for the mariners, yet would not he grant their requeſt; and when *Cleander*, one of his counſell, ſaid unto him: I would (I trow, if I were in your place) take the offer: So would I alſo (quoth he) if I were in yours. Being come to *Sardis* unto *Cyrus* the younger, who at that time was an allie and confederate of the Lacedæmonians, to ſee if he could ſpeed himſelfe of him with mony for to entertain mariners and maintain the armada; the firſt day he gave him to underſtand that he was thither come to ſpeak with him; but anſwer was made: That the king was at the table drinking: Well (quoth he) I will give attendance untill he have made an end of his beaver: after he had waited a long time, and ſaw that it was impoſſible to have audience that day, he departed out of the court for that time, being thought very rude and uncivill in ſo doing: the morrow after, when likewiſe he was given to underſtand that he was drinking again, and that he would not come abroad that day; he made no more adoe, but returned to *Epheſus*, from whence he came, ſaying withall, That he ought not ſo far forth to take paines to be provided of mony, as to do any thing unſeeming *Sparta*: and beſides, he ſell a curſing thoſe who were the firſt that endure ſuch indignity, as to ſubject themſelves unto the inſolency of Barbarians, and who taught them to abuſe their riches, and thereby to ſhew themſelves ſo proud and diſdainfull, as to inſult over others; yea, and he ſware a great oath in the preſence of thoſe who were in his company, that as ſoone as he was returned to *Sparta* he would labour with all his might and main, to reconcile the Greek nations one unto another: to the end that they might be more dread and terrible unto the Barbarians, when they ſtood in no need of their forren forces to wage war one upon another. It was demanded of him, what kind of men the Ionians were? Good ſlaves they are (quoth he) but bad free-men. When *Cyrus* in the end had ſent mony for to pay the ſouldiers wages, and beſides ſome gifts and preſents particularly to himſelfe; he received only the foreſaid pay, but as for the gifts, he ſent them back again, ſaying: That he had no need of any private or particular amity with *Cyrus*, ſo common friendſhip which he had with all the Lacedæmonians pertained alſo unto him. A little before he gave the battel at ſea, neer unto *Arginuſie*, his Pilot ſaid unto him: That it was beſt for him to ſail away, for that the gallies of the Athenians were far more in number than theirs: And what of all that (quoth he) is it not a ſhamefull infamy, and hurtfull beſides to *Sparta*, for to flie? ſimply, beſt it is to tary by it, and either to win, or die for it. Being at the point to encounter and joyn medley, & having ſacrificed unto the gods, the ſouthſayer ſhewed unto him that the entrails of that beaſt ſignified and promiſed aſſured victory unto the army, but death unto the Captain; whereas he was nothing danted nor affrighted, but ſaid: The ſtate of *Sparta* lieth not in one man, for when I am dead my country will be never the leſs; but if I ſhould recule now, and yeeld unto the enemies, ſhe will be much impaired, and loſe her reputation. Thus having ſubſtituted *Cleander* in his place, if ought ſhould happen otherwiſe than well, he gave the charge, and ſtroke a navall battel, wherein fighting valiantly he ended his life.

Cleombrotus the ſon of *Pauſanias*, when a certain friend a ſtranger, debated and reaſoned with his father about vertue, he ſaid unto him: In this point at leaſt-wiſe is my father before you, for that he hath already begotten a ſon, and you none.

Cleomenes the ſon of *Anaxandrides*, was wont to ſay, That *Homer* was the Poet of the Lacedæmonians, becauſe he taught how to make war; but *Heſiodus* the Poet of the Ilots, for that he wrot of agriculture and husbandry. He had made truce for ſeven dayes with the Argives; and the third night after it began, perceiving that the Argives upon the aſſurance and confidence of the ſaid truce were ſuddenly aſleep, he charged upon them, ſlew ſome, and tooke others priſoners; and when he was reproached therefore, and namely, that he hand broken his oath; he anſwered: That he never ſware to obſerve truce in the night ſeaſon, but in the day-time only; and beſides, what annoiance ſoever a man did unto his enemies (in what ſort it made no matter) he was to think that before God and man it was a point above juſtice, and in no wiſe liable and ſubject unto it: howbeit, for this perjury of his and breaking of covenant, he was diſappointed and fruſtrated of his hope and deſigne, which was to ſurpriſe the city of *Argos*, for that indeed the very women took thoſe armes which in memoriall of ancient victories were hung and ſet up faſt in their temples, with which they repelled them from the walles: inſomuch as he took a knife, and ſlit his body from the very ancles up to the principle and noble vitall parts, and ſo laughing and ſcoffing, he left his life. His very ſouthſaier would have diſſwaded and diverted him from leading his forces againſt *Argos*, ſaying: That his return from thence would be diſhonourable and infamous: and when he preſented his power before the city, he found the gates faſt ſhut againſt them, and the woman in armes

armes upon the walles: How think you (quoth he) now, do you ſuppoſe this a diſhonourable returne, when as the women, after all the men are dead are faine to keep the gates faſt locked? When the Argives abuſed him with reproachfull teams, calling him a perjured and godleſs perſon: Well (quoth he) it is in you to miſcall me and raile upon me as you do, in word; but it is in me to plague and miſchief you indeed. Unto the ambaſſadours of *Samos*, who came to move and ſollicit him for to war upon the tyrant *Polycrates*, and to that effect, uſed long ſpeeches and perſwaſions, he anſwered thus: As touching that point which you ſpake of in the beginning of your oration, it is out of my head now, and I remember it not; in which regard alſo I do not well conceive the middle part of your ſpeech; but as for that which you delivered in the latter end, I miſlike it altogether. There was in his time a notable rover or pirat, who made roads into the land, and ſpoiled the coaſts of *Laconia*, but at the laſt he was intercepted and taken; now being examined and demanded why he robbed in this ſort? I had not wherewith (quoth he) to maintain and keep my ſouldiers about me, and therefore I came to thoſe who had it, and knowing that they would give me nothing freely and by fair meanes, I aſſaied to get ſomewhat from them by force and ſtrong hand: Naughtineſs I ſee well (quoth he) goeth the neereſt way to work. There was a lewd villain, who did nothing but revile and miſcall him: Thou ſeemeſt (quoth he) to go upand down railing upon every man, to the end that being amuſed how to anſwer thoſe thy ſlanders and imputations, we might have no time nor leaſure to charge thee with thy wickedneſs and lay open thy vices. When one of his ſubjects ſaid unto him: That a good king ought alwayes and in every thing to be mild and gratious: Not ſo (quoth he) leſt he grow thereby deſpiſed and contemptible. Being ſore handled with a long and tedious malady, and not knowing what to do, he put himſelfe at laſt into the hands of ſorcerers, enchanters, wiſards and ſacrificers, unto whom he was wont never to give any credit before; whereat when one of his familiar friends marvelled much, he ſaid unto him: wherefore wonder you at the matter? for I am not the man that heretofore I was, but much changed by ſickneſs; and as I am not the ſame, ſo I do not like and allow of things which I did in times paſt. There was a great profeſſor of Rhetorick, who took upon him in his preſence to diſcourſe at large of proweſs and valour, whereat he began to laugh a good; and when the party ſaid unto him: Why laugh you to hear a man ſpeak of valiance, eſpecially being as you are a king? My good friend (quoth he) becauſe if a ſwallow ſhould taike as you have don, I would do as you do; mary if you had been an eagle, I ſhould have been ſilent haply and held my peace. The Argives made their boaſt and vaunted that in a ſecond battel they had recovered the loſs which they ſuſtained in a former: I wonder much at that (quoth he) if by the addition* of two ſyllables only, you are proved better men now than earſt you were. When one reproached him in ſoule tearms, ſaying: You are a great ſpender *Cleomenes* and a voluptuous perſon: Better it is yet (quoth he) ſo to be, than unjuſt as you are, who being wealthy enough, are yet covetous, and get your goods by undue and indirect means. There was one who recommended a muſician unto him, and in truth praiſed the man in many reſpects; but among the reſt of his excellent voice, ſaying: he was the beſt ſinger in all *Greece*: but *Cleomenes* pointing with his finger to one hard by: Lo (quoth he) here is a paſſing good cock of mine, and namely at making of broth he hath no fellow. *Menander* the Tyrant of *Samos*, upon the comming and invaſion of the Perſians, fled into the city of *Sparta*, where he ſhewed unto *Cleomenes* al the gold and ſilver which he had brought with him, praying him to take what he would of it; none would he receive at his hand, but fearing leſt he would faſten ſome of that treaſure upon other citizens, to the *Ephori* he went and ſaid thus unto them: It were better for *Sparta*, if this Samian gueſt of mine were ſent out of *Peloponneſus*, for feare he induce and miſlead ſome one of the Spartans to be naught: the *Ephori* no ſooner heard this advertiſment of his, but the very ſame day by open proclamation baniſhed him out of the country. One demanded of him upon a time, and ſaid: Why having ſo often vanquiſhed the Argives warring upon you, have ye not rooted them out clean? Neither will we ever ſo doe (quoth he) for we would have our young men alwayes to be kept occupied and in exerciſe: and when another asked him why the Spartans never conſecrated unto the gods the armours which they had deſpoiled their enemies of? Becauſe (quoth he) they be the ſpoiles of cowards; for thoſe armes which have been taken from ſuch as held them cowardly, it is not meet either to ſhew unto young men, or to dedicate unto the gods.

Cleomenes the ſon of *Cleombrotus*, when one gave him certain cocks of game which were very eager and hot in fight, ſaying: That they would in combat for a victory, die in the very place: Nay (quoth he) give me thoſe rather that kill them; for ſurely ſuch muſt needs be better than theſe.

Labotus unto one who made a long diſcourſe before him he ſaid: To what purpoſe makeſt thou ſuch great preambles and prologues for ſo ſmall a matter? words I tell thee muſt be couſens to the things.

Leotychidas the firſt of that name, when one hit him in the teeth that he was inconſtant and mutable: If I change (quoth he) it is in regard of the times which do alter and be divers; and not as you do, who alter ever and anon upon your own naughtineſs. Unto another who asked him how a man might beſt keep his goods that preſently he enjoyed: he anſwered: By not committing them all at once unto fortune. It was demanded of him once, what it was that young gentlemen of noble houſes ought to learn: Even that (quoth he) which will do them good another day, when

* ἀναμάχεσθαι. ἀνα.

when they be men gorwn. Lastly, when one would needs know of him the reason why the Spartanes drank so little: Because (quoth he) others should not consult of us, but we of others.

Leotychidas the son of *Ariston*, when one brought him word that the sonnes of *Demaratus* gave out very hard speeches of him: By the gods (quoth he) I nothing marveli thereat; for there is not one of them all that can afford any man a good word. There chanced to be a serpent seen, which claped round about the key or bolt of the gate next unto him; which sight the southsayers pronounced to be prodigious and a great wonder: Why (quoth he) this seemeth not to me any monstrous or strange thing, that a serpent should winde about a key or bolt; but surely it were a marvelous matter indeed, if the key or bolt should be wound about the serpent. There was a sacrificer or priest named *Philippus*, who inducted & professed men in the ceremoniall religion of *Orpheus*: and so extream poor he was that he begged for his living; howbeit he went about and said: That those who by his hand were admitted into those ceremonies, should be happy after their death: Fool that thou art (quoth he) why dost not thou thy selfe die quickly, to the end that thou mayest cease to lament and bewail thine own misery and poverty.

Leon the son of *Eucratidas*, being asked in what city a man might dwell most safely? answered thus: Even in that, whereof the inhabitants are not richer or poorer one than another; and wherein justice doth prevail, and injustice is of no force. When he saw certain runners prepare to run a course for the prize in the race at the solemn Olympick games, and marked how they espied all means possible to catch and win some advantage of their concurrents: See (quoth he) how much more studious these runners are of swiftnes than of righteousnes. And when one hapned to discourse out of time and place, of things very good and profitable: My good friend (quoth he) unto him, your matter is honest and seemly, but your manner of handling it is bad and unseemly.

Leonidas the son of *Anaxandridas*, and brother to *Cleomenes*; when one said unto him: There was no difference between you and us before you were a king: Yes Iwis good Sir (quoth he) for if I had not been better than you, I had never been king. When his wife, named *Gorgo*; at what time as he took his leave of her and went forth to fight with the Persians in the pass of *Thermopylæ*, asked of him whether he had ought else to command her? Nothing (quoth he but this, that thou be wedded again unto honest men and bring them good children. When the *Ephori* said unto him, that he led a small number forth with him to the foresaid straights of *Thermopylæ*: True (quoth he) but yet enough for that service which we go for. And when they enquired of him again, and said: Why sir, entend you any other designe and enterprise? In outward shew (quoth he) and apparance, I give out in words that I go to empeach the passage of the Barbarians; but in very truth to lay down my life for the Greeks. When he was come to the very entrance of the said pass, he said unto his souldiers: It is reported unto us by our scours, that our Barbarous enemies be at hand; therefore we are to lose no more time, for now we are brought to this issue, that we must either defeat them, or else die for it. When one said unto him, for the exceeding number of their arrowes we are not able to see the Sun: So much the better (quoth he) for us, that we may fight under the shade. To another who said: Lo they be even hard and close to us; And so are we (quoth he) hard by them. Another used these words unto him: You are come *Leonidas* with a very small troup, for to hazard your selfe against so great a multitude; unto whom he answered: If you regard number, all *Greece* assembled together is not able to furnish us, for it would but answer one portion or canton of their multitude: but if you stand upon valor and and prowesse of men, certes this number is sufficient. Another there was who said as much to him: But yet I bring (quoth he) men enough, considering we are here to leave our lives. *Xerxes* wrot unto him to this effect: You need not unless you list be so perverse and obstinate as to fight against the gods, but by siding and combining with me, make your selfe a monarch over all *Greece*; unto whom he wrote back in this wise: If you knew wherein consisted the sovereigne good of mans life, you would not covet that which is another mans; for mine own part, I had rather lose my life for the safety of *Greece*, than to be the commander of all those of mine own nation. Another time *Xerxes* wrot thus: Send me thy armour; unto whom he wrot back: Come your selfe and fetch it. At the very point when he was to charge upon his enemies, the marshals of the army came unto him, and protested that they must needs hold off and stay untill the other allies and confederates were come together: Why (quoth he) think you not that as many as be minded to fight are come already? or know you not that they only who dread and reverence their kings, be they that fight against enemies? this sid, he commanded his souldiers to take their dinners, for supwe shall (said he) in the other world. Being demanded why the best and bravest men preferre an honourable death before a shamefull life? Because (quoth he) they esteem the one proper to nature only; but to die well they think it peculiar to themselves. A great desire he had to have those young men of his troope and regiment, who were not yet married, and knowing well that if he dealt with them directly and openly, they would not abide it; he gave unto them one after another two brevets or letters to carry unto the *Ephori*, and so sent them away: he meant also to save three of those who were married: but they having an inkling thereof, would receive no brevets or missives at all: for one said, I have followed you hither to fight, and not to be a carrier of newes; the second also: By staying here I shall quit my selfe the better man; and the third: I will not be behind the rest, but the formest in fight.

Lochegus the father of *Polyænides* and *Syron*, when newes was brought unto him that one of his children was dead: I knew long since (quoth he) that he must needs die.

Lycurgus

Lycurgus the law-giver, minding to reduce his citizens from their old manner of life, unto a more sober and temperate course, and to make them more vertuous and honest (for before time they had been dissolute and over delicate in their manners and behaviour) nourished two whelps which came from the same dog and bitch, and the one he kept alwayes within house, and used it to lick in every dish and to be greedy after meat; the other he would lead forth abroad into the fields and acquaint it with hunting: afterwards he brought them both into an open and frequent assembly of the people, and set before him in the midst, certain bones, sosi and scraps; he put out also at the same time an hare before them; now both the one and the other took incontinently to that whereto they had been acquainted, and ran apace, the one to the mess of sops, and the other after the hare and caught it: hereupon *Lycurgus* tooke occasion to infer this speech: You see here my masters and citizens (quoth he) how these two dogs having one sire and one dam to them both, are become far different the one from the other, by reason of their divers education, and bringing up; whereby it is evident how much more powerfull nurture and exercise is to the breeding of vertuous manners, than kinde and nature: howbeit some there be who say, that these two dogs or whelps which he brought out, were not of one & the same dog and bitch; but the one came from those curres that used to keepe the house, & the other from those hounds that were kept to hunting; and afterwards that he acquainted the whelp that was of the worse kind only to the chase, and that which came of the better race, to slap, lick, and do nothing else but raven; whereupon either of them made their choise & ran quickly to that whereto they were accustomed; and thereby he made it appear evidently how education, trayning, and bringing up is availeable both for good and bad conditions, for thus he spake unto them: By this example you may know my friends that nobility of bloud, how highly soever it is esteemed with the common sort, is to no purpose, no though we be descended from the race of *Hercules*, if we doe not practise those deeds whereby he became the most renowned and glorious knight in the world, learning and exercising all our life time those things which are honest and vertuous. Having made a division of the whole territory, and distributed to evey citizen an equall portion; it is reported that a good while after, being returned from a long voiage which he had, into the said territory about harvest time, when the corn was newly reaped and cut down, seeing the shocks and sheaves, cocks and stiches ranged even and orderly, and the same one to another; he rejoyced in his heart, and smiling said to those about him: That the whole territory of *Laconia* looked like unto the inheritance and patrimony of many brethren who had lately parted and divided their portions together equally. When he had brought in the cutting off and abolition of debts, he went in hand with the division of all utensils also and moveable goods within house into even shares, to to the end that there might be no imparity nor inequality at all among his citizens; but perceiving that if he went directly and plainly to work, they would hardly bear and brook that any thing should be abridged and taken from them: he discredited first and formest all sorts of gold, and silver coin, giving commandement that there should be no mony used but made of iron: and taxed a cerain rate, and limitation of what summe each mans state should amount; according to the estimation of the said mony by way of exchange; which done, all wrongs and unjust dealings were chased clean out of *Lacedæmon*: for now by this means there could no man rob nor steal, there was no bribing nor corruption by gifts, no man might defraud in contracts and bargains, nor embezzell any more, considering that they might neither conceale and hide that which was unjustly gotten, nor any man joyed in possessing ought, nor could possibly use and occupy the same without perill, ne yet carry to and fro in safety and security: and withall by the same means, he banished out of *Lacedæmon* all superfluities, whereby there were no more any merchants, nor pleading sophisters, no witards and fortune tellers, no cogging mount-banks and juglers, no ingenious devisers of new fabricks and buildings that haunted *Sparta* any more: for why, he would not permit any mony there which was currant in other places, but only this iron coin was in request, and passed from one to another: as for the price thereof it waighed an Aegenitick pound; but the worth and valour, it went but for four *Cholei*. Moreover, having a purpose to root out delicate and superfluous pleasures, and to cut off clean all covetous desire of riches, he instituted and brought up those meetings which they call *Syssitia*: i. eating at publike meals and making merry together: and when some demanded of him what he meant to devise the same, and also why he ordained that his citizens should be divided by little tables when they sat together in armes? To the end (quoth he) that they might be in more readines to receive commandement from their superiors: as also if peradventure there should be some practise among them of change and alteration, the fault might be in some few and moreover that there should be equality in eating and drinking, and neither in their dishes of meat nor cups of drink, nor in their beds nor apparell, no nor so much as in the utensils and implements of the house, or in any thing whatsoever, the rich should have any vantage over the poor: by this policy having brought to pass that riches was not set by and desired, considering that such order was taken, that neither men had much occasion to use it, nor any joy and pleasure to shew it, he would thus say unto his familiars: My good friends, what a gay and goodly matter is it, to make it known by effect indeed, that *Pluto*, that is to say, the god of riches, is in truth blinde, according as he is named to be. Furthermore, carefull he was, and had a speciall regard that his people should not first dine at home in their own houses, and after that, go to their publick halles and meetings aforesaid, being full of other viands and drinks; for others would

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reproach and speak badly of a man, who did not eat among men with a good appetite, as being a glutton, or one who for daintineſs and delicacy diſdained this common and vulgar manner of diet; but if any ſuch happned to be ſeen and known, he was ſure to be condemned in a good round fine. Hereupon it was, that a long time after, king *Agis* (after his returne from an expedition or voiage in war, wherein he had ſubdued the Athenians) willing one day to ſup privately by himſelfe with his wife at home, ſent into the kitchin for his part or allowance of meat; but the marſhalls of the army would ſend him none; and the morrow after, when the matter came to the knowledge of the *Ephori*, he had a fine ſet on his head for it: but by reaſon of theſe new ordinances, divers of the richer ſort tooke ſnuff, and in great indignation roſe up againſt him, abuſed him with hard tearms, threw ſtones and would have brained him; but he ſeeing himſelfe thus furiouſly purſued, made ſhift by good footmanſhip, and eſcaped out of the common market place, and put himſelfe within the ſanctuary of *Minervas* temple, called *Chalceacos*, before the other could overtake him, only *Alcander* was ſo neer unto him, that when he caſt his eye behind to ſee who followed after, he raught him a rap with his baſton, and ſtrake one of his eyes out of his head: but *Alcander* afterwards, by the common ſentence of the whole city, was put into his hands for to do exemplary juſtice upon him, according as he thought good, howbeit, he wrought him no miſchief nor diſpleaſure at all; and that which more is, he never ſo much as complained of any wrong or abuſe that he had offered and done unto him; but having him to be a domeſtical gueſt and to live with him, he did this good to him: That he blazed in every place where he came, his commendable parts, and namely, the orderly diet and manner of life, that he had learned by converſing with him; and in one word, ſhewed himſelfe highly to affect that diſcipline in which *Lycurgus* had trained him: afterwards, for a memoriall of this accident which befell unto him, he cauſed within the temple of *Minerva Chalceecos*, a chappell to be built unto *Minerva*, ſurnamed *Optiletis*: for that the Doriens inhabiting thoſe parts, do call in their language, Eies, *Optesi*. It was demanded of him upon a time why he had not eſtabliſhed any written poſitive lawes: Becauſe (quoth he) they that are well brought up and inſtituted in that diſcipline as it appertaineth, know well how to judge that which the time requireth. Some asked him why he had ordained that the rooſes of houſes ſhould be made with timber rough hewen with the axe, and the doors of ſawen plank or board only, without work of any other tools or inſtruments at all? unto whom he anſwered: Becauſe our citizens ſhould be moderate in all things that they bring into their houſes, and have no furniture therein that might ſet other mens teeth on water, or which other men do ſo much affect. From this cuſtome by report it came, that king *Leotychides* the firſt of that name, being at ſupper in a friends houſe of his, when he ſaw the rooſe over his head richly feeled with embowed arch-work, demanded of his hoſt whether the trees in that country grew ſquare or no? When he was asked why he forbade to make war often againſt the ſame enemies: for fear (quoth he) that being forced eſtſoones to ſtand upon their own guard and put themſelves in defence, they ſhould in the end become well experienced in the warres: in which regard *Ageſilaus* afterwards was greatly blamed for being the cauſe by his continuall expeditions and invaſions into *Bœotia*, that the Thebans were equall in armes unto the Lacedæmonians. Another asked alſo of him, why he enjoined maidens marriageable to exerciſe their bodies in running, wreſtling, pitching the bar, ſlinging coits, and lancing of darts? For this purpoſe (quoth he) that the firſt rooting of their children which they are to breed, taking faſt and ſure hold in able bodies well ſet and ſtrongly knit, might ſpring and thrive the better within them, and they alſo themſelves being more firme and vigorous, beare children afterward the better, be prepared and exerciſed (as it were) to endure the paines, and travells of child-birth eaſily and ſtoutly, over and beſides, if need required, be able to fight in defence of themſelves, their children and country. Some there were who found fault with the cuſtome that he brought in, that the maidens of the city at certain feſtivall daies ſhould dance naked in ſolemn ſhewes and pomps that there were ſet, demanding the cauſe thereof, to whom he rendred this reaſon: That they performing the ſame exerciſes which men do, might be no leſs enabled than they, either in ſtrength and health of body, or in vertue and generoſity of mind, and by that means check and deſpiſe the opinion that the vulgar ſort had of them. And from hence it came, that *Gorgo* the wife of *Leonidas*, as we finde written, when a certain dame and lady of a forren countrey ſaid unto her: There be no other women but you Laconian wives, that have men at command; anſwered in this wiſe: For why? we only are the women that bear men. Moreover, he debarred and kept thoſe men who remained unmarried, from the ſight of thoſe ſhewes where the young virgins aforeſaid danced naked; and that which more is, ſet upon them the note of infamy, in depriving them expreſly of that honour and ſervice which younger folk are bound to yeeld unto their elders: in which doing, he had a great foreſight and providence to move his citizens to marriage and for to beget children; by occaſion whereof, there was never any man yet who miſliked and complained of that which was ſaid unto *Dercillidas*, by way of reproach, though otherwiſe he was a right good and valiant captain: for when he came upon a time into a place, one of the younger ſort there was, who would not deigne to riſe up unto him, nor give him any reverence; and this reaſon he gave: Becauſe (quoth he) as yet you have not begotten a child to riſe up and do his duty likewiſe unto me. Another asked of him, wherefore he had ordained that daughters ſhould be married without a dowry or portion given with them? Becauſe (quoth he) for default and marriage-mony none of them might ſtay long ere they were wedded, nor be harkened after for their goods; but that every man regarding only the

the manners and conditions of a young damoſell, might make choiſe of her whom he meaneth to eſpouſe, for her vertue only; which is the reaſon alſo that he baniſhed out of *Sparta* all manner of painting, trimming, and artificiall embeliſhments to procure a ſuperficiall beauty and complexion. Having alſo prefixed and ſet down a certain time, within the which as well maidens as young men might marry; one would needs know of him why he limited forth ſuch a definite terme? unto whom he anſwered: Becauſe their children might be ſtrong and luſty, as being begotten and conceived of ſuch perſons as be already come to their full growth. Some wondred why he would not allow that the new married bridegroome ſhould lie with his eſpouſe; but expreſly gave order that the moſt part of the day he ſhould converſe with his companions, yea, and all the nights long, but whenſoever he went to keep company with his new wedded wife, it ſhould be ſecretly and with great heed and care that he be not ſurpriſed or found with her? This (quoth he) is done to this end that they may be alwayes more ſtrong and in better plight of body: alſo that by not enjoying their delights and pleaſures to the full, their love might be ever freſh, and their infants between them more hardy and ſtout: furthermore, he removed out of the city all precious and ſweet perfumes, ſaying That they were no better than the very marring and corruption of the good natural oile; the art alſo of dying and tincture, which he ſaid was nothing elſe but the flattery of the ſenſes: to be briefe, he made the city *Sparta* inacceſſible (as I may ſay) for all jewellers and fine workmen, who profeſs to ſet out and adorne the body: giving out, that ſuch by their leud artificiall devices, do deprave and mar the good arts and myſteries indeed. In thoſe dayes the honeſty and pudicity of dames was ſuch, and ſo far off were they from that tractable felicity and eaſie acceſs unto their love; which was afterwards, that adultery among them was held for an unpoſſible and uncredible thing. And to this purpoſe may well be remembred the narration of one *Geradatas*, an ancient Spartan, of whom a ſtranger asked the queſtion: What puniſhment adulterers were to ſuffer in the city of *Sparta*? for that, he ſaw, *Lycurgus* had ſet down no expreſs law in that behalfe: Why (quoth he) there is no adultery among us: but when the other replied again: Yea, but what if there were? even the ſame anſwer made *Geradatas*, and none other: For how (quoth he) can there be an adulterer in *Sparta*, wherein all riches, all ſuperfluous delights and dainties, all outward trickings and embeliſhings of the body are deſpiſed and diſhonoured? and where ſhame of doing ill, honeſty, reverence and obeiſance to ſuperiors carry away all the credit and authority? One put himſelfe forward, and was in hand with him to ſet up and eſtabliſh the popular State of government in *Sparta*; unto whom he anſwered: Begin it thy ſelfe firſt within thine own houſe. And unto another who demanded of him, why he ordained the ſacrifices in *Lacedæmon* ſo ſimple and of ſmall coſt? To the end (quoth he) that we ſhould never ceaſe and give over to worſhip and honour the gods. Alſo when he permitted his citizens to practiſe thoſe exerciſes of the body only, wherein they never ſtretched forth their hands; he was required by one to yeeld a reaſon thereof: Becauſe (quoth he) none of us ſhould in taking pains be accuſtomed to be weary or to faint, and give over at any time. Likewiſe being asked the reaſon why he gave order oftentimes to change the camp, and not in one place to lie long encamped? To the end (quoth he) that we might do the greater damage to our enemies; and hurt more of them. Another was deſirous to know of him, why he forbad to give the aſſault unto any walles? unto whom he anſwered: For fear that the beſt men might not be killed, by a woman, a childe, or ſome ſuch like perſon. Certain Thebanes craved his advice and opinion touching the ſacrifice, divine ſervice, and dolefull moan which was ſolemnly made in the honour of *Leucothea*; unto whom he anſwered thus: If you take her for a goddeſs, weepe not for her as if ſhe were a woman; if you ſuppoſe her to be a woman, ſacrifice not unto her as to a goddeſs. Unto his citizens who demanded of him, how they might put back and repulſe the invaſions of their enemies? Mary (quoth he) if you continue poor, and none of you do covet to have more than another. Againe, when they would needs know why he would not have their city to be walled about: Becauſe (ſaith he) that city is never without a wall, which is environed and compaſſed about with valiant men, and not with brick or ſtone. The Spartanes alſo were very curious in trimming the hair of their heads, alledging for their warrant a certain ſpeech of *Lycurgus* as touching that point, who was wont to ſay: That ſide-hair made them who were faire more beautifull, and thoſe that were foule, more hideous and terrible. Likewiſe he gave commandement, that in their wars, when they had diſcomfited their enemies and put them to flight, to follow the chaſe ſo hardly, untill they were fully aſſured of the victory, and then to retire with all ſpeed, ſaying: That it was no act of a generous ſpirit, nor beſeeming the brave mind of the Greekiſh nation, to maſſacre and execute thoſe who had quit the place and were gone; beſides, this alſo would be ſafe and commodious for themſelves, foraſmuch as the enemies who knew once their cuſtome, namely, to put thoſe to the ſword who obſtinately reſiſt and make head, and to ſpare thoſe & let them eſcape who flie before them; finde by that means that flight is better than to ſtand to fight. A certain man asked him, for what cauſe he would not ſuffer the ſouldiers to rifle and ſpoile the bodies of their enemies as they fell dead: For fear (quoth he) leſt while they buſie themſelves, and ſtoupe forward to gather the ſpoiles, they ſhould neglect their fight in the meane time, but rather intend only with their poverty and want to keep their range.

The Tyrant of *Sicily Dyoniſius* had ſent unto *Lyſander* two ſutes of wmens robes, that he might chooſe whether of them he liked better, to carry unto his daughter; but he ſaid unto him: That ſhe her ſelfe knew beſt which to chooſe, and what was fitteſt for her ſelfe, and ſo he tooke both

both away with him. This *Lysander* was a very crafty and subtile fox, who ordered and managed moſt part of his affaires by cunning caſts and deceitfull devices, eſteeming juſtice only by utility, and honeſty by profit; confeſſing in word that truth was better than falſhood; but meaſuring indeed the worth and price as well of the one as the other by commodity. To them who reproved and blamed him for conducting the moſt part of his enterprizes by fraud and guile, and not by plain direct force, a thing unworthy the magnanimity of *Hercules*, he would laugh and anſwer: That where he could not atchieve a thing by the lions skin, he muſt needs ſow thereto a piece of the foxes caſe. And when others charged and accuſed him mightily, for that he had violated and broken his oath, which he had made in the city *Miletum*, he uſed to ſay: That children were to be deceived with cock-all-bones, but men with oaths: Having defeated the Athenians in a battel by means of an ambuſh, in a certain place called the Goats-rivers, and afterwards preſſed them ſo ſore with famine, that he forced them to yeeld the city unto his mercy, he wrot unto the *Ephori* thus: *Athens* is won. The Lacedæmonians in his time were at ſome difference with the Argives about their confines; and it ſeemed that the Argives alledged better reaſons, and brought forth more direct evidences for themſelves than the other; whereupon he came among them and drew his ſword, ſaying: They that are the mightier with this, plead beſt for their confines. Seeing the Bœotians as he paſſed thorow their country, hanging in equall ballance, nad s yet not reſolved and certain to which ſide for to range themſelves, he ſent one unto them for to know whether they would chuſe, that he marched thorow their lands with ſpeares and pikes upright, or bending downward and trailing. In a certain aſſembly of the eſtates of *Greece*, there was a Megarian who ſpake bravely and audaciouſly unto him: Thy words my friend (quoth he) have need of a city; meaning thereby, that he was of too weak and ſmall a city, as to give ſuch glorious words. The Corinthians rebelled upon a time, whereupon he advanced with his forces againſt their walles, which the Lacedæmonians ſeemed to aſſaile very coldly: but at the very inſtant there was eſpied an hare, running croſs over the town-ditch: whereupon he took occaſion to ſay: Are yee not aſhamed in deed O yee Spartanes, to fear ſuch enemies, who are ſo idle and ſtir ſo little abroad, that hares can ſleepe quietly, even under their very wales. When he was at *Samothrace* to conſult with the oracle there; the prieſt was in hand with him to confeſs what was the moſt wicked and enormous act that ever he did in all his life time: whereupon he asked the prieſt again: Whether is it your ſelfe or the gods that would know thus much, and impoſeth this confeſſion upon me? The gods (quoth the prieſt) would have it ſo: Why then (quoth he) reaire you aſide out of my ſight, and if they demand the ſame of me, I will anſwer them. A certain Perſian asked him what kinde of government he liked beſt and praiſed moſt: Even that (quoth he) which ordaineth for cowards and hardy men that reward and hire which is meet for them. Another ſaid unto him: That in every place where he came he was ready to commend and defend him: I have (quoth he again) in my grounds two oxen, and neither of them ſpeaks a word; howbeit, I know for all that, which is good of deed, and which is idle and lazy at his wvork. There was one who let flie at him divers odious and reproachfull words: Speak on good fellow (quoth he) out with it hardly and ſpare not, vomit up all and leave nothing behind, if haply thou canſt rid and purge thy heart of all the wicked venom wvherewith thou ſeemeſt ſo ſwell. Sometime after, vvhen he vvas dead, there aroſe variance between the allies of *Sparta* as touching certain matters, and for to know the truth and ſettle all cauſes among them, *Ageſilaus* went to *Lyſanders* houſe for to ſearch certain papers that might give light & evidence to the thing in controverſy; and among their writings he chanced to light upon an oration or pamphlet penn'd by him as touching policy and the State; wherein he ſeemed to perſwade the Spartans to take the roialty and regall dignity from the houſes of the *Eurytionidæ* and *Agiadæ*, and to bring it to a free election of the citizens, that they might chuſe for their kings out of all the city thoſe who were approved & known for the worthieſt men, & not to be obliged for to take and admit of neceſſity one of *Hercules* line: ſo as the crown and regall ſtate might be conferred as a reward and honour upon him who in vertue reſembled *Hercules* moſt, conſidering that it was by the means thereof, that unto him were aſſigned the honours due unto the gods: now was *Ageſilaus* fully bent to have publiſhed this oration before all the citizens, to the end that they might take knowledg how *Lyſander* was another kinde of man than he had been taken for, withall to traduce thoſe that were his friends, and bring them into obloquie, ſuſpicion and trouble: but by report *Lacratidas* the principall man, and preſident of the *Ephori*, fearing leſt if this oration were once divulged and openly read, it might take effect, and perſwade that in deed which it pretended; ſtaied *Ageſilaus* and kept him from doing ſo, ſaying: That he ſhould not now rake *Lyſander* out of his grave, but rather enterre and bury the oration together with him ſo wittily and artificially compoſed it was, and ſo effectuall to perſwade. Certain gentlemen there were of the city, who during his life were ſuters to his daughters in marriage; but after his death when his eſtate was known to be but poore, they deſiſted and caſt them off, whereupon the *Ephori* condemned them in great fines, for that they made court unto them, ſo long as they eſteemed him wea'thy; but afterwards when they found by hi; poore eſtate that he was a righteous and juſt man, they made no more reckoning of his daughters but diſdained them.

Nauertes being ſent as embaſſadour into a forren country, there chanced to be one of thoſe parts

parts who ſaid unto him; That he held and reputed him for an happy man, becauſe he had ſo many friends: unto whom he replied and asked: Whether he knew the true proof whereby a man might be aſſured that he had many friends? the other anſwered: No, but I pray you tell me: Why then (quoth he) it is * adverſity.

* Or proſperity.

Nicander, when one brought him word that the Argives ſpake ill of him: It makes no matter (quoth he) are they not ſufficiently chaſtiſed and puniſhed for railing upon good men? One asked of him wherefore the Lacedemonians wore their hair long of their heads, and ſuffered likewiſe their beards to grow ſide; unto whom he anſwered: Becauſe a mans own proper ornament is of all other the faireſt, and coſteth leaſt. A certain Athenian being in communication with him, caſt out this word: All you Lacedemonians (*Nicander*) love your eaſe well, and are idle: You ſay true indeed (quoth he) but we buſie not our ſelves as you do in every trifling matter.

Panthoidas, being ſent in embaſſage into *Aſia*, was ſhewed by the people of thoſe parts a certaine ſtrong City well fortified with high and goodly walls: Now by the gods (quoth he) my friends, this ſeems to be a trim Cloiſter to mue up women in. In the School of *Academy* the Philoſophers diſcourſed and diſputed as touching many good themes, and after they had made an end, they ſaid unto him: Now good Sir O *Panthoidas*, how like you theſe diſcourſes? What ſhould I think of them eiſe (quoth he) but that they are goodly and honeſt in ſhew, but ſurely profitable they are not, nor edifie at all, ſo long as your ſelves do not live accordingly.

Pauſanias the ſon of *Cleombrotus*, when the inhabitants of the Iſle *Delos* were at debate, and pleaded for the propriety of the ſaid Iſle againſt the Athenians, alledging for themſelves that by an old law (time out of mind) obſerved among them, there might none of their women bear children within the ſaid Iſland, nor any of their dead be buried there: How then (quoth he) can this Iſle be yours, if none of you were ever born or buried there? When certain exiled perſons from *Athens* ſollicited him to lead his Army againſt the Athenians, and for to provoke him rather thereto, ſaid: That they were the only men who hiſſed and whiſtled at the naming of him, when he was declared victor in the ſolemnity of the Olympick games: But what think you (quoth he) will they do when we have wrought them ſome ſhrewd turn, ſince they ſtick not to hiſſe at us being their benefactors? Another asked of him, wherefore the Lacedemonians had enfranchized the Poet *Tyrtæus* their Denizen? Becauſe (quoth he) we never would be thought to have a ſtranger or alien our leader and governour. There was a very weak and feeble man of body, who nevertheleſſe, ſeemed very earneſt and inſtant to make war upon the enemies. and to give them battel both on ſea and land: Will you (quoth he) ſtrip your ſelfe out of your cloaths, that we may ſee what a goodly man of perſon you are, to move and perſwade us for to fight? Some there were who ſeeing the ſpoyls that were taken from the dead bodies of the Barbarians after they were ſlain in the field, marvelled much at their ſumptuous and coſtly cloaths: It had been better (quoth he) that themſelves had been of more valour, and their habiliments of leſſe value. After the victory which the Greeks wan of the Perſians before the City *Platea*, he commanded thoſe about him to ſerve him up to the table that ſupper which the Perſians had provided for themſelves, which being wonderfull exceſſive and ſuperfluous: Now *Par-die* (quoth he) the Perſians are great gourmanders and greedy gluttons, who having ſo great ſtore of viands come hither among us, for to eat up our browne bread and couſe bisket.

Pauſanias the ſon of *Pliſtonax*, unto one who asked him, why it was not lawful in their country to alter any of their ancient Statutes, made this anſwer; Becauſe Laws ought to be miſtreſſes of men, and not men maſters of the Laws. Being exiled from *Sparta*, and making his abode within the City *Tegea*, he highly praiſed the Lacedemonians; one of the ſtanders by ſaid unto him: And why then ſtaied not you at *Sparta*, if there be ſo good men there? why I ſay, fled you from thence? Becauſe (quoth he) Phyſitians do not uſe to keep where folk be ſound and whole, but where they are ſick and diſeaſed. One came to him and ſaid: How ſhall we be able to defeat and conquer the Thracians? Marry (quoth he) if we chuſe the valianteſt man for our Captain. A certain Phyſician adviſed and looked upon him very wiſtly, and after he had well conſidered his perſon, ſaid: Thou aileſt nothing, neither is there any evil in thee: I think ſo (quoth he) becauſe I uſe none of thy counſel and phyſick. His friends reproved him for ſpeaking ill of a phyſician, of whom he had no proof nor experience, and at whoſe hands he had received no harm: True indeed (quoth he) I have made no trial of him; for if I had, ſurely I ſhould not have been a lives-man at this day. When a Phyſician ſaid unto him: You are now become old Sir: Thou ſayſt truth (quoth he) becauſe I have not entertained thee for to miniſter phyſick unto me. He was wont alſo to ſay: That he was the beſt Phyſician, who would not let his patiens rot above ground, but diſpatch them at once, and ſend them quickly to their graves.

Pedaretus, when one ſaid unto him: There is a great number of our enemies: Then (quoth he) ſhall we win greater honour, for kill we may the more of them. Seeing one who by nature was a very daſtard and coward, howbeit. commended otherwiſe by his fellow Citizens for his modeſty and mildneſs: I would not have men (quoth he) praiſed for being like women, nor women for reſembling men, unleſs peradventure a woman be driven upon ſome occaſion of extremity to play the man. Having the repulſe upon a time, when he ſhould have been choſen into the counſel of the three hundred, which was the moſt honourable degree of State in all the City, he departed from the aſſembly all jocund, merry and ſmiling; and when the *Ephori* called him back again, and demanded of him why he

laughed? Because (quoth he) I joy in the behalfe of the City, that it hath in it three hundred better and more sufficient Citizens then my selfe.

Pistarcus the son of *Leonidas*, when one enquired of him the cause why they carried not the denomination of their families from the names of their first Kings, but of the latter? Because (quoth he) those in the old time * chose rather to be Leaders then Kings; but their successors not. There was a certain Advocate at the bar, who in pleading for his Client, was full of his jests and frumps, never ceasing to scoff and move laughter: My friend (quoth he unto him) do you not consider and regard that in seeming to make others for to laugh, you will cause your selfe to be ridiculous and a laughing stock? even as those who by wrestling oft become good wrestlers? Report there was made unto him one day of a certain foul tongued fellow, who used to slander and back-bite all men, and yet spake all good of him: I wonder much (quoth he) if no man told him that I was dead; for surely he cannot for his life afford any man living one good word.

* Some read those: Were compelled of necessity to be captains or kings.

Plistonax the son of *Pausanias*, when a certain Athenian Orator called the Lacedemonians, unlettered and ignorant persons: Thou sayest true (quoth he) for we alone of all other Greeks, are the men who have learned no naughtinesse of you.

Polydorus the son of *Alchamenes*, said unto one who ordinarily did nothing else but menace his enemies: Doest thou not perceive how thou spendest the most part of thy revenge in these threats? He led upon a time the Army from *Lacedemon* against the City of *Messene*; and one demanded of him, whether his heart would serve to fight against brethren? No (quoth he) but I can find in mine heart to march into that inheritance which is not yet set out and parted by lots. The Argives, after the discomfiture of their three hundred men who fought against so many of the Lacedemonians, were defeated a second time, all in a ranged battel; by reason whereof, the allies and confederates of the Lacedemonians were earnest with *Polydorus* not to let slip so good an opportunity, but to follow the train of victory, and to go directly to the oppugnation of their City walls, and to win it by force; which he might effect right easily, considering that all the men were killed up in the field, and none but women left alive within, to defend the City; unto whom he answered: I am well appayed, and take this for my great honour and glory, that I have vanquished nine enemies in battel, fighting on even hand so many to so many; but being to determine the quarrel by dint of sword for our confines only, and having exploited that, to proceed forward, and covet to assault and win their City, I hold it not to be just and equal; for come I am to recover those lands of ours which they occupied, and not to seize upon their home-stalles. Being demanded why the Lacedemonians exposed themselves so manfully to the hazzard of war? It is (quoth he) because they have learned to reverence, and not to fear their Rulers and Captains.

Polycratidas being sent with others, in Embassage to the Lieutenants of the King of *Persia*, when they demanded of him and the rest, whether they were come of their own proper motion, or sent by commission from the State? If we speed of that (quoth he) which we demand, then are we come in the behalfe of the Common-weale; but if we misse, we come of our own heads.

Phœbidas immediately before the battel of *Leuctres*, when some gave out and said: This day will try and shew who is a good man; Such a day (quoth he) is much worth indeed, if it be able to shew a good man.

Sous, as it is reported (being upon a time straightly besieged by the Clitorians, in a place which was very rough and without water) made offer to render into their hands all those Lands which he had conquered from them, in case that he and all his company might drink at a certain fountain which was neer at hand: the Clitorians accorded thereto, and this covenant was concluded and confirmed by Oath between them: so he assembled all his men together, and declared unto them; That if there were any amongst them would abstein from drink, he would resign up into his hands all his soveraign power and royalty; but there was not one of all his troop who could contein and forbear, so exceeding thirsty they were all; but every man drunk heartily, himselfe only excepted, who went last down to the spring, where he did nothing else but cool and besprinkle his body without, in the presence of his very enemies, not taking one drop inwardly; by which evasion, he would not afterwards yeeld up the foresaid lands, but alledged that they had not all drunk.

Telecrus, when one came unto him and said; That his own father gave him always hard words; made him this answer; Surely, if there were not cause to use such speeches, he would never speak so. His brother also was discontented, and complained in this wise; The Citizens do not bear me such favour and kindnesse as they shew in your behalfe; notwithstanding we are the sons of one father and mother; but they misuse me most injuriously: The reason is (quoth he) because you know not how to put up a wrong as I do. Being demanded why the custome was in their country, that young men should rise up from their places where they were set, and do reverence unto their elders: It is (quoth he) to this end, that in doing this honour unto those, who nothing belonged unto them; they might learn so much the more to honour their Parents. Unto another that asked him of what wealth he was, and how much goods he had? he answered: I have no more then will suffice.

Charillus being asked the question why *Lycurgus* had given them so few laws? Because (quoth he) they have no need at all of many laws who speak but little. Another demanded of him the cause, why at *Sparta* they suffered to go forth into publick place, virgins with their faces open, but wives vailed and covered: For that (quoth he) maidens might find them out husbands to be wedded unto, and wives keep those whom they have married already. One of the slaves (called Ilotes) behaved himselfe upon a time over boldly and malapertly with him; unto whom he said: Were I not angry, I would kill thee at my foot. One asked him what kind of government he esteemed best? Even that (quoth he) wherein most men, in managing of publick affairs without quarrels and sedition, strive a vie who shall be most vertuous. And unto another who would needs know the reason, why at *Sparta* the images and statues of the gods were made in armour? he shaped this answer: To the end that the reproaches which are fastned upon men for cowardize, might not take hold of them; also that young men should never without their arms make their prayers unto the gods.

The Samiens had sent certain embassadours unto *Sparta*, who after audience given, were very long and somewhat tedious in their Orations; but when they had found the way to make an end, *The Lords of Sparta* made them this answer; The beginning of your speech we have forgotten, and we conceived not the rest because the beginning was out of our remembrance. The Thebans upon a time had contested bravely, and contradicted them stoutly in certain points in question, unto whom they answered thus: Either lesse hearts, or more puissance. There was one asked a Lacedemonian upon a time why he let his beard grow so long; Because (quoth he) whensoever I see my hoary and gray hairs, I might be put in mind to do nothing unbeseeming them. When another highly praised certain men for most valiant; a Lacedemonian heard him and said: Oh, such were sometime at *Great Troy*. Another of them hearing it spoken, that in certain Cities men were forced to drink after supper: And do they not (quoth he) compel them also to eat? The Poet *Pindarus* in one of his Canticles nameth the City of *Athens* the prop of *Greece*: Then will *Greece* quickly come tumbling down (quoth a Laconian) if it bear but upon so sleight a pillar. Another beheld a painted table, wherein was the portracture of the Lacedemonians, how they were killed by the Athenians, and when one that stood by said: Now surely these Athenians be valiant men: Yea marry (quoth he) in a picture. There was one seemed to take pleasure in hearing certain approbrious and slanderous words untruely given out against a Laconian, and to beleeve the same; but the party thus misused said: Cease to lend your ear against me. Another, when he was punished, went crying: If I have done amisse it was against my will: Why then (answered a Laconian) let it be against thy will also that thou art punished: Another seeing men going forth of the Country, set at their ease within Coaches: (God forbid (quoth he) that I should sit there where I cannot rise up to do my duty to him that is elder then my selfe. Certain Chians there were, who being come to see the City of *Sparta*, chanced to be well whittled and stark drunk, who after supper went to see also the consistory of the *Ephori*, where they cast up their gorges, yea, and that which more is, both vomited and discharged their guts, even upon the very chairs where the *Ephori* were wont to sit: the morrow after, the Lacedemonians made great search, and diligent enquiry at the first, who they were that thus had plaid the slovens and beasts, and namely, whether they were any of their own City or no: but when they understood that they were these strangers and travellers from *Chios*, they made open proclamation with sound of Trumpet; that they gave the Chians leave thus filthily to abuse themselves. Another Laconian seeing hard Almonds sold at the double price: What (quoth he) are stones so geason here? Another having plucked all the feathers off from a Nightingale, and seeing what a little body it had: Surely (quoth he) thou art all voice and nothing else. There was likewise a Lacedemonian, who seeing the Cynick Philosopher *Diogenes* in the midst of winter when it was extream cold, embracing and clipping a brazen statue very devoutly, asked him if he chilled not for cold? and when the other answered, No; Why then (quoth he) what great matter do you? A certain Laconian reproached upon a time one born in *Metapontium*, saying; They were all cowards and false-hearted like women: If it be so (quoth the Metapontine) how is it that we hold so much of other mens lands as we do? Why then (replied the Laconian) I see that you are not cowards only, but unjust also. A traveller being come to *Sparta* for to see the City, stood upright a long while upon one foot only, and said unto a Laconian, I do not think thou canst stand so long of one leg as I do; Not I indeed (quoth the other) but there is not a goose but can do as much. There was one vaunted greatly what a Rhetorician he was, and namely, that he was able to perswade what he would; now by *Castor* and *Pollux* I swear (quoth a Laconian) there never was, nor never will be any Art indeed without verity. A certain Argive boasted much, that there were in their city many graves and Tombs of the Lacedemonians: And contrariwise (quoth a Laconian) there is not among us one Sepulcher of the Argives; giving him thus much to understand, that the Lacedemonians had many times entred with a puissant Army into the Countrey of *Argos*, but the Argives never into the Territory of *Sparta*. A Laconian being taken prisoner in War (when he should be sold in port sale, as the Crier began with a loud voice to pronounce: Who will buy a Laconian, who) put his hand to the Criers mouth and said: Cry for Gods sake who will buy a prisoner? One of those mercenary Souldiers whom King *Lysimachus* waged, being demanded of him this question; Art thou one of these Lacedemonian Ilots? Why think you (quoth the other) that a Lacedemonian will deigne to come and serve for foure Obols by the day? After that the Thebans had defeated the Lacedemonians at the battel of *Leuctres*, they invaded the Country of *Laconia*, so farre as to the very River *Eurotas*; and one of them in boasting and glorious manner, began to say; And where be now these brave Laconians? what is become of them? a Laconian who was a Captive among them, streight-wayes made this answer; They are no where now indeed, for if they were, you would never have come thus far as you do. At what time as the Athenians delivered up their

Apophthegmes of Spartans and Laconians, whose names are not expressed.

own City into the hands of the Lacedemonians, for to be at their discretion, they requested that at leastwise they would leave them the Isle *Samos*: unto whom the Laconians made this answer: When you are not masters of your own, do you demand that which is other mens: hereupon arose the common proverb throughout all *Greece*:

Who cannot that which was his own save,
The Isle of Samos *would yet fain have.*

The Lacedemonians forced upon a time a certain City, and won it by assault; which the *Ephori* being advertised of, said thus: Now is the exercise of our young men clean gone, now shall they have no more concurrents to keep them occupied. When one of their Kings made promise unto them for to raze another City and destroy it utterly (if they so would) which oftentimes before had put those of *Lacedemon* to much trouble; the said *Ephori* would not permit him, saying thus unto him: Do not demolish and take away quite the whetstone that giveth an edge to the hearts of our youth. The same *Ephori* would never allow that there should be any professed Masters, to teach their young men for to wrestle and exercise other feats of activity: To this end (say they) that there might be jealousie and emulation among them, not inartificial slight, but in force and vertue. And therefore when one demanded of *Lysander*, how *Charon* had in wrestling overcome him, and laid him along on the plaine ground: Even by slight and cunning (quoth he) and not by pure strength. *Philip* King of *Macedonia*, before he made entry into their Countrey, wrote unto them to this effect: Whether they had rather that he entred as a Friend, or as an Enemy: unto whom they returned this answer; Neither one nor the other. When they had sent an Embassadour to *Demetrius* the Sonne of *Antigonus*, having intelligence that the said Embassadour in parley with him, extoones gave him the name of King, they condemned him to pay a fine when hee was returned home, notwithstanding that he brought as a present and gratuity from the said *Demetrius*, in time of extream famine, a certaine measure of Corne called *Medimnus*, for every poll throughout the whole City. It happened that a lewd and wicked man delivered in a certain consultation very good Counsel: this advice of his they approved right well, howbeit receive it they would not comming out of his mouth, but caused it to be pronounced by another, who was known to be a man of good life. Two brethren there were at variance, and in sute of law together; the *Ephori* set a good fine upon their Fathers head, for that he neglected his sons, and suffered them to maintaine quarrel and debate one against another. A certaine Musician who was a stranger and a traveller, they likewise condemned to pay a summe of money, for that he struck the strings of his Harp with his fingers. Two boyes fought together, and one gave the other a mortal wound with a sickle or reaping hook; and when the boy that was hurt lay at the point of death, and was ready to yield up the ghost, other companions of his promised to be revenged for his death, and to kil the other, who thus deadly had wounded him: Do not so I beseech you (quoth he) as you love the Gods, for that were injustice; and even I my selfe had done as much for him, if I had been ought, and could have raught him first. There was another young lad, unto whom certaine mates and fellows of his (in that season wherein young lads were permitted freely to filch whatsoever they could handsomely come by, but reputed it was a shameful and infamous thing for them to be surprized and taken in the manner) brought a young Cub or little Fox to keep alive, which they had stolen: those who had lost the said Cub came to make search; now had this lad hidden it close under his cloathes, and the unhappy beast being angred, gnawed and bit him in the flank, as far as to his very bowels, which he endured resolutely, and never quetched at it, for fear he should be discover'd: but after all others were gone and the search past, when his companions saw what a shrewd turn the curst cub had done him; they chid him for it, saying, That it had been far better to have brought forth the Cub and shewed him, rather then to hide him thus with danger of death: Nay I wis (quoth he) for I had rather die with all the dolorous torments in the world, then for to save my life shamefully to be detected so, for want of a good heart. Some there were who encountered certaine Laconians upon the way in the Country, unto whom they said: Happy are you that can come now this way, for the theeves are but newly gone from hence: Nay forsooth (by god *Mars* we swear) we are never the happier therefore; but they rather, because they are not fallen into our hands. One demanded of a Laconian upon a time, what he knew and was skilful in? Marry in this, to be free. A young lad of *Sparta* being taken prisoner by King *Antigonus*, and sold among other Captives, obeyed him who had bought him in all things that he thought meet for to be done by a freeman; but when he commanded to bring him an Urinal or Chamber-pot to pisse in; he would not endure that indignity, but said: Fetch it your selfe for me, I am no servant for you in such ministeries: now when his Master urged him thereto and pressed hard upon him; he ran up to the ridge, or roof of the house, and said; You shall see what an one you have bought; and with that cast himselfe down with his head forward, and brake his own neck. Another there was to be sold; and when the party who was about him, said thus; Wilt thou be good and profitable if I do buy thee? Yea, that I will (quoth he) though you never buy me. Another there was likewise upon sale in open market, and when the Crier proclaimed aloud: Here is a slave, who buyes him, who? A shame take thee (quoth he) couldst not thou say, a Captive or Prisoner, but a slave. A Laconian had for the badge or ensign of his Buckler a Flie painted and the same no bigger then one is naturally; whereupon some mocked him and said: That he had made choice of this ensign because he would not be known by it: Nay rather (quoth he) I did it, because I would be the better marked: for I mean to approach mine enemies so neer, that they may see how great or little my cognisance is. Another there was, who when there was tendered unto him at the end of a Banquet, the Harp to play upon according to the custome of *Greece*, refused it and said: The Laconians have not yet learned to play the fools. One asked a Spartan one, if the way that led to *Sparta*, were safe or no? but he answered thus: Even according as a man doth go down thither: for *they who go thither as Lyons, be hardly entreated and rue their comming: but Hares we hunt from under the shade of their borroughs. In wrestling it chanced that a Laconian was caught hold on by the neck, and notwithstanding that he strove what he could to make the other leave his hold; yet he forced him and made him stoop groveling downward to the ground: the Laconian seeing himselfe feeble in the reins of the back, and at the point to be laid along, bit the others arm who held him so hard, whereupon he began to cry: What thou Laconian, doest thou bite like women? No (quoth he) but I bite as Lyons use to do. A certain Laconian who was maimed and lame of his leg went to warfare, whereupon some mocked him; but he said unto them: It is not for those to go into the wars who are good at footmanship, and can run away apace; but such as are able to make good their ground and keep well their rank. Another Laconian being shot thorow the body with an arrow, when he was at the point to yeeld up his vital breath, said thus: It never grieves me to lose my life, but to die by the hand of an effeminate archer, before I came to hand-stroaks, that is it that troubleth me. Another being come to an Hostelry, or Inne to be lodged in, gave his host that kept the Inne, a piece of flesh to dresse for his supper; but he called for cheese besides and oyl: And what needs that (quoth the Laconian) if I had cheese, do you think that I would desire to have any viands more? Another hearing the Merchant named *Lampis*, born in *Ægina*, highly praised and esteemed happy, for that he was exceeding rich, and had many great ships going at sea; I never (quoth he) make reckoning of that felicity, which hangeth by ropes and cords. Another likewise answered unto one who said unto him: Thou lyest Laconian: And why not (quoth he) we are free, as for others that happen to speak untruths, they are well punished for it and cry out, alas. There was a Laconian who laboured hard to make a dead body stand upright upon his feet; but when he saw that he could not bring his purpose to effect, do what he could: Now by *Jupiter* (quoth he) there wanteth somewhat that should be within. *Tynnichus* the Laconian, when his son *Thrasybulus* was slain in the war, took his death very well, and like a man, whereupon was this Epigram made:

Thy body was upon the shield
O Thrasybulus *brought*
All breathlesse to the armed troop,
from place where thou hadst fought:
Seven deadly wounds at Argives hands
thou didst receive in fight,
And on the forepart of thy corps,
thou showedst them all in sight,
Thy Father old Sir Tynnichus
it took with blood be raid,
And putting it in funeral fire,
with good cheer thus he said:
Let cowards weep and waile thy death;
but I thy Father kind,
Will shed no tears; nor semblance make
of sad and grieved mind:
But thee interr (my son) as doth
beseem thy Fathers child,
And as a true Laconian,
who loves to die in field.

The Master of the bains where *Alcibiades* the Athenian was wont to bath and wash himselfe, poured great store of water upon his body more then ordinarily upon others; a Laconian being then by said: It seemeth that he is not clean and neat, but that he is exceeding foule and filthy, that hee bestoweth so much water upon him. When King *Philip* of *Macedonia* entred with a main Army into *Laconia*, at what time as it was thought all the Lacedemonians were killed up and dead, he said unto one of the Spartans: O poor Laconians, what will you do now? what else (quoth the Laconian) but die valiantly like men; for we alone of all other Greeks have been taught to live free and not to serve in bondage under any others. After that King *Agis* was vanquished, *Antipater* the King demanded of the Lacedemonians for hostages, fifty children of theirs; *Eteocles* one of the *Ephori* for the time being returned this answer: That he would not deliver into his hands any of their children, for fear they would learn ill manners and lewd conditions; for that they should not be brought up and nurtured in the discipline of their own country, and wanting it they would not prove so much as good Citizens; but if he would be so content, he should receive for pledges women or old men twice as many. And when he menaced hereupon and said: That he would work him all the despite that possibly he could; they answered all with one accord: If thou impose upon us those conditions which are more grievous then death, we shall die with so much the better will. One old

* Otherwise thus: VVe go forth to chase Lyons, but Hares we hunt in their harborroughs

man desirous to see the combats at the Olympick games, could not get a room to sit in, but passed along by many places, and no man would make him room, but fell to laugh and make good game at him, until he came at length to that quarter of the whole Theater, whereas the Lacedemonians were set; and there all the Children, yea and many of the men rose up unto him, and offered him their place: all the whole assembly of the Greeks observed well this behaviour of theirs, and with great applause and clapping of hands, approved and praised the same; then the good old Father

Shaking his head with hairs all gray,
His beard also as hoare as they,

and weeping withal: Ah, God help (quoth he) what a world is this: that Greeks should all of them know well enough what is good and honest; but the Lacedemonians onely practice it? Some write, that the same happed in *Athens* also, at the festival solemnity called *Panathenæa*: where those of *Attica* played mock-holiday, and made themselves merry with a poor old man, who they seemed to call unto them (as it were) to give him a place among them; but after he was come to them, no room he could have with them, but was well mocked and frumped for his labour: howbeit, when he had passed along by all the rest, at length he came to a place where certain Embassadours of *Lacedemon* were set, and they made him room, and set him among them; the people there assembled, taking great pleasure to see this act, clapped their hands aloud, with great acclamation, in token that they approved it; then one of the Spartans, who there was: By the two twin-gods, *Castor* and *Pollux* (quoth he) I sweat, these Athenians know what is good and honest, but they do not according to their knowledg. A begger upon a time craved alms of a Laconian, who answered him thus. But if I should give thee any thing, thou wouldst make an occupation of it, and beg still so much the more: for verily, whosoever he was that first bestowed almes upon thee, was the cause of this villanous life which thou leadest now, and hath made thee so vagrant and idle as thou art. Another Laconian seeing a Collector going about, and gathering mens devotions for the gods, said thus: I will now make no more reckoning of the gods, so long as they be poorer then my self. A certain Spartan having taken an Adulterer in bed with his Wife, a foul and ilfavoured woman; Wretched man that thou art (quoth he) what necessity hath driven thee to this? Another having heard an Orator making long Periods, and drawing out his sentence in length: Now by *Castor* and *Pollux*, what a valiant man is here? how he rolleth and roundly turneth his tongue about, and all to no purpose. A traveller passing thorow *Lacedemon*, marked among other things, what great honour and reverence young folk did to their elders: I perceive (quoth he) there is no place to *Sparta*, for an old man to live in. A Spartan was upon a time asked the question, what manner of Poet *Tyrtæus* was? A good Poet beleeve me (quoth he) to * whet and sharpen the courages of young men to war. Another having very bad and diseased eyes, would needs go to warfare: and when others said unto him: Wilt thou go indeed in that case as thou art in? what deed thinkest thou to do there? Why (quoth he) if I do no other good else, I will be sure to dull the brightnesse of mine enemies sword. *Buris* and *Spertis*, two Lacedemonians, voluntarily departed out of their country, and went to *Xerxes* King of *Persia*, offering themselves to suffer that pain and punishment, which the Lacedemonians had deserved by the sentence of the Oracle of the gods, for killing those Heralds which the King had sent unto them; who being come before him, were desirous that he should put them to death in what manner he would himselfe, for to acquit the Lacedemonians: the King wondering at this resolution of theirs, not only pardoned the fault, but earnestly requested them to stay with him, promising them liberal entertainment: And how can we (say they) live here, abandoning our native soil, our laws, and those kind of men, for whose sake to die we have so willingly undertaken this long voyage? and when a great Captain under the King, named *Indarnes*, intreated them still very instantly, assuring them upon his word, that they should be kindly used, and in equal degree of credit and honour, with those who were in highest favour with the King, and most advanced by him, they said unto him: It seemeth unto us Sir, that you full little know what is liberty and freedom; for he that wist what a Jewel it were, if he be in his right wits, would not change the same for the whole Realme of *Persia*. A certain Laconian as he way-fared, came unto a place where there dwelt an old friend an host of his, who the first day, of purpose avoided him, and was out of the way, because he was not minded to lodge him; but the morrow after, when he had either hired or borrowed fair bedding, coverings and carpets, received him very stately; but this Laconian mourning up to his beds, trampled and stamped the fair and rich coverlets under his feet, saying withal: I beshrew these fine beds and trim furniture, for they were the cause that yesternight I had not so much as a mat to lie upon, when I should sleep and take my rest. Another of them, being arrived at the City of *Athens*, and seeing there the Athenians going up and down the City, some crying salt-fish to sell, others flesh and such like viands; some like Publicans, sitting at the receit of custome, other professing the trade of keeping brothel-houses; and exercising many such vile and base occupations, esteeming nothing at all foul and dishoneſt: after he was returned home into his own countrey, when his neighbours and fellow Citizens asked him, what news at *Athens*, and how all things stood there: Passing well (quoth he) and it is the best place that ever I came in (which he spake by way of mockery and derision) every thing there is good and honest; giving them to understand, that all means of gain and lucre, were held lawful and honest at *Athens*, and nothing there was counted villanous and dishoneſt. Another Laconian being asked a question, answered; No: and when the party who moved the question said: Thou lyest; the Laconian replied again, and said; See what a fool thou art, to ask me that which thou knowest well enough thy self. Certain Laconians were sent upon a time, Embassadours to *Lygdamis* the Tyrant, who put them off from day to day, and baſted with them so, as he gave them no audience: at the last, it was told them, that at all times he was weak and ill at ease, and not in case to be conferred with: the Embassadours thereupon said unto him who brought this word unto them: Tell him from us, that we are not come to wrestle, but to parle only with him. A certain Priest inducted a Laconian into the orders and ceremonies of some holy Religion; but before that he would fully receive and admit him, he demanded of him what was the most grievous sin that ever he committed, and which lay heaviest upon his conscience? The gods know that best (quoth the Laconian:) but when the Priest pressed hard upon him, and was very importunate, protesting that there was no remedy, but he must needs utter and confesse it: Unto whom (quoth the Laconian) must I tell it, unto you, or to the God whom you serve? Unto God (quoth the other:) Why then turn you behind mee (quoth he) or retire aside out of hearing: Another Laconian chanced in the night to go over a Church-yard by a Tomb or Monument, and imagined that he saw a spirit standing before him; whereupon he advanced forward directly upon it with his javelin; and as he ran full upon it, and as he thought, struck thorow it, he said withall: Whither flieſt thou from me, ghoſt that thou art, now twice dead? Another having vowed to sling himselfe headlong from the high Promontory *Lucas*, down into the Sea, mounted up the top thereof, but when he saw what an huge downfal it was, he gently came down again on his feet: now when one twitted and reproached him therefore: I wist not (quoth he) that this vow of mine had need of another greater then it. Another Laconian there was, who in a battel and hot medly, being fully minded to kill his enemy who was under him, and to that purpose had lifted up his sword back, to give him a deadly wound: so soon as ever he heard the trumpet sound the retreat, presently stayed his hand, and would no more follow his stroak: now when one asked him, why he slew not his enemy whom he had in his hands? Because (quoth he) it is better to obey a Captain, then to kil an enemy. There was a Laconian took the foil in wrestling at the Olympick games; and when one cried aloud: Thy concurrent is better then thou, Laconian: Better (quoth he) not so, but indeed he can skill better then I of supplanting and tripping.

* καλαγεῖν Some interpret cleane contrary, and reade ἀκάλλειν, or καλλύνειν. *i. d.* to allure, to dulce, gently handle, or adorn the mind.

The Customes and Ordinances among the Lacedemonians.

THe manner and custome was at *Lacedemon*, that when they entred into their publick Halls where they took their meats and meals together; the eldest man of the whole company should shew the doors unto every one as they came, and say unto them: At these doores there goeth not forth so much as one word. The most exquisite dish among them was a messe of broth, which they called Black pottage; insomuch as when that was served up to the table, the elder folk would not care for any flesh meats, but leave all the same for the younger sort. And (as it is reported) *Dionysius* Tyrant of *Sicily*, for this purpose bought a Cook from *Lacedemon*, and commanded him to make him such pottage, and spare for no cost; but after he had a little tasted thereof, he found it so bad that he cast up all that he had taken of it: but his Cook said unto him: Sir, if you would find the goodnesse of this broth, you must be exercised first after the Lacedemonian manner, all naked, and be well washed in the River *Eurotas*. Now after the Laconians have eat and drunk soberly at these ordinaries, they return home to their houses without torch, or any light before them; for it is not lawful for any man at *Lacedemon*, to go either from thence, or to any place else with a light carried before him in the night; because they should be accustomed to keep their way, and go confidently without fear, all night long in the dark without any light at all. To write and read they learned for necessity only; as for all other forraign Sciences and Literature they banished them quite out of their coasts, like as they did all strangers and aliens; and in very truth their whole study was to learn how to obey their superiours, to endure patiently all travels, to vanquish in fight, or to die for it in the place. All the year long they went in one single gaberdine without coat at all under it; and ordinarily they were foul and sullied, as those who used not the stouphs and bains, nor yet annointed themselves for the most part. Their boies and young men commonly slept together in one dorter, by bands and troups, upon pallets and course beds, which they themselves gathered, breaking and tearing with their own hands without any edged toole, the heads of canes and reeds which grew along the banks of the River *Eurotas*; and in winter time they strewed and mingled among, a certain kind of Thistle-down, which they call *Lycophanes*; for they are of opinion, that such stuff hath in it (I wot not what) which doth heat them. It was lawful and permitted among them to love young boies for their good minds and vertuous natures; but to abuse their persons wantonly and fleshly, was reputed a most infamous thing, as if such were lovers of the body and not of the mind; in such sort, as whosoever was accused and attaint thereof, became noted with infamy, and shame followed him wheresoever he went all his life time. The custome was that elder

elder folk when and whereſoever they met with younger, ſhould demand whither and whereabout they went? yea and check and chide them, if they were to ſeek of a good anſwer, or if they went about to deviſe colourable excuſes: and whoſoever he was that did not reprove him that did a fault in his preſence, incurred the ſame reprehenſion and blame as he did who tranſgreſſed; yea and if he chaſed and ſhewed himſelfe diſcontented, when he was reproved, he ſuſtained reproach, diſgrace and diſcredit thereby. If peradventure one were ſurpriſed and taken tardy in ſome fault; he muſt be brought to a certain Altar within the City, and there forced to go round about it ſinging a ſong, made of purpoſe for his own reproofe, and containing naught elſe, but the blame and accuſation of himſelfe. Moreover, young folk were not only to honour their own Fathers, and to be obedient unto them; but alſo to ſhew reverence unto all other elder perſons; namely, in yeelding them the better hand, in turning out of their way when they meet them, and giving them the wall, in riſing up from their ſeats before them when they came in place, and in ſtanding ſtill when they paſſed by: and therefore every man had a certain hand of government, and diſpoſe, not only (as in other Cities) over their own children, their proper ſervants and goods; but alſo they had a regard of their neighbours children, ſervants and goods, as well as if they had been their own: they made uſe alſo of them as of things common, to the end, that to each one every thing might be (as it were) his own in propriety. Whereupon, if it fortuned that a child having been chaſtiſed by another man, went to complain thereof to his own Father: it was a ſhame for the ſaid Father, if he gave him not his payment again: for by the ordinary courſe of diſcipline in that country, they were aſſured, that their neighbours would impoſe nothing upon their children, but that which was good and honeſt. Young lads were uſed to filch and ſteal whatſoever they could come by, for their food and victuals; yea and they learned from their very infancy, to forelay and lie prettily in ambuſh for to ſurpriſe thoſe who were aſleep, and ſtood not well upon their guards: but ſay that one were taken in the manner when he ſtealeth; this was his puniſhment, namely, to be whipped and to faſt from meat: expreſly therefore and of very purpoſe they were allowed very little to eat, to the end that they might be driven upon very extream neceſſity to make ſhifts and expoſe themſelves venturouſly into any danger, yea and to deviſe alwayes ſome cunning caſt or other to ſteal more cleanly: but generally the reaſon and effect of this their ſtrait diet was, that they ſhould long before accuſtome their bodies never to be full, but able to endure hunger; for that indeed they were of opinion, that they ſhould be the meeter for ſouldiery, if they could take pains and travel without food: yea and that it was a good means to be more continent, ſober and thrifty, if they were taught and inured to continue a long time with ſmall coſt and expenſe: to be brief, perſwaded they were; That to abſtain eating of fleſh or fiſh dreſſed in the kitchin, or to feed ſavourly of bread, or any other viands that came next to hand, made mens bodies more healthy, and cauſed them to burniſh and grow up; for that the natural ſpirits not preſſed nor over-charged with a great quantity of meat, and ſo by that means not kept and depreſſed downward, but diſperſed and ſpread in largeneſſe and breadth, gave liberty for the bodies to ſhoot up, wax tall, and perſonable; yea and made them more faire and beautiful; for that the habitudes and complexions which be ſlender, lank and empty, are more obſequent unto that natural vertue and faculty which giveth form and faſhion to the limbs: whereas thoſe who be corpulent, groſſe, full, and given to much feeding, by reaſon of weight and heavineſſe reſiſt the ſame. They ſet their minds alſo to compoſe and make proper ditties and ballads, yea, and no leſſe ſtudious are they to ſing the ſame; having alwayes in theſe their compoſitions, a certain prick or ſting (as it were) to ſtir up and proyoke their courage and ſtomach, to enſpire alſo into the hearts of the hearers a conſiderate reſolution, and an ardent zeal and affection to do ſome brave deed: the ditties were plain, ſimple, and without all affectation; containing in manner nothing elſe, but the praiſes of thoſe who had lived vertuouſly, and died valiantly in the Wars for the defence of *Sparta*, as being of all others moſt happy; as alſo the blame and reproach of ſuch as for cowardiſe and faint heart were afraid to die, whom they accounted to live a wretched and miſerable life. Moreover they ſtood much upon promiſes of future prowеſſe, or vaunteries of preſent valour, according to the diverſity of their ages who chanted the ſaid ſongs; for always in their ſolemn and publike feaſts, three quiers or dances there were: one of all folk, and the foreburthen of their Canticle was this;

The time was when we gallant were,
Youthful and hardy, void of fear.

Next to it came in place a Dance of men in their beſt age and full ſtrength, who anſwered them in this wiſe:

But we are come to proof; and now at beſt;
Try who that liſt, to fight we are now preſt.

And a third followed after of Children, who chaunted thus:

And we one day ſhall be both tall and ſtrong,
Surpaſſing far, if that we live ſo long.

Now their very notes and tunes to the meaſures and numbers whereto they danced and marched in battel againſt their enemies after the ſound of the flute, were appropriate and fitted to incite their hearts to valour, confident ſecurity, and contempt of death: for *Lycurgus* did ſtudy and endeavour to join the exerciſe and practiſe of military diſcipline with the pleaſure of muſick, to the end, that war-like and vehement motions being mingled and delayed with ſweet melody, might be tempered with

with a delectable accord and harmony; and therefore in battels before the charge and firſt ſhock of the conflict, their King was wont to ſacrifice unto the Muſes, for this intent; that the ſouldiers in fight might have the grace to perform ſome glorious and memorable exploits. But if any man paſſed one point beyond this ancient muſick, they would not endure him, inſomuch as the *Ephori* ſet a fine upon the head of *Terpander* (though otherwiſe he loved antiquity well enough, and was the beſt harper in his time, yea and took greateſt delight to praiſe the heroick acts of the renowned worthies in times paſt) and more then that; they hung up his harp upon a ſtake or poſt, onely becauſe he had ſet to it one ſtring more then ordinary, whereby he might vary his voice the better with more ſundry notes; for they allowed no ſongs nor ſonnets, but ſuch as were plain and ſimple; and when *Timotheus* at the firſt *Carneia* played upon the Harp for to win the prize, one of the *Ephori* taking a skein or knife in his hand, asked him, on whether ſide, above or beneath, he would rather have him to cut a two the ſtrings which were more then ſeven. Moreover, *Lycurgus* took from them all vain and ſuperſtitious fear, as touching ſepulchres, permitting them to bury their dead within the City, and to rear their Monuments and Tombs round about the Temples of their gods: he cut off likewiſe all pollutions of mortuaries, and would not give them leave to enterre any thing with the Corps, but only to enwrap the ſame within a winding ſheet of red cloath, together with Olive leaves ſtrewed among, and the ſame indifferently to all bodies, no more to one then another; ſemblably he put down all Epitaphs and ſuperſcriptions upon graves, unleſſe it were for ſuch as loſt their lives in battel; forbidding all mourning and doleful lamentations. Furthermore it was unlawful for them to make voyages into ſtrange Countries, for fear they ſhould learn forraign faſhions, and uncivil manners, favouring of no good bringing up; and for the ſame reaſon, *Lycurgus* baniſhed aliens out of the City, leſt if they ſhould thither reſort, by reaſon of their confluence, they might teach and ſhew the Citizens their vices. And as for Citizens born, if any of them would not ſuffer their Children to be brought up according to the diſcipline and inſtitution of the City, they might not enjoy the rights and priviledges of free burgeſſie. Some ſay alſo that *Lycurgus* ordained; If a very alien would yeeld to the obſervation of his diſcipline, and be ranged under the policy of the State, he might enjoy one of thoſe portions which from the beginning was ſet out and appointed; but he was not allowed to ſell the ſame. The manner and cuſtome was in *Lacedemon*, to make uſe of their neighbours ſervants, even as well as of their own, whenſoever they had any buſineſſe, or occaſion to employ them; as alſo to make bold with their Horſes and Hounds, unleſſe the Owners themſelves and Maſters had preſent need of them. In the countrey alſo and territory of *Laconia*, if they ſtood in need of any thing that was in their neighbours houſe, they would go boldly and ask no leave, to their cupboords, preſſes, coffers, and ſuch places where the thing was, make no more ado but open them, take out and carry away whatſoever they thought good, ſo he made faſt and ſhut again the room out of which they had taken ought. To warfare they went in red liveries, both for that they thought this colour more decent for a man, as alſo becauſe it reſembled blood, it ſtruck the greater fear into thoſe who were not uſed thereto; beſides, there was good uſe and profit thereof in this reſpect, that if any of them happened to be wounded, the enemy could not ſo perceive it, becauſe that colour looked ſo like unto blood. Whenſoever they had vanquiſhed their enemies by ſome ſtratagem that their Captains uſed, their manner was to ſacrifice an Ox unto *Mars*; but if they got a victory by fine force and open manhood, they ſacrificed a Cock, by which meanes, they acuſtomed their leaders to be not only valiant, but alſo politick warriours. Among other prayers that they made unto the gods, this was ever one: That they might have the power and grace to bear wrongs: but the ſum of all their ſupplications was this: That the gods would vouchſafe them honour for well doing, and no more. They worſhipped the goddeſſe *Venus* in her compleat armor, and made all the images of their gods, as well female as male, with lances and javelins in their hands, as if they all had military and martial vertue in them. Alſo they uſed this ſaying as a common proverb,

Call upon fortune in each enterpriſe,
With hand ſtretcht forth, not otherwiſe.

As if they would ſay, that we ought, when we invocate the gods, to enterpriſe ſomewhat our ſelves, and lay out hands to work, or elſe not to call upon them. They uſed to let their children ſee the Ilotes when they were drunk, to keep them by their example from drinking much wine. They never knocked and rapped at their neighbours doors, but ſtood without, and called aloud to thoſe within. The curry-combs that they occupied were not of iron, but of canes and reeds. They never heard any Comedies or Tragedies acted, becauſe neither in earneſt nor in game they would not hear thoſe that any wiſe contradicted the Laws. When *Archilochus* the Poet was come to *Sparta*, they drove him out the very ſame hour that he came, for that they knew he had made theſe verſes, wherein he delivered: That it was better to fling away weapons then to die in the field:

A foole he is, who truſting in his ſhield,
Doth venture life and limb in bloody field:
As for mine own, I have it flung me fro,
And left behind in buſhes thick that grow.

Others tranſlate it thus.

Some Saïan now, in that my doughty ſhield
Doth take great joy, which flying out of field,

Though

Though full againſt my mind, I flang me fro
And left behind in buſhes thick that grow.
Although it were right good, yet would not I
Preſume to fight with it, and ſo to die:
Farewel my ſhield, though thou be loſt and gone,
Another day as good I ſhall buy one.

All their ſacred and holy ceremonies were common, as well for their daughters as their ſons. The *Ephori* condemned one *Siraphidas*, to pay a ſum of money, for that he ſuffered himſelfe to take wrong and abuſe at many mens hands. They cauſed one to be put to death for playing the Hypocrite, and wearing ſackcloth like a publick penitent, for that the ſaid ſackcloth was purfled with a border of purple. They rebuked and checked a young man as he came from the ordinary place of exerciſe, for that he frequented it ſtill, knowing as he did the way to *Pytea*, where was held the aſſembly of the States of *Greece*. They chaſed out of the City a Rhetorician named *Cephiſophon*, becauſe he made his boaſt; That he could ſpeak if it were a whole day of any Theam propoſed unto him; for they ſaid: That ſpeech ought to be proportionable to the ſubject matter. Their Children would endure to be laſhed and whipped all the day long, yea, and many times even to death, upon the Altar of *Diana*, ſirnamed *Orthia*; taking joy and pleaſure therein, ſtriving a vie for the victory who could hold out longeſt; and look who was able to abide moſt beating, he was beſt eſteemed, and carried away the greateſt praiſe: this ſtrife and emulation among them was called the *Whippado*; and once every year they obſerved ſuch an exerciſe. But one of the beſt and moſt commendable and bleſſed things that *Lycurgus* provided for his Citizens; was the plenty and abundance that they had of reſt and leiſure: for they were not allowed at all to meddle with any mechanical art; and to traffick and negotiate painfully for to gather and heap up goods, was in no wiſe permitted; for he had ſo wrought, that riches among them was neither honoured nor deſired. The Ilotes were they that ploughed and tilled their ground for them, yeelding them as much as in old time was ſet down and ordained; and execrable they eſteemed it to exact more of any of them, to the end that thoſe Ilotes for the ſweetneſſe of gaine which they found thereby, might ſerve them more willingly, and themſelves covet to have no more then the old rate. Forbidden likewiſe were the Lacedemonians to be mariners, or to fight at ſea; yet afterwards for all that, they fought naval battels, and became Lords of the Sea; howbeit they ſoon gave that over, when they once ſaw that the manners and behavior of their Citizens were thereby corrupted and depraved: but they changed afterwards againe, and were mutable, as well in this as in all other things: for the firſt that gathered and hoarded up money for the Lacedemonians, were condemned to death, by reaſon that there was an ancient Oracle, which delivered this anſwer unto *Alcameneſ* and *Theopompus*, two of their Kings.

Avarice one day (whoever lives to ſee)
Of Sparta *City will the ruine bee.*

And yet *Lyſander*, after he had won the City of *Athens*, brought into *Sparta* a great maſſe of Gold and Silver, which the Citizens received willingly, and did great honour unto the man himſelfe for his good ſervice. True it is, that ſo long as the City of *Sparta* obſerved the Laws of *Lycurgus*, and kept the Oaths which it was ſworn by, ſhe was a Paragon, yea, and the ſoveraign of all *Greece*, in good government and glory for the ſpace of 300. years: but when they came once to tranſgreſſe the ſaid Laws and brake their Oaths, avarice and covetouſneſſe crept in among them by little and little, and they with all their puiſſance and authority decreaſed, yea and their allies and confederates hereupon began to be ill affected unto them: and yet being as they were in this declining eſtate, after that King *Philip* of *Macedonia* had won the battel at *Charonea* when all other Cities and States of *Greece*, by a general conſent, and with one accord had choſen him the general Captain of all the Greeks, as well for Land as Sea, yea, and after him his Son *Alexander* the Great, upon the deſtruction of the City *Thebes*, only the Lacedemonians, notwithſtanding their City lay all open, without any wall about it, and themſelves were brought to a very ſmall number, by occaſion of their continual wars, which had waſted and conſumed them, whereby they were become very feeble, and by conſequence more eaſie to be defeated then ever before, yet for that they had retained ſtill ſome little reliques of the government eſtabliſhed by *Lycurgus*, they would never yeeld to ſerve under thoſe two mighty Monarchs, no nor other Kings of *Macedonia* their ſucceſſors, neither would they be preſent at the general diets and common aſſemblies of other States, nor contribute any money with the reſt, untill they having utterly caſt aſide and rejected the Laws of *Lycurgus*, they were held under and yoaked with the tyranny of their own Citizens; namely, when they retained no part of the ancient diſcipline, whereby they grew like unto other nations, and utterly loſt their old reputation, glory and liberty of frank ſpeech, ſo as in the end they were brought into ſervitude, and even at this day bee ſubject unto the Roman Empire, as well as other Cities and States of *Greece*.

The

The Apophthegmes, that is to ſay, the noble Sayings and Anſwers of Lacedemonian Dames.

Argileonis the mother of *Braſidas*; (after that her ſon was ſlaine, when certain Embaſſadours from the City *Amphipolis* came to *Sparta*, and viſited her;) demanded of them, whether her ſon died like a valiant man, and as became a Spartan; now when they praiſed him exceedingly, ſaying that he was the braveſt man in arms in all *Lacedemon*; ſhe ſaid again unto them: My ſon was indeed a Knight of valour and honour (my good friends;) but *Lacedemon* hath many others yet more valiant then he was.

Gorgo, the daughter of King *Cleomenes*, when *Ariſtagoras* the Mileſian was come to *Sparta*, for to ſollicit *Cleomenes* to make war upon the King of *Perſia*, in the defence of the Ionians freedom; and in conſideration hereof promiſed him a good round ſum of money; and the more that he contradicted and denied the motion, the more he ſtill augmented the ſum of money which he promiſed: Father (quoth ſhe) this ſtranger here will corrupt you, if you ſend him not the ſooner out of your houſe. Alſo when her father willed her one day to deliver certain corn unto a man, by way of a reward and recompence, ſaying withal: For this is he who hath taught me how to make wine good: How now, good father (quoth ſhe) ſhall there be more wine drunk ſtill, conſidering that they who drink thereof become more delicate and leſſe valorous? When ſhe ſaw how *Ariſtagoras* had one of his men to put on his ſhooes: Father (quoth ſhe) here is a ſtranger that hath no hands. When ſhe ſaw a forraigner comming toward her who was wont to go ſoftly and delicately, ſhe thruſt him from her and ſaid: Avaunt idle luſk as thou art, and get thee gone, for thou art not ſo good of deed as a woman.

Gyrtias, when *Acrotatus* her Nephew or Daughters Son, (from out of a braule and fray that was between him and other younkers his companions) was brought home with many a wound, inſomuch as no man looked for life; ſeeing his familiar friends, and thoſe of his acquaintance, waile and take on piteouſly: What (quoth ſhe) let be this weeping and lamentation, for now hath he ſhewed of what blood he is deſcended; neither ought we to cry out and bewaile for the hurts of valiant men, but rather to go about their cure and ſalve them, if haply we may ſave their lives. When a meſſenger coming out of *Candia*, where he ſerved in the wars, brought news that the ſaid *Acrotatus* was ſlain in fight: Why (quoth ſhe) what elſe ſhould he do, being once gone forth to war, but either die himſelf, or elſe kill his enemies? yet had I rather hear, and it doth me much more good that he died worthy my ſelfe, worthy his native countrey and progenitors, then that he ſhould live as long as poſſibly a man could, like a coward, and man of no worth.

Demetria hearing that her ſon proved a daſtard, and indeed not worthy to be her ſon, ſo ſoon as ever he was returned from the wars, ſhe killed him with her own hands; whereupon was made this Epigram of her:

By mothers hand was ſlain one Demetrie,
For that he brake the laws of chivalrie,
No marvel, ſhe a noble Spartan *dame*
Diſclaimed her Son, unworthy of that name.

Another woman of *Lacedemon* being given to underſtand, that her ſon had abandoned his rank, made him likewiſe away, as unworthy of that countrey wherein he was born, ſaying: That he was no ſon of hers; And thereupon this Epigram alſo was compoſed of her:

A miſchief take thee wicked imp,
begone in divels name
Through haleful darkneſſe; Hatred is
too good, and earthly ſhame:
For cowards ſuch of craven kind
like hinds are not to drink,
Nor waſh in fair Eurotas *ſtreams*
their bodies, as I think.
Avaunt thou cur-dog-whelp to hell,
thou divels limb unmoan'd,
Unworthy Sparta *ſoile thou art,*
for thee I never groan'd.

Another, hearing that her ſon was ſaved and had eſcaped out of the hands of his enemies, wrote thus unto him: There runneth a naughty rumor of thee; either ſtop the courſe thereof, or elſe live not. There was another likewiſe, whoſe children had fled out of the battel, and when they came home unto her, ſhe welcomed them in this manner: Whither go you running lewd lozels and cowardly ſlaves as you are; think you to enter hither again from whence you firſt came? and therewith plucked up her cloaths and ſhewed them her bare belly. Alſo another eſpying her ſon new returned from the Wars, and coming toward her: What news (quoth ſhe) how goeth the world with our Country and Common-wealth? and when he anſwered: We have loſt the field, and all

our

our men be ſlain; ſhe took up an earthen pot, let it fly at his head and killed him out right, ſaying: And have they ſent thee to bring us the newes? There was one brother recounted unto his mother what a noble death his brother died, unto whom his mother anſwered: And wert not thou aſhamed that thou didſt not accompany him in ſo fair a journey? Another there was who had ſent her ſons (and five they were in number) to the wars; and ſhe ſtood waiting at the towns end, about the ſuburbs and hamlets neer unto them, for to hearken what was the iſſue of the battel: and of the firſt man ſhe encountred from the camp, ſhe asked what news, and who had the day; he told her that her ſons were ſlain all five: Thou leud varlet (quoth ſhe) and baſe ſlave as thou art, I did not demand that queſtion of thee; but in what ſtate the affairs of the Common-wealth ſtood: The victory (quoth he) is ours: Then am I well appayed (ſaith ſhe) and contented with the loſſe of my children. Another there was, unto whom as ſhe buried her ſon ſlain in the wars, there came a ſilly old woman and moaned her, ſaying: Ah good woman what fortune is this? Why good (quoth ſhe?) by *Caſtor* and *Pollux* I ſwear; for I bare him into this world for nothing elſe, but that he ſhould ſpend his life for *Sparta*; and loe this is now hapned. A Lady there was of *Ionia*, who bare her ſelf very proud of a work in Tapeſtry which ſhe her ſelf had made, moſt coſtly and curiouſly: but a Laconian dame ſhewed unto her, four children, all very well given and honeſtly brought up: Such as theſe (quoth ſhe) ought to be the works of a Lady of honour, and herein ſhould a noble woman indeed, make her boaſt and vaunt her ſelfe. Another there was, who heard news, that a ſon of hers behaved himſelfe not well in a ſtrange country where he was, unto whom ſhe wrote a letter in this wiſe: There is blown a bad brute of thee in theſe parts, either prove it falſe or elſe die, I adviſe thee: Certain fugitives, or exiled perſons from *Chios*, came to *Sparta*, who accuſed *Pedaretus*, and laid many crimes to his charge; his mother *Telentia* hearing thereof, ſent for them to come unto her; at whoſe mouths when ſhe heard the ſeveral points of their imputations: and judging in her ſelfe that he was in fault, and had done great wrongs, ſhe ſent a letter unto him in this form: Either do better or tarry there ſtill, and never think to ſave thy ſelfe here. In like manner another wrote unto her ſon accuſed of an heinous crime, in theſe terms: My ſon quit thy ſelfe of this imputation, or elſe quit thy life. Another accompanying a lame ſon of hers upon the way when he went to battel, ſaid unto him: Son remember every foot that thou ſtepped thy vertue and proweſſe, and fight like a man. Another whoſe ſon returned out of the field wounded in the foot and complaining unto her of the great pain which he endured: Son (quoth ſhe) if thou wouldſt remember vertue and valour, thou ſhouldeſt never think of thy paine. A certain Lacedemonian chanced ſo grievouſly to be wounded in a skirmiſh, that he had much adoe to ſtand upon his legs, ſo that he was faine to go with crutches (as it were) upon four feet; now when he was abaſhed to ſee ſome laugh at him for it, his mother ſaid: Greater cauſe thou haſt (my ſon) to rejoice for this teſtimony of thy valour and proweſſe, then to be diſmayed at their ſond and ſenſeleſſe laughter. Another woman when ſhe gave unto her ſon a ſhield, admoniſhed him to uſe it well, and do his devoir like a man, and theſe words ſhe uſed unto him: My ſonne either bring this ſhield home again, or let it bring thee dead upon it. Another likewiſe giving a target to her ſonne when hee took his leave of her to go to warre, ſaid unto him: Thy father kept this target well from time to time; ſee thou (for thy part) keep it as well, or elſe die with it. Another when her ſonne found fault with his ſhort ſword, ſaid unto him: Then ſet foot neerer to thine enemy. A woman hearing that her ſon died valiantly in battel: No marvel (quoth ſhe) for he was my ſonne. Contrariwiſe, another when ſhe heard that her ſonne took him to his heeles, and eſcaped by good footmanſhip: He was never (quoth ſhe) a ſonne of mine. But another hearing that her ſon was ſlain fighting in the very place where his Captain had ſet him: Remove him then (quoth ſhe) from thence, and let his brother ſtep into his place. A Lacedemonian woman being in a ſolemn and publick proceſſion, with a chaplet of flowers upon her head, underſtood that her ſonne had won a field, but was ſo grievouſly wounded, that ready he was to yeeld up his breath; without putting off her chaplet of flowers from her head, but glorying (as it were) in theſe newes: Oh my friends (quoth ſhe) how much more glorious and honourable is it for a ſouldier to die with victory in battel. then for a Champion to ſurvive after he hath won the prize in the Olympick games. A brother reported unto his ſiſter, how valiant her ſon died in battel, unto whom ſhe anſwered again: Look how much I joy and take pleaſure to hear this of him: ſo much I am diſpleaſed and diſcontented at you, brother, for that you would not beare him company in ſo vertuous a voyage, but tarry behind him. When one ſent unto a Lacedemonian woman to ſollicit and ſound her, whether ſhe would conſent unto him, ſhe made this anſwer: When I was a maiden, I learned to obey my father, and ſo I did evermore: and when I was a wife, I did the like unto my husband; if then that which he demanded of me be honeſt and juſt, let him acquaint my husband with it firſt. A poor maiden being asked the queſtion what dowry ſhe would bring her husband? The pudicity (quoth ſhe) and honeſty of my country. Another Lacedemonian woman being demanded, whether ſhe had yet been with her husband? Not I (quoth ſhe) but hee hath been with me. Alſo another young woman chanced ſecretly to be deflowred and to loſe her maiden-head; now when by ſome miſhap ſhe fell unto untimely labour, and to ſlip an obortive fruit; ſhe endured the paines and travel thereto belonging ſo patiently, without one cry or groane, that neither her father, nor any one about her, perceived any thing at all that ſhe was delivered; for ſhame and honeſty fighting together, overcame all the vehemency of her pains. A Lacedemonian woman being

being ſold in the maket for a ſlave, was asked what ſhe could do? I can skill (quoth ſhe) to be true and faithfull. Another likewiſe being a captive and demanded the like queſtion, anſwered, that ſhe could keep the houſe well. Another likewiſe when ſhe was asked by one whether ſhe would prove good if he bought her, made anſwer thus: Yea that I will, although you never buy me. Laſt of all, a Lacedæmonian woman when ſhe was to be ſold in port-ſale, the crier demanded of her what ſhe had skill in? anſwered, to be free. Now when he that bought her commanded her to do ſome things unbeſeeming a free perſon: You will repent (quoth ſhe) that you envied your ſelfe to ſo noble a poſſeſſion; and ſo ſhe killed her ſelfe.

The vertuous Deeds of Women.

The Summary.

VErtue alwaies deſerveth praiſe whereſoever it is found, but eſpecially when it proceedeth from feeble inſtruments, and thoſe of ſmall ſhew; for by that meant the excellency thereof is ſo much better ſeene: our Author therefore in that regard hath made here a Collection of Hiſtories, relating the worthy demeanours of many women who have ſhewed manly courage in ſundry dangers; the conſideration whereof, is able greatly to move and affect the Reader. In the Preface of this diſcourſe after he had refuted the opinion of Thucydides, *who would confine women (as it were) into a perpetuall hermitage, he proveth by divers reaſons, that vertue being alwaies the ſelfe-ſame, notwithſtanding that it hath objects and ſubjects different, it were meere injury and too much iniquity, either to forget or to deſpiſe thoſe women who for their valour have deſerved, that their name and example ſhould continue; to the end that the ſame might be imitated as occaſion requireth in many ſorts, not only by other women, but alſo by the moſt part of men. Which done, he deſcribeth the notable exploits of ſome in generall: and then he commeth to ſpeake of certaine in particular, noting and obſerving in them divers graces and commendable parts, but eſpecially an extreame hatred of tyranny and ſervitude, an ardent love and affection toward their country, a ſingular affection to their husbands, rare honeſty, pudicity, chaſtity joyned with a generous nature, which hath cauſed them, both to enterpriſe and alſo to execute heroicke acts, and well deſerving that praiſe, which hath been preſerved entire for ſuch women, after ſo many yeares untill this day, by the meanes of this preſent hiſtoricall fragment; the which containeth goodly inſtructions for men and women of name and marke, to induce them to governe themſelves in ſuch ſort, that in the midſt of the greateſt confuſions they might take a good courage, and lay their hands to that which their vocation requireth; and to hold this for certaine, that enterpriſes lawfull and neceſſary, will ſooner or later have good iſſue, to the ſhame and ruine of the wicked, but to the repoſe and quietneſſe of all perſons who deſire, ſeeke, and procure that which is good.*

The vertuous Deeds of Women.

IAm not of *Thucydides* mind (dame *Clea*) touching the vertue of women; for he is of this opinion: That ſhe is the beſt and moſt vertuous, of whom there is leaſt ſpeech abroad, as well to her praiſe as her diſpraiſe; thinking that the name of a woman of honour ought to be ſhut up and kept faſt within, like as her body, that it never may go forth. *Gorgias* yet (me thinks) was more reaſonable, who would have the renown and fame, but not the face and viſage of a woman, to be known unto men: and it ſeemeth unto me that it was an excellent law and cuſtome among the Romans, which importeth thus much: That women as well as men, after their death might be honoured publikely at their funerals, with ſuch praiſes as they had deſerved: and therefore immediately after the deceaſe of the moſt vertuous Lady *Leontis*, I diſcourſed with you at large upon this matter; which diſcourſe (in my conceit) was not without ſome conſolation founded upon reaſon and Philoſophy: and now alſo (according to your requeſt at that time) I ſend you in writing the reſt of our ſpeech and communication, tending to this point: That the vertue of man and woman is all one and the very ſame; which appeareth by the proofe and teſtimony of many and ſundry examples drawn out of ancient hiſtories, collected by me, not upon any intention to pleaſe the eare; but if the nature of an example be ſuch, as alwaies, to the perſwaſive power that it hath to prove, there is joyned alſo a lively vertue to delight. This Treatiſe of mine rejecteth not the grace of that pleaſure, which doth ſecond and favourite the efficacy of a proofe; neither is it aſhamed to joyne Graces with Muſes; which (as *Euripides* ſaith) is the beſt conjunction in the world, inducing the mind moſt eaſily to give eare and credit unto good reaſons, by meanes of the delectation which it there findeth. For if to prove, that it is all one art to paint and draw to the life men and women, I ſhould produce and bring forth ſuch pictures of women as *Apelles*, *Zeuxis*, or *Nicomachus* have left behind them; hath any man reaſon to find fault and to charge me, that I aime and intend to delight the eye and content the mind, rather than to verſie my aſſertion? I ſuppoſe that no man will ſo do: ſemblably, if otherwiſe to ſhew, that the art of Poetry, or skill to repreſent in verſe, all things whatſoever,

is the same in women and men, and nothing different one from the other, I should confer the Odes and verses of *Sappho* with those of *Anacreon*; or the Oracles penned by the *Sybilles* with those which are set down by *Bacchis*; is there any man that could justly blame such a demonstration, for that it draweth the hearer to beleeve with some pleasure and content? No man (I trow) would ever so say: and yet there were no better way to know either the resemblance, or the difference in the vertue of man and woman, than in comparing lives with lives, and deeds with deeds: as if we should lay together the works of some noble science, and consider them one by another; even so likewise to see whether the magnificence of Queen *Semiramis* hath all one forme and figure with that of King *Sesostris*; and the wisdome of queen *Tanaquil* with that of King *Servius*; or the magnanimity of Lady *Porcia* with that of *Brutus*; or of dame *Timoclea* with that of *Pelopidas*; namely, in that quality which is most principall, and wherein lieth the chiefest point and force of these vertues: for vertue admitteth certaine other differences as proper and particular colours, according to divers natures, and is in some sort conformable to the manners and conditions of those subjects wherein they be, and to the temperatures of their bodies, or to the very nutriments and divers diets and fashions of their life. For *Achilles* was after one sort valiant, and *Ajax* after another; the wisdome of *Ulysses* was not like unto *Nestors*; neither were *Cato* and *Agesilaus* just alike; *Irene* loved not her husband in that manner as *Alcestis* loved hers; nor *Cornelia* and *Olympias* were alike magnanimous; and yet for all that, we say not, that there be many and divers kinds of fortitude, sundry sorts of prudence and wisdome nor different justices, in regard of the dissimilitude and variety which ariseth particularly in each one person. So as the said peculiar differences do not exclude any one vertue from the proper definition thereof. As for such examples as are most divulged and published abroad (of which I presume you have already sufficient knowledge, and firmely remember their history, by that which you have read in ancient books) I will passe them over at this present; unlesse haply there be some acts worthy of remembrance, which they were ignorant of who before our time have written the common histories and vulgar Chronicles. But for that the women in times past, as well in common as particular, have performed many memorable deeds, it will not be amisse in the first place to set down briefly what some of them have done in society and company together.

The Trojan Dames.

OF those Trojans who escaped after the winning and destruction of *Troy the Great*, the most part went to seek their fortune, and by force of tempest (the rather for that they had no skill in navigation and were not acquainted with the seas) were cast upon the coast of *Italy*, where putting into such bays, ports, and creeks as they could meet with in that very place (whence the river *Tybris* dischargeth it selfe into the sea) with much ado and great difficulty they landed, and the men went wandring up and down the countrey, for to see if they could light upon those that might direct them in their voyage, and give them some light and intelligence of those coasts. Meane while the women communed and devised thus among themselves: That since they had been the most fortunate and happy nation in the world, it were better for them to settle in any one certaine place whatsoever, than still to wander uncertainly upon the seas, and to make that their countrey and seat of habitation, since they were not able to recover that native soile which they had lost: to which motion after they had all with one accord agreed they set fire on their ships, and the first ring-leader in this action was a Lady (by report) named *Roma*; which done, they went farther up into the Continent to meet with the men aforesaid, who now by this time were comming apace to the sea for to succour their ships on fire, and fearing their furious anger, they fell to embrace and kisse them very kindly. Some their husbands, others their kinsfolk and by this means appeased their wrath. Hereupon arose that custome, which at this day continueth at this day among the Romans, that women should salute their kinsfolke, and those that be joyned in bloud to them, by kissing their lips: for the Trojan men seeing (as it should seeme) in what necessity they stood, were well enough content; and withall finding the inhabitants of the sea-coasts courteous and ready to receive and entertaine them friendly, approved that which the women had done, and so remained and dwelt in the same part of *Italy* among the Latines.

The Dames of PHOCIS.

THe worthy act of the dames of *Phocis*, whereof we now meane to make mention, no Historiographer of name hath yet recorded and set down in writing: howbeit there was never a more memorable deed of vertue wrought by women, and the same testified by the great sacrifices, which the Phocæans do celebrate even at this day, near unto the City *Hyampolis*, and that according to the ancient decrees of the countrey. Now is the totall history of this whole action from point to point particularly recorded in the life of *Diaphantus*; as for that which the said women did, thus stood the case. There was an irreconcileable and mortall war between the Thessalians and those of *Phocis*, for that the Phocians upon a certaine fore-set day killed all the Magistrates and Rulers of the Thessalians who exercised tyrany in the Cities of *Phocis*: and they againe of *Thessalia* had beaten and bruised to death two hundred and fifty hostages of the Phocæans, whom they had in custody; and after that, with all their puissance entred and invaded their countrey by the way of the Locrians; having

having before-hand concluded this resolution in their generall councell, not to pardon nor spare any one that was of age sufficient to beare armes, and as for their wives and children, to lead them away captives as slaves: whereupon *Daiphantus* the son of *Bathyllus*, one of the three soveraigne governours of *Phocis*, moved and perswaded the Phocæans (as many as were of yeares to fight) for to go forth and encounter the Thessalians; but their wives and children, to assemble all together unto a certaine place in *Phocis*, and environ the whole pourprise and precinct thereof with a huge quantity of wood, and there to set certaine guards to watch and ward; whom he gave in charge, that so soone as ever they heard how their countrey-men were defeated, they should set the wood on fire, and burne all the bodies within the compasse thereof: which designe when all others had approved, there was own one man among them stood up, and said, It were just and meet that they had the consent also of the women as touching this matter; and if they would not approve and allow of this counsell, to leave it unexecuted, and not to force them thereto: this consultation being come to the eares of the said women, they held a councell together apart by themselves as touching this intended action, where other resolved to follow the advice of *Daiphantus*, and that with so great alacrity and contentment, that they crowned *Daiphantus* with a chaplet of flowers, as having given the best counsell that could be devised for *Phocis*. It is reported also, that their very children sate in councell hereabout by themselves, and concluded the same: but it fortuned so, that the Phocæans having given the Thessalians battell neare unto a village, called *Cleonæ*, in the marches or territory of *Hyampolis*, defeated them. This resolution of the Phocæans, was afterwards by the Greeks named *Aponas*, that is, A desperate designe: and in memoriall of the said victory, all the people of *Phocis* to this day do celebrate in *Hyampolis* the greatest and most solemne feast that they have to the honour of *Diana*, and call it *Elaphebolia*.

The Women of CHIOS.

THe men of *Chios* inhabited sometime the Colony *Leuconia*, upon such an occasion as this. A Gentleman, one of the best houses in *Chios*, chanced to contract a marriage: and when the bride was to be brought home to his house in a coach, King *Hippoclus* being a familiar friend unto the bridegroome, and one who was present with others at the espousals and wedding, after he had taken his wine well, being set upon a merry pin, and disposed to make sport, leapt up into the Coach where the new wedded wife was; not with any intent to offer violence or villany, but only to dally, toy, and make pastime in a merriment, as the manner was at such a feast: howbeit the friends of the bridegroom took it not so, but fell upon him and killed him outright in the place: upon which murder there appeared unto those of *Chios* many evident tokens and signes of gods anger; yea, and when they understood by the Oracle of *Apollo*, that for to appease their wrath, they should put all those to death who had murdered *Hippoclus*; they made answer, That they all were guilty of the fact: and when the god *Apollo* commanded them, that if they were all tainted with the said murder, they should all depart out of the City *Chios*, they sent away (as many as either were parties and principals, or accessaries and privy to the said bloud-shed; yea, and whosoever approved and praised the fact, and those were neither few in number, nor men of meane quality and power) as far as to *Leuconia*; which City the Chians first conquered from the Coroneans, and possessed by the help of the Erythræans: but afterwards when there was war between the said Chians and the Erythræans (who in those daies were the mightiest people in all *Ionia*) insomuch as the Erythræans came against *Leuconia*, with a power intending to assault it: the Chians being not able to resist, grew to make a composition; in which capitulated it was agreed, that they should quit the City and depart every person with one coat and cassock only, without taking any thing else with them. The women understanding of this agreement, gave them soule words, and bitterly reproached them for being so base minded as to lay off their armour, and thus to go naked thorow the midst of their enemies: but when their husbands alleaged that they had sworn & taken a corporal oath so to do, they gave them counsell in any wise not to leave their armes and weapons behind them, but to say, that a javelin was a coat, and a shield the cassock of a valiant and hardy man. The Chians perswaded hereunto spake boldly to the Erythræans to that effect, and shewed them their armes, insomuch as the Erythræans were affraid to see their resolute boldnesse, and there was not one of them so hardy as to come neare for to impeach them, but were very well content that they abandoned the place, and were gone in that sort. Thus you may see how these men having learned of their wives to be couragious and confident, saved their honours and their lives. Long after this, the wives of the Chians atchieved another act nothing inferiour to this in vertue and prowesse. At what time as *Philip* the son of *Demetrius*, holding their City besieged, caused this barbarous Edict, and proud Proclamation to be published: That all the Slaves of the City should rebell against their Masters, and come to him: for that he would make them all free, and give them liberty to espouse and marry their Mistresses, even the wives of their former Masters. The Dames conceived hereof so great choler and indignation in their hearts (together with the slaves themselves, who were provoked likewise to anger as well as they, and ready to assist their Mistresses) that they tooke heart to mount upon the walls of the City, and to carry thither stones, darts, and all manner of shot, beseeching their husbands to fight lustily and with good courage, and eftsoones admonishing and encouraging them to quit themselves like men, and do their devoir; which they did so effectually both in word and deed, that

in the end they repulſed the enemy, and conſtrained *Philp* to raiſe his ſiege from before the City without effecting his purpoſe, and there was not ſo much as one ſlave that revolted from his Maſter unto him.

The Women of ARGOS.

THe exploit of the *Argive* dames againſt *Cleomenes* King of *Lacedæmon*, in defence of the City *Argos*, which they enterpriſed under the conduct & by the perſwaſion of *Teleſilla* the Poetreſs, is not leſſe glorious and renowned, than any action that ever was atchieved by a crew of women. This dame *Teleſilla* (as the fame goeth) was deſcended of a noble and famous houſe, howbeit in body ſhe was very weake and ſickly; by occaſion whereof ſhe ſent out to the Oracle for to know how ſhe might recover her health: anſwer was made, that ſhe ſhould ſerve, honour, and worſhip the Muſes: ſhe yeelding obedience to this revelation of the god, and giving her ſelfe to learne Poeſie, and likewiſe vocall muſick, and skill in ſong, in ſhort time was delivered from her malady, and became moſt renowned and highly eſteemed among women for her Poeticall veine, and muſicall knowledge in this kind: in proceſſe of time it fortuned that *Cleomenes* the King of the Spartans, having in a battell ſlaine a great number indeed of Argives, but not as ſome fabulous writers have preciſely ſet down (ſeven thouſand, ſeven hundred, ſeventy and ſeven) advanced directly to the City of *Argos*, hoping to find and ſurpriſe the ſame void of inhabitants: but the women, as many as were of age ſufficient (as it were by ſome heavenly and divine inſtinct) put on a reſolute mind, and an extraordinary courage, to do their beſt for to beat back their enemies that they ſhould not enter the City; and in very truth under the leading of *Teleſilla*, they put on armes, tooke weapon in hand, and mounting up the walls ſtood round the battlements thereof, and environed them on every ſide, defending the City right manfully, to the great wonder and admiration of the enemies: thus they gave *Cleomenes* the repulſe, with the loſſe and carnage of a great number of his men. Yea, and they chaſed *Democrates* another King of *Lacedæmon* out of that City, as *Socrates* ſaith, who had made entrance before, and ſeiſed that quarter which is called *Pamphyliacum*: when the City was thus ſaved by the proweſſe of theſe women, ordained it was, that as many of them as chanced in this ſervice to be ſlaine, ſhould be honourably enterred, upon the great Cauſey or high-way, called *Argeia*; and unto them who remained alive, granted it was for a perpetuall monument and memoriall of their proweſſe, to dedicate and conſecrate one ſtatue unto *Mars*. This combate and fight (as ſome have written) was the ſeventh day, or (as others ſay) the firſt of that month which at *Argos* in old time they called *Tetartos*, but now *Hermeus*, on which day the *Argives* do celebrate even in this age, a ſolemne ſacrifice and feaſt, which they call *Hybriſtica* (as one would ſay) reproachfull and infamous; wherein the cuſtome is, that women went clad in ſouldiers coats and mantles, but men were arrayed and attired in womens petticoats, frocks, and veils. Now to repleniſh and repeople the City againe, for default of men who died in the wars, they did not (as writeth) uſe this pollicy, to marry their ſlaves to their widdows, but they granted free burgeoſie of their City, unto the better ſort of men who were their neighbours and borderers, and granted unto them for to affiance and eſpouſe the ſaid widdows: but it ſhould ſeeme that theſe wives diſdained and deſpiſed (in ſome ſort) theſe husbands of theirs, as not comparable to their former; for they made a Law, that theſe wives ſhould have counterfeit beards ſet to their chins whenſoever they ſlept and lay with their husbands.

The Perſian Women.

Cyrus (having cauſed the Perſians to rebell againſt King *Aſtyages* and the Medes) hapned to be diſcomfited and vanquiſhed together, with the Perſians: now when the Perſians fled amaine toward the City, and their enemies followed hard at their heeles, ready to enter pell-mell with them; the women iſſued out of the gates, met them even before the City, and plucking up their cloaths before, from beneath, to their waſte, cried unto them: Whither away, and whither do you flie, the moſt beaſtly cowards that ever were? For run as faſt as you will there is no re-entrance here for you into that place, out of which you came firſt into the world: the Perſians being aſhamed as well to ſee ſuch a ſight, as to heare thoſe words, blamed and rebuked themſelves; whereupon they turned againe, and made head at their enemies, fought freſhly, and put them to flight: from which time forward there was a Law eſtabliſhed, That whenſoever the King returneth from ſome far voyage, and entreth into the City, every woman ſhould receive of him a peece of gold, and that by the ordinance of King *Cyrus*, who firſt enacted it. But it is reported, that King *Ochus* one of his ſucceſſors (who being bad enough otherwiſe) was the moſt covetous Prince that ever raigned over them, turned alwaies out of the way, paſſed beſides the City, and never would come into it after ſuch a journey; whereby the women alwaies were diſappointed of that gratuity and gift which they ought to have had: but King *Alexander* contrariwiſe entred the City twice, and gave to every woman with child, double ſo much, that is to ſay, two ſuch peeces of gold.

The

The Women of GAULE.

BEfore that the Gaules paſſed over the mountains called *Alpes*, and held that part of *Italy* which now they do inhabit; there aroſe a great diſcord and dangerous ſedition among them, which grew in the end to a civill war: but when both armies ſtood embattailed and arranged, ready to fight, their wives put themſelves in the very midſt between the armed troupes, tooke the matter of difference and controverſie into their hands, brought them to accord and unity, and judged the quarrell with ſuch indifferent equity, and ſo to the contentment of both parts, that there enſued a wonderfull amity, and reciprocall good will, not only from City to City, but alſo between houſe and houſe; inſomuch that ever after they continued this cuſtome in all their conſultations, as well of war as peace, to take the counſell and advice of their wives; yea, to compoſe and pacifie all debates and braules with their neighbours and allies, by the mediation of them: and therefore in that compoſition and accord which they made with *Annibal*, at what time as he paſſed through their City, among other articles this went for one: That in caſe the Gaules complained of any wrongs done unto them by the Carthaginians, the Carthaginian Captaines and Governour which were in *Spaine* ſhould be the judges between them: but contrariwiſe, if the Carthaginians pretended that the Gaules had wronged them, the Gaule dames ſhould decide the quarrell.

The Women of MELOS.

THe Melians purpoſing to ſeek for another land to inhabit, more large and fertile than their own, choſe for the Captaine and Leader of that troupe or Colony which was ſent forth, a young gentleman of ſingular beauty, named *Nymphæus*; but firſt they had conſulted with the Oracle, where they received this anſwer: That they ſhould take the ſeas and ſaile; and looke in what place ſoever they happened to loſe their porters and carriers, there they ſhould reſt and inhabit: now it hapned as they coaſted along *Caria*, and were fet aland, their ſhips were loſt in a tempeſt and periſhed; and then the inhabitants of the City *Cryaſſa* in *Caria*, (were it that they had pity of their neceſſity, or feared their hardineſſe and valour) requeſted them to make their abode with them, and granted them a part of their territory to hold and occupy: but afterwards the Carians ſeeing, that in a ſmall time the Melians mightily encreaſed and waxed great, they complotted and laid ambuſhes for to murder them all at a certaine ſolemne feaſt and ſupper which they prepared for them: but it fell out ſo, that a young Damoſell of *Caria*, named *Cophene* (who ſecretly was in love and enamoured upon *Nymphæus* aboveſaid, and could not endure that her love *Nymphæus* ſhould ſo treacherouſly be murdered) diſcovered the ſaid plot and intended deſigne of her country-men: now when the Cryaſſians came to call them to the feaſt aboveſaid, *Nymphæus* made them this anſwer, That the cuſtome of the Greeks was not to go unto any great ſuppers or feaſts, unleſſe they had their wives with them; which when the *Carians* heard, they ſaid, Bring your wives with you and ſpare not, they ſhall be welcome: thus when he had advertiſed his countrymen the Melians, what had paſſed between him and the Carians, he gave order that they ſhould themſelves come unarmed in their plaine apparell, but every one of their wives ſhould bring with them a skeine or dagger under their cloaths, and ſo each of them ſit cloſe unto her husband: now in the midſt of ſupper, when the ſignall was given to the Carians for to go in hand with the execution of their deſigne, the Greeks knew thereby incontinently, that the time was now come to execute this feat; and then the women all at once opened their boſoms, and their husbands caught the skeines aforeſaid, ran upon the barbarous Carians, and maſſacred all in the place, inſomuch as not one of them eſcaped with life: and thus being Maſters of the Countrey, they razed the City, and built another, which they called *New Cryaſſa*: *Cophene* then was married to *Nymphæus*, and won much honour and favor, which ſhe right well had deſerved for the great good ſervice that ſhe did: but in my conceit, the principall matter in this whole action, and that which is moſt to be commended, was the ſilence and ſecreſie of theſe dames, that being ſo many as they were, there was not one whoſe heart fainted in the execution of this enterpriſe, nor perſorce and for feare againſt her will failed in her duty.

The Tuſcane Women.

THere were in times paſt certaine Tyrrhenians Tuſcanes, who ſeized upon the Iſles of *Lemnos*, and *Imbros*; yea, and raviſhed certaine Athenian wives out of *Brauron*, and begat children of them: but afterwards, the Athenians chaſed that generation out of the ſaid Iſles, as being mungrels and halfe Barbarians, who fortuning to arrive at the cape or head of *Tenarus*, did very good ſervice under the Spartans in their wars againſt the Ilots: and for this cauſe obtained their freedome and burgeoſie in *Sparta*, yea, and were allowed to take wives and marry among them; only they were not capable of any office of State or Magiſtracy, nor admitted into the Councell of the City: howbeit, ſuſpected they were in the end, that they conſpired and went about a change and alteration in the government: whereupon the Spartans apprehended their bodies, and caſt them in priſon, where they kept them very ſtraight, as cloſe priſoners, to ſee if they could convince them by ſome prooſes and undoubted evidence. Meane-while, the wives of theſe priſoners came to the goales, and by their earneſt prayers and importunate ſute, wrought ſo with their keepers, that they ſuffered them to have acceſſe unto their husbands, only to viſite, ſalute, and ſpeake unto them: they were no ſooner entred in, but they adviſed and perſwaded their husbands with all ſpeed to

put off their own cloaths, and do on their apparell, and so to get away with their faces vailed and covered; which presently was put in execution, and themselves remained fast shut up in the said prison, prepared and resolute to abide all the miseries and tortures that might be done unto them: thus the goalers let out their husbands, taking them to be their wives. No sooner were they at liberty, but immediately they went and seized the mountain *Taygeta*, & sollicited withall the Ilots to take armes and rebell; which the men of *Sparta* much fearing, sent unto them an herald with a trumpet, by whose entercourse they agreed upon these articles of composition. Imprimis, to deliver them their wives. Item, to restore unto them their money and all their goods. Item, to furnish them with ships to passe upon the seas for to seeke their adventure: and when they had found a commodious land, in one place or other, and were provided of a Citie to inhabit; that they should be named and reputed kinsfolke to the Lacedæmonians, and a Colony derived and descended from them. The same did the Pelasgians, who tooke for their Captaines in this voyage *Pollis*, *Adelphus*, and *Cratæidas*, all three Lacedæmonians; for when one part of them staid in the Isle *Melos*, the greater troupe under the conduct of *Pollis* arrived in *Candy*, attending and expecting if those signes which had been forerold them by the oracles would happen; for answer was given them by oracle: That whensoever they had lost their anchor and goddesse, then they were at an end of their voyage and should build them a City: being come therefore unto the demy Island *Chersonesus*, and their ship lying at anchor in the harbour; there hapned in the night a sudden feare and fright among them without any apparant cause, such as they call Panique Frights, wherewith being wonderfully troubled and scared, they went a shipboord without all order, and in a tumultuous manner, leaving behind them for hast the image of *Diana* upon the land, which had remained along time among them, and had passed by descent from father to son, and by their forefathers had been first brought unto them from *Brauron* unto the Isle *Lemnos*, and which they carried with them from thence into all places wheresoever they came: after this sudden fright and tumult was passed, as they sailed in the open sea they missed the same Image, and withall *Pollis* also was advertised, that a flouke of an anchor was wanting and lost; for that when they came to weigh anchor by great force (as commonly it hapneth in such places where it taketh hold of the ground among rocks) it brake and was left behind in the bottome of the sea; whereupon he said that the Oracles were now fulfilled which foretold them of these signes, and therewith gave signall for the whole fleet to retire back, and so he entred upon that region to his own use: and after he had in many skirmishes vanquished those who were up in armes against him, he lodged at length in the City *Lyctus*, and wan many more to it. Thus you see how at this day they call themselves the kinsfolke of the Athenians by the mothers side; but indeed by the father they are a Colony drawn from *Lacedæmon*.

The Lycian Women.

THat which is reported to have been done in *Lycia*, was a meere fable and tale devised of pleasure, yet nevertheless testified by a constant fame that runneth very currant. For *Amisodarus* (as they say) whom the Lycians name *Isarus*, came from about the marches of *Zelæa*, a Colony of the Lycians, with a great fleet of rovers and men of war, whose Captaine or Admirall was one *Chimærus*) a famous arch-pirate, a warlike man, but exceeding cruell, savage, and inhumane) who had for the badges and ensignes of his own ship, in the prow a Lion, and at the poope a Dragon: much hurt he did upon all the coasts of *Lycia*; insomuch as it was not possible either to saile upon the sea, or to inhabite the maritime Cities and Townes, neare unto the sea side for him. This man of war or arch-rover, *Bellerophontes* had slaine who followed him hard in chase with his swift pinnace (*Pegasus*) as he fled, untill he had overtaken him, and withall had chased the Amazones out of *Lycia*; yet for all this, he only received no worthy recompence for his good service, at the hands of *Jobates* King of *Lycia*; but also which was worse, sustained much wrong by him: by occasion whereof *Bellerophontes* taking it as a great indignity, went to sea againe, where he praied against him unto *Neptune*, that he would cause his land to be barren and unfruitfull; which done, he returned back againe: but behold a strange and fearefull spectacle, for the sea swelled and overflowed all the countrey, following him every where as he went, and covering after him the face of the earth: and for that the men of those parts, who did what possibly they could to entreat him for to stay this inundation of the sea, could not obtaine so much at his hands, the women tooke up their petticoats before and went to meet him, and shewed their naked nesse; whereupon for very shame he returned back, and the sea likewise (by report) retired with him into the former place. But some there be (who more civilly avoiding the fabulosity of this tale) say: That it was not by prayers and imprecations that he drew after him the sea, but because that part of *Lycia* which was most fertile, being low and flat, lay under the levell of the sea: there was a banke raised along the sea side which kept it in; and *Bellerophon* cut a breach thorow it, and so it came to passe that the sea with great violence entred that way, and drowned the flat part of the countrey; whereupon the men did what they could by way of prayers and intreaty with him, in hope to appease his mood, but could not prevaile: howbeit, the women environing him round about by great troups and companies, pressed him so on all sides, that he could not for very shame deny them, and so in favour of them, laid down his anger. Others affirme that *Chimæra* was an high mountaine, directly opposite to the sun at noon-tide, which caused great reflections and reverberations of the sun beames, and by consequence, ardent heats in manner of a fire, in the said mountaine, which comming to be spread and dispersed over the champion ground, caused all the fraits of the earth to dry, fade, and wither away: whereof *Bellerophontes* (a man of great reach and deep conceit) knowing the cause in nature, caused in many places, the superfice of the said rock or mountaine to be cloven and cut in two, which before was most smooth and even, and by that reason consequently, did send back the beames of the sun, and caused the excessive heat in the countrey adjoyning: now for that he was not well considered and regarded by the inhabitants, according to his demerit, in despite he meant to be revenged of the Lycians; but the women wrought him so, that they allaied his fury. But surely that cause which *Nymphus* alleageth in his fourth book as touching *Heraclea*, is not fabulous nor devised to delight the Reader: for he saith, That this *Bellerophontes* having killed a wild bore that destroyed all the fruits of the earth, and all other beasts within the Xanthians countrey, had no recompence therefore; whereupon, when he had powred out grievous imprecations against those unthankfull Xanthians, unto *Neptune*, he brought salt-water all over the land, which marred all, and made all become bitter, untill such time as he (being won by the prayers and supplications of the women) besought *Neptune* to let fall his wrath. Loe whereupon the custome arose and continueth still in the Xanthians countrey: That men in all their affaires negotiate not in the name of their fathers, but of their mothers, and be called after their names.

The Women of SALMATICA.

ANnibal of the house of *Barca*, before that he went into *Italy* to make war with the Romans, laid siege unto a great City in *Spaine*, named *Selmantica*; the besieged were at the first affraid, and promised to do whatsoever *Annibal* would command them; yea, and to pay him three hundred talents of silver; for security of which capitulation to be performed, they put into his hands three hundred hostages: but so soone as *Annabal* had raised his siege, they repented of this agreement which they had concluded with him, and would do nothing according to the conditions of the accord; whereupon he returned againe for to besiege them afresh: and to encourage his souldiers the better to give the assault, he said, That he would give unto them the saccage and pillage of the Towne; whereupon the Citizens within were wonderfully affraid, and yeelded themselves to his devotion, upon this condition: That the Barbarians would permit as many as were of free condition, to go forth, every man in his single garment, leaving behind them their armes, goods, money, slaves, and the City. Now the dames and wives of the Town, fearing lest the enemies would search and rifle their husbands as they went forth of the gates, and not once touch and meddle with them, tooke unto them short curtelasses or skeines, hid them under their cloaths, and so went forth together with their husbands. When they were all out of Town, *Annibal* (having set a guard of Masæsylians to attend them) staied them at the end of the suburbs: meane while the rest of his Army, without all order put themselves within the City, and fell to the spoile and saccage of it: which when the Masæsylians perceived, they grew out of all patience, and could not containe themselves, nor look well unto their prisoners; but were wondrous angry, and in the end meant for to have as good a part and share as the rest of the spoile: hereupon the women tooke up a cry, and gave unto their husbands the swords which they had brought with them, yea, and some of them fell upon the guard or garrison, insomuch as one of them was so bold, as to take from *Banon* (the Truchman or interpreter) the speare which he had, and thrust at him with it; but he had on a good corps of a cuirace which saved him: but their husbands having wounded some of them, and put the rest to flight, escaped by this meanes away, together in a troupe with their wives; which when *Annibal* understood, he set out immediately after them, and surprized those who were left behind; whiles the rest got away and saved themselves for the present, by recovering the mountaines adjoyning; but after they sent unto *Annibal* and craved pardon, who graciously granted it; yea, and permitted them to returne in safety and reinhabit their own City.

The Milesian Women.

THe Milesian maidens upon a time were surprized with a very strong passionate fit of a fearefull melancholick humour, without any apparant cause that could be rendred thereof, unlesse it were (as men most conjectured) that the aire was infected and empoisoned, which might cause that alienation of the mind, and worke a distemperature in their braines, to the overthrow of their right wits; for all on a sudden every one had a great desire to dye, and namely, in a furious rage would needs hang themselves; and in truth many of them secretly knit their necks in halters, and so were strangled: no reasons and remonstrances, no teares of father and mother, no perswasions and comfortable speeches of their friends would serve the turne; but look what keepers soever they had, and how carefully soever they looked unto them, they could find meanes of evasion to avoid and go beyond all their devices and inventions; in such sort, that it was thought to be some plague and punishment sent from the gods above; and such as no humane provision could remedy, untill such time as by the advice of a sage and wise Citizen, there went forth a certaine edict, and the same enacted by the counsell of the City: That if any one more hapned to hang her selfe, she should be carried starke naked as ever she was borne thorow the market-place in the view of the whole

whole world: this proclamation being thus ratified by the Common-councell of the City, did not only represse for a while, but also staied for altogether, this furious rage of the maidens and their inordinate desire to make themselves away. Thus we may see, that the feare of dishonour, shame, and infamy, is a great signe and infallible token of good nature and vertue, considering that they feared neither death nor paine, which are the most horrible accidents that men can endure: howbeit they could not abide the imagination of villany, shame, and dishonour, though it hapned not unto them, untill they were dead and gone.

The Women of CIO.

THe manner and custome was for the young Virgins of *Cio*, to go altogether unto their publike Temples and Churches, and so to passe the time all the long day there, one with another: where their lovers who wooed them for marriage, might behold them disport and dance: and in the evening they went home to each of their houses, in order, where they waited upon their fathers and mothers, yea, and the brethren, one of another, even to the very washing of their feet. Now it hapned sometimes that many young men were enamoured of one and the same maid; but their love was so modest, good and honest, that so soone as a maiden was affianced and betrothed unto one, all the rest would give over sute, and so cease to make any more love unto her: In sum, the good order and carriage of these women of *Cio* might be known in this: that in the space of seven hundred years, it was never known nor appeared upon record, that any wife committed adultery, nor maiden unmarried lost her virginity.

The Women of PHOCIS.

THe Tyrants of *Phocis*, surprized upon a time and seized the City of *Delphos*, by occasion whereof, the Thebans made that war upon them, which was called the Holy war; at which time it so befell, that the religious women consecrated unto *Bacchus*, named *Thyades*, being distraught and out of their right wits, ran wandring like vagrants up and down in the night, and knew not whither, untill ere they were aware, they ran unto the City *Amphissa*, where being weary (but yet not come again to their senses) they lay along in the midst of the market place, & couched themselves scattering here and and there to take their sleep: the wives of *Amphissa* being advertised hereof, and fearing lest their bodies should be abused by the souldiers of the Tyrants (wherof there lay a Garrison with in the City, for that *Amphissa* was of the league, & confederate with the Phocæans) ran all thither to the place, standing round about them with silence, and not saying one word, and so long as they slept troubled them not; but so soon as they wakened of themselves, and were gotten up, they took the charge of them, gave them meat, and each of them looked to one; yea, and afterwards having gotten leave of their husbands, they conveighed and accompanied them in safety, so far as to the mountaines and marches of their own territorie.

VALERIA and CLOELIA.

THe outrage committed upon the person of a Roman Lady, named *Lucretia*, and her vertue together, were the cause that *Tarquinius Superbus* (the seventh King of the Romans after *Romulus*) was deprived of his royall estate, and driven out of *Rome*: This dame being married unto a great personage, descended of the bloud royall, was abused and forced by one of the sons of the said King *Tarquin*; who was entertained and friendly lodged in her house: by occasion of which villanous fact she called all her kinsfolke and friends together about her; unto whom when she had declared and given them to understand the shamefull dishonour that he had done upon her body, she stabbed her selfe in the place before them: and *Tarquin* the father (for this cause being deposed from his Princely dignity, and chased out of his Kingdome) levied many wars against the Romans, thinking thereby to recover his state; and among the rest in the end wrought so effectually with *Porsena* King of the Tuscanes, that he perswaded him to lay siege to the City of *Rome*, and to beleaguer it with a puissant power: Now over and besides this hostility, the Romans within, were afflicted also and sore pressed with famine; but hearing that the said *Porsena* was not only a valiant Captaine in armes, but withall a good and righteous Prince, they were willing to make him the indifferent umpire and judge between them and *Tarquin*: but *Tarquin* standing stiffe in his own opinion, and highly conceited of himselfe, giving out also, that *Porsena* if he continued not a fast and constant ally he would not afterwards be a just and equall judge: whereupon *Porsena* forsaking him, and leaving his alliance, capitulated and promised to depart in good tearmes of amity and peace with the Romans, upon condition to recover of them all those lands which they had occupied in *Tuscane*, and to have away with him those prisoners whom they had taken in those wars: now for the better assurance of this composition so concluded, there were delivered into his hands as hostages, ten boyes, and as many young maidens; among whom *Valeria* the daughter of *Poplicola* the Consull was one: which done, presently he brake up his campe and dislodged, yea, and gave over preparation of farther war; notwithstanding that all the articles of the said capitulation were not yet accomplished. These young virgins beforesaid, being in his Campe, went down as it were to bath and wash themselves,

selves unto the river side, which ran a good way from the Campe; and by the motion and instigation of one among the rest, named *Cloelia*; after they had wreathed their cloaths fast about their heads; they tooke the river which ran with a very strong streame and swift current, and by swimming crosse over it, helping one another what they could amid the deep channell, and surging whirlpooles thereof, untill with much travell they hardly recovered the banke on the other side. Some report, that this damosell *Cloelia*, made meanes to get an horse, mounted his back, and gently by little and little passed overthwart the river, shewing the way unto the rest of her fellows, encouraging, yea, and supporting them as they swom on each side and round about her: but what the reason is of this their conjecture, I will shew anon: when the Romans saw that they were gotten over in safety, they wondered at their boldnesse and rare vertue; howbeit they were nothing well pleased with their returne, neither could they endure to be challenged and reproached: that in fidelity and troth, they all should be inferiour to one man, and therefore gave commandement that these virgins should returne from whence they came, and sent with them a guard to conduct them; but when they were passed over the river *Tybris* againe, they escaped very hardly of being surprized by an ambush that *Tarquin* had laid for them by the way: as for *Valeria* the Consull *Poplicola's* daughter, she fled at first with three servants into the Campe of *Porsena*: and the rest, *Arnus* the son of King *Porsena*, who ran presently to the rescue, recovered out of the hands of the enemies: now when they were all presented and brought before the King; he demanded which of them it was, who had encouraged her companions to swim over the river, and given them counsell so to do: all the rest fearing lest the King should do *Cloelia* some harme, would not speake a word; but she her selfe confessed all: *Porsena* highly esteeming her valour and vertue, caused one of the faireſt horses to be fetched out of his stable, richly trapped and set out with costly furniture, which he bestowed upon her, yea, and that which more is (for her sake, and to grace her) curteously and kindly dismissed all her fellows, and sent them home. This is the gueſte (I say) by which some thinke that *Cloelia* passed over the river on horse-back: but others say no; who deliver the story thus. That the King marvelling at this valour and extraordinary hardinesse, above the proportion of that sex, thought her worthy of a present, which is wont to be given unto a valiant man at armes and a brave warrior: but how ever it was, for a memoriall of this act, there is to be seen her statue at this day, to wit, a maiden sitting on horse-backe, and it standeth in the street called *Via sacra*, which some say, representeth *Cloelia*, others *Valeria*.

MICCA and MEGISTO.

ARistotimus having usurped tyranny and violent dominion over the Elians, bearing himselfe much upon the favour and countenance of King *Antigonus*, established the same; but so cruelly and excessively he abused this power and authority under him, that in nothing he was tollerable; for over and besides that, he was a man by nature given to violence (by reason that he stood in some servile feare, and was glad to please the guard that he had about him of mixt Barbarians, whom he had gotten together from divers parts, for the defence of his state and person) he suffered them also to commit many insolent parts and cruell outrages upon his subjects; and among the rest, that unhappy indignity which befell to *Philodemus*, who had a faire damosell to his daughter, named *Micca*, unto whom one of the Captaines of the said tyrant, named *Lucius*, seemed to make court, not for any true love and hearty affection that he bare unto her, but upon a wanton lust to abuse and dishonour her body: so he sent for this maiden to come and speake with him: her parents seeing, that whether they would or no, constrained they should be to let her go, gave her leave; but the damosell her selfe of a generous spirit and magnanimous heart clasped them about and hung upon them, fell down at their feet, and humbly besought them, all that ever she could, rather to kil her out of hand, than to suffer her thus shamefully to be betrayed, and villanously to be despoiled of her maidenhead: but for that she staied longer than was the good liking of the foresaid *Lucius*, (who burned all this whiles in lust, and had withall taken his wine liberally) he rose from the table in great choler, and went himselfe toward her: when he came to the house, he found *Micca* with her head upon her fathers knees, and her he commanded to follow him; which she refused to do; whereupon he rent her cloaths from her body, and whipped her starke naked; and she, without giving one word againe, endured for her part with patience and silence all the smart and paine: but her father and mother, seeing, that with all their pitious prayers and tender teares, they could not prevaile nor boot any thing with this wretch, turned to call and implore the help both of God and man, crying with a loud voice: Out upon such injurious indignity and intollerable villany: whereupon, this barbarous villaine (grown now to be furious and enraged, partly with choler, and in part with drunkennesse) killed this silly poore girle, even as she couched her face in the very lap and bosome of her father: howbeit, for all this and such like wicked pranks plaied, the tyrant was nothing at all moved to pitty and compassion, but many Citizens he murdered, and more he banished and caused to leave their countrey; in such sort, that (as the speech went) no fewer than eight hundred fled to the Ætolians, craving at their hands to make meanes unto the tyrant, that they might have away their wives and little children also. Nor long after, the Tyrant of his own accord, caused proclamation to be made by sound of trumpet; that as many women as were willing to go unto their husbands, should make them ready and depart, yea, and carry with them as much

of

of their goods as they would: now when he understood, that they all with great joy of this proclamation thus publisshed, and that they were assembled together with much contentment of mind, to the number of sixe hundred, he commanded that they should depart, and put themselves in their journey all together on a certaine day by him prefixed, making semblant against that time, to provide a good convoy for their better security: when the time appointed was come, they flocked thick to the gates of the City, having brought with them their trusses and fardles of such goods as they meant to have away with them, carrying some of their little babes in their armes, taking order for others for to be brought in waggons; and so they staied there, and attended one anothers comming: but suddenly, many of the souldiers and those of the tyrants guard, came running toward them, and crying aloud afar off, Stay, stay: now when they approached neare, all the women they commanded to go back againe, but the waines and waggons they turned together with the horses full upon them, and drave them amaine thorow the midst of the troupe and throng of the women, not suffering them either to follow, or to stay or succour their poore little infants, whom they saw to dye before their faces: for some of them perished with falling out of the chariots to the ground, others were destroyed and trampled under the horses feet; and all this while, these pensioners of the guard, with loud out-cries and with whipping, drave the women before them, like as they had been so many sheepe, and thronged them so hard, that one tumbled upon another; and thus they chased them, untill such time as they had cast them all into prison: but all their bag and baggage was seized upon, and brought unto *Aristotimus*. Now when the men of *Elis* were herewith mightily offended; the religious women consecrated to the service of *Bacchus*, whom they call the Sixteene (carrying in their hands boughs of Olive trees, like suppliants, and chaplets of vine branches about their heads, which they tooke from the god whom they served) went to meet with *Aristotimus* about the Market-place of the City; his squires and pensioners about him for the guard of his body, made a lane for them, and seemed (upon some reverence) to give them way that they might come neare: and the women at first kept silence, doing nought else but in most humble and devout manner tender unto him their branches, like suppliants: but after that the tyrant understood that it was for the Eliens wives that they came thus to make supplication, and namely, that he would take some commiseration of them; being wroth and displeased with his guard, he cried out upon them for suffering the said women to approach so neare unto his person; and thereupon commanded them to drive some, and to beat others, untill they were all chased out of the Market-place; and more than all this, he condemned these religious votaries in a fine of two talents a peece. During these occurrences, there was within the City one of the Burgesses, named *Hellanicus*, a man very farstept in age, who was the author of a conspiracy and insurrection against the tyrant; one that of all others he least distrusted, and whom he never thought likely to practise against him, both for that he was very aged, and also because but a little before he had buried two of his children: and it fortuned at the very same time, that from *Aetolia* the exiles before named, passed into the territory of *Elis*, and seized upon a fort called *Amymon*, situate in a very commodious place for to maintaine war; where they received and entertained many other inhabitants of the City, who immediately resorted thither, and ran apace: upon these tydings, the tyrant *Aristotimus* much fearing the sequell hereof, went unto their wives in prison; and thinking to compasse his designes better by feare than favour and love, he commanded them to send unto their husbands, and to write unto them for to abandon their hold and depart out of the countrey, menacing the poore women, that if they did not so, he would cause their children first to be mangled with whips, and so killed before their face, and then put themselves also to death: all of them were silent a good while, and notwithstanding he importuned them a long time, and urged them to speake at once whether they would do it or no? They looked one upon another without saying a word, giving him thereby to understand, that they stood in no feare, and were not astonied for all his threats: at the last, one of them, named *Megisto*, wife to *Timoleon*, and a woman whom the rest regarded and held as their captainesse, as well in respect of her husbands honour, as her own vertue, deigned not to rise up from her seat her selfe, nor suffered any of the rest to stand up; but sitting still in her place, thus said, If thou wert a wise man thou wouldst not deale thus as thou dost between women and their husbands, but rather send unto them, as to those who have the power and authority over their wives, and to deliver unto them better speeches than such, whereby thou hast deceived us; now if (being past hope to perswade them) thou thinkest to circumvent and delude them by the means of us, never looke that thou shalt abuse us any more, nor thinke that they will be so ill advised, or so base minded, as that for to spare their wives and little children they will abandon and lose the liberty of their countrey: for surely the losse of us will not be to them so much, considering that they now enjoy us not, as the gaine and benefit, in delivering their countrey and fellow-citizens from such outragious cruelty. Whiles *Megisto* entertained *Aristotimus* with these speeches, he could no longer endure, but commanded her little son to be brought before him, for to murder him before her eyes; and when the pensioners about the tyrant searched for him among other little boyes that were playing and wrestling together, his mother called unto him by name, saying, Come hither to me my boy, that thou maiest be delivered from the cruelty of this tyrant before thou hast any sense or understanding to know what tyranny is: for a greater griefe it would be unto me another day to see thee for to serve like a slave unworthily, than to dye here presently: hereat *Aristotimus* through impatience of furious anger, drew his sword upon the woman her selfe, meaning to run her thorow;

row; but one of his familiar friends, named *Cylon* (who made semblant to be true and faithfull unto him, but hated him secretly in his heart, and indeed was of the complices in that conspiracy of *Hellanicus*) stepped before him, and by his effectuall prayers turned his hand, making remonstrance unto him, that it was no generous and manly deed, but a womanish act: neither favoured it of a Prince or such a personage as knew how to mannage great affaires of State, to deale in that sort, which he forced and pressed so instantly that hardly and with much ado though it were, *Aristotimus* was of a better mind, bethought himselfe and went his way. Now there befell unto him a strange accident, which presaged what mischiefe was toward him; for about high noone it was, when being in his bed-chamber, and reposing himselfe with his wife, whiles his dinner was now ready to be served up, those of his household might perceive an eagle soaring round over his house; and she let fall a big stone directly upon the very place of the roofe of the said chamber where he lay, as if upon deliberate purpose she had aimed and levelled as it were so to do, himselfe hearing the noise and rap that the stone gave upon the house top over him head, and withall, the outcry beneath of those who beheld the foule, was mightily affrighted, and demanded what the matter might be? when he understood what it was; he sent presently for the wizard or soothsayer, whom he was wont to use in such cases, and all troubled and perplexed in spirit, asked him what this signe might presage? The soothsayer comforted him, and willed him to be of good cheare, saying unto himselfe: That it was *Jupiter* who wakened him, and shewed how willing he was to assist and succour him; but unto other Citizens whom he might trust, he expounded it otherwise, and assured them that it was the vengeance of God, which speedily would light upon the tyrants head: whereupon *Hellanicus* and his adherents were resolved to defer the execution of their designes no longer, but to set upon the enterprise the next morrow: in the night that came between, *Hellanicus* as he slept, dreamed, and in that vision he thought, that one of his sons, late deceased, stood before him, and said, Father, what meane you to lie asleep, considering that once to morrow you must be Captaine Generall and soveraigne Governour of this City: *Hellanicus* wonderfully encouraged by this vision, started up, and went to sollicite the rest of his Compliçes and companions in the said conspiracy. By this time was *Aristotimus* advertised that *Craterus* was comming to aide him with a puissant Army, and lay encamped neare to *Olympia*; in the assurance and confidence whereof, he presently tooke *Cylon* with him, and went forth without any guard about his person: *Hellanicus* seeing the opportunity now offered, and taking the vantage thereof, gave not the signall and watchword which was agreed upon, with those who first were to set to the execution of their intended enterprize; but stretching forth both his hands with a loud voice cried out: Now, now, my Masters and valiant men, what stay you for? Can you desire a fairer theater to shew your valour in, than to fight for the defence of your liberty, in the very heart of your native Countrey? At which words *Cylon* drew his sword first, and smote one of them that followed and accompanied *Aristotimus*; but *Thrasibulus* and *Lampis* came afront, and ran upon the tyrant himselfe, who preventing the venue of their stroke, fled for refuge and sanctuary into the temple of *Jupiter*, where they slew him out-right, and drew his dead corps into the Market-place; and then assembled all the Citizens thither for to recover their freedome: but many of the people could not prevent the women; for they ran out with the first in great alacrity, weeping and crying out for very joy, and environing their husbands round about, crowned them, and set chaplets of flowers upon their heads: then the multitude of the common people set upon the tyrants house, and assaulted it; his wife having shut her selfe within her chamber, there hung her selfe, and whereas she had two daughters, virgins as yet, but in the prime and flower of their yeares, ready for marriage; those they tooke, and by force haled them out of the house, with full intent to kill them; in the end after they had abused their bodies first, and then perpetrated all the villany and shame they could devise unto them; which no doubt they would have put in execution, but that *Megisto*, with other honest matrons of the City, opposed themselves and came between, who cried aloud unto them; that in so doing they should commit an indignity unbeseeming them, if considering, that now being in the very traine and high-way of recovering their liberty, for to live from henceforth in a popular government, they should perpetrate as violent outrages, as the most bloudy and cruell tyrants are used to commit: the people in good respect and reverence to the honour and authority of this vertuous and honest dame, who spake her mind so frankly unto them with teares gushing out of her eyes, were reclaimed and advised to offer no abuse nor villany unto their persons; but to put unto their sword what death they would dye? and when they had brought them both back againe into the house, and intimated unto them, that there was no other remedy but dye they must, and that presently; the elder of the twaine, named *Myro*, untied her girdle from about her waste, and with a running noose did it about her own neck in manner of an halter; then kissing and embracing her younger sister, she praied her to marke what she did, and according to her example to do thereafter: To the end (quoth she) that we may not die basely, unworthy the place from whence we are come and descended: but the younger desired againe, that she might dye first, caught hold of the girdle and snatched it from her; then the elder, Well sister (quoth she) I never yet refused to do any thing that you desired at my hands; and even now content I am to do so much for you as to endure and suffer that which will be more grievous unto me than death it selfe, namely to see my most deare and best beloved sister to die before me: which said, she her selfe taught her how to fit the said girdle to her neck, and to knit it for the purpose, and when she perceived once that the life was out of her body, she tooke her down and covered her breath-

breathlesse corps: then addressing her speech unto dame *Megisto* her selfe, she besought her, that she would not suffer her body after she was dead, to lye shamefully above the ground, and not interred: the sight hereof, and the words withall were so pathetical, that there was not one present so hard hearted, or so spightfully and maliciously bent against the Tyrant, but deplored their wofull estate, and pitied the generosity and magnanimity of these two young Ladies. Now albeit there be infinite presidents of noble deeds, that in old time, women have done in companies together; yet me thinks these few examples which I have already delivered may suffice: from henceforth therefore I will rehearse the particular vertuous acts of severall women by themselves, as they come scattering into my remembrance: for I suppose that such narrations and histories as these, do not require of necessity the precise order and consequence of the times.

PIERIA.

OF those Ionians who were come to dwell in the City of *Miletum*, some chanced to be at variance and debate with the children of *Neleus*; by occasion whereof in the end they thought the City too hot for them, and constrained they were to remove and retire themselves into the City *Myus*, where they made their abode and habitation; and yet even thereallo, much molested they were and troubled by the Milesians, who warred upon them, for their revolt and apostasie: howbeit this war was not so bloudy and mortall, but that they used to send one unto another, yea, and to communicate and negotiate reciprocally in divers things: for even upon certaine solemne and festivall daies the wives and women of *Myus* would repaire boldly unto *Miletum*: now among these Myuntines, there was a Nobleman and of great name, one *Pythes*, who had to wife a Lady called *Jappgia*, by whom he was father of a faire daughter, cleped *Pieria*: when as therefore the great feast unto *Diana* and a solemne sacrifice called *Neleus*, was celebrated by the Milesians: *Pythes*, sent thither unto this solemnity, his wife and daughter aforesaid, for they had requested leave of him to be partakers of the feast. It fortuned whiles they were there, that one of the sons of *Neleus* (a man of most credit and greatest authority in the City) named *Phrygius*, cast a fancy to *Pieria*; and in courting her after the manner of lovers, desired to know of her what it might be wherein he might gratifie her most, and best content her, unto whom she answered, If Sir you will so bring about, that I my selfe with many more may oftentimes resort hither, you shall do me the greatest pleasure that that you can devise: *Phrygius* (conceiving presently what her meaning was, namely, that there might be continuall peace and amity between those two Cities) wrought so, that he composed the war on both sides: in regard hereof *Pieria* was highly esteemed and honoured in both Cities; in such wise, that unto this day the Milesian damesdo wish ordinarily and pray unto the gods, that they may be well beloved, as *Pieria* was of *Phrygius*.

POLYCRITE.

THere was in times past war between the Naxians and the Milesians, about *Neera* the wife of *Hypsicreon*, and the same arose upon this occasion. This *Neera* was enamoured upon *Promedon*, a Naxian, insomuch as she would embarke, take the sea, and saile with him: for why? an ordinary guest he was of *Hypsicreons*, and used to lodge in his house whensoever he came to *Miletum*: yea, and secretly she had him to lye with her, she loved him so well: but in proces of time when she feared that her husband perceived it, he faire tooke her cleane away with him to *Naxos*, where he ordained, that she should be a suppliant of *Vesta*. *Hypsicreon* sent for her againe; but when the Naxians in favour of *Promedon* refused to render her, alleaging for a colourable pretence of their excuse the priviledge and franchises of suppliants: hereupon the war began between them; in which quarrell the Erythræans favoured the Milesians very affectionately, and sided with them, insomuch as it grew to a long and lingering war, and many miseries and calamities that follow wars, it drew withall, as well to the one part as the other; untill at last the quarrell was finally ended by the vertue of one woman, like as it began first by the vice and wickednesse of another. For *Diognetus* the Captaine Generall of the Erythræans, (unto whom was committed the charge of keeping a fort seated upon a very commodious place to annoy and endammage the Naxians) made rodes and incursions into their territory, wherewith many other huge booties that he drave and carried away, he took and led as his prisoners many maidens and wives of good houses and parentage; among whom there was one named *Polycrite*, whom himselfe fancied and fell in love with; her he kept and entertained not like a captive or prisoner, but as if she had been his espoused wife: now it fortuned that the day was come when the Milesians lying in campe, were to solemnize a great feast; by reason whereof they fell to drinking freely and making good cheare, inviting one another as the manner was: then *Polycrite* asked Captaine *Diognetus*, whether he would be offended if she should send certaine Tarts, Pies, and Cakes, provided for that feast, unto her brethren? who answered: that he not only permitted, but also willed her so to do: she taking the opportunity of good occasion, put within one of these Tarts a little thin plate of lead which was written upon, charging him expressely who had the carriage thereof, to say unto her brethren, that in any case none but they should taste of the said cakes or tarts: this message was done accordingly, and when they came to eate the tarts, they found within one a writing of their sisters; whereby she advertised and advised them

them not to fail, but that very night to come and assail their enemies, for that they should finde them in great disorder, without sentinel and *corps de guard*, without any watch and ward at all, for that they were all drunk by occasion of the good cheer that they had made at that feast: having this intelligence, they presently acquainted the Captaine Generall of the Naxians army therewith, praying them to enterprize this service by their direction and with them: thus were the Erythræans dislodged of their strong hold, and a great number of them within, put to the sword: but *Polycrite* craved *Diognetus* of her fellow Citizens, and by that meanes saved his life: now when she approached near unto the gates of *Naxos*, seeing all the inhabitants comming forth to meet her with exceeding great joy and mirth, putting garlands of flowers upon her head, and chaunting songs of her praises, her heart was not able to endure so great joy; for she died at the very gate of the City, where afterwards she was enterred and entombed; and her monument was called, the Sepulcher of Envy, as if there had been some envious fortune, which had grudged unto *Polycrite*, the fruition of so great glory and honour. Thus the Historiographers of *Naxos* have delivered this narration: how beit (*Aristotle* saith) that *Polycrite* was never taken prisoner; but *Diognetus* having had a sight of her by some other meanes, became enamoured upon her so fast, that he was ready to give unto her, and to do for the love of her, whatsoever she would: also that she promised to go with him, in case he would agree and grant one thing, and (as the said Philosopher telleth the tale) thereupon she required of him an obligation of his oath; and after he had faithfully sworn unto her, she demanded that he should deliver unto her the Castle *Delia* (for that was the name of the fort or place whereof he had the charge, otherwise she said that she would never come in bed with him; whereupon he (as well for the great desire that he had to enjoy her love, as in regard of his foresaid oath, by which he was bound and obliged) quit the place and rendered it into the hands of *Polycrite*, who presently delivered it up unto her country men and fellow Citizens; by which meanes they being now able once again to make their parts good with the Milesians, made an accord and concluded peace, under what conditions they desired themselves.

LAMPSACE.

IN the City *Phocæa*, there were sometimes two brethren twins, of the house and family of the *Codrides*; the one named *Phobus*, the other *Blepsus*; of which twain, *Phobus* was the first that (according as *Charon* the Chronicler of *Lampsacum* doth record) cast himselfe from the high rocks and cliffes of *Leucas* into the sea. This *Phobus* being of great puissance and royall authority in his country, hapned to have some private affair and negotiation of his own in the Isle of *Paros*, and thither he went; where he contracted amity, alliance and hospitality with *Mandron* King of the Bebrycians, surnamed Pityœssenes: and by vertue of this new league he aided them, and in their behalfe made war with them, against other barbarous people their neighbours, who did them wrong and wrought them much damage: afterwards (when he was upon his departure and return home) *Mandron* among many other courtesies and tokens of kindnesse which he bestowed upon him, now ready to embark and take the sea, offered him the one moity of his Countrey and City, if he would come and dwell in the City *Pityessa*, with some part of the Phocæans, for to people the place: whereupon *Phobus* after he was come home again to *Phocæa*, proposed this matter unto the Phocæans his Citizens; and having perswaded them to accept of the offer; he sent his own brother, as Leader and Captain to conduct this Colony of new inhabitants: who upon their first arrival and comming thither, found themselves as well entreated, and as courteously entertained as they could wish or look for at *Mandron* his hands: but in tract of time, after that they had gotten many advantages at the Barbarians hands, their neighbours and borderers, wan divers booties from them, and gained much pillage and spoile; they began to be envied first, and afterwards to be dread and feared of the Bebrycians; who being desirous for to be rid and delivered of such guests, durst not addresse themselves unto *Mandron*, whom they knew to be an honest and just man, for to perswade him to practice any disloyalty or treachery, against men of the Greek nation; but espying a time when he was absent and out of the Country; they complotted and prepared to surprize the Phocæans by a wile, and so to dispatch them all at once out of the way: but *Lampsacé* (the daughter of *Mandron*, a maiden yet unmarried, having some fore-inkling and intelligence of this forelayed ambush) laboured and dealt, first with her familiar friends to divert them from so wicked an enterprize, shewing and proving unto them, that it was a damnable act before God, and abominable among men, to proceed so treacherously against their allies & confederates, who had been ready at all times to aid and assist them in their need against their enemies, and besides, were now incorporate with them, and their fellow-Citizens: but when she saw that there would no good be done, and that she could not dissuade them from it: she acquainted the Greeks under-hand with this treason, which was a warning against them, and advised them to look unto themselves, and stand upon their own guard: so the Phocæans made a solemn sacrifice and a publick feast, invited the Pityessenes to come out of the City into the suburbs to take part thereof; and themselves they divided into two troops, whereof the one seized the walls of the City, while the inhabitants were at the feast, mean time the other were busie in maffacring the guests that were bidden to it; and by this meanes they became masters of the whole City, and sent for *Mandron*, whom they desired to participate with them in their counsels and affairs: as for *Lampsacé* his daughter, who fortuned to die of sickenesse, they interred

magnificently, and in memorial of that good which she did unto them, called the City after her name *Lampsacum*: howbeit *Mandron* because he would not be suspected to have been a Traitor unto his own people, would not consent to dwel among them, but required to have of them, the Wives and Children of them who were dead; whom they sent unto him with all speed and diligence, without doing any harm or displeasure at all unto them: as for *Lampsaca* unto whom before they had ordained heroick honours; they decreed for ever to sacrifice unto her as unto a goddesse, and even to this day they do continue and observe the same divine worship unto her.

ARETAPHILA.

Aretaphila of *Cyrene*, was none of them that lived in ancient time, but lately in the dayes of King *Mithridates*; but she shewed vertue, and performed an act comparable to the magnanimous counsels and designs of the most antick demi-goddesses that ever were: daughter she was to *Aglaor*, and wife to *Phedimus*, both noble men and great personages; fair and beautiful of visage, of deep conceit and high reach, and namely, in matters of estate, and affairs of government well experienced: the publick calamities of her country did illustrate her name, and caused her to be well known and voiced in the world: for *Nicocrates* having usurped the tyranny of *Cyrene*, put to death many of the chiefe and principal men of the City, and among the rest, one *Melanippus* the high Priest of *Apollo*, whom he slew with his own hands, for to enjoy his Priesthood: he did to death also *Phedimus* the husband of *Aretaphila*, and not content therewith, married her perforce, and against her will: this tyraht over and above an infinite number of other cruelties which he dayly committed, set certain warders at every gate of the City; who when there was carried forth any dead corps to burial out of the City, abused the same, with digging into the soles of their feet, with the points of their daggers and poniards, or else with searing them with red hot irons; forsear that any of the inhabitants should be conveyed alive out of the City, under colour of being borne to the grave as dead: private and particular crosses had *Aretaphila* no doubt, which were grievous unto her, and hardly to be endured, although the tyrant was otherwise kind enough unto her, and led her a faire life, letting her have her own will, for the love he bare unto her: insomuch as the tyrant suffered her to enjoy a great part of his puissance and regal power; for love had enthralled and subdued him unto her, and not one there was but she alone who knew how to use and handle him; for to all the others he was untractable, inflexible, and savage beyond all measure: but it grieved her most of all, to see her native country so miserably abused, and so unworthily entreated by this tyrant; for there was not one day went over his head, but he caused to be executed one Citizen or other, neither was there to be seen any hope of revenge or deliverance out of these calamities on any side; for that the exiled persons and such as fled, being weak and feeble every way, and altogether heartlesse and fearful, were scattered some in this place, others in that. *Aretaphila* therefore, (building upon her selfe alone, the only hope of recovering and raising the state of the Common-weale, and proposing the magnanimous and renowned acts of *Thebe*, the wife of the tyrant of *Phera*; as examples to imitate; but wanting and destitute altogether of faithful friends and trusty kinsfolk for to help and second her in any enterprize, such as the present times and affairs did afford unto the other) assayed to make away the tyrant by some poyson; but as she was about the provision hereof, and assayed to make proof of the forces of many strong poysons, she could not carry her design so secretly but it came forth, and was discovered: now when the thing was averred and evidently proved by strong presumptions: *Calbia* the mother of *Nicocrates*, (a bloody woman, and of nature implacable) thought to have her put to many exquisite torments, and then to bring her soon after to her death: but the affection that *Nicocrates* bare unto her wrought some delay in revenge, and dulled the edge of his anger, and withal *Aretaphila*, (who constantly and resolutely offered her selfe to answer all imputations that were laid unto her charges) gave some colourable excuse unto the passionate affection of the tyrant: but in the end seeing that she was convinced by certain proofs and evidences, which she knew not how to answer, neither could she deny that she had some drugs in her closet, and did temper certain medicines; but confessed that indeed she had prepared certain drugs, yet such as were neither deadly nor dangerous: But my good Lord (quoth she unto her husband the tyrant) I am much perplexed and troubled with many things of great consequence, and namely how to preserve the good opinion which you have of me, the kind affection also which of your gracious favour you bear unto me, by means whereof, I have this honor, as to enjoy a good part of your power and authority jointly with you; this maketh me to be envied of wicked women, at whose hands I (fearing sorceries, charms, enchantments, and other cunning divellish casts, by which they would go about to withdraw, and distract you from the love that you bear me) resolved at the length with my self for to seek means how to meet, encounter, and prevent their devices; foolish peradventure they may be (as indeed the very inventions of a woman, but in no wise worthy of death; unless haply, Sir (in your judgment) it be just and reasonable to put your wife to death, for that she mindeth to give you some love drinks, and amatorious cups, or deviseth some charms, as desirous to be more loved of you then haply it is your pleasure for to love her. *Nicocrates*, having heard these excuses alledged by *Aretaphila*, thought good & resolved to put her to torture, whereat *Calbia* her mother was present, who never relented nor seemed to be touched with her dolorous torments, but remained inexorable: now

now when she was laid upon the rack, and asked sundry questions, she yeelded not unto the pains that she sustained, but continued invincible, and confessed no fault in the height of all extremities: until at length *Calbia* her selfe, even against her will was forced to give over tormenting her any longer; and *Nicocrates* let her go, being now fully perswaded, that the excuses alledged by her were true and to be credited, repenting that he had put her to such pain as he did: and it was not long after (so deeply was the passion of love imprinted in his heart) but he returned to her and assayed to win her grace and good will again, by all honours, favours, courtesies and kindnesse that possibly he could shew unto her; but she, who had the power and strength to resist all torments and yeeld unto no pains, would not be overcome with all his flatteries; but joining now unto her former desire of doing some vertuous deed, the animosity for to be revenged and to effect her purpose, assayed other means. One daughter she had marriageable, and beautiful she was besides; her she suborned and set as an alluring bait to entrap and catch the tyrants brother, a young Gentleman, easie to be caught with the pleasures and delight of youth: and many are of opinion, that she used certain charms and amatorious potions, as well as the object of her daughters beauty, whereby she enchanted and bewitched the wits and senses of this young man, whom they called *Leander*: when he was once enamoured with the love of this young damosel, he prevailed so much by prayers and entreatywith his brother, that he permitted him to wed her: no sooner was he married but his fresh spouse (having instructions before hand from her mother) began to be in hand with him, and to perswade him for to enterprize the recovery of freedom unto the City, shewing by good remonstrance, that himselfe enjoyed not liberty, so long as he lived under tyranny, neither had he power of himselfe, either to wed a wife, or to keep her when he had her, if it pleased not the tyrant: on the other side, his friends and other of his familiar acquaintance, for to gratifie *Arctaphila* and to do her pleasure, repaired unto him continually, forging some new matter of quarrels and suspitions against his brother the tyrant: when he perceived that *Arctaphila* was also of the same mind, and had her hand therein, he resolved to execute the enterprize, and thereupon he set one *Daphnis*, a servant of his own, in hand with the businesse, by whose means he killed *Nicocrates*: but after he was thus murdered, *Leander* would no more be advised by *Aretaphila*, nor follow her counsel in the rest; but shewed incontinently by his deportments and carriage in all actions, that a brother indeed he had murdered, but not killed a tyrant: for in his own government, he bare himselfe like a foole, and ruled insolently and furiously: howbeit, unto *Aretaphila* he shewed always some honour and reverence, conferring upon her some part of his authority in management of State affaires; for that she made no semblant at all of discontentment, nor directly and in open manner seemed to warre against him, but privily practised, and cunningly disposed all: for first and foremost, she raised warre upon him out of *Lybia*, by the meanes of a Prince there, named *Anabus*, betweene whom and her there passed secret intelligence: him shee sollicited and perswaded to invade his Country, and with a puissant Army to approach the City *Cyrene*: then she buzzed into *Leanders* head, certain surmizes and suspitions of disloyalty in his Peers, his Friends and Capraines; giving him to understand, that their hearts stood not to his warre, but that they loved peace and quietnesse rather; Which (quoth she) to say a truth, as things now stand, were better for you and for the establishment of your royal State and Dominion, in case you would rule indeed, hold under, and keep in aw, your Subjects and Citizens: and for mine own part, I ho'd it good policy for you to make meanes for a Treaty of peace, which I will labour to effect, and for that purpose bring you and *Anabus* together, to an interview and parly (if you think so good) before that you grow to farther terms of hostility and open war, which may breed a mischiefe, that afterwards will admit no cure nor remedy. This motion she handled and followed with such dexterity, that *Leander* condescended thereto; and she her selfe in person went to confer with the Lybian Prince, whom she requested, that so soon as ever they were met together to treat of this pretended accord, he should arrest the tyrant as his prisoner; and to do this feat, she promised him great gifts and presents, besides a good reward in money: the Lybian soon accorded hereto: now *Leander* made some doubt at first to goe into this parly, and stayed a while, but afterwards (for the good respect that he had unto *Aretaphila*, who promised in his behalf, that he should come to conference) he set forward, naked without Armes and without his guards: when he approached the place appointed for this enterview, and had a sight once of *Anabus*, his heart misgave him again: and being much troubled and perplexed, he would not go on, but said he would stay for his guard: howbeit, *Aretaphila*, who was there present, partly encouraged him, and in part rebuked and checked him, saying: That he would be taken and reputed for a base minded coward, and disloyal person, who made no account of his word, if he should now flinch and start back: at the last, when they were at point to meet; she layed hold upon him, plucked him forward by the hand, and with great boldnesse & resolution haled him, until she had delivered him into the hands of the barbarous Prince: then immediately was he apprehended, and his body attached by the Lybians who kept him bound as a prisoner, and set a strait guard about him, until such time as the friends of *Aretaphila* with other Citizens of *Cyrene*, were come to the camp, and brought the money and gifts unto her which she had promised unto *Anabus*. For so soon as it was known in the City that *Leander* was taken prisoner and in sure hold a number also of the multitude ran forth to the place appointed of conference: and so soon as they had set an eye on *Aretaphila*, they went within a little of forgetting all their anger and malice which they bare unto the tyrant, thinking that the revenge and

exemplary punishment of him was but accessary and by-matter; as being now wholly amused upon another thing, and supposing the principal fruition of their liberty consisting in saluting and greeting her most kindly, and with so great joy, that the tears ran down their cheeks, insomuch as they were ready to kneel, yea, and cast themselves down prostrate at her feet, no lesse then before the sacred image and statue of a goddesse: thus they flocked unto her, by troops out of the City one after another, all day long, insomuch as it was well in the evening before they could advise with themselves to seize upon the person of *Leander*, and hardly before dark night did they bring him with them into the City. Now after they were well satisfied with giving all manner of praises, and doing what honour they could devise unto *Aretaphila*, in the end they turned to consultation what was best to be done with the tyrants? so they proceeded to burn *Calbia* quick; and as for *Leander*, they put him in a leather poke and sewed it up close, and then cast it into the sea. Then ordained and decreed it was, that *Aretaphila* should have the charge and administration of the Weale-publick, with some other of the principal personages of the City joined in commission with her: but she (as one who had played many sundry parts already upon the stage so well, that she had gotten the garland and crown of victory) when she saw that her country and City was now fully free, and at liberty, immediately betook her selfe to her own private house, as it were cloistred up with women only, and would no more intermeddle in the affairs of State abroad; but the rest of her life she passed in peace and repose with her kinsfolk and friends, without setting her selfe to any businesse, save only to her wheele, her web, and such womens works.

CAMMA.

THere were in times past, two most puissant Lords and Tetrarchs of *Galatia*, who also were in blood of kin one to the other, *Sinatus* and *Synorix*. *Sinatus* had espoused a young virgin named *Camma*, and made her his wife; a Lady highly esteemed of as many as knew her, as well for the beauty of her person, as the flower of her age; but admired much more in regard of her vertue and honesty; for she had not only a tender respect of her own good name and honour, carried an affectionate love and true heart unto her husband; but also, she was wise, magnanimous, and passing well beloved of all her Subjects and Tenants, in regard of her gentle nature, and her debonair and bounteous disposition: and that which made her better reputed and more renowned, was this: that she was a most religious Priestesse of *Diana* (a goddesse whom the Galatians most devoutly honour and worship) and also in every solemn procession and publick sacrifice, she would always be seen abroad most sumptuously set out, and stately adorned. It fortuned so, that *Synorix* was enamoured of this brave dame, but being not able to bring about his purpose and to enjoy her, neither by faire means nor foul, perswade he, or menace what he could, so long as her husband lived: the divel put in his head, to commit a most heinous and detestable fact: for he laid wait for *Sinatus*, and treacherously murthered him: he stayed not long after, but he fell to wooing of *Camma*, and courting her by way of marriage; she made her abode within the temple at that time, and took the infamous act committed by *Synorix*, not piteously, and as one cast down and dejected therewith, but with a stout heart and a stomach moved to anger, and yet considerately, waiting the time and opportunity of revenge: On the other side, *Synorix* followed his sute very earnestly, soliciting and entreating importunately: neither seemed he to alledge vain and frivolous reasons, but such as carried some colourable pretence of honesty; namely, that he had always shewed himselfe a man of more valour and worth then *Sinatus*; and whereas he took away his life, induced he was thereto for the exceeding love that he bare to *Camma*, and not moved thereto by any malice otherwise. This young dame at the first seemed to deny him, but yet her denials were not very churlish, and such, as he might take for his final answer; for dayly by little and little, she made semblant that she relented and inclined unto him, for that divers kinsfolk and friends also of hers, joined with him to second his sute, who (for to gratifie and do pleasure unto *Synorix*, a man of the greatest credit and authority in his country) perswaded, yea and forced her to yeeld unto this match: To be short, in the end she gave her consent, and *Synorix* was sent for to come unto her, where she kept her resiance that in the presence of the said goddesse, the contract of marriage might passe, and the espousals be solemnized: when he was come, she received and welcomed him with an amiable and gracious countenance, lead him unto the very Altar of *Diana*, where religiously and with great ceremony she poured forth before the goddess, a little of a potion which she had prepared, out of a bowle; the one part thereof she drunk her selfe, and the other she gave unto *Synorix* for to drink: now this potion was made mingled with rank poyson: when she saw that he had taken his draught, she fetched a loud and evident groan, doing reverence also unto the goddesse: I protest and call thee to witnesse (quoth she) most powerfull and honourable goddesse, that I have not survived *Sinatus*, for any other cause in the world, but only to see this day, neither have I had any joy of my life all this while that I have lived since, but only in regard of hope that one day I might be revenged of his death, which seeing that now I have effected, I go most gladly and joyfully unto that sweet husband of mine; and as for thee (most accursed and wicked wretch in the world) give order to thy kinsfolk and friends, in stead of a nuptial bed, to provide a grave for thy burial; the Galatian (hearing these words, and beginning withal to feele the operation of the poison, and how it wrought & troubled him within his bowels & all parts of his body,) mounted presently his chariot, hoping that by the jogging and agitation thereof, he might vomit and cast up the poyson; but immediately he alighted againe, and put himselfe into an eathe litter: but did he what he could, dead he was that very evening: as for *Camma*, she continued all the night languishing, and when she heard for certainty that he was deceased, she also with joy and mirth departed out of this world.

STRATONICE.

THe selfe same province of *Galatia* afforded two other dames worthy of eternal memory, to wit, *Stratonice* the Wife of King *Deiotarus*, and *Chiomara* the Wife of *Ortiagon*: as for *Stratonice*, she (knowing that the King her Husband was desirous to have children lawfully begotten; for to leave to be his successors and inheritors of the Crown, and yet could have none by her) prayed and intreated him to try another woman, and beget a Child of her body, yea, and permitted that it should be put unto her, and she would take it upon her as her own: *Deiotarus* wondered much at this resolution of hers, and was content to do all things according to her mind: whereupon shee chose (among other captives taken prisoner in the wars) a proper fair maiden named *Electra*; whom she brought into *Deiotarus* bed Chamber, and shut them in both together: and all the Children which this Concubine bare unto him, his wife reared and brought up with as kind an affection, and as Prince-like, as if she had borne them her selfe.

CHIOMARA.

AT what time as the Romans, under the conduct of *Cn. Scipio*, defeated the Galatians that inhabit in *Asia*; it befel that *Chiomara* the wife of *Ortiagon*, was taken prisoner with other Galatian women: the Captain whose captive she was, made use of his fortune, did like a souldier, and abused her body, who as he was a man given unto his fleshly pleasure, so he looked also as much, or rather more unto his profit and filthy lucre; but so it fell out, that overtaken he was and entrapped by his own avarice: for (being promised by the woman a good round quantity of gold, for to deliver her out of thraldome and set her at liberty; he brought her to the place which she had appointed for to render her and set her free; which was at a certain bank by the river side, where the Galatians should passe over, tender him the said money, and receive *Chiomara*: but she winked with her eye, and thereby gave a signal to one of her own company for to kill the said Roman Captain, at what time as he should take his leave of her with a kisse and friendly farewel; which the party did with his sword, and at one stroak fetched off his head: the head she her selfe took up, and wrapped it in the lap of her gown before, and so gat her away apace homeward: when she was come to her husbands house, down she cast his head at his feet, whereat he being astonied. Ah my sweet wife (quoth he) it is a good thing to keep faithful promise: True (quoth she) but it is better, that but one man alive should have my company. *Polybius* writeth of the same woman, that himselfe talked with her afterwards in the City of *Sardis*, and that he found her then to be a woman of an high mind, and of wonderful deep wit. But since I am fallen to the mention of the Galatians, I will rehearse yet one story more of them.

A Woman of PERGAMUS.

KIng *Mithridates* sent upon a time for threescore of the principal Lords of *Galatia*, to repair unto him upon trust and safe conduct as friends into the City *Pergamus*: whom being come at his request, he entertained with proud and imperious speeches, whereat they all took great scorn and indignation, insomuch as one of them named *Toredorix* (a strong and tall man of his hands, and besides wonderful couragious, Tetrarch of the Tossepians country) undertook one day this enterprise, to set upon *Mithridates*, at what time as he sat in judgement, and gave audience from the tribunal seat in the publick place of exercise, and both him and seat together to tumble down headlong into the pit underneath: but it fortuned that the King that day came not abroad as his manner was, up into that place of open exercise, but commanded all those Galatian Lords, to come and speak with him at his house: *Toredorix* exhorted them to be bold and confident, and when they were altogether in his presence, to run upon him from every side, to tear him in pieces and make an end of him: this plot was not projected so closely, but it came to *Mithridates* eares, who caused them all to be apprehended, and sent to chop off all their heads one after another: but immediately after, he called to remembrance that there was one young Gentleman among the rest, for the flower of his years, for beauty also, and feature of body, the goodliest person that he had set eye on in his days; whom he took pity of, and repented that he had condemned him to die with his fellows, shewing evidently in his countenance, that hee was mightily greeved and disquieted in his mind, as thinking verily that he was executed already with the first: howbeit, at a very venture hee sent in all haste a countermand, that if he were yet alive, hee should be spared and let go: this young mans name was *Bepolitanus*; and verily his fortune was most strange and wonderful: for had away hee was to the place of execution in that habit wherein he was attached, and the same was a very faire and rich sute of apparel, which because the butcherly executioner desired to reserve clean and unsprent with blood, he was somewhat long about the stripping of him out of

of it; and whiles he was so doing he might perceive the Kings men come running apace toward him, and with a lond voice naming *Bepolitanus*. See how covetousnesse, which had been the death of many a thousand, was the means beyond all expectation, to save the life of this young gentleman: as for *Toredorix*, after he was cruelly mangled with many a chop and hack, his body was cast forth unburied to the dogs; neither durst any of his friends come neer for to enter it: one woman only of *Pergamus*, whom this Galatian in his life time had known, in regard of her fresh youth and beauty, was so hardy as to hazard the taking of his dead corps away, and to bury it; which when the warders and watchmen perceived, they attached her, and brought her to the King: and it is reported that *Mithridates* at the very first sight of her, had compassion, for that she seemed to be a young and a simple harmlesse wench every way; but when he understood withal that love was the very cause thereof, his heart melted so much the rather; whereupon he gave her leave to take up the body, and commit it to the earth, allowing her for that purpose funeral cloaths, and furnishing her at his own charges, with all other things meet for comely and decent burial.

TIMOCLIA.

Theagines the Theban, carried the like mind and purpose for the defence of his country and the common-wealth, as sometimes *Epaminondas*, *Pelopidas*, and the bravest men in the world had done; but his fortune was to fall in that common ruine of *Greece*, when as the Greeks lost that unfortunate battel before *Cheronea*: and yet for his own part he was a victor, and followed them in chase, whom he had disarrayed and put to flight; for he it was who when one of them that fled cried out unto him: How far wilt thou pursue and follow us; answered: Even as far as into *Macedonia*: but when he was dead, a sister of his who survived him, gave good testimony, that in regard as well of his ancestors vertue, as his own natural disposition, he had been a worthy personage, and worthy to be reckoned and renounced amongst the most valiant Knights in his dayes; for some fruit received and reaped she of vertue, which helped her to bear and endure patiently as much of the common miseries of her country as touched her; for after that *Alexander the Great* had won the City of *Thebes* by assault, and the souldiers ran to and fro into all parts of the town, pilling and ransacking whatsoever they could come by: it chanced that one seized upon the house of *Timoclia*, a man who knew not what belonged to honour, honesty, or common courtesie and civility, but was altogether violent, furious, and out of reason; a Captain he was of a Coronet of Thracian light horsemen: and carried the name of King *Alexander* his Lord and Master, but nothing like he was unto him in conditions; for having filled himselfe with wine after supper, and good cheer, without any respect unto the race and linage of this noble dame, without regard of her estate and calling; he was in hand with her to be his bed-fellow all that night, neither was this all; for he would needs search and know of her, where she had laid up and hoarded any gold or silver, one while threatning to kill her, unlesse she would bring him to it, another while bearing her in hand that he would make her his wife, if she would yeeld unto him: she taking vantage of this occasion which himselfe offered and presented unto her: It might have pleased the gods (quoth she) that I had died before this night, rather then remain alive; for though I had lost all besides, yet my body had been undefiled and saved from all violence and villany: but since it is my fortune, that hereafter I must repute you for my Lord, my Master, and my Husband, and seeing it is Gods will to give you this puissance and soveraignty over me, I will not deprive and disappoint you of that which is yours, and as for my selfe, I see well, that my condition from henceforth must be such as you will; I was wont indeed to have about me, costly jewels and ornaments for my body; I had silver in plate, yea, and some gold in good coin and other ready money; but when I saw that the City was lost, I willed my women and maid-servants about me to get all together, and so I cast it away, or rather indeed to say a truth, I bestowed it, and reserved it in safety within a dry pit, wherein no water is, an odd blind corner I may say to you, that few or none do know; for that there is a great stone lieth over the mouth of it, and a many of trees grow round about to shade and cover the same; as for you, this treasure will make you a man, yea, and a rich man for ever, when you have it once in your possession: and for my part, it may serve for a good testimony and sufficient proof, to shew how noble and wealthy our house was before-time. When the Macedonian heard these words, his teeth so watred after this treasure, that he could not stay until the morrow, and attend the day light; but would needs out of hand be conducted by *Timoclia*, and her maidens to the place; but he commanded his wife to shut fast and lock the fore-yard-gate after them, that no man might see and know; and so he went down in his shirt into the foresaid pit: but cursed and hideous *Clotho* was his Mistresse and guide, who would punish and be revenged of his notorious wickednes by the hands of *Timoclia*, who stood above; for when she perceived by his voice that he was now at the very bottom, she her selfe threw down a number of stones upon him, and her women also tumbled down many others, and those very big ones and heavy after him, until they had brained him, overwhelmed him, and in manner filled the pit up: which when the Macedonians heard of, they made means to draw up his dead body, and for that there was a proclamation published before by sound of trumpet throughout the City, that they should not massacre one Theban more, they apprehended *Timoclia*, and brought her before King *Alexander*, whom they had already acquainted from point to point in particular, with that audacious act which she had committed: the King

King judging (by her setled and confident countenance, by her stayed gate also and portly pace) that she could not chuse but be of some great and noble house; demanded of her, first, what thee was? and she with rare boldnesse and resolution, without shewing any sign that she was daunted and astonyed: I had (quoth she) a brother named *Theagines*, who being Captain General of the Thebans, against you, in the battel of *Cheronea*, lost his life fighting manfully, in the defence of the liberty of *Greece*, to the end that we might not fall into that woful misery, into which we are at this present fallen: but seeing it is so, that we have suffered those outrages and indignities which be unworthy the place from whence we are descended, for my selfe I refuse not to die, and peradventure it were not expedient for me to live any longer, and try such another night as the last was, unlesse your selfe impeach and debar such demeanors: at these words, the noblest and most honourable persons who were present, could not forbear but weep; as for *Alexander*, he thought that the haughty mind and courage of this dame, was greater then to move pity and compassion: and therefore highly praising her vertue and commending her speech which he marked, and pondered well enough, gave streight charge and commandment unto his Captains, to have a good eye, and careful regard, yea, and to take order presently, that there should no more such abuses be offered in any house of honour and nobility: and as touching *Timoclia*, he ordained immediately, that she should be set at full liberty, both her selfe, and also all those who were known and found any way to be of her blood and kinred.

* *

ERYXO.

Battus who was surnamed *Damon*, that is to say, Happy, had a son whose name was *Arcesilaus*, in nothing at all resembling the manners and conditions of his father; for even during his father's life (for raising of battlements and pinnacles round about the walls of his own house,) he was condemned by his father himselfe in a fine of one whole talent; and after his death, being of a crooked, rough, and troublesome spirit, (according as his very name, *Calepor*, implyed) and for that he was governed altogether by the counsel of a minion and favourite of his own, named *Laarchus*, a man of no worth nor respect, he proved a tyrant instead of a King. And this *Laarchus* aspiring likewise to be tyrant, either chased and banished out of the City, or else caused to be put to death, the best and principal Citizens of all *Cyrene*; but when he had so done, he derived from himselfe all the blame and imputation upon *Arcesilaus*; and in the end gave him to drink a cup of poyson, to wit, a sea-hare whereupon he fell into a lingring and languishing disease, whereby he pined away, and died at the last; by which meanes himselfe usurped the seigniory and rule of the City, under a colour of keeping it as a Tutor and Lord Protector, for the behoofe and use of *Battus* the son of *Arcesilaus*: for a very child he was, and lame withall; so that in regard as well of his nonage and minority, as the defect and imperfection of his body, he was despised of the people; but many there were, who drew and ranged themselves unto his mother, and were willing to obey and honour her, for that she was a wise Lady, and of a mild and courteous nature: besides, most of the mightiest men in those parts were knit to her either in blood and kindred, or else by bond of friendship; by means whereof, *Laarchus* made court to her, yea, and sued unto her for her good will by way of marriage, offering unto her (if she would be affianced and wedded unto him) to adopt *Battus* for his own son, and make him partaker of his seigniory and dominion: but *Eryxo* (for that was the name of this noble Lady) being advised and counselled thereto before hand by her brethren, willed *Laarchus* to impart the matter unto them, for that upon conference with them (if they thought well of this marriage) she would be content and condescend thereto; *Laarchus* failed not so to do, but went and brake the thing unto her brethren accordingly; and they (as it was complotted before) drew the matter out in length, and drave him off from day to day; but *Eryxo* sent unto him secretly one of her waiting maidens, to give him notice from her, that her brethren indeed for the present did contradict her mind and crossed her will, but were the knot once knit and consummate in bed together, they would consent and hast no longer, but be willing enough to like and approve thereof as a convenient match: and therefore she advised him (if he thought so good) to repair by night unto her: for if the thing were once well begun the rest no doubt would speed accordingly; this message pleased *Laarchus*, and fitted his humour passing well: being therefore transported wholly besides himselfe with these lovely and sugred words of this dame, he promised to attend her at what hour soever she would appoint. Now was this devise complotted and laid by the consel of her eldest brother *Polyarchus*; and after that she had set down the just time when they should meet and company together against that very instant, she took order that the said brother should secretly be conveyed into her chamber, who brought with him two lusty tall young men well appointed with good swords, and who desired nothing more then to revenge their fathers blood, whom lately *Laarchus* had caused to be put to death: when all things were now in readinesse, she sent for *Laarchus*, willing him to come alone without any of his guard about him; no sooner was he entred into the chamber but these two young men charged upon him with their swords, wounded him in many parts of his body, that he died in the place: his dead corps they cast over the walls of the house; which done, they brought the young Prince *Battus* abroad into the publick place, declared and proclamed him King after the manner and custome of the City. Thus *Polyarchus* rendered unto the Cyrenians their ancient government which they had from the beginning. Now there happned to be at the same time in *Cyrene* many souldiers of *Amasis* the King of *Egypt*, in whom *Laarchus* reposed

reposed his confidence, and found them fast and trusty unto him: by whose means he became dread and terrible to the Cyrenians: these sent in post with all speed unto King *Amasis*, messengers of purpose, to charge and accuse *Eryxo* and *Polyarchus* for this murder; whereat the King was wroth, and in great indignation intended out of hand to make sharp war upon the Cyrenians: but as he prepared to set forward this expedition, it fortuned that his mother departed this life: whiles therefore he was busie about her funerals, news came to *Cyrene*, how this King was highly displeased and resolved to levie war against them: whereupon *Polyarchus* thought good to addresse himselfe in person to the said King and to render a reason unto him of this late fact committed upon the body of *Lycrchus*: neither would his sister *Eryxo* tarry behind but follow him, and expose her own person to the same peril that he entred into: yea, and the mother of them both, named *Critola* (very aged though she was) was right willing to go, and accompanied her son and daughter in this journey: now was she a great Lady, and most highly esteemed in this regard especially that she was the sister in the whole blood to *Battus* the first of that name, surnamed the Happy. When they were arrived in *Egypt*, all other Lords and noble men of the Court approved well of that which they had done in this case; and *Amasis* himselfe infinitely commended the pudicity and magnanimity of dame *Eryxo*; and after he had honoured them with rich presents, and royally entertained them, he sent them all back (*Polyarchus* I mean, and the two Ladies) with his good grace and favour, to *Cyrene*.

XENOCRITE.

Xenocrite a Lady of the City *Cumes*, deserveth no lesse to be praised and admired for that which she practised against *Aristodemus* the tyrant, whom some think to have been surnamed *Malacos*, that is to say Soft and effeminate in regard of his loose and dissolute carriage: but they are deceived and ignorant in the true original and occasion of his name; for the Barbarians gave him this addition *Malacos*, which in their language signifieth a Yonker: because being a very youth, with other companions of equal age, as yet wearing their hair long whom in old time they termed *Coroniste*, (of their black locks as it should seem) he above the rest, in the wars against the Barbarians, bare himselfe so bravely: (for he was not onely hardy and courageous in spirit, stout also and tall of his hands but withal full of wit, discretion and forecast and so far excelled all others in singularity) that he became right famous and renouned; whereupon he grew into such credit and admiration among his countrey men and fellow Citizens, that incontinently promoted he was, and advanced by them to the greatest offices of State and highest dignities in Common-weale; insomuch as when the Tuskans made war upon the Romans in the right and quarrel of *Tarquinius Superbus*, and namely, to restore him again to his Crown and Kingdom, from which he was deposed: the Cumans made him Captain General of those forces which they sent to aid the Romans: in which expedition and warfare that continued long, he carried himselfe so remisly among his Citizens, (which were in the camp under his charge, and gave them so much the head to do what they would, winning their hearts by courtesies and flattery, rather then commanding them as their General) that he put into their heads, and perswaded them (upon their return home) to run upon the Senate, and to join with him in expelling and banishing the mightiest persons and best men of the City, By which practice he set up himselfe as an absolute tyrant: and as he seemed wicked and violent otherwile in all kind of oppression and extortion; so most of all he was outragious, and went beyond himselfe in villany toward Wives and Maidens, to young Boyes also of good houses and free born: for among other enormities, this is recorded of him: That he forced young lads to wear their hair long, like lasses; to have also upon their heads, borders, cawls, and attires with spangles of gold; contrariwise he compelled young maidens to be rounded, polled, and notted, and to wear short jackets, coats, and mandilians, without sleeves. after the fashion of springalds; howbeit, being exceedingly enamored upon *Xenocrite* the daughter of one of those principal Citizens who by him were exiled, her he kept, not having espoused her lawfully, nor won her good will by fair perswasions, supposing that the maiden might think her selfe well appayed, and her fortune very happy, to be entertained (in any sort whatsoever) by him, being by that means so highly reputed of and esteemed fortunate among all the Citizens; but as for her, all these favours did not ravish and transport her sound judgment and understanding; for besides that she was mightily discontented to converse and keep company with him not espoused, nor affianced and given in marriage by her friends, she had no lesse desire to recover the liberty of her country, then those who were openly hated of the tyrant. Now it fortuned about the same time, that *Aristodemus* caused a trench to be cast, and a bank to be raised round about his territory, a peece of work neither necessary, nor profitable, which he did onely upon a policy, because he would thereby vex, out toile, consume, and waste his poor subjects; for he tasked every man, to cast up and carry forth by the day a certain number of measures full of earth. *Xenocrite* when she saw him at any time comming toward her, would turn aside, and cover her face with the lappet of her gown; but when *Aristodemus* was passed by and gone, young men her play-feres, by way of mirth and pastime, would ask her why she muffled and masked her selfe, as ashamed to see him onely, and was not abashed to see and be seen of other men as well; unto whom she would answer demurely, and that in right good earnest say: I wis I do it of purpose because there is not one man among all the Cumans but *Aristodemus*: this word touched them all very neer; but

but such as were of any noble spirit and courage, it galled and pricked for very shame, yea, and gave them an edge to set in hand and enterprize some manly act for to recover their freedome: which when *Xenocrita* heard, she said by report, that she would rather her selfe carry earth in a basket upon her own shoulders as others did, for her father, if he were there present, then participate in all delights and pleasures, yea, and enjoy great power and authority with *Aristodemus*. These and such like speeches cast out by her, confirmed those who were conspired and ready to rise against the Tyrant, of whom the Chieftaine and principal Leader, was one *Themistocles*: unto these conspirators *Xenocrita* gave free accesse and ready entry unto *Aristodemus*; who finding him alone, unarmed and unguarded, fell many at once upon him, and so quickly dispatched him out of the way. So how the City of *Cumes* was delivered from tyranny by two vertues of one woman; by the one she first gave the Citizens an affection, mind and heart, to begin and enterprise: and by the other she ministred unto them, means to execute and perform the same: for which good service of *Xenocrita*, those of the City offered unto her many honours, prerogatives, and presents; but she refused them all, only she requested this favour at their hands, that she might enterre the corps of *Aristodemus*, which they granted, and more then so, they chose her for to be a religious Priestresse unto *Ceres*, supposing that this dignity would be no lesse acceptable and pleasing unto the goddesse, then beseeming and fitting the person of this Lady.

The Wife of PYTHES.

IT is reported moreover, that the wife of rich *Pythes*, in the days of *Xerxes* when he warred upon *Greece*, was a vertuous and wise dame: for this *Pythes* having (as it should seem) found certain mines of gold, and setting his mind thereon, not in measure, but excessively, and unsatiably, for the great sweetness and infinite gains that arose thereby; both himselfe in person bestowed his whole time therein, and also he employed all his Subjects and Citizens indifferently without respect of any person, to dig and delve, to carry, to purge, and clense the said gold Oare: not suffering them to follow any other trade, or exercise any occupation else in the world: upon which unmeasurable and incessant toile, many died, and all were weary, and grumbled thereat, insomuch as at last, their wives came with olive branches, like humble suppliants to the gate of this Lady his Wife, for to move pity, and beseech her for redresse and succor in this case: she having heard their supplication, sent them away home to their houses with very good and gracious words, willing them not to distrust and be discomforted: meane while she sent secretly for gold-finers, goldsmiths, and other workmen in gold, such as she reposed most confidence in, and shut them up close within a certain place, willing them to make loaves, pies, tarts, cakes, pastry works, and jinkets of all sorts, sweet meats, fruits, all manner of meats and viands, such as she knew her husband *Pythes* loved best, of clean gold: afterwards, when all were made, and he returned home to his house (for as then he was abroad in a forraign countrey:) so soon as he called for supper, his wife set before him a table furnished with all kinds of counterfeit viands made of gold, without any thing at all, either good to be eaten or drunken, but all gold, and nothing but gold: great pleasure at the first took *Pythes* for to see so rich a sight, and so glorious a banquet, wherein art had so lively expressed nature; but after he had fed his eyes sufficiently with beholding these goodly golden works, he called unto her in good earnest for somewhat to eat; but she still whatsoever his mind stood to, brought it him in gold: so that in the end he waxed angry, and cryed out, that he was ready to famish: Why Sir (quoth she) are not you your selfe the cause of all this? for you have given us foison and store of this mettal, but caused extreame want and scarcity of meat and all things else, for all other trades, occupations, arts, and mysteries are decayed, and their use clean gone; neither is there any man that followeth husbandry and tilleth the ground; but laying aside, and casting behind us all things that should be sowen and planted upon the earth for the food and sustentation of man, we do nothing else but dig and search for such things as will not serve to feed and nourish us, spending and wearing out both our selves and our Citizens. These words moved *Pythes* very much; howbeit, for all this, he gave not over quite the mines and mettal works, but enjoining the fifth part of his Subjects to travel therein by turns, one after another; he gave the rest leave to husband their lands, and ply their other crafts and mysteries. But when *Xerxes* came down with that puissant army for to make war upon the Greeks, this *Pythes* shewed his magnificence in the entertainment of him, with sumptuous furniture, costly gifts and presents, which he gave unto the King and all his train: for which he craved this only grace and favour at his hands again: that of many children which he had, he would dispense with him for one of them, that he might not go to the wars, to the end that the said son might remain with him at home in his house, for to tend and look unto him carefully in his old age: whereat *Xerxes* was so wroth, that he commanded that one son (whom he requested) to be killed presently, and his dead body to be cloven through in the midst, and divided into two parts; and so dislodged and canted his army to march between them both; the rest of his sons he led with him to the wars, who died all in the field; whereupon *Pythes* being discomforted, and his heart clean cast down, did that which those ordinarily do, who want courage and wit; for he feared death, and hated life? willing he was not to live, and yet he had not the power to make an end of his life; what did he then? There was within the City a great bank or mount of earth, under which there ran a river, which they called *Pythopolites*; within this mount he caused his tomb to be made, and turned aside the course of the

the ſaid river, in ſuch ſort, that as it paſſed, the ſtream might glide upon this monument of his; which being prepared and done accordingly, he went down quick and alive into the ſame ſepulchre, having reſigned over unto his wives hands, the City, and the whole ſeigniory thereof: enjoining her thus much: that ſhe ſhould not approach her ſelfe unto this Tomb or Monument, but only every day once ſend unto him, his ſupper in a little punt or boat down the riverer, and ſo continue this ſo long until ſhe ſaw, that the ſaid punt went beyond the monument, having in it all his victuals whole and untouched; for then ſhe ſhould not need to ſend him any more: but take this for an aſſured ſign, that he was dead. Thus lived *Pythes* the reſt of his dayes: but his wife governed and managed the State prudently, and wrought a great change and alteration in the toilſome life of her people.

A Conſolatory Oration ſent unto Apollonius *upon the death of his Sonne.*

The Summary.

HOwſoever Plutarch *in this Treatiſe hath diſplayed his eloquence and all the skill and helps that he had by the meanes of Philoſophy, yet we ſee that the ſame is not ſufficient to ſet the mind and ſpirit of man in true repoſe; and that ſuch conſolations are (as they ſay) but palliative cures and no better: wherein alſo is diſcovered the want and default of light in the reaſon and wiſdom of man: yet notwithſtanding, take this withal, that ſuch diſcourſes do recommend and ſhew unto us ſo much the better, the excellency of celeſtial wiſedom, which furniſheth us with true and aſſured remedies: and inſtead of leaving the heart afflicted amid humane thoughts and conſiderations, raiſeth and liſteth it up unto the juſtice, wiſedom and bounty of the true God and Heavenly Father: it conforteth to ſee the eſtate of eternal life: it aſſureth it of the ſouls immortality, of the reſurrection of the body, (points of learning, wherein the Pagans were altogither ignorant) and of the permanent and everlaſting joyes, have, in the Kingdom of Heaven: Now albeit as this truth of God (revealed unto us in his ſacred word) hath inſtructed and reſolved us ſufficiently, it will not be amiſſe and impertinent, to learn of our Author and ſuch others, thoſe things which themſelves did not well and throughly underſtand, neither in life, nor yet in death: for that the foundation failed them, and they miſſed the ground work indeed, and in elewing and leaning to (I wot not what) fortune and fatal deſtiny, they cauſed man to reſt and ſtay himſelf upon a vain ſhadow of vertue, and willed him (in one word) to ſeek for conſolation, where there was nothing but deſolation for happineſſe in miſery, and for life in death. As touching the argument and contents of this Treatiſe: adorned it is with notable reaſons, ſimilitudes, examples and teſtimonies, the ſubſtance whereof is this: That* Apollonius *(unto whom it is addreſſed) ought not to be over penſive and heavy for the death of his ſon, deceaſed in the flower of his age. To move and perſwade him thereto,* Plutarch *after he had excuſed himſelfe in that he wrote no ſooner unto him, and ſhewed that ſpace of time comming between, doth better prepare mens hearts, which ſorrow and be in anguiſh, to receive comfort; he condemneth as well blockiſh and ſenſleſſe folk, as alſo thoſe that be waklings and over-tender in adverſity. Which done, he entreth into a general review of the remedies which be appropriate to cure the miſeries and afflictions of man; namely, that he ought to hold a meane, and to continue always like himſelfe; to caſt his eye and have regard upon the divers accidents of our life, and in enjoying the bleſſings thereof; to think upon future croſſes and calamities; to be armed with reaſon for to bear all changes: to remember and carefully to think upon the eſtate of this mortal and tranſitory life: to conſider the evils and miſeries of the ſame: to endure patiently that which cannot be avoided and prevented with all the cares and lamentations that be: and to compare our own adverſities with other mens. Then he proceedeth unto the particular conſolations of thoſe who are heavy and ſorrowful for the death of their children, kinſfolk, or friends; to wit: That there is no harm nor evil at all in death, but rather that it is a good thing, that the hour of it being uncertain, it is a comfort unto thoſe whom it ſummoneth, who no doubt would be caſt down and overthrown with the apprehenſion of miſeries to come, in caſe they had any foreſight thereof. After this, he proveth at large by three inductions and arguments of* Socrates *that there is not any evil in death; which he confirmeth by divers examples: and then returning into his conſolations, he maintaineth and holdeth: That whoſoever die young, are moſt happy: that the conſideration of Gods providence ought to retain and ſtay us: that we are not to mourn and lament for the dead, neither in regard of them nor of our ſelves: that ſince over-long heavineſſe and ſorrow maketh a man miſerable, it were very good for him to be rid and diſpatched of that pain quickly. Having finiſhed this point, he reſolveth and aſſoileth certain difficulties which are preſented in theſe matters: and then taking in hand his purpoſe again, he ruleth and reformeth the affections of the living, towards them that are departed: he reclaimeth them from perſiſting and continuing obſtinately in bewailing their abſence, willing them rather to bewail the caſe of thoſe who are living: and by many reaſons doth prove and conclude, that they who die betimes have one marvellous advantage over thoſe that remain alive in the world. Then he teacheth a man to maintain and carry himſelfe as he ought, in all affairs: refuſeth thoſe who can abide no pain and trouble: and knitting*

knitting up all the premiſes in few words: he adjoineth certain neceſſary and profitable counſels in ſuch accidents: and before that he concludeth the whole treatiſe, he deſcribeth the felicity of thoſe whom death cuts off in the prime of their years, having a ſpecial regard herein, to Apollonius *the party unto whom he writeth, and aſſuring him by the recital of the good parts and vertues which were in his ſon lately departed, that he was without all queſtion, in that place of repoſe and reſt which the Poets do imagine. Upon which occaſion he treateth of the immortality of the ſoul, according to the doctrine of* Plato *and his followers, which is the very end and cloſing up of all that had been delivered before.*

A conſolatory Oration ſent unto Apollonius *upon the death of his Sonne.*

IT is not newly come upon me now at this preſent and not before, to pity your caſe and lament in your behalfe (O *Apollonius*) having heard long ſince (as I did) the heavy news concerning the untimely death of your ſon, a young Gentleman ſingularly well beloved of us all, as who in that youth and tender years of his, ſhewed rare examples of wiſe carriage, ſtayed and modeſt behaviour, together with preciſe obſervance of thoſe devoun duties and, juſt offices, which either pertained to the religious ſervice of the gods, or were reſpective unto his parents and friends: for even from that time have I condoled with you, & had a fellow-feeling of your ſorrow: but ſome to have come then, and viſited you immediately upon his deceaſe and departure out of this world, to preſent you with an exhortation to bear patiently and as becometh a man, that unfortunate accident, had been an unſeemly part of mine and unconvenient, conſidering how in that very inſtant your mind and body both (overcharged with the inſupportable burden of ſo ſtrange and unexpected a calamity) were brought low and much infeebled; and my ſelfe beſides, muſt needs have moaned you, felt part of your griefe, and ſorrowed with you for company: for even the beſt and moſt skilful Phyſicians, when they meet with violent rheumes and catarrhs, which ſuddenly ſurprize any part of the body, do not proceed at the firſt to arough cure by purgative medicines, but permit this rage and hot impreſſion of inflamed humours to grow of it ſelfe to maturity by application onely of ſupple oyles, mild liniments, and gentle fomentations. But now, that ſince your ſaid misfortune, ſome time (which uſeth to ripen all things) is paſſed between, and given good opportunity, conſidering alſo, that the preſent diſpoſition and ſtate of your perſon ſeemeth to require the help and comfort of your friends, I thought it meet and requiſite to impart unto you certain reaſons and diſcourſes conſolatory, if happily by that means I may eaſe your anguiſh, mitigate your penſiveneſſe, and ſtay your needleſſe mourning and booteleſſe lamentation: for why?

If mind be ſick, what phyſick then,
But reaſons fit for each diſeaſe?
A wiſe man knows the ſeaſon when
To uſe thoſe meanes, the heart to eaſe.

And accordingly as the wiſe Poet *Euripides* ſaith:

Each grief of mind, each malady
Doth crave a ſeveral remedy:
If reſtleſſe ſorrow the heart torment,
Kind words of friends work much content.
Where folly ſwayes in every action,
Great need there is of ſharp correction.

For verily among ſo many paſſions and infirmities incident to the ſoul of man, dolor and heavineſs be moſt irkſome and goe neereſt into it. By occaſion of anguiſh many a one (they ſay) hath run mad and fallen into maladies incurable; yea, and for thought and hearts-griefe, ſome have been driven to make away themſelves. Now to ſorrow and be touched to the quick for the loſſe of a ſon, is a paſſion that ariſeth from a natural cauſe, and it is not in our power to avoid: which being ſo, I cannot (for my part) hold with them, who ſo highly praiſe and extol, I wot not what brutiſh, hard, and blockiſh indolence and ſtupidity, which if it were poſſible for a man to entertain, is not any way commodious and available. Certes, the ſame would bereave us of that mutual benevolence and ſweet comfort which we find in the reciprocal interchange of loving others and being loved again; which (of all earthly bleſſings) we had moſt need to preſerve and maintain. Yet do I not allow that a man ſhould ſuffer himſelfe to be tranſported and carried away beyond all compaſſe and meaſure, making no end of ſorrow; for even that alſo is likewiſe unnatural, and proceedeth from a corrupt and erronious opinion that we have: and therefore, as we ought to abandon this exceſs as ſimply naught, hurtful, and not beſeeming vertuous and honeſt minded men; ſo in no wiſe muſt we diſallow that mean and moderation in our paſſions, following in this point ſage *Crantor* the Academick Philoſopher: I could wiſh (quoth he) that we might be never ſick; howbeit, if wee chance to fall into ſome diſeaſe, God ſend us yet ſome ſenſe and feeling, in caſe any part of our body be either cut, plucked away, or diſmembred in the cure. And I aſſure you, that ſenſeleſſe impoſſibility is never incident unto a man, without ſome great miſchief and inconvenience enſuing; for lightly

lighly it falleth out, that when the body is in this caſe without feeling, the ſoule ſoon after will become as inſenſible: reaſon would therefore, that wiſe men in theſe and ſuch like croſſes, tarry themſelves, neither void of affections altogether, nor yet out of meaſure paſſionate: for as the one bewrayeth a fell and hard heart, reſembling a cruel beaſt: ſo the other diſcovereth a ſoft and effeminate nature, beſeeming a tender woman: but beſt adviſed is he, who knoweth to keep a mean, and being guided by the rule of reaſon, hath the gift to bear wiſely and indifferently, as well the flattering favours, as the ſcowling frowns of fortune, which are ſo ordinarily occurrent in this life: having this forecaſt with himſelfe: That like as in a free State, and popular government of a Common-wealth, where the election of ſoveraign magiſtrates paſſeth by lots: the one whoſe hap is to be choſen, muſt be a ruler and a commander: but the other who miſſeth, ought patiently to take his fortune, and beare the repulſe: even ſo in the diſpoſition and courſe of all our worldly affairs, we are to be content with our portion allotted unto us, and without grudging and complaint, gently to yeeld our ſelves obedient: for ſurely they that cannot ſo do, would never be able with wiſdom and moderation to weld any great proſperity: for of many wiſe ſpeeches and well ſaid ſawes, this ſentence may go for one:

However fortune ſmile and look full fair,
Be thou not proud nor bear a lofty mind:
Ne yet caſt down and plunge in deep deſpair,
If that ſhe frown or ſhew her ſelfe unkind:
But always one and ſame let men thee find.
Conſtant and firm retain thy nature ſtill,
As gold in fire, which alter never will.

For this is the property of a wiſeman and well brought up, both for any apparent ſhew of proſperity to be no changling, but to bear himſelfe always in one ſort: and alſo in adverſity, with a generous and noble mind, to maintain that which is decent and beſeeming his own perſon: for the office of true wiſdom and conſiderate diſcretion is, either to prevent and avoid a miſchiefe comming, or to correct and reduce it to the leaſt and narroweſt compaſſe when it is once come, or elſe to be prepared and ready to bear the ſame manfully, and with all magnanimity. For prudence, as touching that which we call good, is ſeen and employed four manner of ways: to wit, in getting, in keeping, in augmenting, or in well and right uſing the ſame: theſe be the rules as well of prudence, as of other vertues, which we are to make uſe and benefit of in both fortunes, as well the one as the other: for according to the old Proverb,

No man there is on earth alvie,
In every thing who aye doth proſper;
And verily
By courſe of nature, maiſtth it wrought why ſhe,
That ought ſhould chock fatal neceſſity.

And as it falleth out in trees and other plants, that ſome years they bear their burden, and yeeld great ſtore of fruit, whereas in others they bring forth none at all: alſo living creatures one whiles be fruitful and breed many young, other whiles again, they be as barren for it: and in the ſea it is now tempeſt, and then calme: ſemblably in this life there happen many circumſtances and accidents, which wind and turn us into the chances of contrary fortunes: in regard of which variety, a man may by good right and reaſon, ſay thus:

O Agamemnon, *thy Father* Atreus *hee,*
Always to proſper hath not begotten thee:
For in this life thou muſt have one day joy,
Another, grief and wealth, mixt with annoy.
And why? thou art by mortal nature fraile,
Thy will againſt this courſe cannot prevaile:
For ſo it is the pleaſure of the gods,
To make this change, and work in man ſuch ods.

As alſo that which to the ſame effect the Poet *Menander* wrote in this wiſe:

Sir, Trophimus, *if you the only wighe*
Of women born, were brought into this light
With priviledge, to have the world at will,
To taſte no woe, but proſper always ſtill?
Or if ſome god had made you ſuch behеſt,
To live in joy, in ſolace and in reſt?
You had juſt cauſe to fare thus as you do,
And chiefe, for that he from his word doth go,
And hath done what he cannot juſtifie.
But if ſo be, as truth will teſtifie:
Under one law this publick vital aire,
You draw with us, your breath for to repaire:
I ſay to you (gravely in tragick ſtile)
You ought to be more patient the while:
To take all this in better worth (I ſay)

Let

Let reaſon rule, and ſtand for finall pay.
And to knit up in few words, Trophimus
Of this diſcourſe the ſum: I reaſon thus:
A man you are, (that is as much to ſay)
A creature, more prompt and ſubject ay
To ſudden change, and from the pitch of bliſs,
To lie in pit, where bale and ſorrow is,
Than others all: and not unworthily:
For why, moſt weake by his own nature, he
Will needs himſelfe in higheſt matters wrap,
Above his reach, ſecure of after-clap:
And then anon, he falling from on high,
Beares down with him all good things that were nigh:
But as for you, the goods which heretofore
O Trophimus *you loſt, exceeded not, no more*
Than thoſe miſhaps which you this day ſuſtaine
Exceſſive be, but keep within a meane:
Henceforth therefore, you ought to beare the reſt
Indifferently, and you ſhall find it beſt.

Howbeit, although the condition and eſtate of mens affaires ſtand in theſe tearmes, yet ſome there be, who for want of ſound judgement and good diſcretion are grown to that blockiſh ſtupidity, or vaine over-weening of themſelves, that after they be once a little raiſed up, and advanced, either in regard of exceſſive wealth, and ſtore of gold and ſilver under their hands, or by reaſon of ſome great office, or for other preſidence and preeminence of high place which they hold in the Common-weale; or elſe by occaſion of honours and glorious titles which they have acquired, do menace, wrong, and inſult over their inferiours, never conſidering the uncertainty and inconſtance of mutable fortune, nor how quickly that which was aloft may be flung down; and contrariwiſe, how ſoon that which lieth below on the ground may be extolled and lifted up on high by the ſudden mutations and changes of fortune: to ſeeke for any certainty therefore in that which is by nature uncertaine and variable, is the part of thoſe that judge not aright of things:

For as the wheele doth turne, one part we ſee
Of felly, high and low in courſe to bee.

But to attaine unto this tranquillity of ſpirit, void of all griefe and anguiſh, the moſt ſoveraigne, powerfull, and effectuall medicine, is reaſon: and by the meanes thereof, a prepared eſtate and reſolution againſt all the changes and alterations of this life: neither is it ſufficient for a man only to acknowledge himſelfe to be by nature borne mortall; but alſo that he is allotted unto a mortall and tranſitory life, and tied as it were unto ſuch affaires as ſoon do change from their preſent eſtate unto the contrary: for this alſo is moſt certaine, that as mens bodies be mortall and fraile, ſo their fortunes alſo, their paſſions and affections be flitting and momentany; yea, and in one word, all that belongeth unto them is tranſitory; which is not poſſible for him to avoid and eſcape, who is himſelfe by nature mortall: but as *Pindarus* ſaid:

With maſſie weights of ſtrong neceſſity,
Of hell ſo darke to bottome forc'd are we.

Very well therefore ſaid *Demetrius Phalereus*, whereas *Euripides* the Poet wrote thus:

No worldly wealth is firme and ſure,
But for a day it doth endure.

Alſo:

How ſmall things may our ſtate quite overthrow!
It falleth out (as every man doth know)
That even one day is able down to caſt
Some things from height, and others raiſe as faſt.

All the reſt (quoth he) was excellently by him written, but far better it had been, if he had named, not one day, but the minute, moment, and very point of an houre:

For earthly fruits, and mortall mens eſtate,
Turne round about in one and ſelfe ſame rate,
Some live, waxe ſtrong, and proſper day by day,
Whiles others are caſt down and fade away.

And *Pindarus* in another place:

What is it for to be but one?
Nay what is it to be juſt none?
And verily a man is made
To be the dreame even of a ſhade.

hath declared the vanity of mans life, by uſing an Hyperbole or exceſſive manner of an over-reaching ſpeech, both paſſing wittily, and alſo to the purpoſe moſt ſignificantly. For what is there more weake and feeble than a ſhadow? but to come in with the fantaſticall dream of a ſhadow; ſurely it is not poſſible that any other man ſhould expreſſe the thing that he meant, more lively and in fitter

teatmes. And verily, *Crantor* in good correspondence hereunto, when he comforteth *Hippocles* for the untimely death of his children, useth these words among the rest: These are the rules (quoth he) that all the schoole throughout of ancient Philosophy doth deliver and teach; wherein if there be any point besides that we can admit and approve, yet this at least wise is most undoubted true, that mans life is exceeding laborious and painfull: for say that in the own nature it be not such; so it is, that by our own selves it is brought to that corruption: besides, this uncertaine fortune haunteth and attendeth upon us afar off, and even from our very cradle and swadling bands, yea, and ever since our first entrance into this life accompanieth us, for no good in the world.

To say nothing, how in all things whatsoever that breed and bud, there is evermore some portion more or lesse of naughtinesse inbred and mingled therewith: for the very naturall seed (which at the first, when it is at best, is mortall) doth participate this primitive cause, whereupon proceed the untoward inclination and disposition of the mind, maladies, cares, and sorrows; and from thence there creepe and grow upon us, all those fatall calamities that befall to mortall men. But what is the reason that we are digressed hitherto? forsooth, to this end, that we may know that it is no news for any man to taste of miseries and calamities, but rather that we are all subject to the same: for (as *Theophrastus* saith) fortune never aimeth or levelleth at any certaine marke, but shooteth at random: taking much pleasure, and being very powerfull to turne a man out of that which he hath painfully gotten before, and to overthrow a supposed end reputed felicity, without regard of any fore-set and prefixed time to worke this feat. These reasons, and many other such like, every one of us may easily consider and ponder within himselfe; yea, and besides, lay thereto the sage speeches (which he is aye to heare and learne) of ancient and wise men: among whom the chiefe and principall is that heavenly and divine Poet *Homer*, who saith us:

More weake than man, there is no creature
That from the earth receiveth nurture:
So long as limbs with strength he can advance,
And whiles the gods do lend him puissance,
He thinks no harme will ever him befall,
He casts no doubt, but hopes to outgo all:
But let them once from heaven some sorrows send,
Maugre the smart, he bears unto the end.

Also:

Such minds have men, who here on earth do live,
As Jupiter from heaven doth daily give.

And in another place:

Why aske you of my bloud and parentage?
Sir Tydeus son, a knight magnanimous.
To leaves of trees much like is mans linage:
Leaves some blown down by mind outragious
Lie shed on ground, and others, numerous,
Bud fresh in wood, when pleasant spring doth call:
Mens houses so, some rise and others fall.

Now that this similitude or comparison of tree-leaves fitly expressed and represented the transitory vanity of mans life, it appeareth evidently by those verses which he wrote in another place:

You would not say that I were wise if I did armour take
To fight with you, in wrethched mens behalfe, and for their sake,
Who much resemble leaves at first, faire in their fresh verdure,
So long as they of earthly fruits do feed for nurture;
And afterward be like to them, withered and dead againe,
When humour radicall is spent, and no strength doth remaine.

Simonides the Lyricall Poet, when as *Pausanias* King of *Lacedæmon* (bearing himselfe high, and vaunting of his brave exploits) bad him (upon a time by way of mockery) to give unto him some sage precept and good advertisement; (knowing full well the pride and over-weening spirit of the said Prince) counselled him only to call to mind, and remember, That he was but a man. *Philip* likewise, King of *Macedon*, hearing news in one and the same day, of three severall happy successes: the first, That he had won the prize, at the great running of chariots drawn with horses, in the solemnity of the Olympick games; the second, How his Lieutenant Generall, *Parmenio*, had defeated the Dardanians in battell; and the third, That his wife *Olympias* was delivered safe of a jolly son: lifted up his hands towards heaven, and said, O fortune, I beseech thee to send unto me in counterchange, some moderate adversity: as knowing full well, that she bare spight and envy alwaies to great felicities. Semblably, *Theramenes* one of the thirty tyrants of *Athens*, at what time as the house wherein he supped with many others fell down, and he alone escaped safe out of that dangerous ruine, when all others reputed him an happy man, cried out with a loud voice: O fortune, for what occasion of misfortune reservest thou me? And verily within few daies after, it hapned that his owne companions in government cast him in prison, and after much torture, put him to death. Moreover, it seemeth unto me, that the Poet *Homer* deserveth singular praise in this matter of consolation, when he bringeth in *Achilles* speaking of King *Priamus* (being come unto him for to ransome and redeeme the corps of his son *Hector*) in this wise;

Come on therefore and here sit down, by me upon this throne,
Let be all plaints, for beare we thus to weep, to sigh and grone,
And though our griefe of heart be much, let us the same represse,
For why? no teares will ought prevaile, nor help us in distresse.
To live in paines and sorrows great men are predestinate
By gods above, and they alone dwell aye in blessed state,
Exempt from cares and discontents, for in the entrie-sill
Of Jove his house in heaven aloft, two tuns are standing still,
Whereout he doth among men deale such gifts as they comaine,
In one good blessings are bestowed, in th' other curse and paine:
Now he to whom great Jupiter vouchsafes of both to give,
Sometime in joy, and otherwhiles in heavinesse shall live;
But if a man be only from that cursed vessell sped,
With shame, with want, and penury he is full ill bested,
He shall be sure upon the earth to wander and to stray,
In much disgrace with God and man untill his dying day.

The Poet who came after him both in order of time, and also in credit and reputation, *Hesiodus*, although he taketh upon himself the honour to have been a disciple of the Muses, having as well as the other included the miseries and calamities of mankind within one tun; writeth that *Pandora* in opening it, set them abroad in great quantity, and spred them over all lands and seas, saying in this manner:

No sooner then this woman took the great lid from the tun,
With both her hands, but all abroad she scattered anon,
A world of plagues and miseries; thus mischiefes manifold
She wrought thereby to mortall men on earth both young and old:
Hope only did remaine behind, and flew not all abroad,
But underneath the upmost brim and edge it still abode,
For why, before it could get forth, she lid she clops to fast:
When other evils infinite were flown from first to last:
Full was the earth of sundry plagues, full was the sea likewise,
Diseases then and maladies from day to day did rise
Among mankind, and those by night do walke and creep by stealth,
All suddenly without cause known, and do impeach mans health,
Uncal'd they come, in silence deep they make not any noise,
For Jupiter in wisdome great, bereft them all of voice.

To these sayings and sentences the comicall Poet according well, as touching those who torment themselves by occasion of such misfortunes when they happen, writeth thus:

If teares could cure and heale all our disease,
Or weeping stay at once our paine and griefe,
We would our gold exchange for teares, to ease
Our maladies, and so procure reliefe:
But (Master,) now teares with them beare no sway,
Nor ought prevaile, for weep we, or weep not,
They hold their course, and still keep on their way,
So that we see by plaints nothing is got:
What gaine we then? nought, sir, yet give me eare,
Griefe brings forth teares, as trees their fruit do beare.

And *Dyctis* when he comforted *Danaë*, who sorrowed overmuch for the death of her son, spake unto her in this manner;

Thinke you that Pluto doth your teares regard,
And will for sighs and groans your son back send?
No, no, cease you to sob and weep so hard,
Your neighbours case marke rather and intend:
Heart's ease will come, if that you call to mind,
How many men have died in dungeon deep?
Or waxen old, bereft of children kind,
Or princely state and port who could not keep,
But fell to base degree; consider this,
And make right use, it will you help iwis.

He giveth her counsell to consider the examples of those who have been more or lesse unfortunate than her selfe, as if the comparing of their condition might serve her turne very well, the better to endure her own calamity. And hereto may a man very pertinently draw and apply the saying of *Socrates*, who was of opinion; that if we laid forth all our adversities and misfortunes in one common heap, with this condition, that each one should carry out of it an equall portion; most men would wish and be glad to take up their own and go away with all. The Poet *Antimachus* also used the like induction, after that his wife whom he loved so entirely, was departed; for whereas her name

was *Lyde*, he for his own consolation in that sorrow of his, composed an Elegy or lamentable ditty, which he called *Lyde*: wherein he collected all the calamities and misfortunes which hapned in old time to great Princes and Kings, making his own dolour and griefe the lesse, by comparing it with other miseries more grievous: whereby it is apparant that he who comforteth another, whose heart is afflicted with sorrow and anguish, (giving him to understand that his infortunity is common to more besides him, by laying before his face the semblable accidents which have befallen to others,) changeth in him the sense and opinion of his own grievance, and imprinteth in him a certaine setled perswasion, that his misfortune is nothing so great as he deemed it to be before.

Æschylus likewise seemeth with very great reason to reprove those who imagine that death is naught, saying in this wise:

How wrongfully have men death in disdaine,
Of many evils the remedy soveraigne?

For in imitation of him, right well said he whosoever was the author of this sentence:

Come death to cure my painfull malady,
The only leech that bringeth remedy;
For hell is th' haven for worlds calamity,
And harbour sure in all extremity.

And verily, a great matter it is, to be able for to say boldly and with confidence:

How can he be a slave justly,
Who careth not at all to die?

As also:

If death me help in my hard plight,
No spirit nor ghost shall me affright.

For what hurt is there in death? And what is it that should so trouble and molest us when we die? A strange case this is, and I cannot see how it commeth to passe, that being so well known, so ordinarily, familiar, and naturall unto us as it is, yet it should seeme so painfull and dolorous unto us. For what wonder is it, if that be slit or cut, which naturally is given to cleave? If that melt, which is apt to be molten? If that burne, which is subject to take fire? or if that perish and rot, which by nature is corruptible? and when is it that death is not in our selves? for according as *Heraclitus* saith) quick and dead is all one; to awake and to sleep is the same; in young and old there is no difference; considering that these things turne one into another, and as one passeth, the other commeth in place: much after the manner of an imager or potter, who of one masse of clay is able to give the forme and shape of living creatures, and to turne the same into a rude lumpe, as it was before; he can fashion it at his pleasure, and confound all together, as he list: thus it lyeth in his power to do and undo, to make and mar, as often as he will, one after another, unceassantly; semblably, nature of the selfe-same matter, framed in times past our ancestours and grandsires, and consequently, afterwards brought forth our fathers; then she made us; and in processe of time will of us ingender others; and so proceed still to farther posterity; in such sort, that as the current (as it were) of our generation will never stay, so the streame also of our corruption will run on still, and be perpetuall; whether it be the river *Acheron* or *Cocytus*, as the Poets call them; wherebf the one signifieth privation of joy, and the other betokeneth lamentation. And even so, that first and principall cause which made us to live and see the light of the sun, the same bringeth us to death and to the darknesse of hell. And hereof we may see an evident demonstration and resemblance, by the very aire that compasseth us round about; which in alternative course and by turnes representeth unto us the day, and afterwards the night; it inducethus to a similitude of life and death, of waking and sleeping: and therefore, by good right is life called a fatall debt, which we must duly satisfie, and be acquit of: for our forefathers entred into it first; and we are to repay it willingly, without grumbling, sighing, and groaning, whensoever the creditor calleth for it; unlesse we would be reputed unthankfull and unjust. And verily, I beleeve that nature seeing the uncertainty and shortnesse of our life, would that the end thereof and the prefixed houre of death should be hidden from us, for that she knew it good and expedient for us so to be; for if it had been fore-known of us, some (no doubt) would have languished and fallen away before with griefe and sorrow; dead they would have been before their death came. Consider now the troubles and sorrows of this life; how many cares and crosses it is subject unto: Certes, if we were about to reckon and number them, we would condemne it as most unhappy, yea, we would verifie and approve that raging opinion which some have held: That it were far better for a man to die than to live; and therefore said the Poet *Simonides*:

Full feeble is all humane puissance:
Vaine is our care and painfull vigilance:
Mans life is even a short passage,
Paine upon paine is his arriuage:
And then comes death that spareth none,
So fierce, so cruell, without pardon:
Over our heads it doth depend,
And threats alike those that do spend
Their yeares in vertue and goodnesse,
As in all sin and wickednesse.

Likewise

Likewise *Pindarus*:

For blessing one which men obtaine,
The gods ordaine them curses twaine,
And those they cannot wisely beare,
Fooles as they be, and will not heare.

Or thus:

They cannot reach to life immortall,
Nor yet endure that which is mortall,

And *Sophocles*:

Of mortall men when one is dead,
Doth thine heart groan, and eye teares shead,
Not knowing once what future gaine
May come to him devoid of paine?

As for *Euripides*, thus he saith:

In all thy knowledge, canst thou find
The true condition of mankind?
I thinke well, No: For whence should come
Such knowledge deep, to all or some?
Give eare, and thou shalt learne of me
The skill thereof, in verity:
All men ordain'd are once to die,
The debt is due, and paid must be:
But no man know's if morrow next,
Unto his daies shall be annext:
And whither fortune bends her way,
Who can fore-see, and justly say?

If it be so then, that the condition of mans life is such indeed as these great clerks have delivered and described unto us; is it not more reason to repute them blessed and happy, who are freed from that servitude which they were subject to therein, than to deplore and lament their estate, as the most part of men do, through folly and ignorance? Wise *Socrates* said, that death resembled for all the world, either a most deep and sound sleep, or a voyage far remote into forraine parts, in which a man is long absent from his native Countrey; or else thirdly, an utter abolition and finall dissolution both of soule and body. Now take which of these three you will, according to him, there is no harme at all in death: for thus he discoursed through them well, and beginning at the first, in this wise he reasoneth: If death (quoth he) be a kind of sleep, and those that sleep feele no ill; we must needs confesse likewise, that the dead have no sense at all of harme: neither is it necessary to go in hand to prove, that the deepest sleep is also the sweetest, and most pleasant; for the thing it selfe is plaine and evident to all the world. To say nothing of *Homers* testimony, who speaking of sleepe writeth thus:

Most sweetly doth a man sleep in his bed,
When least he wakes, and seemes most to be dead.

The same he iterateth in many places; and namely, once in this wise:

With pleasant sleep she there did meet,
Death brother germain you may weet.

And againe:

Death and sleep are sister and brother,
Both twins resembling one another.

Where by the way he lively declareth their similitude, and calling them twins; for that brothers and sisters twins for the most part be very like: and in another place besides, he calleth death a brazen sleep; giving us thereby to understand, how senseleese death is: neither seemeth he unelegantly and besides the purpose, whosoever he was, to have expressed as much in this verse, when he said:

That sleeps (who doth them well advise)
Of death are petty mysteries.

And in very deed, sleep doth represent (as it were) a preamble, inducement, or first profession toward death: in like manner also the cynick Philosopher *Diogenes* said very wisely to this point, for being surprised and overtaken with a dead sleep, a little before he yeelded up the ghost, when the Physician wakened him, and demanded what extraordinary symptome or grievous accident was befaln unto him? None (quoth he) only one brother is come before another, to wit, sleep before death: and thus much of the first resemblance.

Now if death be like unto a far journey or long pilgrimage, yet even so, there is no evill at all therein, but rather good, which is clean contrary: for to be in servitude no longer unto the flesh, nor enthralled to the passions thereof; which seizing upon the soule, do impeach the same, and fill it with all follies and mortall vanities, is no doubt a great blessednesse and felicity: for as *Plato* saith: The body bringeth upon us an infinite number of troubles and hinderances about the necessary maintenance of it selfe; and in case there be any maladies besides, they divert and turne us cleane away from the inquisition and contemplation of the truth; and instead thereof, pester and stuffe

us full of wanton loves, of lusts, feares, foolish fancies, imaginations, and vanities of all sorts: ipso-much, as it is most true which is commonly said: That from the body there commeth no goodnesse nor wisdome at all. For what else bringeth upon us wars, seditions, battels and fights, but the body and the greedy appetites and lusts proceeding from it; for to say a truth, from whence arise all wars, but from the covetous desire of money, and having more goods? neither are we driven to purchase and gather still; but only for to entertaine the body, and serve the turn thereof; and whiles we are amused and employed thereabout, we have no time to study Philosophy: finally (which is the worst and very extremity of all) in case we find some leisure to follow our book, and enter into the study and contemplation of things, this body of ours at all times and in every place is ready to interrupt and put us out; it troubleth, it impeacheth, and so disquieteth us, that impossible it is to attaine unto the perfect sight and knowledge of the truth; whereby it is apparant and manifest, that if ever we would clearely and purely know any thing, we ought to be sequestred and delivered from this body; and by the eyes only of the mind, contemplate and view things as they be; then shall we have that which we desire and wish; then shall we attaine to that which we say we love, to wit, wisdome, even when we are dead, as reason teacheth us, and not so long as we remaine alive: for if it cannot be, that together with the body we should know any thing purely; one of these two things must of necessity ensue, that either never at all, or else after death we should attaine unto that knowledge; for then and not before the soule shall be apart, and separate from the body; and during our life time so much nearer shall we be unto this knowledge, by how much lesse we participate with the body, and have little or nothing to do therewith, no more than very necessity doth require; nor be filled with the corrupt nature thereof, but pure and neat from all such contagion, untill such time as God himselfe free us quite from it; and then being fully cleared and delivered from all fleshly and bodily follies, we shall converse with them and such like pure intelligences, seeing evidently of our selves all that which is pure and sincere, to wit, truth it selfe; for unlawfull it is and not allowable that a pure thing should be infected or once touched by that which is impure: and therefore say that death seeme to translate men into some other place, yet is it nothing ill in that respect, but good rather, as *Plato* hath very well proved by demonstration: in which regard *Socrates* in my conceit spake most heavenly and divinely unto the Judges, when he said: My Lords, to be affraid of death is nothing else but to seeme wise when a man is nothing lesse, and it is as much as to make semblance of knowing that which he is most ignorant of; for who wotteth certainly what is death? Or whether it be the greatest felicity that may happen to a man? Yet men do feare and dread it, as if they knew for certainty, that it is the greatest evill in the world. To these sage sentences he accordeth well who said thus,

Let no man stand in doubt and feare of death,
Since from all travels it him delivereth.

And not from travels only, but also from the greatest miseries in the world; whereunto it seemeth, that the very gods themselves give testimony: for we read that many men in recompence of their religion and devotion have received death, as a singular gift and favour of the gods. But to avoid tedious prolixity, I will forbeare to write of others, and content my selfe with making mention of those only who are most renowned and voiced by every mans mouth: and in the first place rehearse I will the history of those two young Gentlemen of *Argos*, namely, *Cleobis* and *Biton*; of whom there goeth this report: That their mother being Priestesse to *Juno*, when the time was come that she should present her selfe in the Temple, and the Mules that were to draw her coach thither, not in readinesse, but making stay behind: they seeing her driven to that exigent, and fearing lest the houre should passe, underwent themselves the yoke, and drew their mother in the Coach to the said temple: she being much pleased, and taking exceeding joy to see so great piety and kindnesse in her children, prayed unto the goddesse, that she would vouchsafe to give them the best gift that could befall to man: and they the same night following, being gone to bed for to sleep, never rose againe: for that the goddesse sent unto them death, as the only recompence and reward of their godlinesse. *Pindarus* also writeth as touching *Agamedes* and *Trophonius*, That after they had built the Temple of *Apollo* in *Delphos*, they demanded of that god their hire and reward; who promised to pay them fully at the seven-nights end; meane while he bad them be merry and make good cheere; who did as he enjoyned them: so upon the seventh-night following they took their sleep, but the next morning they were found dead in bed. Moreover it is reported, that when *Pindarus* himselfe gave order unto the Commissioners that were sent from the State of *Bœotia* unto the Oracle of *Apollo*, for to demand what was best for man? this answer was returned from the Propheteesse: That he who enjoyned them that errand, was not ignorant thereof, in case the history of *Agamedes* and *Trophonius* (whereof he was author) were true; but if he were disposed to make further triall, he should himselfe see shortly an evident proofe thereof: *Pindarus* when he heard this answer, began to think of death, and to prepare himselfe to dye; and in truth, within a little while after changed his life. The like narration is related of one *Euthynous* an Italian, who was son to *Elysius* of *Terina*, for vertue, wealth, and reputation, a principall man in that City, namely, that he died suddenly, without any apparent cause that could be given thereof: his father *Elysius*, incontinently thereupon, began to grow into some doubt (as any other man besides would have done) whether it might not be, that he died of poyson, for that he was the only child he had, and heire apparant to all his riches: and not knowing otherwise how to sound the truth, he went out to a certaine Oracle, which used to give answer by the conjuration and calling forth of spirits or ghosts of men departed; where (after he

he had performed sacrifices and other ceremoniall devotions according as the Law required) he layed him down to sleep in the place, where he dreamed, and saw this vision: There appeared unto him (as he thought) his own father, whom when he saw, he discoursed unto him what had fortuned to his son, requesting and beseeching him to be assistant with him to find out the truth, and the cause indeed of his so sudden death: his father then should answer thus: And even therefore am I come hither; here therefore receive at this mans hands that certificate which I have brought unto thee, for thereby shalt thou know all the cause of thy griefe and sorrow: now the party whom his father shewed and presented unto him, was a young man that followed after him, who for all the world in stature and yeares resembled his son *Euthynous*; who being demanded by him, what he was (Made this answer: I am the ghost or angell of your son: and with that offered unto him a little scrowle or letter; which when *Elysius* had unfolded, he found written within it these three verses:

These verses be imperfect, and it seemeth that Cicero, Tuscul. 1. in translating this first verse, read it thus: ὅστε ἔασιν γάνυται ἀνὴρ ἐφ' ὑμῖν ἀνδρῶν;

Ἥσυ γάνυται ἡλύσιε φρένας ἀνδρῶν.
Εὐθυνίῳ κεῖται μοιρίδιον θανάτῳ.
Οὐκ ἦν γὰρ ζώων αὐτῷ καλὸν ὥστε γονεῦσι.

Which may be done into English thus:

Elysius *thou foolish man, aske of wise Sages read,*
Euthynous by fatall course of destinies is dead:
For longer life would neither him nor parents stand in stead.

And thus much may suffice you, both as touching the ancient histories written of this matter, and also of the second point of the foresaid question.

But to come unto the third branch of *Socrates* his conjecture: admit it were true, that death is the utter abolition and destruction as well of soule as body; yet even so, it cannot be reckoned simply ill: for by that reckoning there should follow a privation of all sense, and a generall deliverance from paine, anxiety, and anguish: and like as there commeth no good thereby, even so, no harme at all can ensue upon it; forasmuch as good and evill have no being, but in that thing only which hath essence and subsistence, and the same reason there is of the one as of the other: so as in that which is not, but utterly becommeth void, annulled, and taken quite out of the world, there cannot be imagined either the one or the other. Now this is certaine, that by this reason the dead returne to the same estate and condition wherein they were before their nativity: like as therefore, when we were unborne, we had no sense at all of good or evill; no more shall we have after our departure out of this life: and as those things which preceded our time, nothing concerned us; so whatsoever happeneth after our death shall touch us as little.

No paine feele they that out of world be gone:
To dye, and not be borne, I hold all one.

For the same state and condition is after death, which was before birth. And do you thinke that there is any difference between, Never to have been, and to cease from being? Surely they differ no more than either an house, or a garment, in respect of us and our use thereof after the one is ruined or fallen down, and the other all rent and torn, from that benefit which we had by them before they were begun to be built or made; and if you say, there is no difference in them in these regards; as little there is be you sure between our estate after death, and our condition before our nativity: a very pretty and elegant speech therefore it was of *Arcesilaus* the Philosopher when he said: This death (quoth he) which every man feareth evill, hath one peculiar property by it selfe, of all other things that be accounted ill; in that when it is present, it never harmeth any man; only whiles it is absent and in expectance it hurteth folk. And in very truth, many men through their folly and weakenesse, and upon certaine slanderous calumniations and false surmises conceived against death, suffer themselves to die, because (forsooth) they would not die. Very well therefore and aptly wrote the Poet *Epicharmus* in these words:

That which was knit and joyned fest,
Is loosed and dissolv'd at last:
Each thing returns into the same,
Earth into earth, from whence it came:
The spirit up to heaven anon;
Wherefore what harme herein? just none.

And as for that which *Crespho[n]tes* in one place of *Euripides*, speaking of *Hercules* said:

If under globe of earth, with those he dwell,
Being none have left, laid once in grave:
A man of him might say, and that right well,
That puissance and strength he none can have.

By altering it a little in the end, you may thus infer:

If under globe of earth with those he dwell,
Who being none, have left, laid once in grave:
A man of him might say, and that right well,
That sense at all of paine, he can none have.

A generous and noble saying also was that of the Lacedæmonians:

Now are we in our gallant prime,
Before as others had their time,

And

And after us shall others flowre,
But we shall never see that howre.

As also this:

Now dead are they who never thought,
That life or death were simple ought:
But all their care was for to dy
And live, as they should, honestly.

Right excellent also are those verses of *Euripides*, as touching them who endure long maladies:

I hate all those by meat and drink,
Who to prolong their dues do think:
By Magick art and sorcery,
The course of death who turne awry.
Whereas they should be glad and faine,
When as they see it is but vaine
Of earth to live upon the face,
For youngers than to quit the place.

As for *Merope* in pronouncing these manlike and magnanimous words, she moveth the whole theater to this consideration of her speeches, when she saith;

I, am not th' only mother left,
Who of faire children am bereft;
Nor yet a widdow am I alone,
Who my deare husband have forgone:
For others infinite there be,
Who have felt like calamitee.

Unto this, a man may very aptly adjoine these verses also:

What is become of that magnificence?
Where is King Crœsus with his opulence?
Or Xerxes, he whose monstrous worke it was,
By bridge, the first of Hellespont to pass?
To Pluto now they are for ever gone,
To houses of most deep oblivion.

Their goods, and their wealth, together with their bodies are perished; howbeit, beleeve me, some will say; many are moved perforce to weep and lament, when they see a yonng person die before due time; and yet I assure you, this hasty and untimely death admitteth so ready consolation, that even the meanest and most vulgar comicall Poets have seen into the thing, and devised good means, and effectuall reasons of comfort: for consider what one of them saith in this case, to him that mourned and lamented for the unripe and unseasonable death of a friend of his, in these words:

If thou hadst known for certaine, that thy friend
Who now is dead, should have been blessed ay,
Throughout that course of life which was behind,
In case the gods had staid his dying day,
His death had been untimely, I would say:
But if long life, should bring him griefes incurable,
To him haply was death, than thou more favourable.

Seeing then uncertaine it is whether the issue and end of this life will be expedient unto a man; and whether he shall be delivered and excused thereby from greater evils, or no; we ought not to take ones death so heavily, as if we had utterly lost all those things which we hoped for, and promised our selves by his life to enjoy; and therefore methinks that *Amphiaraus* in a certaine Tragedy of a Poet, did not impertinently and without good purpose comfort the mother of *Archemorus*, who tooke it to the heart, and grieved excessively, that her son a young infant died so long before the ordinary time: for thus he saith unto her:

No man there is of womans body born,
But in his dates much travell he doth beare:
Children some die the parents long beforn,
And are by them enterred: then they reare
And get young babes, for those that buried were:
Lastly, themselves into the graves do fall,
This is the course, this is the end of all.
Yet men for them do weep and sorrow make,
Whose bodies they on biere to earth do send,
Although in truth a way direct they take,
As eares of corne full ripe, which downward bend,
As some begin, so others make an end.
Why should men grieve and sigh at natures lore?
What must shall be, thinke it not hard therefore.

In sum, every man ought both in meditation within himselfe, and in earnest discourse also with others,

others, to hold this for certaine; that the longest life is not best, but rather the most vertuous: for neither he that plaieth most upon a lute or citerne, is commended for the cunningest musician; no more than he who pleadeth longest, is held the most eloquent Orator: nor he that sitteth continually at the helme is praised for the best Pilot; but they that do best, deserve the greatest commendation: for we are not to measure goodnesse by the length of time, but by vertue, by convenient proportion and measure of all words and deeds: for this is that amiable beauty which is esteemed happy in this world, and pleasing to the gods: which is the reason that the Poets have left unto us in writing that the most excellent worthies or demy gods, and such (as by their saying) were begotten by gods, changed this their mortall life, and departed before they were old: for even he

Who was of mighty Jupiter, *and* Phœbus *loved best,*
Permitted was not long to live, and in old age to rest.

For this we alwaies see, that ordinarily the maturity of yeares, and the same well employed, is preferred before old age and long life: for thus we repute those trees and plants best, which in least time beare most fruit: as also those living creatures which in little space yeeld greatest profit and commodity to mans life: furthermore, little difference you shall find between short time and long, in comparison of eternity; for that a thousand, yea, and ten thousand yeares according to *Simonides*, are no more than a very prick, or rathed the smallest indivisible portion of a prick, in respect of that which is infinite. We read in histories that there be certaine living creatures about the land of *Pontus*, whose life is comprized within the compasse of one day: for in the morning they are bred, by noone they are in their vigour and at best, and in the evening they are old, and end their lives: would not these creatures thinke you, if they had the soule of man, and that use of reason which we have, feele the very same passions that we do, if the like accidents befell unto them? Certes, those that died before noone, would minister occasion of mourning and weeping; but such as continued all day long should be reputed happy. Well, our life should be measured by vertue, and not by continuance of time: so that we are to esteeme such exclamations as these, foolish, and full of vanity: Oh, great great pitty, that he was taken away so young; it ought not to have been that he should die yet: and who is he that dare say: This or that ought? But many things else have been, are, and shall be done hereafter, which some man might say, ought not to have been done: howbeit, come we are not into this life for to prescribe Laws, but rather to obey those Laws which are decreed and set down already by the gods, who governe the world, and the ordinances of destiny and divine providence.

But to proceed, those who so much deplore and lament the dead, do they it for love of themselves, or for their sake who are departed? If in regard of their own selves, for that they find how they are deprived of some pleasure or profit, or else disappointed of support in their old age, which they hoped to receive by those who are departed? Surely this were but a small occasion, and no honest pretence of lamentation; for that it seemeth they bewaile not the dead persons, but the losse of those commodities which they expected from them: but in case they grieve in the behalfe of those that be gone out of this world, soon will they shake off their sorrow, if they be perswaded and beleeve, that after death they feele no ill; and obey they will that ancient and wise sentence, which teacheth us to extend as much as we can all good things, but to draw in and restraine those that be ill: now if sorrow is to be counted good, we ought to augment and encrease the same as much as possibly we can: but if we acknowledge it (as it is indeed) to be naught, we are to shorten and diminish it, as much as we may, yea and to abolish it quit, if it lie in our power: and that this may be easily effected, it appeareth by the precedent of such a consolation as this: We read that a certaine ancient Philosopher went upon a time to visit Queen *Arsinoe*, who mourned and lamented much for a son of hers lately departed this life: and to her he used these or such like words: Madam, at what time as *Jupiter* dealt among the petty gods, goddesses, and other heavenly wights, certaine honours and dignities, it chanced that dame *Sorrow* was not present among the rest: but after that the distribution and dole was made, she also came in place and presented her selfe, craving of *Jupiter* her part of honour as well as the other. *Jupiter* being thus driven to his shifts, for that he had divided and given away all before, not having any thing else to bestow, gave unto her the honour which is done unto those that be departed this life; to wit, teares, plaints, and lamentations: as other petty gods and goddesses therefore, love those who honour them, and none else; even so (good Lady) *Sorrow* (if you make not much of her, and give her divine honour) will not come neare unto you; but in case you worship and honour her dutifully with those prerogatives which he allotted unto her, to wit, weeping, wailing, and lamentations, she will affect and love you, she will haunt you, yea, she will alway minister matter unto you, that she may be continually honoured by you. This device of the Philosopher wonderfully wrought with the woman, and perswaded her in such sort, as she staied her plaints, gave over her weeping, and cast off all her sorrow.

In one word, a man may deale in this wise with one that is in sorrow, and demand of him: Whether art thou minded one day to cease this mourning, and make an end of pitious lamentation? or to persist still in afflicting and tormenting thy selfe as long as thou livest? For if thou continue all thy life time in this dolorous anguish, thou wilt procure and bring upon thy selfe perfect misery and infelicity in the the highest degree, through thy effeminate softnesse and feebleneese of heart: but if thou meanest at the length to change this fit, and to lay all mourning aside, why dost not thou begin betimes, and resolve out of hand, to be delivered from this misery at once? for look what reasons

and

and meanes thou art to use hereafter, for to be freed from these paines and perplexities; by the help of the same thou maiest presently be quit of this unhappy plight and state wherein thou art. And as it fareth in our bodies, the sooner that we rid away the crasie indispositions and maladies thereof, the better it is for us; even so it is in the diseases and passions of the soule; that therefore, which thou art minded and disposed to yeeld unto long time, give forthwith unto reason, unto literature and knowledge; discharge thy selfe (I say, and that with speed) of these calamities which now environ and compasse thee round about. But haply you will say, I never thought that this would have befalne unto me, neither did I so much as doubt any such thing: yea, but you ought to cast doubts afore-hand; you should long time before have considered and meditated of the vanity, weaknesse and instability of mans affaires; by which meanes you had not been surprised as you are, nor taken so unprovided, as by some sudden incursion of enemies. Very well and wisely therefore it seemeth, that noble *Theseus* in *Euripides* was prepared and armed against all such accidents of fortune, when he thus said:

According as a wise man once me taught,
I did in mind all miseries forecast;
And namely, how I might be overcaught
With bitter spight; and not to sit so fast
In native soile, but forc'd to fly at last:
Untimely death of wife, of child, of friend,
How soone might hap, full crosse unto my mind.
In sum, I did misfortunes manifold
Effsoones propose and set before mine eyes,
To th' end that I acquainted thus of old
With such fore-casts, might soone learne to despise,
And set naught by adverse calamities:
For no mischance, or fortune overthwart,
Could now be strange, and nip me to the heart.

But those who are effeminate, base-minded, and not exercised before-hand in such premeditations, never pluck up their spirits, nor set their minds to deliberate and consult as touching any honest or profitable course, but suffer themselves to breake out into extremities and miseries remediless, afflicting and punishing their harmelesse bodies, and as *Alceus* was wont to say, forcing them to be sick with them for company, which ailed nought before. And therefore *Plato* (in my conceit) gave a very wise admonition: That in such casualties and mischances as these, we should be quiet; as well for that it is uncertain whether it be good or ill for them whose death we seeme to lament; as also, because there can no good ensue unto us by such pensiveneese and sorrow: for this is certaine, That as sage consultation in a mans selfe (as touching that which is hapned already) doth remove sorrow; so griefe impeacheth wise counsell, which would have a man to employ and accommodate all his affaires and occurrences the best way he can; like as in playing at the tables, to dispose so of his cast and chance whatsoever, as may most serve to win the game.

If it be our hap therefore, to stumble and catch a fall, by the crooked aspect of adverse fortune, we must not do as little children, who laying their hands upon that part which is hurt, fall a puling or setting up a cry; but apply our minds presently to seek for remedy; to set that upright, which is faln; to rectifie that which is out of frame, by help of good medicines; and in one word, to put away all moanes and lamentations.

Certes, it is reported, that he (whosoever he was) that set down Laws and Statutes to the Lycians ordained expressely; That whensoever they were disposed to mourne and lament, they should be araied in womans apparell; as giving them thereby to understand, that to weepe and waile, was but effeminate and servile passion, nothing at all befitting grave persons, well descended, or honestly brought up: for (to say a truth) to weep and waile thus, is meere womanish, and bewraieth a base and abject mind: and like as women ordinarily be more prone and forward thereto than men; so Barbarians rather than Greeks; and the worse sort of people are given thereto more than the better: also, if you go thorow all barbarous nations, you shall not find those who are most haughty-minded and magnanimous, or carry any generosity of spirit in them, such as be the Almans or Gaules addicted hereunto; but Ægyptians, Syrians, Lydians, and such other; for some of these (by report) use to go down into hollow caves within the ground, and there hide themselves for many daies together, and not so much as see the light of the sun, because (forsooth) the dead party whom they mourne for is deprived thereof. In which regard, *Ion* the Tragicall Poet having (as it should seeme) heard of such fooleries bringeth in upon the stage a woman speaking in this wise:

Come forth am I, now at the last,
Your nurse and childrens governesse,
Out of deep caves, where some daies past;
I kept in bale full heavinesse.

Others there be also of these Barbarians, who cut away some parts, and dismember themselves, slit their own noses, crop their eares, misuse and disfigure the rest of their bodies, thinking to gratifie the dead in doing thus, if they seeme to exceed all measure, and that moderation which is according to nature. There are besides, who reply upon us, and say, That they thinke we ought not to waile and lament for every kind of death, but only in regard of those that die before their time; for that they have not as yet tasted of those things which are esteemed blessings in this life, to wit, the joyes of marriage, the benefit of literature and learning, the perfection of yeares, the mannagement of Common-weale, honours, and dignities; for these be the points that they stand upon, and grieve most who lose their friends or children by untimely death, for that they be disappointed and fruitrate of their hopes before the time; ignorant altogether that this hasty and over speedy death, in regard of humane nature, differeth nothing at all from others: for like as in the returne to our common native Countrey, which is necessarily imposed upon all, and from which no man is exempted, some march before, others follow after, and all at length meet at one and the same place: even so in travelling this journey of fatall destiny, those that arrive late thither, gaine no more advantage than they who are thither come betime: now if any untimely or hasty death were naught simply, that of little babes and infants that suck the breast, and cannot speake, or rather such as be newly born were worst; and yet their death we beare very well and patiently, whereas we take their departure more heavily, and to the heart, who are grown to some good yeares, and all through the vanity of our foolish hopes; whereby we imagine and promise to our selves assuredly, that those who have proceeded thus far, be past the worst, and are like to continue thus, in a good and certaine estate. If then the prefixed terme of mans life were the end of twenty yeares, certes, him that came to be fifteen yeares old we would not judge unripe for death, but thinke that he had attained to a competent age; and as for him who had accomplished the full time of twenty yeares, or approached neare thereto we would account him absolute happy, as having performed a most blessed and perfect life: but if the course of our life reached out to two hundred yeares, he who chanced to dye at one hundred yeares end, would be thought by us to have died too soone; and no doubt his untimely death we would bewaile and lament. By these reasons therefore, and those which heretofore we have alledged, it is apparant, that even the death which we call untimely, soone admitteth consolation, and a man may beare it patiently; for this is certaine, that *Troilus* would have wept lesse; yea, even *Priamus* himselfe should have shed fewer teares, in case he had died sooner: at what time as the Kingdom of *Troy* flourished, or whiles himselfe was in that wealthy estate: for which he lamented so much; which a man may evidently gather by the words which he gave to his son *Hector*, when he admonished & exhorted him to retire from the combate which he had with *Achilles* in these verses:

Returne my son within these walls, that thou from death maiest save
The Trojan men and women both, let not Achilles *have*
Of thee that honour, as thy life so sweet to take away,
By victory in single fight, and haste thy dying day:
Have pitty yet my son of me, thy wofull aged sire,
Ere that my wits and senses faile, whom Jupiter *in ire*
Will else one day at th' end of this my old and wretched yeares,
Consume with miserable death, out-worne and spent with teares.
As having many objects scene of sorrow and hearts griefe;
My sons cut short by edge of sword, who should be my reliefe;
My daughters trail'd by haire of head, and rawsh'd in my sight;
My Pallace raz'd, their chambers sackt, wherein I took delight:
And sucking babes from mothers brest plucks, and their braines dash'd out
Gainst the stones of pavement hard, lie sprawling all about:
When enemy with sword in hand, in heat of bloudy heart
Shall havock make: and then my selfe at last must play my part:
Whom when some one by dint of sword, or launce of dart from far,
Hath quite bereft of vitall breath, the hungry dogs shall arre
About my corps, and at my gates hale it and drag along,
Gnawing the flesh of hoary head, and gristed chin among,
Mangling besides the privy parts of me a man so old,
Unkindly slaine, a spectacle most pitious to behold.
Thus shake the aged father though, and plucks from head above
His haires milk-white, but all these words did Hector *nothing move.*

Seeing then, so many examples of this matter presented unto your eyes, you are to think and consider with your selfe that death doth deliver and preserve many men from great and grievous calamities, into which without all doubt they should have faln, if they had lived longer: But for to avoid prolixity, I will omit the rest, and satisfie my selfe with those that are related already, as being sufficient to prove and shew, that we ought not to breake out beside nature, and beyond measure into vain sorrows and needlesse lamentations, which bewray nothing else but base and feeble minds. *Crantor* the Philosopher was wont to say, That to suffer adversity causelesse, was no small easement to all sinister accidents of fortune: but I would rather say, That innocency is the greatest and most soveraign medicine to take away the sense of all dolour in adversity: Moreover, the love and affection that we beare unto one who is departed, consisteth not in afflicting and punishing our selves; but in doing good unto him so beloved of us: now the profit and pleasure that we are able to performe for them who are gone out of the world, is the honour that we give unto them by celebrating their good memorials; for no good man deserveth to be mourned and bewailed; but rather to be celebrated

brated with praise and commendation: He is not worthy of sorrow and lamentation, but of an honourable and glorious remembrance; he requireth not teares as testimonials of griefe and dolour; but honest offerings and civill oblations: if it be true, that he who is gone out of this world, doth partake a more divine and heavenly condition of life, as being delivered from the servitude of this body, and the infinite cares, perplexities, and calamities which they must needs endure, who abide in this mortall life, until such time as they have run their race, and performed the prefixed course of this life, which nature hath not granted unto us for to be perpetuall, but according to the Laws of fatall destiny hath given to every one in severall proportion. Such therefore as be wise and well minded, ought not in sorrow and griefe for their friends departed, to passe beyond the bounds and limits of nature, and in vaine plaints and barbarous lamentations forget a meane, and never know to make an end; expecting that which hath befallen to many before them, who have been so far gone in heavinesse and melancholy, that before they had done lamenting, they have finished their daies, and ere they could lay off the mourning habit for the funerals of others, they have been ready themselves to be carried forth to their unhappy sepulchre: insomuch as the sorrows which they entertained for the death of another and the calamities proceeding from their own folly, have been buried together with them: so as a man might very well and truly say of them as *Homer* did:

Whiles they their plaints and sorrows made,
Darke-night over-spread them with her shade.

And therefore in such case we are ettoones thus to speake unto our selves, and reason in this manner: What? shall we make an end once? or rather never cease so long as we live? but still keep a weeping and wailing as we do? For I assure you, to thinke that sorrow should never end, were a point of extreame folly, considering that oftentimes we see even those, who of all others take on and fare most impatiently in their fits of griefe and heavinesse, become (in processe of time) so well appeased, that even at those tombs and monuments where they pitiously cried out and knockt their brests, they met afterwards solemnly to make magnificent feasts, with musick, minstrelsie, and all the meanes of mirth that might be devised. It is the property therefore of a mad man, and one bereft of his wits, to resolve and set down with himselfe to dwell evermore in sorrow, and not to give it over: but if men thinke and reckon, that it will cease at length and passe away, by occasion of somethings that may occur, let them cast this withall, that space of time will (after a sort) do it: for that which once is done, cannot by God himselfe be undon: and therefore that which now is hapned contrary to our hope and expectation, is a sufficient proofe and demonstration of that which is wont to befall unto many others by the same meanes. How then? Is not this a thing that we are able to comprehend by learning and discourse of reason in nature? to wit:

The earth is full, and sea likewise,
Of sundry evils and miseries.

As also:

Such mischiefes aye and strange calamities,
Are daily one after another sent
To mort all men by fatall destinies;
The skie it selfe is not thereof exempt.

For not only in these daies, but time out of mind, many men (and those of the wiser sort) have deplored the miseries of mankind reputing life it selfe to be nothing else but punishment; and the very beginning of mans birth and nativity, to be no better than woe and misery. And *Aristotle* saith, That even *Silenus*, when he was caught and taken captive, pronounced as much unto King *Midas*. But forasmuch as this matter maketh so well to our purpose, it were best to set down the very words of the said Philosopher; for in his book entituled, *Eudemus*, or *Of the soule*, thus he saith, Therefore (quoth he) O right excellent and of all men most fortunate, as we esteeme the dead to be blessed and happy, so we thinke that to make a lie or speake evill of them is meere impiety, and an intolerable abuse offered unto them, as being now translated into a far better and more excellent condition than before: which opinion and custome in our Countrey is so ancient and of such antiquity, that no man living knoweth either the time when it first began, or the first author thereof, who brought it in: but from all eternity this custome hath been among us observed for a Law. Moreover, you know full well the old saying, that from time to time hath run currant in every mans mouth: And what is that? quoth he: then the other presently inferred this answer, and said, That simply it was best, not to be born at all, and to die better than to live: and hereto have accorded and given testimony the very gods themselves, and namely, unto King *Midas*, who having in chase and hunting (upon a time) taken *Silenus*, demanded of him, what was best for man? and what it was that a man should wish for & chuse above all things in the world? At the first he would make no answer, but kept silence, and gave not so much as a word, untill such time as *Midas* importuned and urged him by all means; so as at length (seeing himselfe compelled even against his will) he brake out into this speech, and said unto him, O generation of small continuance! O seed of laborious and painfull destiny! O issue of fortune, wretched and miserable! Why force you me to say that unto you, which it were better for you to be ignorant of? For that your life is lesse dolorous and irkesome, when it hath no knowledge at all of her own calamities: but so it is, that men by no means can have that which simply is best, nor be partakers of that which is most excellent: for best it had been for all men and women both, never to have been borne at all; the next to it, and indeed the principall

cipal and chief of all those things that may be effected, (however in order it falleth out to be second) is to die immediately after one is born. So that it appeareth plainly, that *Silenus* judged and pronounced the condition of the dead to be better then of the living. For the proof of which conclusion, ten thousand sentences and examples there be, and ten thousand more upon the head of them, which may be alledged: but needlesse it were, to discourse farther of this point, and make more words thereof. Well then: we ought not to lament the death of young folk, in this regard, that they be deprived of those blessings and benefits which men do enjoy by long life: for uncertain it is (as we have shewed often times before) whether they be deprived of good things, or delivered from bad; considering that in mans life there be far more sorrows then joyes; and those (as few as they be) we get with much pains, great travel, and many cares; whereas calamities and evils come easily unto to us; insomuch (as some men say) they be round and united close, and following aptly one upon another; whereas good things be separated and disjoined, insomuch as hardly they meet together at the very end of mans life: and therefore it seemeth that we forget our selves: for as *Euripides* saith:

Not only worldly goods are not
Proper to men when they are got,

but not any thing else whatsoever; and therefore of all such things we are thus to say:

The gods have all in rightfull propertie,
And under them, at will we tenants be,
To hold, and use the same, some more some lesse,
Until they please us quite to dispossesse.

We ought not therefore to be grieved and discontented, if they redemand of us that which they have lent and put into our hands, only for a little while; for even the banquets themselves (as we were wont oftentimes to say) are not displeased or offended when they be called unto, or constrained to render and give up those stocks of money that have been committed unto them, if they be honest men, and well minded: for a man may by good right say unto those who are unwilling to redeliver the same: Hast thou forgotten that thou didst receive these moneys to repay again? And the very same may be applyed unto all mortal men: for we have our life at Gods hands, who upon a fatal necessity, have lent and left the same unto us; neither is there any time fore-set or prefixed, within which we ought to yeeld the same; no more then the foresaid banquers are limitted to some appointed day, on which they are bound to deliver up those stocks of money which be put into their hands; but unknown and uncertain it is when they shall be called unto, for to render the same to the owners. He therefore who is exceeding much displeased and angry, when he perceiveth himselfe ready to die; or when his children have changed this life; is it not evident that he hath forgotten, both that himselfe is a man, and also that he begot children mortall? for surely it is no part of a man whose understanding is clear and entire, to be ignorant in this point, namely that a man is a mortall creature, or that he is born upon this condition, once to die: and therefore if dame *Niobe*, according as fables recount unto us, had been always furnished with this opinion and setled resolution: That

The flower of age she should not see
Enjoy, nor children see alway
About her fresh, in number many,
To keep her ever company:
Nor sweet sun-shine continually
Behold, until that she must die;

she would never have fared so, and fallen into such despair, as to desire to be out of the world; for the unsupportable burden of her calamity, and even to conjure the gods for to fetch her away, and plunge her into most horrible destructions. Two rules and precepts there are written in the Temple of *Apollo*, at *Delphos*, which of all others be most necessary for mans life: the one is; Know thy selfe: and the other: Too much of nothing: for of these twain depend all other lessons, and these two accord and sound very well together; for it seemeth that the one doth declare the other, and containe the force and efficacy one of the other; for in this rule, Know thy selfe, is compriséd; Nothing too much: likewise in this, a man doth comprehend the knowledge of himselfe: and therefore *Ion* the Poet speaking of these sentences, saith thus:

Know thy selfe; a word but short,
Implies a work not quickly done,
Of all the gods and heavenly sort
None skills thereof but Jove *alone.*

And *Pindarus* writeth in this wise:

This sentence brief: Nothing excessively,
Wise men have prais'd always exceedingly.

Whosoever therefore setteth always before the eyes of his mind these two precepts, and holdeth them in such reverence as the Oracles of *Apollo* deserve, he shall be able to apply them easily unto all the affairs and occurrents of humane life, and to bear all things modestly as it becometh, both having a regard to his own nature, and also endeavouring neither to mount up too high with pride and vain-glory, for any happy fortune that may befall, nor yet be dejected and cast down beyond measure, to mourning and lamentation upon infirmity of fortune, or rather of the mind, or by reason of that inbred fear of death imprinted deeply in our hearts for want of knowledge and good

consideration of that which is ordinary, and customably hapned in mans life, either through necessity, or according to the decree of fatal destiny. Notable is that precept of the Pythagoreans:

What part thou hast of griefe and wo, which unto man is sent,
By hand of God; take well in worth, and shew no discontent.

And the tragical Poet *Æschylus* said very well:

Wise men and vertuous in all wo and distresse,
Against God will not murmur more or lesse.

As also *Euripides*:

The man who yeelds unto necessity,
Well skilled is in true divinity:
And such we count, and not unworthily
To bear themselves among men most wisely.

And in another place:

Who knowes the way, whatever doth befall
With patience meekly to suffer all;
In my conceit, he may be thought right well,
In vertue and wisedom all men to excell.

But contrariwise, most men in the world complain and grumble at every thing; and whatsoever falleth out crosse and contrary to their hope and expectation; they imagine the same to proceed always from the malignity of fortune and the gods; which is the reason that in all accidents they weep, waile, and lament; yea, and they blame their own froward and adverse fortune: Unto whom we may very well and with great reason reply in this manner;

No God it is, nor heavenly wight,
That works thy wo, and all this spight.

but even thine own selfe, thy folly and error proceeding from ignorance: and upon this false perswasion and erroneous opinion it is, that these men complain of all sorts of death; for if any of their friends chance to die in a forraign Country, they fetch a deep sigh in his behalfe, and cry out, saying:

Alas poor wretch, who's nie for thee, that neither father tine,
Nor mother deer shall present be, to close thy sight I see ne.

Dieth he in his own native soil, and in the presence of father and mother? they mourn and lament, for that being taken out of their hands, he hath left unto them nothing else behind, but a deep impression of grief, in seeing him die before their eyes: Is it his hap to depart out of this world in silence, and without giving any charge of ought concerning him or them? then they cry out amain, and break forth into these words; as he did *Homer*:

Alas the while, that no wise speech and lesson thou me gave,
Which while my breath and life doth last, I should remembred have.

Again, if he delivered any words unto them at the hour of his death, they will evermore have the same in their mouths to kindle a new and refresh their sorrow: went he suddenly, and never bade his friends farewel, when he departed; they lament and say: That he was ravished away, and forcibly taken from them: if he languished, and was long in dying, then they fall a complaining, and give out, that he consumed and pined away, enduring much pain before he died: to be short, every occasion and circumstance whatsoever, is enough to stir up their grief, and minister matter to maintain sorrowful plaints. And who be they who have moved and brought in all these out-cries and lamentations, but Poets, and even *Homer* himselfe, most of all other, who is the chief and Prince of the rest, who in this manner writeth:

Like as a father, in the fire of woful funerals,
Burning the bones of his young son, soon after his espousals,
Sheds many teares for grief of mind, and weepeth bitterly:
The mother likewise (tender heart) bewailes him pitiously:
Thus he by his untimely death, both parents miserable,
Afflicts with sorrows manifold, and woes unexplicable:

But all this while it is not certain whether it be well and rightly done, to make this sorrow; for see what followeth afterwards:

He was their only son, and born to them in their old age,
Sole heir of all, and to enjoy a goodly heritage.

And who knoweth, or is able to say, whether God in his heavenly providence, and fatherly care of mankind, hath taken some out of the world by untimely death, foreseeing the calamities and miseries which otherwise would have hapned unto them? and therefore we ought to think that nothing is befalled them which may be supposed odious or abominable.

For nothing grievous thought may be,
Which commeth by necessitie:

Nothing (I say) that hapneth to man, either by primitive cause immediately, or by consequence; as well in this regard, that often times most kinds of death preserve men from more grievous adversities, and excuse them for greater miseries: as also for that it is expedient for some, never to have been born, and for others, to die in their very birth; for some, a little after they be entred into this life, and

and for others again, when they are in their flower, and grown to the very height and vigor of their age: all which sorts of death, in what manner soever they come, men are to take in good part, knowing that whatsoever proceedeth from fatal destiny, cannot possibly be avoided; and therein reason would, that being well taught and instructed, they should consider, and premeditate with themselves, how those whom we think to have been deprived of their life before their full maturity, go before us but a little while; for even the longest life that is, can be esteemed but short, and no more then the very minute and point of time, in comparison of infinite eternity: also, that many of them who mourned and lamented most, within a while have gone after those whom they bewailed, and gained nothing by their long sorrow: onely they have in vain afflicted and tormented themselves: whereas, seeing the time of our pilgrimage here in this life is so exceeding short, we should not consume our selves with heavinesse and sadnesse, nor in most unhappy sorrow and miserable paines, even to the punishing of our poor bodies with injurious mishaps; but endeavour and strive to take a better and more humane course of life, in conversing civilly with those persons who are not ready to be pensive with us, and not to stir up our sorrow and griefe after a flattering sort; but rather with such as are willing and meet to take away or diminish our heavinesse, with some generous and grave kind of consolation: and we ought to have ever in mind those verses in *Homer*, which *Hector* by way of comfort delivered unto his wife *Andromache*, in this wise:

Unhappy wight, do not my heart vex and sollicit still,
For no man shorten shall my dayes, before the heavens will:
And this (I say) Andromache, that fatal destiny,
No person good or bad, once born, avoid can possibly.

And of this fatal destiny the same Poet speaketh thus in another place:

No sooner out of mothers womb, are babes brought forth to light,
But destiny hath spun the thread for every mortal wight.

These and such like reasons, if we would conceive and imprint before-hand in our minds, we should be free from this foolish heavinesse, and delivered from all melancholy: and namely, considering how short is the term of our life between birth and death, which we ought therefore to passe and make much of, that we may passe the same in tranquillity, and not interrupt it with caring cares and doleful dumps, but laying a side the marks and habits of heavinesse, have a regard both to cherish our own bodies, and also to procure and promote the wellfare and good of those who live with us. Moreover, it will not be amiss to call to mind and remember those arguments and reasons which by great likelihood we have sometime used to our kinsfolk and friends, when they were afflicted with like calamities; when as by way of consolation we exhorted and perswaded them to bear the common accidents of this life with a common course of patience, and humane valor, humanely. Neither must we shew our selves so far short and faulty, as to have been sufficiently furnished for to appease the sorrow of others, and not be able by the remembrance of such comforts, to do our selves good: we ought therefore presently to cure the anguish of our heart with these soveraign remedies and medicinable drugs (as it were) of reason: and so much the sooner, by how much lesse we may admit delay in any thing else then in discharging the heart of griefe and melancholy: for where as the common proverb and by-word in every mans mouth, pronounceth thus much:

Who loves delayes, and his time for to lack,
Lives by the losse, and shall na sorrows lack.

Much more dammage (I suppose) he shall receive, who deferreth and puteth off from day to day to be discharged of the grievous and adverse passions of the mind. A man therefore is to turn his eye toward those worthy personages who have shewed themselves magnanimous and of great generosity in bearing the death of their children: as for example, *Anaxagoras* the Clazomenian, *Pericles*, and *Demosthenes* of *Athens*, *Dion* the Syracusian, and King *Antigonus*, besides many others, both in these dayes also in times past: of whom, *Anaxagoras* (as we read in history) having heard of his sons death, by one who brought him newes thereof, even at what time as he was disputing in naturall Philosophy, and discoursing among his scholars and disciples, paused a while, and stayed the course of his speech, and said no more but thus unto those who were about him: Well I wist that I begat my son to be a mortal man. And *Pericles*, who for his passing eloquence and excellent wisdom, was surnamed *Olympius*, that is to say, divine and heavenly; when tidings came to him that his two sons *Paralus* and *Xantippus* had both changed this life, behaved himself in this manner as *Protagoras* reporteth of him in these words: When his two sons (quoth he) both young and beautiful, died within eight dayes, one after the other; he never shewed any sad countenance or heavy cheere, but took their death most patiently: for in truth hee was a man at all times furnished with tranquillity of spirit, whereby hee dayly received great fruit and commodity; not onely in respect of this happinesse, that he never tasted of hearts griefe; but also in that hee was better reputed among the people; for every man seeing him thus stoutly to take this losse and other the like crosses, esteemed him valiant, magnanimous, and of better courage then himselfe: each one being privy to his own heart, how he was wont to be troubled and afflicted in such accidents: As for *Pericles* I say, immediately after the report of both his sonnes departure out of this world, hee ware a chaplet of flowers nevertheless upon his head, after the manner of his countrey: put on a white robe, made a solemne Oration to the people, propounded good and sage counsels to the

Athenians, and incited them to war. Semblably *Xenophon* one of the followers and familiars of *Socrates*, when he offered sacrifice one day unto the gods, being advertised by certain messengers remanded from the battell that his son *Gryllus* was slain in fight; presently put off the garland which was upon his head, and demanded of them the manner of his death? and when they related unto him that he bare himselfe valiantly in the field, and fighting manfully lost his life, after he had the killing of many enemies: he took no longer pause for to represse the passion of his mind by the discourse of reason, but after a little while, let the Coronet of flowers again upon his head, and performed the solemnity of sacrifice; saying unto those who had brought those tidings: I never prayed unto the gods that my son should be either immortal, or long lived, for who knoweth whether this might be expedient or no? but this rather was my prayer, that they would vouchsafe him the grace to be a good man, and to love and serve his country well, the which is now come to passe accordingly. *Dion* likewise the Syracusian, when he was set one day in consultation, and deviing with his friends; hearing a great noise within his house, and a loud outcry, demanded what it was: and when he heard the mischance that happed; to wit, that a son of his was fallen from the top of the house, and dead with the fall; without any shew or sign at all of astonishment or trouble of mind, he commanded that the breathlesse corps should be delivered unto women, for to be interred according to the manner of the Country; and as for himselfe, he held on and continued the speech that he had begun unto his friends. *Demosthenes* also the Orator is reported to have followed his steps; after he had buried his onely and entirely beloved daughter, concerning whom, *Æschines* thinking in reproachful wise to challenge her father, said thus: This man within a seven-night after his daughter was departed, before that he had mourned, or performed the due obsequies according to the accustomed manner; being crowned with a chaplet of flowers, and putting on white robes, sacrificed an Ox unto the Gods, and thus unnaturally he made no reckoning of her that was dead, his only daughter, and she that first called him father, wicked wretch that he is: This Rhetorician thus intending to accuse and reproach *Demosthenes*, used this manner of speech, never thinking that in blaming him after this manner he praised him, namely, in that he rejected and cast behind him all mourning, and shewed that he regarded the love unto his native country, more then the naturall affection and compassion to those of his own blood. As for King *Antigonus*, when he heard of the death of his son *Alcyoneus*, who was slain in a battel, he beheld the messengers of these woful tidings, with a constant and undaunted countenance; but after he had mused a while with silence, and held down his head, he uttered these words: O *Alcyoneus*, thou hast lost thy life later then I looked for, venturing thy selfe so resolutely as thou hast done among thine enemies; without any care of thine own safety, or respect of my admonitions. These noble personages, there is no man but doth admire, and highly regard for their constancy and magnanimity; but when it cometh to the point and triall indeed, they cannot imitate them through the weaknesse and imbecillity of mind, which proceedeth from ignorance, and want of good instructions: howbeit, there be many examples of those who have right nobly and vertuously carried themselves in the death and losse of their friends and neer kinsmen, which we may read in Histories, as well Greek as Latine; but those that I have rehearsed already may suffice (I suppose) to move you for to lay away this most irksome mourning, and vain sorrow that you take, which booteth not, nor can serve to any good: for that young men of excellent vertue, who die in their youth, are in the grace and favour of the gods, for being taken away in their best time, I have already shewed heretofore, and now also will I addresse my selfe in this place as briefly, as possibly I can to discourse, giving testimony of the truth to this notable wise sentence of *Menander*,

To whom the gods vouchsafe their love and grace,
He lives not long, but soon hath run his race.

But peradventure (my most loving and right deer friend) you may reply in this manner upon me: Namely, that young *Apollonius*, your son, enjoyed the world at will, and had all things to his hearts desire; yea, and more befitting it was, that you should have departed out of this life, and been entered by him, who was now in the flower of his age, which had been more answerable to our nature, and according to the course of humanity. True it is I confesse, but haply not agreeable to that heavenly providence and government of this universall world: and verily in regard of him who is now in a blessed estate, it was not natural for him to remain in this life longer then the term prefixed and limitted unto him; but after he had honestly performed the course of his time, it was needfull and requisite for him to take the way for to return unto his destiny that called for him to come unto her: but you will say, that he died an untimely death: true, and so much the happier he is, in that he hath felt no more miseries of this life: for as *Euripides* said very well:

That which by name of life we call,
Indeed is travel continual.

Certes, this son of yours (I must needs say) is soon gone, and in the very best of his years and flower of his age, a young man in all points entire and perfect, a fresh Bachelor, affected, esteemed and wel reputed of all those that kept him company, loving to his father, kind to his mother, affectionate to his kinsfolk and friends, studious of good literature, and (to say all in a word) a lover of all men, respecting with reverence (no lesse then fathers) those friends, who were elder then himselfe, making much of his equals and familiars, honouring those who were his teachers; to strangers as well as to Citizens most civil and courteous, gracious and pleasant to all; generally beloved, as well for his sweet

sweet attractive countenance, as his lovely affability. All this (I confesse) is most true; but you ought to consider and take this withal: That he is translated before us in very good time out of this mortal and transitory life into everlasting eternity, carrying with him the general praise and and blessed acclamation of all men for his piety and observance toward you, as also for your fatherly regard of him; and departed he is as from some banquet, before he is fallen into drunkennesse and folly, which he could not have eschewed, but it would have ensued upon old age: and if the saying of ancient Poets and Philosophers be true, as it seemeth verily to be, namely: That good men and those that devoutly serve God, whensoever they die, have honour and preferment in the other world, and a place allotted them apart, where their souls abide and converse; surely you are greatly to hope very well, that your son is canonized and placed in the number of those blessed Saints: concerning the state of which happy wights deceased, *Pindarus*, the Lyick Poet, writeth in his Canticles after this manner.

When we have here the shady night,
The shining sun to them gives light:
The meddows by their City side
With roses red are beautified,
Shade with trees which please the sense,
With golden fruits and sweet incense:
Some horses ride for exercise,
Disporting in most comely wise;
Others delight in harmonie,
In musick and in symphonie.
They live where plenty every hour
Of all delights doth freshly flour;
Where altars of the gods do fume
In every coast, with sweet perfume
Of odors all most redolent,
Burning in fire far resplendent,
Which is maintain'd continually:
Thus they converse right pleasantly.

And a little after he proceedeth to another lamentable ditty, wherein speaking of the soul, he useth these words:

Happy is their condition,
Whom death from all vexation
Exempted hath: all bodies die
Perforce, there is no remedie:
The soul, of perpetuity
The image, from divinity
Only deriv'd, doth live alway,
And is not known for to decay:
Whiles limbs to wake and work are prest,
She takes her sleep and quiet rest,
And doth by many dreams present
*To those who sleep, * her own judgement,*
As well of things which her displease,
As of such as do her well please.

Or thus:

** the due judgement,*
As well for vertuous deeds well done,
As for foul facts which be misdone.

And as for that divine Philosopher *Plato*, he had disputed much, and alledged many reasons in his * Treatise of the soul, as touching the immortality thereof, like as in his books of Policy, in the Dialogue intituled *Menon*, in that also which beareth the name of *Gorgias*, and in divers places of many others: But as concerning those discourses which he hath expressly made in his Dialogue, I will give you an extract thereof apart by it selfe, according to your request; and for this present I will deliver those points which are to the purpose, and expedient to the matter in hand, to wit, what *Socrates* said to *Callicles* the Athenian, a familiar friend and scholar of *Gorgias* the Rhetorician. Thus therefore saith *Socrates* in *Plato*: Give ear then, and listen unto a most elegant speech, which you (I suppose) will think to be a meer fable or tale, but I esteem an undoubted truth, and as a true report I will relate it unto you: So it was, that (according to the narration of *Homer*) *Jupiter*, *Neptune* and *Pluto*, parted between themselves the empire which fell unto them from their father: now this law there was concerning men, during the reign of *Saturne* (which also stood in force time out of minde, and remaineth even at this day among the gods) That look what man soever lead a just and holy life, after his death he should take his way directly to certain fortunate Islands, there to remain in bliss and happinesse, freed from all misery and infelicity; but contrariwise, he that lived unjustly, without fear and reverence of the gods, should go to a certain prison of justice and punishment, named *Tartarus*, that is to say, Hell: now the Iudges who sat judicially, and gave their doom of such persons,

* Called *Phædo.*

as well in *Saturnes* dayes, as in the beginning also of the reign of *Jupiter*, were those men alive, who gave sentence and judgement of other men living, even upon that very day wherein they were to depart this life: by reason whereof there passed many judgements, not good, until such time as *Pluto* and other procurators or superintendents of those fortunate Iles came and made report thereof to *Jupiter*, that there were thither sent such persons as were not worthy. Unto whom *Jupiter* made this answer: I will take order from henceforth, and provide that it shall be so no more: for the cause of this disorder and abuse in judgment is this; that they who are to be tried, come clad and arrayed unto the bar, for to receive their doom, whiles they are yet living; yea, and many of them haply having filthy soules, are apparelled (as it were) with fair and beautiful bodies, with nobility of birth and parentage, yea, and adorned with riches; and whiles they stand before the tribunal to be judged, many there be who come to depose and give testimony in their behalfe, that they lived well: the Judges therefore (being dazled and amazed with these witnesses and depositions, being themselves also likewise arayed) to give sentence, having before their minds, their eyes, their ears, and whole body covered: no marvel therefore if these be impediments to impeach sound and sincere judgement, to wit, as well their own vesture, as the raiment of the Judges. First and formost therefore, good heed would be had, that men may know no more before hand the hour of their death; for now they foresee the term and end of life; whereupon let *Prometheus* have first in charge, that from henceforth men may have no fore-knowledge of their dying day; and then all judgements hereafter shall passe indifferently of them that be all naked. For which purpose it were requisite that they be all first dead, as well the parties in question, as the Judges themselves; so that they come to hear causes and sit in judgement with their soules only, upon the soules likewise of those who are departed; even so soon as they are separated from the bodies, being destitute now and forlorn of all kinsfolk and friends to assist them, as having left behind them upon earth, all the vesture and ornaments which they were wont to have; by which means, the judgement of them may passe more just and right: which I knowing well enough, before you were acquainted therewith, have ordained mine own sons to be Judges; namely, for *Asia* two, *Minos* and *Rhadamanthus*; and one for *Europe*, to wit, *Æacus*: These therefore after they be dead, shall sit in judgement within a meddow, at a quarrefour or crosse way, whereof the one leadeth to the fortunate Iles, the other to Hell: *Rhadamanthus* shall determine of them in *Asia*; *Æacus* of those in *Europe*; and as for *Minos*, I will grant unto him a preeminence in judgement above the rest: in case there happen some matter unknowen to one of the other two, and escape their censure, he may upon weighing and examining their opinions, give his definitive sentence, and so it shall be determined by a most sweet and just doom, whether way each one shall go. This is that, O *Callicles*, which I have heard, and believe to be most true; whereout I gather this conclusion in the end; that death is no other thing then the separation of the soul from the body. Thus you see, O *Apollonius* my most deer friend) what I have collected with great care and diligence, to compose for your sake a Consolatory Oration, or Discourse, which I take to be most necessary for you, as well to assuage and rid away your present grief, to appease likewise, and cause to cease this heavinesse and mourning that you make, which of all things is most unpleasant and troublesome; as also to comprize within it that praise and honour which (me thought) I owed as due unto the memorial of your son *Apollonius*, of all others exceedingly beloved of the gods: which honour in my conceit is a thing most convenient and acceptable unto those, who by happy memory, and everlasting glory are consecrated to immortality. You shall do your part therefore, and very wisely, if you obey those reasons which are therein contained: you shall gratifie your son likewise, and do him a great pleasure, in case you take up in time, and return from this vain affliction (wherewith you punish and undo both body and mind) unto your accustomed, ordinary and natural course of life: for like as whiles he lived with us he was nothing well appayed, and took no contentment to see either father or mother sad and desolate: even so now, when he converseth and solaceth himselfe in all joy with the gods, doubtlesse he cannot like well of this state wherein you are. Therefore pluck up your heart, and take courage like a man of worth, of magnanimity, and one that loveth his children well: release your selfe first, and then the mother of the young Gentleman together with his kinsfolk and friends from this kind of misery, and take to a more quiet and peaceable manner of life, which will be both to your son departed, and to all of us (who have regard of your person, as it becometh us) more agreeable.

A consolatory Letter or Discourse sent unto his own Wife, as touching the death of her and his Daughter.

The Summary.

PLutarch *being from home, understood newes concerning the death of a little daughter of his, a girle about two yeers old, named* Timoxene, *a child of a gentle nature, and of great hope: but fearing that his wife would apprehend such a losse, too neer unto her heart; he comforteth her in his letter*

letter, and by giving testimony unto her of vertue and constancy shewed at the death of other children, of hers more forward in age then she was; he exhorteth her likewise to patience and moderation in this new occurrence and trial of hers; condemning by sundry reasons the excessive sorrow, and unworthy fashion of many fond mothers, shewing withall the inconveniences, that such excessive heavinesse draweth after it. Then continuing his consolation of her, he declareth with what eye we ought to regard infants and children as well before, as during and after life; how happy they be, who can content themselves and rest in the will and pleasure of God; that the blessings past, ought to dulce and mitigate the calamities present, to stay us also, that we proceed not to that degree and height of infortunity, as to make account onely of the misadventures and discommodities hapning in this our life. Which done, he answereth to certain objections which his wife might propose and set on foot; and therewith deliver eth his own advice as touching the incorruption and immortality of mans soul (after he had made a medly of divers opinions which the ancient Philosophers held as touching that point) and in the end concludeth: That it is better and more expedient to die betimes, then late: which position of his, he confirmeth by an ordinance precisely observed in his own country, which expresly forbade to mourn and lament for those who departed this life in their childhood.

A consolatory Letter, or Discourse, sent unto his own Wife, as touching the death of her and his daughter.

PLUTARCH *unto his Wife: Greeting.*

THe messenger whom you sent of purpose, to bring me word as touching the death of our little daughter, went out of his way (as I supposed) and so missed of me, as he journeyed toward *Athens*; howbeit, when I was arrived at *Tanagra*, I heard that she had changed this life.

Now, as concerning the funerals and enterring of her, I am verily perswaded, that you have already taken sufficient order, so as that the thing is not to do; and I pray God, that you have performed that duty in such sort, that neither for the present, nor the time to come, it work you any grievance and displeasure: but if haply you have put off any such complements (which you were willing enough of your selfe to accomplish) until you knew my mind and pleasure, thinking that in so doing, you should with better will and more patiently bear this adverse accident; then I pray you, let the same be performed without all curiosity and superstition; and yet I must needs say, you are as little given that way as any woman that I know: this only I would admonish you, (deare heart) that in this case, you shew (both in regard of your selfe and also of me) a constancy and tranquillity of mind; for mine own part, I conceive and measure in mine own heart, this losse, according to the nature and greatnesse thereof, and so I esteem of it accordingly; but if I should finde, that you took it impatiently, this would be much more grievous unto me, and wound my heart more, then the calamity it selfe that causeth it; and yet am I not begotten and born either of an Oak or a Rock; whereof you can bare me good witnesse, knowing that we both together have reared many of our children at home in house, even with our own hands; and how I loved this girle most tenderly, both for that you were very desirous (after four sons, one after another in a row) to bear a daughter, as also for that in regard of that fancy, I took occasion to give her your name; now, besides that natural fatherly affection, which commonly men have toward little babes, there was one particular property that gave an edge thereto, and caused me to love her above the rest: and that was a speciall grace that she had, to make joy and pleasure, and the same without any mixture at all of curstnesse or frowardnesse, and nothing given to whining and complaint: for she was of a wonderful kind and gentle nature, loving she was again to those that loved her, and marvellous desirous to gratifie and pleasure others; in which regards, she both delighted me, and also yeelded no small testimony of rare debonairity that nature had endued her withal: for she would make pretty meanes to her nurse, and seem (as it were) to entreat her to give the best of pap, not onely to other infants, like her selfe, her play-feeres, but also to little babies and puppets, and such like gawds as little ones take joy in, and wherewith they use to play: as if upon a singular courtesie and humanity she could find in her heart to communicate and distribute from her own table, even the best things that she had, among them that did her any pleasure. But I see no reason (sweet wife) why these lovely qualities and such like, wherein we took contentment and joy in her life time, should disquiet and trouble us now, after her death, when we either think of make relation of them: and I fear againe, lest by our dolour and grief, we abandon and put clean away all the remembrance thereof, like as *Clymene* desired to do, when she said:

I hate the bow so light of cornel tree:
All exercise abroad, farewell for me.

as avoiding always and trembling at the remembrance and commemoration of her son, which did no other good but renew her grief and dolour; for naturally we seek to flee all that troubleth and offendeth us. We ought therefore so to demean our selves, that as whiles she lived, we had nothing in the world more sweet to embrace, more pleasant to see, or delectable to hear then our daughter; so the cogitation of her, may still abide and live with us all our life time, having by many degrees

out

our joy multiplyed more then our heavinesse augmented; if it be meet and fit that the reasons and arguments which we have often times delivered to others, should profit us when time and occasion requireth, and not lie still and idle for any good we have by them, nor challenge and accuse us, for that in stead of joyes past, we bring upon our selves many more griefs by far. They that have come unto us, report thus much of you, and that with great admiration of your vertue, that you never put on mourning weed, nor so much as changed your robe, and that by no means you could be brought to disfigure your selfe, or any of your waiting maidens and women about you, nor offer any outrage or injury to them in this behalfe; neither did you set out her funerals with any sumptuous panegyrical pomp, as if it had been some solemn feast, but performed every thing soberly and civilly, after a still manner, accompanied only with our kinsfolk and friends. But my selfe verily made no great wonder (that you who never took pride and pleasure to be seen, either in Theater or in publick procession, but rather alwayes esteemed all such magnificence so vain, and sumptuosity superfluous, even in those things that tended to delight) have observed the most safe way of plainnesse and simplicity, in these occasions of sorrow and sadnesse. For a vertuous and chaste Matron ought not onely to keep her selfe pure and inviolate in Bacchanal feasts; but also to think thus with her selfe, that the turbulent storms of sorrow, and passionate motions of anguish had no lesse need of continency to resist and withstand, not the naturall love and affection of mothers to their children, as many think, but intemperance of the mind. For we allow and graunt unto this natural kindnesse, a certain affection to bewaile, to reverence, to wish for, to long after, and to beare in mind those that are departed; but the excessive and insatiable desire of lamentations, which forceth men and women to loud out-cries, to knock, beat, and mangle their own bodies, is no lesse unseemly and shamefull, then incontinence in pleasures: howbeit, it seemeth by good right to deserve excuse and pardon, for that in this undecency, there is grief & bitternes of sorrow adjoyned, whereas in the other, pleasure and delight: for what is more absurd and senseleſſe, then to seem for to take away excesse of laughter and mirth: but contrariwise to give head unto streams of tears which proceed from one fountain, and to suffer folk to give themselves over to weeping and lamentation as much as they will; as also that which some use to do, namely, to chide and rebuke their wives for some sweet perfumes, odoriferous pomanders, or purple garments, which they are desirous to have; and in the mean while permit them, to tear their hair in time of mourning, to shave their heads, to put on black, to sit unseemly upon the bare ground, or in ashes, and in most painful manner to cry out upon God and man; yea, and that which of all others is worst, when their wives chastise excessively, or punish unjustly their servants, to come between and stay their hands; but when they rigorously and cruelly torment themselves, to let them alone and neglect them in those crosse accidents, which contrariwise had need of facility and humanity? But between us twain, sweet heart, there was never any need of such fray or combat, and I suppose there will never be. For to speak of that frugality which is seen in plain and simple apparel, or of sobriety in ordinary dyet, and tending of the body: never was there any Philosopher yet conversing with us in our house, whom you put not down and struck into an extraordinary amaze, nor so much as a Citizen whom you caused not to admire (as a strange and wonderful sight, whether it were in publick sacrifices, or in frequent theaters, and solemn processions) your rare simplicity: semblably, heretofore you shewed great constancy upon the like conflict and accident at the death of your eldest son; and again when that gentle and beautiful *Charon* departed from us untimely, in the prime of his years; and I remember very well that certain strangers who journeyed with me along from the sea side, (at what time as word was brought of my sons death) came home with others to my house, who seeing all things there setled, nothing out of order, but all silent and quiet (as they themselves afterward made report) began to think that the said news was false, and no such calamity had hapned; so wisely had you composed all matters within house, when as I wis, there was good occasion given that might have excused some disorder and confusion: and yet this son you were nurse unto your selfe, and gave it suck at your own pap; yea, and endured the painful incision of your breast, by reason of a cancerous hard tumor that came by a contusion. Oh, the generosity of a vertuous dame, and behold the kindnesse of a mother toward her children! whereas you shall see many other mothers to receive their young babes at the hands of their nurses, to dandle and play withal, forsooth, in mirth and pastime: but afterwards the same women (if their infants chance to die) give themselves over to all vain mourning, and bootlesse sorrow, which proceedeth not doubtlesse from good will indeed; (for surely hearty affection is reasonable, honest and considerate) but rather from a foolish opinion mingled with a little natural kindnesse; and this is it that engendereth savage, furious, and implacable sorrows. And verily *Æsope* (as it should seem) was not ignorant hereof, for he reporteth this narration: That when *Jupiter* made a dole or distribution of honors among the gods and goddesses; *Sorrow* came afterwards and made suit likewise to be honoured, and so he bestowed upon her, tears, plaints, lamentations; but for them only who are willing thereto, and ready to give her entertainment. And I assure you, this they commonly do at the very beginning; for every one of his own accord bringeth in, and admitteth sorrow unto him, who (after she is once entertained, and in processe of time well setled, so that she is become domestical and familiar) will not be driven out of dores nor be gone, if a man would never so faine; and therefore resistance must be made against her, even at the very gate, neither ought we to abandon our hold, and quit the fort, renting our garments, rearing or shearing our hairs, or doing other such things, as ordinarily happen every day;

day; causing a man to be confused, shameful, and discouraged, making his heart base, abject and shut up, that he cannot enlarge it; but remain poor and timorous; bringing him to this passe, that he dare not be merry, supposing it altogether unlawful to laugh, to come abroad and see the sunne light, to converse with men, or to eat or drink in company: into such a captivity is he brought through sorrow and melancholy: upon this inconvenience after it hath once gotten head, there followeth the neglect of the body; no care of annointing or bathing, and generally a retchlessenesse and contempt of all things belonging to this life; whereas contrariwise and by good reason, when the mind is sick, or amisse, it should be helped and sustained by the strength of an able and cheerfull body: for a great part of the souls grief is allayed, and the edge thereof as it were dulled, when the body is fresh and disposed to alacrity, like as the waves of the sea be laid even, during a calme and fair weather; but contrariwise, if by reason that the body be evil entreated, and not regarded with good diet and choice keeping, it is become dried, rough and hard, in such sort, as from it there breath no sweet and comfortable exhalations unto the soul, but all smoaky and bitter vapours of dolour, griefe, and sadnesse annoy her: then is it no easie matter for men (be they never so willing and desirous) to recover themselves, but that their souls being thus seized upon by so grievous passions, will be afflicted, and tormented still. But that which is most dangerous and dreadful in this case, I never feared in your behalfe (to wis) That foolish women should come and visit you, and then fall a weeping, lamenting, and crying with you; a thing (I may say to you) that is enough to whet sorrow, and awaken it if it were asleep, not suffering it either by it selfe, or by means of help and succor from another, to passe, fade, and vanish away; for I know very well what ado you had, and into what a conflict you entred about the sister of *Theon*; when you would have assisted her, and resisted other women who came in to her with great cries and loud lamentations, as if they brought fire with them, in all haste to maintain and encrease that which was kindled already. True it is indeed, that when a friends or neighbours house is seen on fire, every man runneth as fast as he can to help for to quench the same: but when they see their souls burning in griefe and sorrow, they contrariwise bring more fewel and matter still to augment, or keep the said fire: also if a man be diseased in his eyes, he is not permitted to handle, or touch them with his hands, especially if they be blood-shotten, and possessed with any inflammation; whereas he who sits mourning and sorrowing at home in his house, offereth and presenteth himselfe to the first commer, and to every one that is willing to irritate, stir, and provoak his passion (as it were a flood or stream, that is let out and set a running) insomuch as where before the grievance did but itch or smart a little, it now begins to shoot, to ake, to be fell and angry, so that it becometh a great and dangerous malady in the end: but I am verily perswaded (I say) that you know how to preserve your selfe from these extremities. Now over and besides, endeavour to reduce and call again to mind the time when as we had not this daughter, namely, when she was as yet unborn: how we had no cause then to complain of fortune: then see you join (as it were with one tenon) this present, with that which is past, setting the case as if we were returned again to the same state wherein we were before: for it will appear (my good wife) that we are discontented that ever she was born, in case we make shew that we were in better condition before her birth, then afterwards; not that I wish we should abolish out of our remembrance the two years space between her nativity and decease; but rather count and reckon it among other our pleasures and blessings, as during which time, we had the fruition of joy, mirth and pastime; and not to esteem that good which was but little and endured a small while, our great infortunity; nor yet seem unthankful to fortune, for the favour which she hath done unto us, because she added not thereto that length of life which we hoped and expected. Certes to rest contented always with the gods; to think and speak of them reverently as it becometh; not to complain of fortune, but to take in good worth whatsoever it pleaseth her to send, bringeth evermore a fair and pleasant fruit: but he who in these cases, putteth out of remembrance the good things that he hath, transporting and turning his thoughts and cogitations from obscure and troublesome occurrents, unto those which be clear, and resplendent; if he do not by this means utterly extinguish his sorrow, yet at least wise by mingling and tempering it with the contrary, he shal be able to diminish or else make it more feeble: for like as a sweet odour and fragrant ointment delighteth and refresheth always the sense of smelling, and besides is a remedy against stinking savours; even so the cogitation of these benefits which men have otherwise received, serveth as a most necessary and present succour in time of adversity unto as many as refuse not to remember and call to mind their joyes passed, and who never at all for any accident whatsoever complain of fortune; which we ought not to do in reason and honesty, unlesse we would seem to accuse and blame this life which we enjoy, for some crosse or accident: as if we cast away a book, if it have but one blur or blot in it, being otherwise written throughout most clean and fair; for you have heard it oftentimes said, that the beatitude of those who are departed, dependeth upon the right and sound discourses of our understanding, and the same tending to one constant disposition; as also, that the changes and alterations of fortune bear no great sway, to infer much declination or casualty in our life: but if we also as the common sort, must be ruled and governed by external things without us, if we reckon and count the chances and casualties of fortune, and admit for judges of our felicity or misery, the base and vulgar sort of people; yet take you no heed to those tears, plaints, and moans that men or women make who come to visit you at this present, who also (upon a foolish custome, and as it were of course) have them ready at command for every one; but rather consider this with your selfe; how happy you are reputed, even by those who

who come unto you, who would gladly, and with all their heart, be like unto you, in regard of those children whom you have; the house and family which you keep; and the life that you lead. For, were an evil thing to see others desire to be in your estate and condition for all the sorrow which now afflicteth us; and your selfe in the mean time complaining and taking in ill part the same, and not to be so happy and blessed, as to find and feele (even by this crosse that now pincheth you) for the losse of one Infant, what joy you should take; and how thankful you ought to be for those who remain alive with you? for herein you should resemble very well those Cynicke, who collect and gather together all the lame and defective verses of *Homer*, which are but few in numbers, and in the mean time, passe over an infinite sort of others, which were by him most excellently made. In this manner (I say) you did, if you would search narrowly, and examine every particular mishap in this life, and find fault therewith; but all good blessings in grose, let go by, and never once respect the same; which to do, were much like unto the practise of those covetous misers, worldlings, and penie-fathers, who carke and care, punish both body and mind, until they have gathered a great deale of good together, and then enjoy no benefit or use thereof: but if they chance to forgo any of it, they keep a piteous wailing and woful lamentation.

Now if haply you have compassion and pity of the poor girle, in that she went out of this world a maid unmarried, and before that she bare any children; you ought rather on the contrary side, to rejoyce and take delight in your selfe above others, for that you have not failed of these blessings, nor been disappointed either of the one or the other: for who would hold and maintain, that these things should be great to those who be deprived of them: and but small to them, who have and enjoy the same? As for the Child, who doubtlesse is gone into a place where she feeleth no paine, surely she requireth not at our hands that we should afflict and grieve our selves for her sake: for what harm is there befallen unto us by her, if she her selfe now feele no hurt? And as for the losse of great things indeed, surely they yeeld no sense at all of dolor; when they are once come to this point, that there is no more need of them, or are made for them. She verily, thy daughter *Timoxena* is here, not of great matters, but of small things: for in truth, she had no knowledge at all, but of such, neither delighted she in any, but in such: seeing then, that she had no perceivance nor thought of those things, how can she properly and truely be laid to be deprived thereof?

Moreover, as touching that which you heard of others, who are wont to perswade many of the vulgar sort, saying, That the soul once separated from the body, is dissolved, and feeleth no paine or dolor at all: I am assured, that you yeeld no credit and beliefe to such positions: as well in regard of those reasons and instructions which you have received by tradition from our Ancestors, as also of those sacred and symbolical mysteries of *Bacchus*, which we know well enough, who are of that religious consraternity, and professed therein. Being grounded therefore in this principle, and holding it firmly for an undoubted truth: That our soul is incorruptible and immortal; you are to think that it fareth with it, as it doth with little birds that are caught by the fowler alive, and came into mans hands: for if it have been kept and nourished daintily along time within the body, so that it be inured to be gentle and familiar unto this life, to wit, by the management of earthly affairs and long custome, it returneth thither again, and re-entreth a second time (after many generations) into the body: it never taketh rest nor ceaseth, but is inwrapped within the affections of the flesh, and entangled with the adventures of the world, and calamities incident to our nature: for I would not have you to think that old age is to be blamed and reproached for rivels and wrinkles, nor in regard of hoary white haires, nor yet for the imbecillity and feebleness of the body: but the worst and most odious thing in it, is this: That it causeth the soul to take corruption by the remembrance of those things whereof it had experience whiles it stayed therein, and was too much addicted and affectionate unto it, whereby it bendeth and boweth, yea, and returneth that form or figure which it took of the body, by being so long devoted thereto; whereas that which is taken away in youth, pretendeth a better estate and condition, as being framed to a gentler habit, more soft, tractable and less compact; putting on now a natural rectitude, much like as fire, which being quenched, if it be kindled again, burneth out, & recovereth vigor incontinently: which is the cause that it is far better

Betimes to yeeld up our al breath,
And soon to passe the gates of death,

before that the soul have taken too deep an imbibition, or liking of terrene things here below, and ere it be made soft and tender with the love of the body, and (as it were) by certain medicines and forcible charms united and incorporate into it. The truth here of may appear yet better, by the fashions and ancient customes of this Countrey; for our Citizens (when their children die young) neither offer mortuaries, nor perform any sacrifices and ceremonies for them, as others are wont to do for the dead: the reason is, because they have no part of earth nor earthly affections: neither do they keep about their tombs and sepulchres, nor lay forth the dead corps abroad to bee seen of men, nor fit neer unto their bodies: for our laws and statutes do not permit and suffer any mourning at all for those that so depart in their mothers, as being a custome not holy and religious: for that we are to think they passe into a better place and happier condition. Which ordinances and customes, since it is more dangerous not to give credit unto, then believe, let us carry and demeane our selves according as they command, for outward order: as for within, all ought to be more pure, wise and uncorrupt.

How

How it cometh that the Divine Justice deferreth other whiles the punishment of wicked persons.

The Summary.

FOr asmuch as the order of all considerate justice importeth and requireth, that good men should be maintained and cherished, but contrariwise, wicked persons repressed and punished for their lewd acts: the Epicureans (drunken and inoxicate with false suppositals, seising in the conduct of this worlds affairs, some that be honest and vertuous, distressed and oppressed by divers devices and practices: whereas others again, who be naught and vicious, continue in repose, without any chastisement at all for their misdemeanors) would needs take from God the disposal and government of humane affairs, holding and maintaining this point: That all things roll and run at aventure, and that there is no other cause of the good and evil accidents of this life, but either fortune, or else the will of man. Now among other arguments which they have to confirm themselves in this unhappy and impious opinion; the patience and long sufferance of the Divine Justice, is one of the principal; concluding thereby very fondly, that (considering Malefactors as they be supported and seen to escape all chastisement) there is no Deity or Godhead at all; which regardeth men, either to reward them for vertue, or to punish and do vengeance for their iniquity and transgression. Plutarch therefore, having to deale in his time with such dangerous spirits, confuteth them in this Treatise, which of all others is most excellent, and deserveth to be read and perused over again in these wretched dayes, wherein Epicurisme beareth up the head as high as at any time ever before. That it is (I confesse) that Theology and Divinity is able to furnish us with reasons and answers more firm and effectual (without comparison) then all the Philosophy of Pagans whatsoever: howbeit, for all that, there is here sufficient to be found (as touching this point) for to stop the mouths of those who have any remnant of shame, honesty, or conscience behind in them. This present Treatise may very well be divided into principal parts: in the former, Epicurus being brought in to dispute against Divine Providence, and so departing without stay for answer, other Philosophers deliberate to be resolved of this point in his absence: and before that they refute his objection, two of them do amplifie and exaggerate the same at large: which done, one author keeth the question in hand, and by seven forcible arguments, or firm answers, refelleth the blasphemy of the Epicureans, proving by sundry argument, enriched with similitudes, sentences, examples and notable histories, that wicked persons never continue unpunished, but that the vengeance of God accompanieth quickly and continually their misdeeds. In the second part, they debate a certain question depending of the precedent objection, to wit, Wherefore children be chastised for the sins of their fathers and ancestors? and there was a certain Philosopher named Timon, who handled this matter, taxing after an oblique manner, the justice of God, which Plutarch maintaineth and defendeth; shewing by divers reasons, that what soever Timon had alledged, was meer false; and that God did no injury at all unto those children, in withdrawing his grace and favour from them, and chastising them so, together with their Parents, finding themselves, culpable for their part. But in this place, our author answereth not sufficiently and to the purpose: as being ignorant of original sin, and the universal corruption of Adams children, which enwrappeth them all in the same condemnation, although some are farther gone in sinful life, according as they be grown to more years, and so augment their punishment: insomuch as we may well marvel at this, that a poor Pagan hath so far proceeded in this point of Theology; and Christians have so much greater occasion to look unto themselves, in the midst of this light which directeth them, considering how this man could see so cleer in darknesse, which appeareth sufficiently in the end of this discourse: where he entermeddleth certain fables as touching the state of our souls after they be parted from the bodies.

How it cometh that the Divine Justice deferreth other whiles the punishment of wicked persons.

AFter that *Epicurus* had made this speech (O *Cynius*) and before that any one of us had answered him, by that time that we were come to the end of the gallery or walking place, he went his way out of our sight, and so departed; and we wondering much at this strange fashion of the man, stood still a pretty while in silence, looking one upon another, and so we betook our selves to our walking again, as before: then *Patrocleas* began first to move speech and conference, saying in this manner: How now my Masters? if you think so good, let us discusse this question, and make answer in his absence, to those reasons which he hath alledged, as well as if he were present in place: hereupon *Timon* took occasion to speak, and said: Certes it were not well done of us, to let him escape so without revenge, who hath left his dart sticking in us; for a Captain *Crasidas* (as it appeareth in the Chronicles) being wounded with the shot of a javelin, drew it out of his body his own selfe, and therewith smote his enemy who had hurt him, so as he killed him out right: as for us, we need not so greatly to be revenged of those who have let flie among us, some rash, foolish and false speeches; for it will be sufficient, to shake the same off, and send them back again, before our opinion take hold thereof. And what was it, I pray you (quoth I) of all that which he delivered, that moved you most? for the man handled many things confusedly together,

and

and not blak at all in good order, but kept a prating and habling against the providence of God, farring and inveighing most bitterly, and in reproachful tearms, as if he had been in a fit of anger and rage. Then *Patrocleas* : that which he uttered, as touching the long delay and slacknesse of Divine Justice in punishing the wicked, in my conceit was a great objection and troubled me much, and to say a truth, their reasons and words which he delivered have imprinted in me a new opinion, so as now I am become a novice, and to begin again to learn. True it is that long since I was discontented in my heart to hear *Euripides* speak in this wise;

He put teth off from day to day,
Gods nature is, thus to delay.

For it were not meet and decent, that God should be slow in any action whatsoever, and least of all in punishing sinners; who are themselvs nothing sloathfull, nor make delay in perpetrating wicked deeds, but are carried most speedily and with exceeding violence of their passions, pricked forward to do wrong and mischiefe. And verily when punishment ensueth hard after injury and violence committed; there is nothing as (*Thucydides* saith) that so soon stoppeth up the passage against those who are most prone and ready to run into all kind of wickednesse; for there is no delay of paiment that so much enfeebleth the hope, and breaketh the heart of a man wronged and offended, nor causeth him to be so insolent and audacious, who is disposed to mischief, as the deferring of justice and punishment; whereas contrariwise the corrections, and chastisements, that follow immedately upon lewd acts, and meet with the malefactors betimes, are a means both to represse all future outrage in offenders, and also to comfort and pacifie the heart of those who are wronged. For mine own part the saying of *Bias* troubleth me many times, as often as I think upon it, for thus he spake unto a notorious wicked man: I doubt not but thou shalt one day smart for this geere, and pay for thy lewdnesse; but I fear I shall never live to see it. For what good unto the Messenians being slaine before, did the punishment of *Aristocrates*, who having betrayed them in the battel of *Cypres*, was not detected, and discovered for his treason in twenty years after, during which time, he was always King of *Arcadia*, and being at the last convicted for the said treachery, suffered punishment for his deserts? mean while, those whom he had caused to be massacred, were not in the world to see it. Or what comfort and consolation received the Orchomenians, who lost their Children, kinsfolk and friends, through the treason of *Lycifcus*, by the malady which long after seized upon him, eating and consuming all his body? who ever as he dipped and bathed his feet in the river water, kept a swearing and cursing, that he thus rotted and was eaten away, for the treachery which most wickedly he had committed? And at *Athens* the childrens children of those poor wretches who were killed within the priviledged place of sanctuary, could never see the vengeance of the gods which afterwards fell upon those bloody and sacrilegious caitifes, whose dead bodies and bones being excommunicate, were banished, and cast out beyond the confines of their native country. And therefore me thinks *Euripides* is very absurd, when to divert men from wickednesse he useth such words as these:

Justice (fear not) will not thee overtake,
To pierce thy heart, or deep wound ever make
In liver thine; nor any mortal wight
Besides, though lewd he be, and do no right.
But slow she goes, and silent to impeach
And chastise such, if ever them she reach.

For I assure you, it is not like, that wicked and ungracious persons use any other perswasions, but the very same to incite, move and encourage themselves to enterprize any lewd and wicked acts, as making this account and reckoning, that justice will quickly yeeld her fruit ripe in due time, and the same evermore certain; whereas punishment cometh late and long after the pleasure and fruition of the said wickednesse. When *Patrocleas* had discoursed in this wise, *Olympiacus* took the matter in hand and said unto him; Mark moreover (O *Patrocleas*) what inconvenience and absurdity followeth upon this slownesse of divine justice, and prolonging the punishment of Malefactors? for it causeth unbelief in men, and namely, that they are not perswaded that it is by the providence of God that such be punished; and the calamity that cometh upon wicked ones, not presently upon every sinful act that they have committed, but long time after, is reputed by them infelicity, and they call it their fortune, and not their punishment; whereupon it cometh to pass, that they have no benefit thereby, nor be any whit better, for howsoever they grieve and be discontented at the accidents which befall unto them, yet they never repent for the lewd acts they have before committed. And like as in punishment among us, a little pinch, stripe, or lash given unto one for a fault or error, presently upon the doing thereof, doth correct the party, and reduce him to his duty: whereas the wrings, scourgings, knocks, and sounding thumps, which come a good while after; seem to be given upon some occasion besides, and for another cause rather then to teach; and therefore well may they put him to pain and griefe, but instruction they yeeld none; even so naughtinesse rebuked and represssed, by some present chastisement, every time that it trespasseth and transgresseth, howsoever it be painful at first, yet in the end it bethinketh it selfe, learneth to be humbled, and to fear God as a severe justicer, who hath an eye upon the deeds and passions of men, for to punish them incontinently, and without delay: whereas this justice and revenge which commeth so slowly, and with a soft pace (as *Euripides* saith) upon the wicked and ungodly persons, by reason of the long intermission, the inconstant and wandring incertitude, and the confused disorder resembleth chance and adventure

venture more then the design of any providence: insomuch as I cannot conceive or see what profit can be in these grindstones (as they call them) of the gods, which are so long a grinding; especially, seeing that the judgment and punishment of sinners is thereby obscured, and the fear of sin made slight, and of no reckoning. Upon the delivery of these words, I began to study and muse with my selfe: then *Timon*: Would you (quoth he) that I should clear this doubt once for all, and so make an end of this disputation? or permit him first to dispute and reason against these oppositions? And what need is there (answered I) to come in with a third wave for to overflow and drown at once our speech and discourse, if he be not able to refute the former objections, nor to escape and avoid the challenges already made. First and formost therefore to begin at the head, and (as the manner is, to say) at the goddesse *Vesta*, (for the reverent regard and religious fear that the Academick Philosophers professe to have unto God, as an heavenly father) we utterly disclaim, and refuse to speak of the Deity, as if we knew for certainty what it is: for it were a greater presumption in us who are but mortal men, to enterprise any set speech or discourse, as touching gods or demi-gods, then for one who is altogether ignorant in song, to dispute of musick or for them who never were in camp, nor saw so much as a battel fought, to put themselves forward to discourse of arms and warfare; taking upon us, (unskilful as we are, and void of art) a fantastical knowledge grounded onely upon some light opinion, and conjecture of our own, as if we were right cunning workmen and artisanes: for it is not his part, who is not studied in the art of Physick, to guesse at the reason and consideration that the Physician or Chirurgian had, why he made incision no sooner in his Patient, but frayed long ere he proceeded thereto? or wherefore he bathed him not yesterday, but to day? semblably, it is neither easie nor safe for a mortal man to speak otherwise of the gods, then of those who knew well enough the due time and opportunity to minister a meet and convenient medicine, unto vice and sin; and exhibit punishment to every trespasse, as an appropriate drug, or confection to cure and heale each malady; notwithstanding that the same measure and quantity be not common to all delinquents, nor one only time and the same, is alwayes meet therefore. Now that the Physick or Medicine of the soul, which is called Right and Justice, is one of the greatest Sciences that are; *Pindarus* himself, besides an infinite number of others, beareth witnesse; when he calleth the Lord and Governour of the world, to wit, God, a most excellent and perfect artificer, as being the author and creator of justice, unto whom it appertaineth to define and determine, when, in what manner, and how far forth, it is meet and reasonable to chastise and punish each offender. *Plato* likewise saith: That *Minos* the son of *Jupiter* was (in this Science) the disciple of his father; giving us hereby to understand, that it is not possible for one to carry himself well in the execution of justice, nor to judge a right of him that doth as he ought: unlesse he have before learned that Science, and be throughly skilful therein. Furthermore, the positive laws which men have established, seem not always to be grounded upon reason, or to sound and accord in all respects with absolute equity and justice; but some of their ordinances be such, as in outward appearance may be thought ridiculous, and worthy of mockery: as for example. At *Lacedæmon* the high controllers, called *Ephori*, so soon as they be enstalled in their magistracy, cause proclamation to be published by sound of trumpet, that no man should wear Mustachoes, or nourish the hair on their upper lips: also that willingly every man should obey the laws, to the end that they might not be hard or grievous unto them. The Romans also, when they affranchise any slave, and make him free; cast upon their bodies a little small rod or wand: likewise when they draw their last wills or testaments, institute some for their heirs, whom it pleaseth them, but to others they leave their goods to sell; a thing that carrieth no sense nor reason with it. But yet more absurd and unreasonable is that statute of *Solons* making, wherein it was provided: That what Citizen soever, in a civil sedition, ranged not himself to a side, nor took part with one or other faction, should be noted with infamy, and disabled for being capable of any honourable dignity. In one word, a man may alledge an infinite number of absurdities besides, contained in the civil laws; who neither knoweth the reason of the Law-giver that wrote them, nor the cause why they were set down. If then it be so difficult to conceive and understand the reasons which have moved men thus to do, is it any marvel that we are ignorant of the cause, why God chastiseth one man sooner and another later? howbeit, this that I have said, is not for any pretence of starting back and running away, but rather for to crave leave and pardon, to the end that our speech having an eye thereto, (as unto an haven and place of refuge;) might be the more hardy, with boldnes to range forth still in probabilities, to the matter in doubt and question: But I would have you consider first, that (according to the saying of *Plato*) God having set himself before the eys of the whole world, as a perfect pattern and example of all goodnes, doth unto as many as can follow and imitate his divinity, infuse humane vertue, which is in some sort conformable and like unto him; for the general nature of this universal world, being at the first a confused and disordered *Chaos*, obtained this principle and element, for to change to the better, and by some conformity and participation of the Idea of Divine Vertue, to become this beautiful frame of the World: And even the very same man saith moreover: That nature hath raised our eye-sight on high, and lightned the same, that by the view and admiration of those celestial bodies which move in heaven, our soul might learn to embrace and be accustomed to love that which is beautiful and in good order, as also to be an enemy unto irregular and inordinate passions; yea, and to avoid doing of things rashly and at adventure, which in truth is the very source of all vice and sinne; for there is nothing in the world wherein a man may have a greater fruition of God,

then by the example and imitation of his good and decent qualities, to become honest and vertuous: wherefore if we perceive him to proceed slowly, and in tract of time to lay his heavy hand upon the wicked, and to punish them, it is not for any doubt or fear that he should do amisse, or repent afterward if he chastiseth them sooner, but by weaning us from all beastly violence, and hastinesse in our punishments, to teach us not immediately to flie upon those who have offended us, at what time as our blood is most up, and our choler set on a light fire,

When furious ire in heart so leaps and boiles,
That wit and reason bear no sway the whiles,

making haste as it were to satisfie some great hunger, or quench exceeding thirst, but (by imitating his clemency, and his manner of prolonging and making delay) to endeavor to execute justice in all order, at good leisure, and with most carefull regard; taking to counsel Time, which seldom or never is accompanied with repentance: for as *Socrates* was wont to say: Lesse harm and danger there is, if a man meet with a troubled and muddy water, and intemperately take and drink thereof, then whiles his reason is confounded, corrupt, and full of choler and furious rage, to be set altogether upon revenge, and run hastily upon the punishment of another body, even one who is of his own kind and nature, before the same reason be setled again, clensed and fully purified. For it is nothing so as *Thucydides* writeth: That vengeance the neerer it is unto the offence, the more it is in the own kind; but clean contrary, the farther off it is, and longer delayed, the better it apprehendeth and judgeth of that which is fit and decent. For according as *Melanthius* saith:

When anger once distodged hath the wit,
Foul work it makes, and outrage doth commit.

even so reason performeth all just and honest actions, when it hath chased and removed out of the way, ire and wrath: and therefore men are mollified, appeased, and become gentle by examples of men, when they hear it reported, how *Plato*, when he lifted up his staff against his Page, stood a good while, and forbare to strike; which he did (as he said) for to represse his choler. And *Archytas*, when he found some great negligence and disorder at his farm-house in the country, in his household servants, perceiving himselfe moved and disquieted therewith, insomuch as he was exceeding angry, and ready to fly upon them, proceeded to no act, but only turning away and going from them, said thus: It is happy for you, that I am thus angry with you. If then it be so, that such memorable speeches of ancient men, and worthy acts reported by them, are effectual to represse the bitternesse and violence of choler; much more probable it is, that we (seeing how God himselfe, although he standeth not in fear of any person, nor repenteth of any thing that he doth, yet putteth off his chastisements, and layeth them up a long time) should be more wary and considerate in such things, and esteem that clemency, long sufferance and patience is a divine part of vertue that God doth shew and teach us, which by punishment doth chastise and correct a few, but by proceeding thereto slowly, doth instruct, admonish, and profit many. In the second place, let us consider, that judiciall and exemplary processe of justice practiced by men, intendeth and aimeth onely at counterchange of pain and grief, resting in this point: That he who hath done evil, might suffer likewise; proceeding no farther at all: and therefore braying and barking (as it were) like dogs at mens faults and trespasses, they follow upon them, and pursue after all actions by tract and footing: but God (as it should seem, by all likelihood) when he setteth in hand in justice to correct a sinful and diseased soul, regardeth principally the vicious passions thereof, if haply they may be bent and wrought so, as they will incline and turn to repentance: in which respect he stayeth long before that he inflict any punishment upon delinquents, who are not altogether past grace incorrigible: for considering withall, and knowing as he doth, what portion of vertue, soules have drawn from him in their creation, at what time as they were produced first and came into the world, as also how powerful and forcible is the generosity thereof, and nothing weak and feeble in it selfe; but that it is clean contrary to their proper nature, to bring forth vices, which are engendered either by ill education, or else by the contagious haunt of lewd company; and how afterward, when they be well cured and medicined (as it falleth out in some persons) they soon return unto their own natural habitude, and become good again: by reason hereof, God doth not make haste to punish all men alike, but look what he knoweth to be incurable; that he quickly riddeth away out of this life and cutteth it off, as a very hurtful member to others, but yet most harmful to it selfe, if it should evermore converse with wickednesse; but to such persons in whom (by all likelihood) vice is bred and ingendered, rather through ignorance of goodnesse, then upon any purpose and will to chuse naughtinesse, he giveth time and respit for to change and amend: howbeit, if they persist still, and continue in their lewd ways, he payeth them home likewise in the end; and never feareth that they shall escape his hands one time or other, but suffer condigne punishment for their deserts. That this is true, consider what great alterations there happen in the life and behaviour of men, and how many have been reclaimed and turned from their lewdnesse; which is the reason that in Greek our behaviour and conversation is called partly τροπὸς, that is to say, A conversion; and in part ἦθος; the one because mens manners be subject to change and mutation; the other for that they be ingendered by art or custome: and the impression thereof being once taken, they remain firm and sure; that is the cause also (as I suppose) that our ancients in old time attributed unto King *Cecrops* his own nature and form, calling him Double; not for that (as some said) of a good clement, and vertuous Prince, he became a rigorous, fell and cruel tyrant, like a dragon; but contrariwise, because

because (having been at the first perverse, crooked and terrible) he proved afterward, a mild and gentle Lord: and if we make any doubt hereof in him, yet we may be sure (at leastwise) that *Gelon* and *Hiero* in *Sicily*, yea, and *Pisistratus* the son of *Hippocrates*, all usurpers (who atteined to their tyrannical dominion by violent and indirect means) used the same vertuously: and howsoever they came unto their soveraign rule by unlawful and unjust means, yet they grew in time to be good governors loving and profitable to the common-weale, and likewise beloved and dear unto their subjects; for some of them having brought in and established most excellent laws in the country, and caused their Citizens and Subjects to be industrious and painful in tilling the ground; made them to be civil, sober and discreet, whereas before, they were given to be ridiculous, as noted for their laughter and lavish tongues; to be true labourers also, and painful, who had been idle and playful. And as for *Gelon*, after he had most valiantly warred against the Carthaginians, and defeated them in a great battel: when they craved peace, would never grant it unto them, unlesse this might be comprised among the Articles and Capitulations: That they should no more sacrifice their Children unto *Saturn*. In the city also of *Megalopolis* there was a tyrant named *Lydiades*, who in the midst of his usurped dominion repented of his tyranny, and made a conscience thereof, detesting that wrongful oppression wherein he held his subjects, in such sort, as he restored his Citizens to their ancient Laws and Liberties, yea, and afterwards died manfully in the field, fighting against his enemies in the defence of his country. Now if any one had killed *Miltiades* at the first, whiles he exercised tyranny in *Chersonesus*; or if any other had called judicially into question *Cimon*, enditing him for keeping his own sister, and so being condemned of Incest, had caused him to be put to death; or disfranchised and banished *Themistocles* out of the City, for his loose wantonnesse and licentious insolency shewed publickly in the Common place, as *Alcibiades* afterwards was served and proscribed, for the like excesse and riot committed in his youth:

Where had been then that famous victory
Atchieved on the plains of Marathon?
Where had been that renowned chivalry
Performed neer the stream Eurymedon?
Or at the mount, fair Artemision?
Where Athens *youth (as Poet* Pindare *said)*
Offreedom first, the glorious ground-work laid?

For so it is, that great natures and high minds can bring forth no mean matters; nor the vehement force of action which is in them remain idle, so lively and subtile it is, but they wave to and fro continually, as if they were tossed by tempest and wind upon the sea, until such time as they come to be setled in a constant, firm, and permanent habitude of manners: like as therefore, he who is altogether unskilful of husbandry and tillage, maketh no reckoning at all of a ground which he seeth full of rough bushes and thickets, beset with savage trees, and overspread with rank weeds; wherein also there be many wild beasts, many rivers, and by consequence, great store of mud and mire: but contrariwise, an expert husband, and one who hath good judgement, and can discern the difference of things, knoweth these and all such signs, to betoken a fertile and plentiful soile; even so great wits and hauty spirits do produce and put forth at the first, many strange, absurd, and lewd pranks, which we not able to endure, think that the roughnesse and offensive pricks thereof, ought immediately to be cropt off and cut away: but he who can judge better (considering what proceedeth from thence good and generous) attendeth and expecteth with patience the age and season, which is cooperative with vertue and reason, against which time, the strong nature in such, is for to bring forth and yeeld her proper and peculiar fruit. And thus much may suffice of this matter.

But to proceed forward: think you not that some of the Greeks have done well and wisely, to make a transcript of a Law in *Egypt*, which commandeth: that in case a woman who is attaint and convicted of a Capital crime, for which in justice she ought to die, be with Child, she should be kept in prison until she were delivered? Yes verily, they all answered? Well then (quoth I) Set case there be some one who hath no children conceived in his womb to bring forth, but breedeth some good counsel in his head, he conceiveth a great enterprise in his mind, which he is to bring to light, and effect in time, either by discovering an hidden mischiefe, or setting abroad an expedient and profitable counsel, or inventing some matter of necessary consequence: Think you not that he did better, who deferred the execution of such an ones punishment and stay until the utility that might grow by him were seen, than he who inconsiderately, and in all haste proceedeth to take revenge, and prevent the opportunity of such a benefit? Certes, for mine own part, I am fully of that mind: and even we no lesse, answered *Patroclear*. Well then (quoth I) it must needs be so; for mark thus much: If *Dionysius* had been punished for his usurped rule, in the beginning of his tyranny; there should not one Grecian have remained inhabitant in *Sicily*, for the Carthaginians would have held the same and driven them all out: like as it must needs have befallen to the City *Apollonia*, to *Anactorium*, and the *Chersonese* or demi Island *Leucadia*, if *Periander* had suffered punishment at first, and not a long time after, as he did. And I suppose verily that the punishment and revenge of *Cassander* was put off and prolonged of purpose, until by that means the City of *Thebes* was fully re-edified and peopled again. And many of those mercenary souldiers and strangers, who seized and held this Temple wherein we are, during the time of the sacred warre,

passed under the conduct of *Timoleon* into *Sicily*, who after they had defeated in battel, the Carthaginians, and withall suppressed and abolished sundry tyrannies, they came to a wretched end, wicked wretches as they were. For God in great wisedome and providence, other whiles maketh use of some wicked persons, as of butchers and common executioners, to torment and punish others, as wicked as they or worse, whom afterwards he destroyeth; and thus in mine opinion he dealeth with most part of tyrants. For like as the gall of the wild beast *Hyæna*, and the rendles or rennet of the Sea-Calfe, as also other parts of venemous beasts and serpents, have one medicinable property or other, good to heale sundry maladies of men; even so God seeing some people to have need of bit and bridle, and to be chastised for their enormities, sendeth unto them some inhumane tyrant, or a rigorous and inexorable Lord to whip and scourge them, and never giveth over to afflict and vex them, until he have purged and cleared them of that malady wherewith they were infected. Thus was *Phalaris* the tyrant a medicine to the Agrigentines: thus *Marius* was sent as a remedy to cure the Romans; as for the Sicyonians, even god himselfe *Apollo* foretold them by Oracle: That their City had need of certain Officers to whippe and scourge them, at what time as they would perforce take from the Cleoneans, a certaine young boy named *Teletias*, who was crowned in the Solemnity of the Pythian games, pretending that he was their Citizen, and born among them, whom they haled and pulled in such sort, as they dismembred him: But these Sicyonians met afterwards with *Orthagoras* that tyrannized over them; and when hee was gone, they were plagued also with *Myron* and *Clisthenes*, and their favorites, who held them in so short, that they kept them from all outrages, and stayed their insolent sallies: whereas the Cleoneans, who had not the like purgative medicine to cure them, were subverted, and through their misdemeanor come to nothing. Mark well therefore that which *Homer* in one place saith:

His son he was, and in all kind of valour did surmount
His father fair, who was (to say a truth) of base account.

And yet this son of *Cypress* never performed (in all his life) any memorable act, beseeming a man of worth and honour: whereas the off-spring of *Sisyphus*, the race of *Autolycus*, and the posterity of *Phlegyas* flourished in glory, and all manner of vertue among great Kings and Princes. At *Athens* likewise, *Pericles* descended from an house excommunicate and accursed: And so at *Rome Pompeius* surnamed *Magnus*, that is, the Great, had for his father one *Strabo*, a man whom the people of *Rome* so hated, that when he was dead, they threw his corps out of the biere wherein it was carried forth to burial, and trampled it under their feet. What absurdity then were it, if as the husband man never cutteth up, or stocketh the thorn or bush, before he hath gathered the tender sprouts and buds thereof: nor they of *Libya* burn the boughs of the plant *Ledrom*, until they have gotten the aromatical gum or liquor out of it called *Ladanum*; even so God never plucketh up by the root, the race of any noble and roial family (wicked and wretched though they be) before it hath yeelded some good and profitable fruit: for it had been far better and more expedient for the men of *Phocis*, that ten thousand Beefs, and as many Horses of *Iphitus* had died; that the Delphians likewise had lost much more Gold and Silver by far, then that either *Ulysses* or *Æsculapius* should not have been born: or others in like case, whose parents being wicked and vicious, were themselves honest and very profitable to the Common-wealth. Are we not then to think, that it were far better to punish in due time and manner convenient, then to proceed unto revenge hastily and out of hand? like as that was of *Callippus* the Athenian, who making semblance of friendship unto *Dion*, stabbed him at once with his dagger, and was himselfe afterwards killed with the same, by his friends? as also that other of *Mitius* the Argive, who was murdered in a certaine commotion and civil broil: for it hapned so, that in a frequent assembly of the people, gathered together in the market place, for to behold a solemn shew, a statue of brasse fell upon the murderer of *Mitius*, and killed him outright. And you have heard (I am sure) O *Patrocleas* (have you not?) what befal unto *Bessus* the Pœonian, and *Ariston* the Oetian, two Colonels of mercenary and forraign souldiers? No verily (quoth he) but I would gladly know: This *Ariston* (quoth I) having stolen and carried away out of this Temple, certain jewels and costly furniture of Queen *Eriphyle*, which of long time had there been kept safe, by the grant and permission of the tyrants who ruled this City, carried them as a present to his wife; but his son being on a time (upon some occasion) displeased and angry with his mother, set fire on the house, and burnt it with all that was within it. As for *Bessus*, who had murdered his own father, he continued a good while not detected, until such time, as being one day at supper with certain of his friends that were strangers, with the head of his speare he pierced and cast down a swallows nest, and so killed the young birds within it: and when those that stood by, seemed (as good reason there was) to say unto him: How cometh this to passe, good sir? and what aile you, that you have committed so lewd and horrible an act? Why (quoth he again) do these birds cry aloud and bear false witnesse against me, testifying that I have murdered mine own Father? he had no sooner let fall this word, but those who were present took hold thereof, and wondering much thereat, went directly to the King, and gave information of him; who made so diligent inquisition, that the thing upon examination was discovered, and *Bessus* (for his part) punished accordingly for a Parricide. Thus much (I say) have we related, that it may be held as a confessed truth and supposition, that wicked men other whiles have some delay of their punishment: as for the rest, you are to think that you ought to hearken unto *Hesiodus* the Poet, who saith not as *Plato*

Plato did, that the punishment of sin doth follow sin hard at the heeles, but is of the same time and age, as born and bred in one place with it, and springing out of the very same root and stock: for these be his words in one place:

Bad counsel who deviseth first,
Unto himselfe shall find it worst.

And in another:

Who doth for others mischiefe frame,
To his own heart contrives the same.

The venemous flies Cantharides are said to contain in themselves a certain remedy, made and compounded by a contrariety or antipathy in nature, which serveth for their own counter-poison; but wickednesse ingendering within it selfe (I wot not what) displeasure and punishment, not after a sinful act is committed, but even at the very instant of committing, it beginneth to suffer the pain due to the offence: neither is there a malefactor, but when he seeth others like himselfe punished in their bodies, bear forthwith his own crosse; whereas mischievous wickednesse frameth of her selfe, the engines of her own torment, as being a wonderful artisan of a miserable life, which (together with shame and reproach) hath in it lamentable calamities, many terrible frights, fearful perturbations and passions of the spirit, remorse of conscience, desperate repentance, and continuall troubles and unquietnesse. But some men there be, who for all the world resemble little children, that beholding many times in the Theatre, lewd and naughty persons arrayed in cloath of gold, rich mantles, and robes of purple, adorned also with Crowns upon their heads, when they either dance or play their parts upon the stage, have them in great admiration, as reputing them right happy, until such time as they see them how they be either pricked and pierced with goads, or sending flames of fire out of those gorgious, costly and sumptuous vestments. For to say a truth, many wicked persons, who dwell in stately houses, are descended from noble parentage, sit in high places of authority, bear great dignities and glorious titles, are not known (for the most part) what plagues and punishments they sustain, before they be seen to have their throats cut, or their necks broken, by being cast down headlong from on high; which a man is not to term punishments simply, but rather the final end and accomplishment thereof. For like as *Herodicus* of *Selymbria*, being fallen into an incurable phthisick or consumption, by the ulcer of the lungs, was the first man (as *Plato* saith) who in the cure of the said disease, joyned with other Physick, bodily exercise, and in so doing, drew out and prolonged death, both to himselfe and all others who were likewise infected with that malady; even so may we say, that wicked persons (as many as seem to have escaped a present plague, and the stroak of punishment out of hand) suffer in truth, the pain due for their sinful acts, not in the end only and a great time after, but sustain the same a longer time: so that the vengeance taken for their sinful life is nothing slower, but much more produced and drawn out to the length; neither be they punished at the last in their old age, but they wax old rather in punishment, which they have endured all their life. Now when I speak of long time, I mean it in regard of our selves: for in respect of the gods, the whole race of mans life (how long soever it be thought) is a matter of nothing, or no more then the very moment and point of the instant. For say, that a malefactor should suffer the space of thirty yeares for some hainous fact that he hath committed, it is all one, as if a man should stretch him upon the rack, or hang him upon a gibbet in the evening toward night, and not in the morning betimes; especially, seeing that such an one (all the while that he liveth) remaineth close and fast shut up (as it were) in a strong prison or cage, out of which he hath no means to make an escape and get away. Now if in the mean while they make many feasts, mannage sundry matters, and enterprize divers things; if they give presents and largesses abroad; and say they give themselves to their disports and pleasures; it is even as much, and all one, as when malefactors (during the time they be in prison) should play at dice or cockall game, having continually over head the rope hanging, which must strangle them: for otherwise, we might as well say, that prisoners condemned to die, suffer no punishment all the whiles they lie in hard and cold irons, nor until the executioner come and strike the head from the shoulders; or that he who by sentence of the Judges hath drunk the deadly potion of hemlock, is not punished, because hee walketh still, and goeth up and down alive, waiting until his legs become heavy, before the general cold and congelation surprise him, and extinguish both sense and vital spirits, in case it were so, that we esteem and call by the name of punishment, nothing but the last point and extremity thereof: letting passe and making no reckoning at all of the passions, fears, painful pangs, expectance of death, pricks and sorrows of a penitent conscience, wherewith every wicked person is troubled and tormented: for this were as much as to say, that the fish which hath wallowed down the hook, is not caught, until we see the said fish cut in pieces, or broiled, roasted and sodden by the Cook. Certes, every naughty person is presently become prisoner unto justice, so soon as he hath once committed a sinful act, and swallowed the hook together with the bait of sweetnesse and pleasure, which he taketh in lewdnesse and wrongful doing; but when the remorse of conscience imprinted in him, doth prick, he feeleth the very torments of hell, and cannot rest;

But as in sea the Tuny fish doth swiftly crosse the waves,
And travers still while tempest lasts, so he with anguish raves.

For this audacious rashnesse and violent insolence (proper unto vice) is very puissant, forward, and

ready at hand, to the effecting and execution of sinful acts; but afterwards, when the passion (like unto a wind) is layed, and begins to saile, it becometh weak, base, and feeble, subject to an infinite number of fears and superstitions; in such sort, as that *Stesichorus* the Poet seemeth to have devised the dream of queen *Clytemnestra*, very conformable to the truth, and answerable to our dayly experience, when he bringeth her in, speaking in this manner:

Me thought I saw a dragon come apace,
*Whose * crest aloft on head * with blood was stein'd;*
With that anon there did appear in place
Pliisthenides the King, who that time reign'd.

* κάρη. * βαθεῖαν μὲν ἀνὰ κορυφὴν ἔχον. which some interpret: *Having a mans head.*

For the visions by night in dreams, the fantastical apparitions in the day time, the answers of Oracles, the prodigious signs from heaven, and in one word, whatsoever men think to be done immediately by the will and finger of God, are wont to strike great troubles and horrors into such persons so affected, and whose consciences are burdened with the guilt and privity of sin. Thus the report goeth of *Apollodorus*, that he dreamed upon a time, how he saw himselfe first flayed by the Scythians, then cut as small as flesh to the pot, and so boiled; he thought also that his heart spake softly from out of the Cauldron, and uttered these words: I am the cause of all these thy evils: again, hee imagined in his sleep, that his own daughters, all burning on a light flaming fire, ran round about him in a Circle. Semblably *Hipparcus* the son of *Pisistratus*, a little before his death, dreamed that *Venus* out of certain vial sprinkled blood upon his face. The familiar friends likewise of King *Ptolomæus*, surnamed *Ceraunos*, that is to say, Lightning, thought verily in a dream that they saw *Seleucus* accuse and endite him judicially before wild Wolves, and greedy Geirs that were his Judges, where he dealt and distributed a great quantity of flesh among his enemies. *Pausanias* also at *Byzantium*, sent for *Cleonice*, a Virgin and Gentlewoman free born, of a worshipful house; intending perforce to lie with her all night, and abuse her body; but being halfe asleep when she came to his bed, he awakned in a fright, and suspecting that some enemies were about to surprize him killed her outright; whereupon ever after he dreamt ordinarily, that he saw her, and heard her pronounce this speech:

To judgement seat, approach thou not I say,
Wrong dealing is to men most hurtful ay.

Now when this vision as it should seem ceased not to appear unto him night by night; he embarked and sailed into *Heraclea*, to a place where the spirits and ghosts of those that are departed be raised and called up, where after he had offered certain propitiatory sacrifices, and poured forth funeral effusions, which they use to call upon the Tombs of the dead; he wrought so effectually, that the ghost of *Cleonice* appeared; and then she said unto him, that so soon as he was arrived at *Lacedæmon*, hee should have repose and end of all his troubles: and so in very truth, no sooner was he thither come, but he ended his life and died. If therefore the soul had no sense after it is departed out of the body, but cometh to nothing; and that death were the final end and expiration as well of thankful recompenses, as of painful punishments, a man might say of wicked persons who are quickly punished, and die soon after that they have committed any misdeeds; that God dealeth very gently and mildly with them: For if continuance of time, and long life bringeth to wicked persons no other harm; yet a man may at least wise say thus much of them, that having known by proof, and found by experience, that injustice is an unfruitful, barren, and thankelesse thing, bringing forth no good thing at all, nor ought that deserveth to be esteemed after many travels and much pains taken with it; yet the very feeling and remorse of conscience for their sins, disquieteth and troubleth the mind, and turneth it upside down. Thus we read of King *Lysimachus*, that being forced through extream thirst, he delivered his own person, and his whole army into the hands of the Getes; and when being their prisoner, he had drunk and quenched his thirst, he said thus: O what a misery is this, and wretched case of mine, that for so short and transitory a pleasure, I have deprived my selfe of so great a Kingdom, and all my royal estate. True it is, that of all things it is an exceeding hard matter to resist the necessity of a natural passion; but when as a man for covetousnesse of money, or desire of glory, authority, and credit among his country-men and fellow-Citizens, or for fleshly pleasures, falleth to commit a foul, wicked, and execrable fact, and then afterwards in time, when as the ardent thirst and furious heat of his passion is past, seeing that there abide and continue with him, the filthy, shameful, and perilous perturbations only of injustice and sinfulnesse; but nothing at all that is profitable, necessary, or delightsome; is it not very likely and probable, that he shall eftsoones, and oftentimes recal into this thought, and consideration? how being seduced and carried away by the means of vain glory, or dishonest pleasures, (things base, vile, and illiberal) he hath perverted and overthrown the most beautiful and excellent gifts that men have, to wit, right, equity, justice, and piety; and in stead thereof, hath filed and polluted his life with shame, trouble, and danger? For like as *Simonides* was wont to say in mirth: That he found one coffer of silver and money alwayes full; but that other of favours, thanks, and benefits, evermore empty; even so wicked men, when they come to examine and peruse aright the vice that is in themselves, they find it presently (for one pleasure which is accompanied with a little vain and glosing delight) void altogether and destitute of hope; but fully replenished with fears, cares, anxieties, the unpleasant remembrance of misdemeanors past, suspicion of future events, and distrust for the present: much after the manner as wee doe hear Lady *Ino* in the Theaters, repenting of those foul facts which she had committed, and speaking these words upon the stage:

How

How should I now, my friends, and Ladies deer
Begin to keep the house of Athamas,
Since that all whiles that I have lived here,
Naught hath been done by me that decent was?

Or thus:

How may I keep, O Ladies deer alas,
The house again of my Lord Athamas,
As who therein had not committed ought
Of those lewd parts which I have done and wrought.

For semblably it is meet that the mind and soul of every sinful and wicked person should ruminate and discourse of this point in it selfe after this manner: After what sort should I forget and put out of remembrance the unjust and lewd parts which I have committed? how should I cast off the remorse of conscience from me? and from henceforth begin to turn over a new leafe, and lead another life: for surely with those in whom wickednesse beareth sway, and is predominant, there is nothing assured, nothing firm and constant, nothing sincere and sound, unlesse haply we will say and maintain, that wicked persons and unjust were some Sages and wise Philosophers. But we are to think, that where avarice reigneth and excessive concupiscence, and love of pleasure, or where extream envy dwelleth, accompanied with spight and malice; there if you mark and look well about, you shall find superstitionly hidden among, sloth and unwillingnesse to labour, fear of death, lightnesse and quick mutability in changing of mind and affection, together with vain-glory proceeding of arrogancie; those who blame them, they fear, such as praise them, they dread and suspect; as knowing well how they are injured and wronged by their deceitful semblance, and yet be the greatest enemies of the wicked, for that they commend so readily, and with affection, those whom they suppose, and take to be honest: for in vice and sin (like as in bad iron) the hardnesse is but weak and rotten, and the stiffnesse also brittle and easie to be broken: and therefore wicked men (learning in processe of time, better to know themselves what they are) after they come once to the full consideration thereof, are displeased, and discontented, they hate themselves, and detest their own lewd life: for it is not likely that it a naughty person otherwise (though not in the highest degree, who hath regard to deliver again a pawn or price of money left in his hands to keep; who is ready to be surety for his familiar friend, and upon a bravery and glorious mind, hath given largesses, and is prest to maintain and defend his country, yea, and to augment and advance the good estate thereof) soon repent and immediately be grieved for that which he hath done, by reason that his mind is so mutable, or his will so apt to be seduced by an opinion or conceit of his: considering that even some of those who have had the honor to be received by the whole body of the people in open theater, with great applause and clapping of hands, incontinently fall to sigh to themselves, and groan again, so soon as avarice returneth secretly, in place of glorious ambition: those that kill and sacrifice men to usurp and set up their tyrannies, or to maintain and compasse some conspiracies, as *Apollodorus* did; circumvent and defraud their friends of their goods and moneys, which was the practice of *Glaucus* the son of *Epicydes*, should never repent their misdeeds, nor grow into a detestation of themselves, nor yet be displeased with that they have done: For mine own part, I am of this opinion (if it be lawful so to say) That all those who commit such impieties and misdemeanors, have no need either of God or man to punish them; for their own life only being so corrupt and wholly depraved and troubled with all kind of wickednesse, is sufficient to plague and torment them to the full: But consider (quoth I) whether this discourse seem not already to proceed farther, and be drawn out longer then the time will permit. Then *Timon* answered: It may well so be, if peradventure we regard the length and prolixity of that which followeth and remaineth to be discussed: as for my self, I am now ready to rise as it were out of an ambush, and to come as a fresh and new Champion with my last doubt and question, forasmuch as me thinks, we have debated enough already upon the former: for this would I have you to think, that although we are silent and say nothing, yet we complain as *Euripides* did, who boldly challenged and reproached the gods for that

The parents sin, and their iniquity
They turn on children and posterity.

For say that themselves, who have committed a fault, were punished, then is there no more need to chastise others, who have not offended, considering it were no reason at all to punish twice for one fault the delinquents themselves: or be it so, that through negligence they having omitted the punishment of wicked persons and offenders, they would long after make them to pay for it who are innocent; surely they do not well, by this injustice to make amends for the said negligence. Like as as it is reported of *Æsope*, who in times past came hither to this City, being sent from King *Crœsus* with a great sum of Gold, for to sacrifice unto god *Apollo* in magnificent wise, yea, and to distribute among all the Citizens of *Delphos*, * four pounds a piece: but it fortuned so, that he fell out with the inhabitants of the City upon some occasion, and was exceeding angry with them, insomuch as hee performed indeed the sacrifice accordingly, but the rest of the money which he should have dealt among the people, he sent back again to the City of *Sardis*, as if the Delphians had not been worthy to enjoy the Kings liberality; whereupon they taking great indignation, laid sacrilege unto his charge, for detaining (in such sort) that sacred money; and in truth, after they had condemned him thereof, they pitched him down headlong from that high rock they call *Hyampia*, for which act of

* Μνᾶς τέσσαρας.

theirs

theirs, God *Apollo* was so highly displeased, that he sent upon their land sterility and barrenness, besides many and sundry strange and unknown diseases among them, so as they were constrained in the end, to go about in all the publick feasts and general assemblies of the Greeks, of purpose, to make proclamation by sound of trumpet: That whosoever he was (kinsman or friend of *Æsope*) that would require satisfaction for his death, should come forth, and exact what penalty he would desire: and thus they ceased not continually to call upon them? until at length, and namely, in the third generation after, there presented himselfe a certain Samian, named *Iamon*, who was nothing at all of kin to *Æsope*, but onely one of their posterity, who at the first had bought him for a slave in open market, within the Isle of *Samos*; and the Delphians having in some meanie made satisfaction and recompense unto him, were immediately delivered from their calamities: and it is said, that from that time forward, the execution of sacrilegious persons, was translated from the foresaid rock *Hyampia*, unto the cliff of *Nauplia*. And verily, even those, who of all others most admire *Alexander the Great*, and celebrate his memorial, of which number we also confesse our selves to be, can in no wise approve that which he did unto the Branchides, when he razed their City to the very ground, and put all the inhabitants thereof to the sword, without respect either of age or of sex, for that their ancestors in old time had betrayed and delivered up by treaton, the Temple of *Miletum*. And *Agathocles* the tyrant of *Syracusa*, who laughed and scoffed at the men of *Corphu*: for when they demanded of him the occasion why he forraged their Isle, made them this answer: Because (quoth he) your fore-fathers in times past, received and entertained *Ulysses*. Semblably, when the Islanders of *Ithaca* made complaint unto him of his souldiers, for driving away their sheep: Why? (quoth he) your King, when he came one time into our Island, not only took away our sheep, but also put out the eye even of our shepherd: Think you not then that *Apollo* dealt more absurdly & unjustly then all these, in destroying the Phenoetes at this day, in stopping up the mouth of that bottomlesse pit that was wont to receive and soak up all the waters which now doe overflow their whole country: because that a thousand yeers ago (by report) *Hercules* having taken away from the Delphians that sacred tresect, from which the Oracles were delivered, brought the same to the City *Pheneum*? And as for the Sybarites, he answered them directly: That their miseries should then cease, when they had appeased the ire of *Juno Leucadia*, by three sundry mortalities. Certes, long ago it is not, since that the Locrians desisted and gave over sending every year their daughters, virgins, unto *Troy*,

Who there went bare-foot, and did serve
all day from morn to night,
In habit of poor wretched slaves,
in no apparel dight;
No coife, no caule, nor honest vail,
were they allow'd to wear
In decent wise, for woman-hood,
though aged now they were:
Resembling such as never rest;
but Pallas *Temple sweep,*
And sacred Altar dayly cleanse,
where they do alway keep.

and all for the lascivious wantonnesse and incontinence of *Ajax*. How can this be either just or reasonable, considering that we blame the very Thracians, for that (as the report goes) they use still (even at this day) to beat their wives in revenge of *Orpheus* death? Neither do we commend the barbarous people, inhabiting along the river *Po*, who (as it is said) do yet mourn and wear black, for *Phaeton* his fall. Yet (in my conceit) it is a thing rather sottish and ridiculous, that whereas the men who lived in *Phaeton* his time, made no regard of his ruine: those that came five (yea, and ten) ages after his woful calamity, should begin to change their raiment for his sake, and bewail his death: for surely, herein there is nothing at all to be noted, but meer folly; no harm, no danger or absurdity (otherwise) doth it contain. But what reason is it, that the wrath and judgment of the gods, hidden (upon a sudden) at the very time of some hainous fact committed (as the property is of some Rivers) should break out, and shew it selfe afterwards, upon others, yea, and end with some extream calamities? He had no sooner paused a while, and stayed the current of his speech: but I doubting whereto his words would tend, and fearing lest he should proceed to utter more absurdities and greater follies, presently made this reply upon him: And think you sir, indeed, that all is true that you have said? What if all (quoth he) be not true, but some part thereof only, think you not yet, that the same difficulty in the question still remaineth? Even so peradventure (quoth I) it fareth with those who are in an extream burning feaver, who whether they have more or lesse cloathes upon them, feel evermore within them the same excessive heat of the ague; yet for to comfort and refresh them a little, and to give them some ease, it is thought good to diminish their cloaths, and take off some of them. But if you are not so disposed, let it alone, you may do your pleasure; howbeit, this one thing I will say unto you, that the most part of these examples resemble fables, and fictions, devised for pleasure: Call to mind therefore and remembrance, the feast celebrated of late in their honour, who sometime received the gods into their houses, and gave them entertainment: also that beautiful and honorable portion set by apart, which by the voice of an herald was published ex-

expressly to be from the posterity descended from *Pindarus*, and record with your selfe how honorable and pleasant a thing this seemeth unto you. And who is there (quoth he) that would not take pleasure to see this preeminence and preference of honour so naturall, so plaine, and ancient, after the manner of old Greeks: unlesse he be such an one, as (according to the same *Pindarus*)

Whose heart all black of mettall forg'd wis
And by cold flame, made stiffe and hardened is.

I omit (quoth I) to speake of the solemn commendation published in *Sparta*, which ensued ordinarily after the Lesbian song, or canticle in the honour & memoriall of that ancient *Terpander*: for it seemeth, that there is the same reason of them both: But you who are of the race of *Ophelres*: and think your selfe worthy to be preferred before all others, not Bœotians only, but Phocæans also; and that in regard of your stock-father *Delphantus*, have assisted and seconded me, when I maintained before the Lycormians & Satilaians (who claimed the priviledge and honour of wearing coronets due by our lawes and statutes unto the progeny of *Hercules*) That such dignities and prerogatives ought inviolably to be preserved and kept for those indeed who descend in right line from *Hercules*, in regard of his beneficiall demerits, which in time past he heaped upon the Greeks, and yet during his life, was not thought worthy of reward and recompence: You have (quoth he) revived the memory of a most pleasant question to be debated, and the same marvelous well beseeming the profession of Philosophy: But I pray you my very good friend (quoth I unto him,) forbeare this vehement and accusatory humor of yours, and be not angry, if happily you see that some, because they be borne of leud and wicked parents, are punished; or else do not rejoyce so much, nor be ready to praise, in case you see nobility also of birth to be so highly honored: for if we stand upon this point, and dare avow, that recompence of vertue ought by right and reason to continue in the line and posterity; we are by good consequence to make this account, that punishment likewise should not stay and cease together with misdeeds committed, but reciprocally fall upon those that are descended of misdoers and malefactors: for he who willingly seeth the progeny of *Cimon*, honoured at *Athens* and contrariwise is offended and displeased in his heart, to see the race of *Lachares* or *Ariston* banished and driven out of his City; (he I say) seemeth to be too soft, tender, and passing effeminate, or rather to speake more properly, over-contentious and quarrelsome, even against the gods, complaining and mourning of the one side; if the children, and children children of an impious and wicked person to prosper in the world: and contrariwise is no less given to blame and finde fault, if he do see the posterity of wicked and ungratious men to be held under, plagued, or altogether destroyed from the face of the earth; accusing the gods if the children of a naughty man be afflicted even as much as if they had honest persons to their parents: But as for these reasons alledged, make you this reckoning, that they be bulwarks and ramparts for you, opposed against such bitter & sharp accusers as these be. But now taking in hand againe the end (as it were) of a clew of thread, or a bottome of yarne, to direct us as in a dark place, and where there be many cranks, turnings and windings to & fro (I meane the matter of Gods secret judgements) let us conduct and guide our souls gently and warily, according to that which is most likely and probable, considering that even of those things which we daily manage, and do our selvs, we are not able to set down an undoubted certainty: as for example, who can yield a sound reason, wherefore we cause and bid the children of those parents who died either of the ptysick & consumption of the lungs, or of the dropsy, to sit with their feet drenched in water, until the dead corps be fully burned in the funeral fire? For an opinion there is, that by this meanes the maladies shal not pass unto them as hereditary, nor take hold of their bodies; as also, what the cause should be, that if a goat hold in her mouth the herb called *Eryngites*, that is to say, Sea-holly, the whol flocke will stand still, untill such time as the goat-herd come and take the said herb out of her mouth; other hidden properties there be, which by secret influences & passages from one to another, work strange effects, and incredible as well speedily, as in longer tract of time: and in very truth, we wonder more at the intermission and stay of time between, then we do of the distance of place, and yet there is greater occasion to marvel thereat: as namely, that a pestilent malady which began in *Aethiopia*, should reigne in the City of *Athens*, and fill every street and corner thereof, in such sort, as *Pericles* died, and *Thucydides* was sick thereof; than that when the Phocæans and Sybarits had committed some hainous sins, the punishment therefore should fall upon their children, and go through their posterity? For surely these powers and hidden properties have certain relations and correspondences from the last to the first; the cause thereof, although it be unknown to us, yet it ceaseth not secretly to bring forth her proper effects. But there seemeth to be very apparent reason of justice, that publick vengeance from above should fall upon Cities many a year after: for that a City is one entire thing, and a continued body, as it were, like unto a living creature, which goeth not beside or out it selfe for any mutations of ages, nor in tract or continuance of time, changing first into one, and then into another by succession, but is alwayes uniforme and like it selfe, receiving evermore, and taking upon it, all the thanke for well doing, or the blame for misdeeds, of whatsoever it doth or hath done in common, so long as the society that linketh and holdeth it together maintaineth her unity: for to make many, yea, and innumerable Cities of one, by dividing it according to space of time, were as much as to go about to make of one man many, because he is now become old, who before was a young youth, and in times past also a very stripling or springall: or else to speak more properly, this resembleth the devises of *Epicharmus*, whereupon

on was invented that manner of Sophisters arguing, which they call the Croissant argument; for thus they reason: He that long since borrowed or took up mony, now oweth it not, because he is no more himselfe, but become another: and he that yesterday was invited to a feast, commeth this day as an unbidden guest, considering that he is now another man. And verily, divers ages make greater difference in each one of us, then they do commonly in Cities and States: for he that had seen the City of *Athens* thirty years agoe, and came to visit it at this day, would know it to be altogether the very same that then it was; insomuch as the manners, customs, motions, games, pastimes, serious affaires, favours of the people, their pleasures, displeasures and anger at this present, resemble wholy those in ancient time: whereas if a man be any long time out of sight, hardly his very familiar friend shall be able to know him, his countenance will be somuch changed: and as touching his manners and behaviour, which alter and change so soone upon every occasion, by reason of all sorts of labour, travell, accidents and lawes, there is such variety and so great alteration, that even he who is ordinarily acquainted and conversant with him, would marvell to see the strangeness and novelty thereof; and yet the man is held and reputed still the same, from his nativity unto his dying day: and in like case, a City remaineth alwayes one and the selfe same; in which respect we deem it great reason, that it should participate aswell the blame and reproch of ancestours, as enjoy their glory and puissance, unlesse we make no care to cast all things in the river of *Heraclitus*, into which (by report) no one thing entreth twise, for that it hath a property to alter all things and change their nature. Now if it be so, that a City is an united and continued thing in it selfe, we are to think no lesse of a race and progeny, which dependeth upon one and the same stock, producing and bringing forth a certain power and communication of qualities, and the same doth reach and extend to all those who descend from it: neither is the thing engendred of the same nature that a piece of worke is, wrought by art, which incontinently is separate from the workman, for that it is made by him, and not of him: whereas contrariwise, that which is naturally engendered, is formed of the very substance of that which ingendered it, in such sort as it doth carry about it some part thereof, which by good right deserveth either to be punished or to be honoured even in it selfe. And were it not, that I might be thought to jest and speak in game and not in good earnest, I would aver and pronounce assuredly, that the Athenians offered more wrong and abuse unto the brasen statue of *Cassander*, which they caused to be defaced and melted: and likewise the dead corps of *Dionysius* suffered more injury at the hands of the Syracusians, which after his death they caused to be caried out of their confines, then if they had proceeded in rigor of justice against their offspring and posterity: for the said image of *Cassander* did not participate one whit of his nature; and the soule of *Dionysius* was departed a good while before out of his body: whereas *Nisæus*, *Apolloocrates*, *Antipater*, *Philip* and all such other, descended from vicious and wicked parents, reteined still the chief and principall part which is in them inbred, and remaineth not quiet, idle and doing nothing, but such as whereby they live and are nourished, whereby they negociate, reason and discourse: neither ought it to seem strange and incredible, that being of their issue, they should likewise retaine their qualities and inclinations. In some, I say and affirme, that like as in Physick, whatsoever is holsome and profitable, the same is also just: and worthy were he to be laughed at and mocked, that calleth him unjust, who for the *Sciatica* or disease of the huckle-bone, would cauterize the thumbe; or when the liver is impostumate, scarifie the belly; and if kine or oxen be tender and soft in clees, anoint the extremities and tips of their hornes; even so he deserveth to be scorned and reproved as a man of a shallow conceit, who in chastisment of vice, esteemeth any other thing just, than that which may cure and heale the same; or who is offended and angry if the medicine be applied, or a course of Physick used into some parts for curing others; as they do who open a veine for to heale the inflammation of the eyes: such an one (I say) seemeth to see and perceive no further then his owne outward senses lead him, and remembreth not well, that a schoolmaster often times in whipping one of his schollers, keepeth all the rest in awe and good order: and a great captaine and generall of the field, in putting to death for exemplary justice, one souldier in every ten, reformeth all besides, and reduceth them to their duty: and even so there happen not only to one part by another, but also to one soul by another, certaine dispositions, aswell to worse and impairing, as to better and amendment, yea, and much more than to one body by the meanes of another: for that there to wit, in a body, there must (by all likelyhood) be one impression and the same alteration: but here, the soul, which oftentimes is led and carried away by imagination, either to be confident, or distrustfull and timorous, fareth better or worse accordingly. And as I was going forward to speake, *Olympiacus* interrupting my speech: By these words of yours (quoth he) you seem to set down as a supposall, a subject matter of great consequence and discourse, to wit, the immortality of the soul, as if it remained still after the separation from the body: Yea mary (quoth he) and even this have I inferred by that which you do now grant, or rather have granted therefore: for our discourse hath been from the begining prosecuted to this presupposed point: That God dealeth and distributeth to every of us according as we have deserved. And how (quoth he) doth this follow necessarily, that in case God doth behold all human affaires, and dispose of every particular thing here upon earth, the souls should become either immortal and incorruptible, or else continue in their entire estate long after death? O good sir (quoth I) be content, is God (think you) so base minded, or employed in so smal and trifling matters, and having so little to do, that (when we have no divine thing in us, nor ought that in any sort resembleth him, or is firm and durable, but

but that continually decay, fade and perish like unto leaves of trees (as *Homer* saith) and that in a small time) he should all on a sudden make so great account of us (like to those women, who cherish and keep their gardens (as they say) of *Adonis* within brittle pots and panns of earth) as to make our souls, for one day to flourish and looke green within our fleshly body, which is not capable of any strong root of life, and then within a while after, suffer them to be extinguished and to dy upon the least occasion in the world? But if you please, let us passe other gods, and consider wee a little this our God only, him I meane, who is honoured and advocated in this place, namely, whether he (knowing that the souls of the dead are presently exhaled and vanished away to nothing, like unto a vapour or smoak, breathing forth of our bodies) doth ordein incontinently oblations to be offered, and propitiatory sacrifices to be made for the departed? and whether he demand not great honours, worship and veneration, in the memoriall of the dead? or whether he doth it to abuse and deceive those that beleeve accordingly? For I assure you, for my part, I will never graunt that the soul dieth, but remaineth still after death, unlesse some one or other (as by report *Hercules* did in old time) come first and take away the prophesicall stool or tresse of *Pythius*, and destroy the oracle for ever rendring any more answers, as it hath delivered even unto these our dayes, such as by report was given in old time to *Corax* the Naxian in these words:

Impiety great it is for to beleeve,
That soules do die, and not for ever live.

Then *Patrocles*: What propheſie (quoth he) was this? and who was this *Corax*? for surely the thing it selfe, and and that very name, be both of them strange and unknown to me: That cannot be (quoth I) but think better of the matter: for it is long of me who have used this surname in stead of his proper name; for I meane him who slew *Archilochus* in battel, whose name indeed was *Gallondas*, but men surnamed him *Corax*: This man was at the first rejected by the prophetess *Pythia*, as a murderer who had killed a worthy personage consecrated & devoted unto the Muses; but afterwards having used certaine prayers and requests, together with divers allegations of excuse, pretending to justifie his fact, in the end he was enjoyned by the oracle, to go to the house and habitation of *Tettix*, and there by certain expiatory sacrifices & oblations, to appease and pacifie the ghost of *Archilochus*: now this house of *Tettix* was the cape of promontory *Tænarus*: for it is said, *Tettix* the Candian, arriving with his fleet in time past, at the head of *Tænarus*, there built a City, and inhabited it, near unto the place ewhere the manner was to conjure Spirits, and raise the ghosts of those that were departed: The semblable answer being made to those of *Sparta*, namely, that they should make meanes to pacifie the soul of *Pausanias*, they sent as far as into *Italy* for sacrificers exorcists, who had the skill to conjure Spirits, and they with their sacrifices chased his ghost out of the Temple: This is one reaton therefore (quoth I) that doth confirme and prove, that both the world is governed by the providence of God, and also, that the soules of men do continue after death: neither is it possible that we should admit the one, and deny the other: if it be so then that the soule of man hath a substance and being after death: it is more probable and soundeth to greater reason, that it should then either tast of paine or punishment, or enjoy honour or reward: for during here upon earth, it is in continuall combat in manner of a champion; but after all combats performed and finished, then she receiveth according to her deserts. Now as touching those honours and punishments which it receiveth in that other world, being alone by her selfe, and separate from the body, the same concerne and touch us nothing at all, who remaine alive: for either we know them not, or give no beliefe thereto; but such as be either conferred or inflicted upon their children and posterity, for that they be apparent and evident to the world, those doe containe and curb wicked men, that they do not execute their malicious designes: And considering that there is no punishment more ignominious, or that commeth neerer the quick, and toucheth the heart more, then for men to see their ofspring, or those that depend upon them, afflicted for their sake and punished for their faults: and that the soul of a wicked person, enemy to God and to all good lawes, seeth after his death, not his Images and Statues, or any ensignes of honour overthrown, but his owne children, his friends and kinsfolk ruinate, undone and persecuted with great miseries and tribulations, suffering grievous punishment for it, there is no man I think, but would chuse rather to forgo all the honours of *Jupiter*, if he might have them, then to become againe either unjust or intemperate and lascivious. And for the better testimony and truth thereof, I could relate unto you a narration which was delivered unto me not long since but that I am afraid you will take it for a fabulous tale, devised to make sport: In regard whereof I hold it better to alledge unto you nothing but substantiall reason, and arguments grounded upon very good likelihood and probability. Not so (quoth *Olympiacus*) in any case; but rehearse unto us the narration which you speake of: And when others also requested the same at my hands: Suffer me yet first (quoth I) to set abroad those reasons which carry some good shew of truth, and then afterwards if you think well of it I will recite the fable also, if so be it is a fable: As for *Bion*, when he saith, that God in punishing the children of wicked men and sinners for their fathers, is much more ridiculous than the Physitian, who for the malady of father or grandsire goeth about to minister medicine unto the children or nephew; surely this comparison faulteth therein that things be partly semblable, and in part divers and unlike: for if one be cured of a disease by medicinable meanes, this doth not by and by heal the malady or disposition of another: For never was there man yet being sick of a feaver, or troubled with bleered and impostumate eyes, became cured by seeing an oyntment applied, or a salve laid unto another. But contrarywise, the punishment

or

or execution of justice upon malefactors, is for this cause done publikely before all the world, that justice being ministred with reason and discretion, should effect thus much, namely, to keep in, and retaine some by the chastisement and correction of others: But that point wherein the foresaid comparison of *Bion* answereth to our matter in question, himselfe never understood; for many times it falleth out, that a man being fallen sick of a dangerous disease, howbeit not uncurable, yet through his inemperance and disorder afterwards, suffereth his body to grow into greater weakenes and decay, untill at last he dyeth: whereupon his son after him being not actually surprised with the same disease, but onely disposed thereto, a learned physician, some trusty friend, or an expert annointer, and master of exercises, perceiving so much, or rather indeed a kind friend and gentle master and governor, who hath a carefull eye over him, taketh him in hand, bringeth him to an exquisite manner of austere diet, cutteth off all superfluity of viands, dainty cates, & banketting dishes, debarreth him of unseasonable drinkings, and the company of women purgeth him continually with soveraigne medicines, keepeth his body down by ordinary labour and exercise, & so doth dissipate and dispatch the first beginning and small inlination to a dangerous disease, in not permitting it to have head and to grow forward to any greatnes: And is not this an usual practise among us to admonish those who are borne of sickly and diseased parents, to take good heed unto themselves, and not to neglect their indisposition, but betimes and even at the very first to endevor for to remove and rid away the root of such inbred maladies, which they bring with them into the world? for sure it is an easie matter to expell and drive out, yea, and to conquer and overcome the same, by prevention in due time: Yes verily answered they all. Well then (quoth I) we commit no absurdity, nor do any ridiculous thing, but that which is right, necessary and profitable, when we ordeine and prescribe for the children of those who are subject to the falling sickness, to madnesse, phrenesie and the gout, exercises of the body, diets, regiments of life, and medicines appropriate for those maladies, not when they are sick thereof, but by way of precaution, to prevent that they should not fall into them: for the body ingendered of a corrupt and diseased body, neither needeth nor deserveth any punishment, but physick rather by good medicines and carefull attendance: which diligence and heedfull regard, if any one upon wantonnesse, nicety and delicacy do all chastisement, because it depriveth a man of pleasures and delights, or happily inferreth some prick of dolour and paine, let him go as he is, we pass not for him. Now if it be expedient to cure and medicine carefully one body issued and descended from another that is corrupt, is it meet and convenient to let go the resemblance of an hereditary vice, which beginneth to bud and sprout in a young man, to stay and suffer it (I say) to grow on still, burgen and spread into all affections, untill it appear in the view of the whole world? for as *Pindarus* saith:

The foolish heart doth bring forth from within
Her hidden fruit, corrupt and full of sin.

And think you not that in this point God is wiser than the Poet *Hesiodus*, who admonisheth us and giveth counsell in this wise:

No children get, if thou be newly come
From dolefull grave or heavy funerall:
But spare not when thou art returned home
From solemne feast of Gods celestiall.

as if he would induce men to beget their children, when they be jocund, fresh and merry, for that the generation of them received the impression, not of vertue and vice onely, but also of joy, sadnesse, and all other qualities: howbeit, this is not a work of humane wisdome (as *Hesiodus* supposeth) but of God himselfe, to discern and foreknow perfectly either the consormites or the diversities of mens natures, drawn from their progenitors before such time as they break forth into some great enormities, whereby their passions and affections be discovered what they are: for the young whelps of beares, wolves, apes and such like creatures shew presently their naturall inclination, even whiles they be very young, because it is not disguised or masked with any thing; but the nature of man casting it selfe, and settling upon manners, customs, opinions and lawes, concealeth often times the ill that it hath, but doth im itate and counterfeit that which is good and honest: in such sort as it may be thought either to have done away clean all the staine, blemish & imperfection of vices inbred with it, or else to have hidden it a long time, being covered with the vaile of craft and subtilty, so as we are not able, or at least wise have much adoe to perceive their malice, by the sting, bit and prick of every severall vice. And to say a truth, herein are we mightily deceived, that we think men are become unjust then only and not before, when they do injury; or dissolute, when they play some insolent and loose part; cowardly minded, when they run out of the field; as if a man should have the conceit, that the sting in a scorpion was then bred and not before, when he gave the first prick; or the poison in vipers was ingendred only, when they bit or stung; which surely were great simplicity and meer childishnesse: for a wicked person becommeth not then such an one, even when he appeareth so, and not before; but he hath the rudiments and beginnings of vice and naughtinesse imprinted in himselfe, but he sheweth and useth the same, when he hath meanes, fit occasion, good opportunity, and might answerable to his mind; like as the thiefe spieth his time to rob, and the tyrant to violate and break the lawes. But God, who is not ignorant of the nature and inclination of every one, as who searcheth more into the secrets of the heart and minde then into the body, never waiteth and stayeth untill violence be performed by strength

strength of hand; impudencie bewraied by malepart speech; or intemperance and wantonnesse perpetrated by the naturall members and privy parts, ere he punish: for he is not revenged of an unrighteous man, for any harm and wrong that he hath received by him; nor angry with a thiefe or robber, for any forcible violence which he hath done unto him: me yet hateth an adulterer, because he hath sustered injury by his meanes; but many times he chastiseth by way of medicine, a person that committeth adultery, a covetous wretch & a breaker of the laws; whereby otherwhiles he riddeth them of their vice, and preventeth in them (as it were) the falling sickness before the fit surprise them. We were erewhile offended and displeased, that wicked persons were over-late and too slowly punished; and now discontented we are, and complaine, for that God doth express and chastise the evill habit and vicious disposition of some, before the act committed; never considering and knowing, that sull often a further mischief is worse and more to be feared, then the present; and that which is secret and hidden, more dangerous then that which is open and apparent. Neither are we able to comprehend and conceive by reason, the causes wherfore it is better otherwhiles to tolerate and suffer some persons to be quiet, who have offended and transgressed already; and to prevent, or stay others, before they have executed that which they intend: like as (in very truth) we know not the reason, why medicines and physicall drugs (being not meet for some who are sick) be good and wholsome for others, though they are not actually diseased, yet happily in a more dangerous estate than the former. Hereupon it is, that the gods turne not upon the children and posterity, all the faults of their fathers and ancestors: for if it happen, that of a bad father there descend a good son, like as a sickly and crasie man may beget a sound, strong and healthful child, such an one is exempt from the pain and punishment of the whole house and race, as being translated out of a vicious family, and adopted into another: but, that a young son (who shall conforme himself to the hereditary vice of his parents) is liable to the punishment of their sinfull life, aswell as he is bound to pay their debts by right of succession and inheritance. For *Antigonus* was not punished for the sines of his father *Demetrius*; nor to speak (of lewd persons) *Philes* for *Augeas*, ne yet *Nestor* for *Neleus* his sake; how albeit they were descended from most wicked fathers, yet they proved themselves right honest: but all such, as whose nature loved, embraced and practised that which came unto them by descent and parentage, in these (I say) divine justice is wont to persecute and punish that which resembleth vice and sin: for like as the warts, black moles, spots and freckles of fathers, not appearing at all upon their own childrens skin, begin afterwards to put forth and shew themselves in their nephews, to wit, the children of their sons and daughters: And there was a *Grecian* woman, who having brought forth a black infant, and being troubled therefore, and judicially accused for adultery, as if shee had been conceived by a black-moor, shee pleaded and was found to be her selfe descended from an Aethiopian, in the fourth degree removed: As also it is known for certaine, that of the children of *Pyrrhus* the Nisibian who was descended from the race and line of those old Spartans, who were the first lords and founders of *Thebes*, the youngest, and he that died not long since, had upon his body the print and forme of a speare, the very true and naturall mark of that ancient line; so long and after the revolution of many years, there sprang and came up again as it were out of the deep, this resemblance and stock and kindred: even so it falleth out many times, that the first generations and descents, do hide and after a sort drowne those qualities and affections of the mind which are affected and appropriat to some kindred; but afterwards, at one time or other, put them forth, and drive them outward to appear in those that follow, and the same do represent that which is proper to each race, as well in vertue as in vice. Now when I had finished this speech, I held my peace: and with that *Olympicus* smiled and said: We would not have you to think (quoth he) that we commend you, as having sufficiently proved your discourse by demonstration, lest we might seem to have forgoten or to neglect the tale or narration which you promised, to relate unto us: Mary then will we give you our sentence and opinion therof, when we shall likewise have heard the same. Thus therefore I began againe to enter into speech, and follow my intended purpose. There was one *Theispesius*, of the City *Soli* in *Cilicia*, a great friend and familiar of *Protogenes*, who sometime here conversed with us, who having led his youthfull dayes very loosely, within a smal time had wasted and consumed all his goods, wherby he was fallen for a certain space into extream want & necessity, which brought him also to a leud life, insomuch as he proved a very bad man; and repenting his former follies and dispence, began to make shifts, and seek all means to recover his state againe; much like unto those loose and lascivious persons, who make no account of their lawfull and espoused wives, nor caring at all for them whiles they have them; afterwards, when they have cast them off, and put them away, seeing them wedded unto others, sollicit them to yield their bodies, and give the attempt to force & corrupt them most wickedly: Thus he forbare no leud, indirect, and shamefull practices, so they turned to his gaine and profit, and within a little while, he gat together not great store of goods, but procured himselfe a bad name of wicked dealing, much shame, and infamy: But the thing that made him famous, and much spoken of; was the answer delivered unto him by the oracle of *Amphilocus*, for thither had he sent, as it should seem, to know whether he should live the rest of his life better then he had done before. Now the oracle returned this answer: That it would be better with him after he was dead; which in some sort happened unto him not long after: For being fallen from an high place with his head forward, without any limbe broken, or wound made; only with the fall, the breath went out of his body, and there he lay for dead: and three dayes after, preparation being made for his funerals, carried forth he

himselfe and escape punishment: but one kinde of paine and punishment (for three sorts there be in all) belonging to this gaoler or executioner, and another to that; for there is one which is quick and speedy, called *ruine* that is, penalty, and this taketh in hand the execution and chastisement of those, who immediatly in this life (whiles they are in their bodies) be punished by the body, after a milde and gentle manner, leaving unpunished many light faults, which require only some purgation; but such as require more adoe to have their vices and sinnes cured, God committeth them to be punished after death to a second tormentresse, named *Dice*, that is to say, Revenge; many those who are so laden with sinnes, that they be altogether incurable, when *Dice* hath given over and thrust them from her, the third ministresse of *Adrastia*, which of all other is most cruell, and named *Erinnys*, runneth after, chasing and pursuing them as they wander and run up and down; these (say) she courieth and hunteth with great misery and much dolor, until such time as she have overtaken them all and plunged them into a bottomlesse pit of darknesse inenarrable and invisible. Now of these three sorts of punishments, the first which is executed by *Pœne*, in this life resembleth that which is used in some barbarous nations: for in *Persia*, when they are by order of law and judicially to be punished, they take from them their copped caps or high-pointed turbants, and other robes, which they pluck and pull hair by hair, yea, and whip them before their faces, and they themselves shedding teares and weeping, cry out piteously and beseech the officers to cease and give over: semblably, the punishments, inflicted in this life in body or goods, are not exceeding sharp nor come very neer to the quick, neither do they pierce and reach unto the vice and sin it selfe, but the most part of them are imposed according to a bare opinion only, and the judgement of an outward naturall sence. But if it chance (quoth he) that any one escape hither unpunished, and who hath not been well purged there before, him *Dice* taketh in hand all bare and naked as he is, with his soule discovered and open, as having nothing to hide, palliate and mask his wickednesse, but lying bare and exposed to the view throughout, and on every side, she presenteth and sheweth him first to his parents, good and honest persons (if happily they were such) declaring how abominable he is, how degenerate and unworthy of his parentage; but if they also were wicked, both he and they sustaine so much more grievous punishment, whiles he is tormented in seeing them, and they likewise in beholding him how he is punished a long time, even untill every one of his crimes and sinnes be dispatched and rid away with dolorous and painfull torments, surpassing in sharpnesse and greatnesse, all corporall griefs, by how much a true vision inded is more powerfull and effectuall than a vaine dream or fantasticall illusion: whereupon, the wales, marks, scars and cicatrices of sine and vice remaine to be seen, in some more, in others lesse. But observe well (quoth he) and consider the divers colours of these soules of all sorts: for this blackish and soule duskish hue, is properly the tincture of avarice and niggardise: that which is deep red and fiery, betokeneth cruelty and malice; whereas, if it stand much upon blew, it is a signe that their intemperance and looseneſs in the use of pleasure, hath remained a long time, and will be hardly scowred off, for that it is a vile vice: but the violet colour and swertish withall, proceedeth from envy, a venemous and poisoned colour, resembling the ink that commeth from the cuttle fish, for in life, vice, when the saile is altered and changed by passions, and withall doth turne the body, putteth forth sundry colours: but here it is a signe that the purification of the soule is fully finished, when as all these tinctures are done away quite, whereby the soul may appear in her native hew, all fresh, neat, cleare and lightsome: for so long as any one of these colours remaineth, there will be evermore some recidivation and returne of passions and affections, bringing certaine tremblings, beatings as it were of the pulse, and a panting in some but weake and feeble, which quickly staieth, and is soone extinguished; and in other more strong, quick and vehement. Now of these soules, some there be which after they have been well and throughly chastised, and that sundry times, recover in the end a decent habitude and disposition; but others again are such, as the vehemence of their ignorance, and the flattering shew of pleasures and lustfull desire, transporteth them into the bodies of brute beasts; for the feebleneſs and defect of their understanding, and their sloth and slacknes to contemplate and discourse by reason, maketh them to incline and creep to the active part of generation; but then they find and perceive themselves destitute of a lascivious organ or instrument, whereby they may be able to execute and have the fruition of their appetite, and therefore desire by the meanes of the body to enjoy the same, for as much as here there is nothing at all but a bare shadow, & as one would say a vaine dream of pleasure, which never commeth to perfection and fullneſs. When he had thus said, he brought and lead me away, most swiftly, an infinite way; howbeit, with ease, and gently, upon the raies of the light, as if they had been wings, unto a certaine place, where there was a huge wide chinke, tending downward still, and thither being come, he perceived that he was forlorne and forsaken of that powerfull spirit that conducted and brought him thither: where he saw that other soules also were in the same case, for being gathered and flocked together like a sort of birds, they fly downward round about this gaping chawn, but enter into it directly they durst not; now the said chink resembled for all the world within the caves of *Bacchus*, so rapissed and adorned they were with the verdure of great leaves and branches, together with all variety of gay flowers, from whence arose and breathed forth a sweet and mild exhalation, which yeelded a delectable and pleasant savour, wonderfull odoriferous, with a most temperate aire, which no lesse affected them that smelled thereof, than the sent of wine contenteth those who love to drink: in such sort as the soules feeding and feasting themselves with these fragrant odours, were very cherefull, jocund, and merry: so as

he was to be buried; but behold all on a sudden, he revived and quickly came to himselfe againe: whereupon there ensued such a change and alteration in his life, that it was wonderfull: for by the report and testimony of all the people of *Cilicia*, they never knew man of better conscience in all his affaires and dealings, whiles he did negotiate and dwell amongst them; none more devout and religious to God-ward, none more fast and sure to his friends, none bitterer to his enemies: insomuch, as they who were most inward with him, and had kept his company familiarly a long time, were very desirous and earnest with him, to know the cause of so strange and sudden alteration; as being perswaded that so great amendment of life, so loose and dissolute as it was before) could not come by meer chance and casualty, (as in truth it did) according as himself made relation unto the said *Protogenes*, and other such familiar friends of his: men of good worth and reputation: for thus he reported unto them & said: That when the spirit was out of his body, he feared at the first (as he thought himself) like unto a pilot, flung out of his ship, and plunged into the bottom of the sea: so wonderfully was he astonished at this change: but afterwards when as by little and little he was raised up again and recovered, so that he was aware that he drew his breath fully, & at liberty, he looked round about him, for his soul seemed as if it had been one eye fully open; but he beheld nothing that he was wont to view, only he thought that he saw planets and other stars of a huge bigneſs, distant an infinite way asunder, and yet for multitude innumerable, casting from them a wonderful light, with a colour admirable, and the same glittering and shining most resplendent, with a power and force incredible, in such sort, as the said soul being gently and easily carried, as in a chariot, with this splendor and radiant light, as it were upon the sea in a calme, went quickly whether soever she would; but letting pass a great number of things worthy there to be seen: he said that he beheld how the soules of those that were departed this life, as they rose up and ascended, resembled certaine small firie bubbles, and the aire gave way and place unto them as they mounted on high: but anon when these bubbles by little and little brast in sunder, the soules came forth of them, and appeared in the forme and shape of men and women, very light and nimble, as discharged from all poise to beare them down: howbeit, they did not move and bestir themselves all alike and after one sort; for some leaped with a wonderful agility, and mounted directly and plumb upright; others turned round about together like unto bobins or spindles, one while up and another while down, so as their motion was mixed and confused, and tolinked together, that unneth for a good while and with much adoe, they could be staied and severed asunder. As for these soules and spirits, many of them he knew not (as he said) who they were; but taking kowledge of two or three among them who had been of his old aquaintance, he presſed forward to approach near to speake to them: but they neither heard him speak, nor indeed were in their rightfulnesses; but being after a sort astonied and beside themselves, refused once to be either seen or felt, wandring and flying to and fro apart at the first; but afterwards, encountring and meeting with a number of others disposed like unto themselves, they closed and clung unto them, and thus linked and coupled together, they moved here and there disorderly without discretion, and were caried every way, to no purpose, uttering I wot not what voices, after a manner of yelling or a blacke-sanctus, not significant nor distinct, but as if they were cries mingled with lamentable plaints and dreadfull feare. Yet there were others to be seen aloft in the upmost region of the aire, jocund, gay and pleasant, so kind also and courteous, that often times they would seem to approach neer one unto another, turning away from those other that were tumultuous and disorderly; and as it should seem, they shewed some discontentment, when they were thronged and huddled close together; but well appaied and much pleased, when they were enlarged and severed at their liberty. Among these (by his owne saying) he had a sight of a soul belonging unto a kinsman and familiar friend of his, and yet he knew him not certainely, for that he died whiles himselfe was a very child; howbeit, the said soul comming toward him, saluted him in these termes: God save you *Thespesius*: whereat he marvelled much, and said unto him: I am not *Thespesius*, but my name is *Aridæus*: True indeed (quoth the other) before time you were so called, but from henceforth * *Thespesius* shall be your name; for dead you are not yet, but by the providence of God and permission of destiny, you are hither come, with the intellectuall part of the soul; and as for all the rest, you have left it behind, sticking fast as an anchor to your body: and that you may now know this and evermore hereafter, take this for a certain rule and token: That the spirits of those who are departed and dead indeed, yeeld no shadow from them: they neither wink nor open their eyes. *Thespesius* hearing these words, began to pluck up his spirits so much the more, for to consider & discourse with himselfe: looking therefore every way about him, he might perceive that there accompanied with him a certain shadowy and dark lineature, whereas the other souls shone round about, and were clear and transparent within forth: howbeit, not all alike; for some yeelded from them pure colour, uniforme and equall, as doth the full moon when she is at the cleerest; others had (as it were) scales or cicatrices, dispersed here and there by certaine distant spaces between: some againe, were wonderfull hideous and strange to see unto, all to be specked with black spots, like unto serpents skins; and others had light scarifications and obscure risings upon their visage. Now this kinsman of *Thespesius* (for there is no danger at all to terme soules by the names which men had whiles they were living) discoursed severally of each thing, saying: That *Adrastia*, the daughter of *Jupiter* and *Necessitie*, was placed highest and above the rest, to punish and to be revenged of all sorts of crimes and hainous sins; and that of sinfull wretches, there was not one (great or small) who either by force or cunning could ever save him-

* That is to say, Divine.

round about the said place, there was nothing but pastime, joy, solace, mirth, laughing and singing much after the manner of men that rejoice one with another, and take all the pleasure and delight that possibly they can. And he said moreover, that *Bacchus* by the way mounted up into the society of the gods, and afterwards conducted *Semele*; and withall, that it was called the place of *Lethe*, that is to say, Oblivion: Whereupon he would not let *Thespesius*, though he were exceeding desirous, to stay there, but drew him away perforce; instructing him thus much, and giving him to understand, the reason and the intelligible part of the mind is dissolved, and as it were melted and moistned by this pleasure; but the unreasonable part which savoreth of the body, being watered and incarnate therewith, reviveth the memory of the body; and upon his remembrance, there groweth and raiseth a lust and concupiscence, which haleth and draweth unto generation (for so called it) to wit, a consent of the soule thereto, weighed down and aggravated with overmuch moisture: Having therefore traversed another way as long as the other, he was aware he saw a mighty standing boll, into which divers rivers seemed to fall and discharge themselves, whereof one was whiter than the some of the Sea, or driven snow, another of purple hew or scarlet colour, like to that which appeareth in the raine-bow: as for others, they seemed a farre off to have every one of them their distinct lustre & severall tincture: But when they approached neer unto them, the foresaid boll, after that the air about was discussed and vanished away, and the different colours of those rivers no more seen, left no more flourishing colour, except only the white: Then he saw three Dæmons or Angels, sitting together in triangular forme, medling and mixing the rivers together, with certaine measures. And this guide of *Thespesius* soule said morever, that *Orpheus* came so farre when he went after his wife; but for that he kept not well in mind, that which he there saw, he had sown one false tale among men; to wit: That the oracle at *Delphi* was common to *Apollo*, and the night, (for there was no commerce or fellowship at all between the night and *Apollo*) But this oracle (quoth he) is common to the moon and the night, which hath no determinate and certaine place upon the earth, but is alwayes errant and wandering among men, by dreames and apparitions; which is the reason that dreames compounded and mingled as you see, of falshood and truth, of variety and simplicity, are spread and scattered over the world. But as for the oracle of *Apollo*, neither have you seen it (quoth he) nor ever shall be able to see: for the terrene substance or earthly part of the soul, is not permitted to arise and mount up on high, but bendeth downward, being fastned unto the body: And with that he approached at once neerer, endevouring to show him the shining light of the three-feet or three-footed stoole, which (as he said) from the bosom of the goddess *Thenit*, reached as far as to the mount *Pernasus*: and having a great desire to see the same, yet he could not, his eyes were so dazeled with the brightness thereof; howbeit, as he passed by, a loud and shrill voice he heard of a woman, who, among other things delivered in meter, uttered also as it should seem by way of prophesie, the very time of his death: And the Dæmon said, it was the voice of *Sibylla*; for she being carried round in the globe and face of the moon, did foretell and sing what was to come; but being desirous to heare more, he was repelled and driven by the violence of the moon as it were with certaine whirle-puffs, a clean contrary way; so he could heare and understand but few things, and those very short; namely, the accident about the hill * *Vesuvius*, and how *Dicearchia* should be consumed and burnt by casuall fire, as also a clause or peece of a verse, as touching the emperour who then reigned, to this effect:

Or Lesbius.

Agracious prince he is, but yet must die,
And empire leave by force of maladie

After this they passed on forward to see the paines and torments of those who were punished; and there at first they beheld all things most piteous and horrible to see to; for *Thespesius* who doubted nothing lesse, met in the place with many of his friends, kinsfolks, and familiar companions, who were in torment, and suffering dolorous paines, and infamous punishment, they moaned themselves, lamenting, calling and crying unto him; at the last he had a sight of his own father, rising out of a deep pit, full he was of pricks, gashes, and wounds, and stretching forth his hands unto him, was (mauger his heart) forced to break silence, yea, and compelled by those who had the charge and superintendence of the said punishments, to confesse with a loud and audible voice, that he had been a wicked murderer of certaine strangers, and guests whom he had lodged in his house; for perceiving that they had silver and gold about them, he had wrought their death by the meanes of poison: and albeit he had not been detected thereof in his life time, whiles he was upon earth, yet here was he convicted and had sustained already part of his punishment, and expected to endure the rest afterwards. Now *Thespesius* durst not make sute nor intercede for his father, so affrighted he was and astonied; but desirous to withdraw himselfe and be gone, he lost the sight of that courteous and kind guide of his, which all this while had conducted him, and he saw him no more: but he might perceive other horrible and hideous spirits, who enforced and constrained him to passe farther, as if it were necessary that it should traverse still more ground: so he saw those who were notorious malefactors, in the view of every man (or who in this world had been chastised) how their shadow was here tormented with lesse paine, and nothing like to others, as having been feeble and imperfect in the reasonlesse part of the soule, and therefore subject to passions and affections; but such as were disguised and cloaked with an outward apparence and reputation of vertue abroad, and yet had lived covertly and secretly at home in wickednes, certaine that were about

about them, forced some of them to turne the inside outward, and with much pain and griefe to lay themselves upon, to bend and bow, and discover their hypocriticall hearts within, even against their own nature, like unto the sculopenders of the sea, when they have swallowed down an hook, are wont to turne themselves outward: but others they flayed and displaied, discovering plainly and openly, how faultly, perverse and wicked they had been within, as whose principall parts of the reasonable soul, vice had possessed. He said morover, that he saw other souls wounded and interlaced one within another, two, three and more together, like to vipers and other serpents, and those not forgetting their old grudge and malicious rankor one against another, or upon remembrance of losses and wrongs sustained by others, fell to gnawing and devouring each other. Also, that there were three parallel lakes ranged in equall distance one from the other; the one seething and boyling with gold, another of lead exceeding cold, and a third, most rough, consisting of iron: and that there were certain spirits called Dæmons, which had the overlooking and charge of them; and these, like unto mettall-founders, or smiths, with certain instruments either plunged in, or else drew out, souls. As for those who were given to filthy lucre, and by reason of insatiable avarice, committed wicked parts, those they let down into the lake of melted gold, and when they were once set on a light fire, and made transparent by the strength of those flames within the said lake, then plunged they were into the other of lead; where after they were congealed and hardned in manner of haile, they transported them anew into the third lake of iron, where they became exceeding black and horrible, and being crackt and broken, by reason of their drinesse and hardnesse, they changed their forme, and then at last (by his saying) they were thrown againe into the foresaid lake of gold, suffering by the meanes of these changes and mutations, intolerable paines. But those souls (quoth he) who made the greatest moane unto him, and seemed most miserably (of all others) to be tormented, were they, who thinking they were escaped and past their punishment, as who had suffered sufficiently for their deserts at the hands of vengeance, were taken again, and put to fresh torments; and those they were, for whose sinnes their children and others of their posterity suffered punishment: for whensoever one of the souls of these children or nephewes in lineall descent, either met with them, or were brought unto them, the same fell into a fit of anger, crying out upon them, shewing the marks of the torments and paines that it sustained, reproaching and hitting them in the teeth therfore; but the other making haste to fly and hide themselves, yet were not able so to doe: for incontinently the tormentors followed after and pursued them, who brought them back again to their punishment, crying out, and lamenting for nothing so much, as that they did forsee the torment which they were to suffer, as having experience thereof already. Furthermore he said that he saw some, and those in number many, either children or nephewes, hanging together fast, like bees or bats, murmuring and grumbling for anger, when they remembred and called to mind what sorrowes and calamities they sustained for their sake. But the last thing that he saw, were the soules of such as entred into a second life and new nativity, as being turned and transformed forcibly into other creatures of all sorts, by certain workemen appointed therefore, who with tools for the purpose and many a stroake, forged and framed some of their parts new, bent and wrested others, tooke away and abolished a third sort; and all, that they might sort and be suitable to other conditions and lives: among which he espied the soul of *Nero* afflicted already grievously enough otherwise, with many calamities, pierced through every part with spikes and nailes red hot with fire: and when the artisans aforesaid took it in hand to transforme it into the shape of a viper, of which kind (as *Pindarus* saith) the young ones gnaweth through the bowels of the dam to come into the world, and to devoure it, he said that all on a sudden there shone forth a great light, out of which there was heard a voice giving commandement that they should metamorphose and transfigure it into the forme of another kinde of beast, more tame and gentle, forging a water-creature of it, chanting about standing lakes and marishes; for that he had been in some sort punished already for the sins which he had committed, and besides, some good turne is due unto him from the gods, in that of all his subjects, he had exempted from taxe, tallage and tribute, the best nation and most beloved of the gods, to wit, the Greeks. Thus far forth, he said, he was only a spectator of these matters: but when he was upon his returne, he abid all the paines in the world, for very feare that he had; for there was a certaine woman, for visage and stately bignes, admirable, who took hold on him, and said: Come hither, that thou maiest keep in memory all that thou hast seen, the better: wherewith she put forth unto him a little rod or wand all firy, such as painters or enamellers use, but there was another that staied her; and then he might perceive himselfe to be blown by a strong and violent wind with a trunk or pipe, so that in the turning of an hand he was within his owne body againe, and so began to look up with his eyes in manner, out of his grave and sepulcher.

That brute beasts have use of Reason.

A discourse in manner of a Dialogue, named *Gryllus*.

The Summary.

THey who have given out that man is a living creature endued with reason, have in few words expressed that which every one of us ought principally to consider in him: But for want of declaring what this word Reason doth import, themselves for the most part have not well understood this definition, but as much as in them is, reduced the condition of men to a worse estate, then that of brute beasts: For albeit mans body moved and governed by his immortal soul, hath many excellent advantages above beasts; yet if reason the guide of the soul, have no other help then of her self: Certes, it may be well and truely said: that man is the most miserable creature in the world: and herein it is, that Philosophers destitute of the light of Gods Word, are become and so remain far short, as being ignorant of Adams *fall, original sin, and the hereditary source and spring of so many defects and imperfections which proceed from the understanding and the will, so much depraved and corrupt in us by sin, that when we are to range and reduce reason, to her true devoir and duty indeed; namely, to know and serve God, according as he commandeth, she is stark blind, yea and a very enemy her self to that good grace which is offered unto her. By reason therefore, which maketh the difference between us and brute beasts, we are to understand the true knowledge of God, for to serve and glorifie him according to the tenour of his word all the dayes of our life: this is called true religion, of which if man be destitute, according to the sentence of our Saviour: It booteth not him to have gained the whole world, if he lese his own soul: as also, That it were better for a scandalous man, and him by whom offence cometh, never to have been born, or at leastwise soon exterminate and rooted out: Likewise, that whosoever is proud of himself, and forgetteth his God, is no more a man, but resembleth brute beasts, whose soul perisheth together with the body. But to enter no farther into this Theological discourse, we see in this present Dialogue somewhat thereof, and that the intention of* Plutarch *was to shew, that the intelligence and cogitation of God, is the only true privilege prerogative and advantage which men have above beasts: howbeit, lest he hath this work imperfect, even in that very point, which of all other is hardest, and impossible to be proved by him or his like: for what sound understanding, apprehension, or conceit could they have of God, who knew not at all the true God? So then, it may be said, that this parcel or remnant of the disputation, containeth a forme of processe against all Pagans and Atheists, to prove that brute beasts excel them, and be in more happy estate then they. As touching the discourse it self, to the end that it might not be odious, in case he had handled it as his own invention, he helpeth himself with the fabulous tale of* Circe, *who transformed into beasts the companions of* Ulysses: *By which allegory, the Philosophers and Poets imply and teach thus much, that worldly pleasure doth make all persons brutish, save only the wise, who use and enjoy goods, honours, and delights, with a stayed mind and spirit settled, and which never misseth, nor cometh short or wide of the mark that it shooteth at: He bringeth in therefore* Ulysses, *conferring by the leave and permission of* Circe, *with a Greek named* Grullus, *transmuted and turned into a swine: and the chiefe point of their disputation is this: Whether the life of man is better to be esteemed then that of beasts? Grullus for to uphold and maintain his cause, treateth of four points principally: First, of the vertue in general; secondly, of the valour and fortitude: in the third place of the temperance; and last of all, the wisedome of beasts: proving against* Ulysses, *and that by divers arguments set out and marked in order, that beasts have the start and vantage of men in all these points; and leaving the Reader to make the conclusion; he sheweth sufficiently, that if men have no other approach to rest upon, then a natural habitude of an earthly vertue, and can assure the repose of their consciences upon nothing but upon humane valliance, temperance, and wisedom, they do but go in the company of beasts, or rather come behind them. Thus you see why our Author maketh* Ulysses *to enter into a discourse as touching the knowledge of God: but whether it were that his other affairs and occupations, or the iniquity of time hath deprived us of the rest, this Treatise or Dialogue hath been cut off in that very place, where it deserved and required to be more throughly and lively prosecuted: And this which remaineth and is come unto our hands, may serve all men in good stead for their instruction and learning, not to glory and vaunt themselves but in the mercy of him, who calleth them to a better life, wherein brute beasts (created only for our use, and for the present life, with which they perish for ever) have no part nor portion at all.*

That brute beasts have use of Reason.

The Personages that discourse in this Dialogue,

Ulysses, Circe, Grullus.

Ulysses.

ME thinks dame *Circe* that I have sufficiently conceived, and firmly imprinted these matters in my memory. Now would I gladly ask the question, and know of you, whether among those men which be transformed into Wolves and Lyons, you have any Greeks or no? *Circe.*

Circe.

Yes marry have I, and those very many, dear heart *Ulysses*; but wherefore demand you this question?

Ulysses.

Because I am perswaded, it will be greatly for mine honour among the Greeks, if by your gracious favour I may obtain thus much, as at your hands to receive them men again, and save them, strangers though they be, as well as my companions; nor so neglect their state, as to suffer them against nature to age, and wax old in the bodies of wild beasts, leading a life so miserable, ignominious, and infamous.

Circe.

See the simplicity of this man; he would through his folly, that his ambitious mind should procure dammage and calamity, not to himself one ly and his friends, but also to those who are meere aliens, and nothing belonging unto him?

Ulysses.

I perceive very well (*Q. Circe*) that you are about the tempering and brewing of another cup and portion of words, to bewitch me: for certainly you should make a very beast of me indeed, if I would suffer my self to be perswaded, that it were a detriment or loss to become a man again of a brute beast.

Circe.

Why? have you not already done worse for your self then so, and committed greater absurdities? considering that letting go a life immortal, and not subject to old age, which you might enjoy if you you would make your abode and dwell with me; you would needs go in all the haste to a woman mortal, and (as I dare well say) very aged by this time, and that through ten thousand dangers, which yet you must endure, promising your selfe, that you shall thereby be better regarded, more honoured and renowned from henceforth, then now you are; and in the mean while you consider not that you seek after a vain felicity, and the image or shadow only for the thing indeed.

Ulysses.

Well *Circe*, I am content that it be so as you say; for why should we so often contest and debate thus about the same still? But I pray you of all loves, unbind and let loose these poor men for my sake, and give them me.

Circe.

Nay, that I will not, I swear by *Hecate*: You shall not come so easily by them; for I tell you they be no mean persons, and of the common sort: But you were best to ask them first if they themselves be willing thereto or no? And if they answer nay? then, like a noble valiant gentleman as you are, deal with them effectually, and induce them thereto: But in case you cannot with all your reasons bring them to it, and that they be able to convince you by force of argument, let it suffice you that you have advised your selfe and your friends but badly.

Ulysses.

Is it so indeed good Lady? and are you about to mock and make a fool of me? For how can they either yield or receive reason in conference, so long as they be Asses, Swine, and Lyons, as they are.

Circe.

Goe to sir, most ambitious man that you are, let that never trouble you; for I will uphold them sufficient both to hear and understand whatsoever you shall alledge unto them, yea, and able to reason and discourse with you: Or rather, I passe not much if one of them for all his fellows shall both demand and answer: Lo here is one, deal with him as it pleaseth you.

Ulysses.

And by what name shall we call him, *Circe*? or who might he be, when he was a man?

Circe.

What matters that? and what maketh it to the disputation and question in hand? Howbeit, name him if you think good, *Grullus*: And to the end that you should not think, that for to gratifie or do me a pleasure, he may seem to reason crosse and against your mind, I will for the time retire my selfe out of the place.

Grullus.

God save you *Ulysses*.

Ulysses.

And you also gentle *Grullus*.

Grullus.

What is your will with me, and what would you demand of me?

Ulysses.

I wot well that you and the rest were sometimes men, and therefore I have great ruth and pity to see you all in this estate, but as good reason is, it grieveth me most for the Greeks, that they are fallen into this calamity: But so it is, that even now I requested *Circe*, to loose as many of you as be willing thereto, and after she hath restored them to their ancient shape, to give them leave to go with me.

Grullus.

Peace *Ulysses*, and say not a word more I beseech you; for we all have you in contempt now, seeing

seeing that you have been taken and named all this whiles for a singular man, and seemed far to surpasse all others in wisedom, whereas there is litle or no cause thereof: in that you have been afraid even of this, to change from the worse to the better; and never considered, that as Children abhor the medicines and drugs that Physicians ordain, and refuse to learn those Sciences and Disciplines, which of sickly, diseased and foolish, might make them more healthy, sound and wise; even so you have rejected and cast behind you this opportunity to be transformed and changed from one to another; and even still you tremble and dare not venture to keep company and lie with *Circe*, for dread and fear, lest ere you be aware, she should make of you either a Swine, or a Wolfe; and you would perswade us, that whereas we live now in abundance, and enjoy the affluence of all good things, we should quit the same, and withal, abandon, and forsake her who hath procured us this happinesse, and all to goe away with you, when we are become men again; that is to say, the most wretched creatures in the world.

Ulysses.

It seemeth *Gryllus* that the potion which you drank at *Circes* hands, hath not only marred the form and fashion of your body, but also spoiled your wit and understanding: having intoxicate your brain, and filled your head with corrupt, strange, and monstrous opinions for ever, or else some pleasure that you have taken by acquaintance of this body so long, hath clean bewitched you.

Gryllus.

Nay I wis, good Sir, it is neither so nor so, if it please you O King of the Cephallenians; but if you be disposed to argue with reason, rather then to wrangle with opprobrious tearms, we will soone bring you to another opinion, and prove by sound arguments, upon the experience which we have of the one life and the other, that there is great reason why we should love and embrace this present state above the former.

Ulysses.

For mine own part I am ready to give you the hearing.

Gryllus.

And I as willing likewise to deliver my mind: But first and formost, begin I will to speak of vertues, upon which I see you stand so much, and in regard whereof, you wondrously please your selves, as who would be thought in justice, in wisedom, in magnanimity and other vertues, to excell and far surpasse all brute beasts: Answer me therefore I beseech you, the wisest man of all other, to this point: For I have heard say, that upon a time you made relation unto *Circe* of the Cyclopes countrey, how the soile there is naturally so good and fertile, that without plowing, sowing, or planting at all, it bringeth forth of it selfe all sorts of fruit: Tell me I say, whether you esteem better of it (so fruitful as it is) or of *Ithaca* a rough and mountain region, good onely for to breed Goats in, and which hardly and with great labour yeeldeth unto those that till it, small store (God wot) of poor and lean fruits, which will not quit for the cost and pains? But take heed it grieve you not to answer contrary to your mind, for the love that you bear unto your native countrey.

Ulysses.

I love verily (for I must not lye) yea, and I embrace and hold most dear, mine own country and place of nativity: howbeit, I praise and admire that other region of theirs.

Gryllus.

Why then belike, the case stands thus, and this we are to say, that the wisest man is of opinion, that there be some things which are to praise and commend, and other things to chuse and love: and verily, I think that your judgement is the same of the soul: for the like reason there is of it and a land or plot of ground, namely, that the soul is better, which without any travel or labour, bringeth forth vertue, as a fruit springing and growing of it selfe.

Ulysses.

Well: be it so as you say.

Gryllus.

You grant then and confesse already, That the soul of brute beasts is by nature more kind, more perfect and better disposed to yeeld vertue, considering that without compulsion, without commandment, or any teaching, which is as much to say, as without tillage and sowing it bringeth forth and nourisheth that vertue which is meet and convenient for every one.

Ulysses.

And what vertue is that (my good friend *Gryllus*) whereof beasts be capable?

Gryllus.

Nay, what vertue are they not capable of? yea, and more then the wisest man that is. But first, consider we (if you please) valour and fortitude, whereupon you bear your selfe and vaunt so highly, neither are you abashed and hide your selfe for fear, but are very well pleased when as men surname you Hardy, Bold, and a Winner of Cities; whereas you have (most wicked wretch that you are) circumvented and deceived men, who know no other way of making war, but that which is plain & generous, and who were altogether unskilful of fraud, guile and leasing, by your wily shifts and subtile pranks, attributing the name of vertue unto cunning casts, the which indeed knoweth not what deceit and fraud meaneth. But you see the combats of beasts as well against men as when they fight one against another, how they are performed without any craftiness, or sleight, only by plain hardinesse and cleane strength, and as it were upon a native magnanimity, they defend themselves, and

and be revenged of their enemies: and neither by enforcement of Laws, nor for fear to be judicially reproved and punished for cowardize, but only through instinct of nature avoiding the shame and disgrace to be conquered, they endure and hold out fight to the very extremity, and all to keep themselves invincible: for, say they be in body the weaker, yet they yeeld not for all that, nor are faint-hearted and give over, but chuse to die in fight: and many of them there be, whose courage and generosity, even when they are ready to die, being retired into some one corner of their body, and there gathering it selfe, resisteth the killer, it leapeth and fretteth still, until such time as, like a flame of fire, it be quenched and put out once for all: they cannot skill of praying and intreating their enemy, they crave no pardon and mercy; and it were strange in any of them, to confesse that they are overcome; neither was it ever seen that a Lyon became a slave unto a Lyon, or one horse unto another in regard of fortitude, like as one man to another, contenting himselfe and willingly embracing servitude as next cousin and a firname appropriate unto cowardize. And as for those beasts which men have surprized and caught by snares, traps, subtile sleights and devices of engins, such it they become to their growth and perfect age, reject all food, refuse nourishment, yea, and endure thirst, to such extremity, that they chuse to die and seek to procure their own death, rather then to live in servitude; but to their young ones and whelps, which for their rendrage be tractable, pliable, and easie to be led which way one will, they offer so many deceitful baits to entice and allure them with their sweetnesse, that they have no sooner tasted thereof, but they become enchanted and bewitched therewith: for these pleasures, and this delicate life, contrary to their nature, in tract of time causeth them to be soft and weak, receiving that degeneration (as it were) and effeminate habit of their courage, which folk call tamenesse, and indeed but basenesse and defect of their natural generosity: whereby it appeareth, that beasts by nature are bred and passing well disposed to be audacious and hardy: whereas contrariwise, it is not kindly for men to be so much as bold of speech and resolute in speaking their minds. And thus you may (good *Ulysses*) learn and know especially by this one argument: for in all brute beasts, nature swayeth indifferently and equally of their side, as touching courage and boldnesse, neither is the female in that point inferiour to the male, whether it be in susteining pain and travel for getting of their living, or in fight for defence of their little ones. And I am sure you heard of a certain Cromyonian swine, what foul work she made, being a beast of the female Sex, for *Theseus*, and how she troubled him; as also of that monstrous Sphinx, which kept upon the rock *Phicion*, and held in awe all that tract underneath and about it: for surely all her craft and subtilety in devising riddles, and proposing dark questions, had booted her nothing, in case she had not been withal, of greater force and courage then all the Cadmeians. In the very same quarter was (by report) the Fox of *Telmesus*, a wily and crafty beast. And it is given out, that neer unto the said place, was also the fell dragon which fought in single fight hand to hand with *Apollo*, for the Seignory of the Oracle at *Delphi*. And even your great King *Agamemnon*, took that brave Mare *Æthe*, as a gift, of an inhabitant of *Sycion*, for his dispensation and immunity, that he might not be prest to the wars: wherein he did well and wisely in mine opinion, to prefer a good and couragious beast, before a coward and dastardly man: and you your own self (*Ulysses*) have seen many times Lyonnesses, and she Leopards, how they give no place at all to their males in courage and hardinesse, as your Lady *Penelope* doth, who gives you leave to be abroad in warfare, whiles she sits at home close to the herth, and by the fire side, and dares not do so much as the very swallows, in repelling those back who come to destroy her and her house, for all she is a Laconian woman born: What should I tell you of the Carian women? for by this that hath been said already, it is plain and evident, that men naturally are not endued with prowesse, for if they were, then should women likewise have their part with them in vertue and valour: And thereupon I infer and conclude that you and such as you are, exercise a kind of valiance (I must needs say) which is not voluntary nor natural, but constrained by force of Laws, subject and servile to (I wot not what) customes and reprehensions; and you meditate, I say, and practice for vain-glorious opinion, fortitude, gayly set out with trim words; you sustain travels and perils, not for that you set light by them, nor for any hardinesse and confidence in your selves, but because you are afraid lest others should goe before you, and be esteemed greater then you. And like as here among your Mates at Sea, hee that first riseth to his businesse of rowing, layeth hand and seizeth upon the lightest Oare that hee can meet with, doth it not, for that he despiseth it, but because he avoideth and is afraid to handle one that is heavier: and he that endureth the knock of a baston or cudgel, because he would not receive any wound by the sword: as also, he that resisteth an enemy, for to avoid some ignominous infamy of death, is not to be said valiant in respect of the one, but coward in regard of the other: even so the valour in you, is nothing else but a wise and wary cowardise, and your prowesse and boldnesse, is no better then timerousnesse, accompanied with skill and knowledge how to decline one danger by another. To be briefe, if you think your selves to be more hardy and valiant then beasts, how cometh it, that your Poets tearm those who fight manfully against their enemies, λυκήφρονας, that is, Wolves for courage: θυμολέοντας, that is, Lyon-hearted: and σὺν ἰσάλκι ἀλκὶ, that is, resembling the wild Boar in animosity and force: but never doth any of them call a Lyon, ἀνδρογάθυμον, that is as valiant as a man: or a wild Boar, ἀνδρεικέλιον ἀλκὶ, that is, comparable to a man in courage and strength. Yet I wot well, when they would speak excessively in comparison, their manner is, to call men that are swift in running, ποδώκεις, that is, light footed like the wind; and those who be fair and beautiful, θεοειδέας, that is, angelical, or to see to, like unto angels:

and

and even so, they compare and resemble brave warriours in the highest degree, unto beasts, who in case are much more excellent then men: the reason is this, for that choler and heat of courage is (as it were) the steel, the file, yea, the very whetstone that giveth the edg unto fortitude; and this do brute beasts bring with them pure and simple unto fight; whereas in you, it being alway mingled and tempered with some discourse of reason, as if wine were delayed with a little water, it is gone and to seek in the greatest dangers, and faileth at the very point of opportunity, when it is most to be used. And some of you are of opinion, and stick not to say, that in battel and fight there is no need at all of anger, but that layeth aside all choler, we are to employ sober and stayed reason; wherein they speak not amisse, and I hold well with them, when the question is of defence only, and the securing of a mans own life: but surely, if the case be so, that we are to offend, to annoy and defeat our enemy, they talk most shamefully. Is it not a very absurd thing, that ye should reprove and blame nature, for that she hath not set unto your bodies any stings or pricks, nor given you tusks and teeth to revenge your selves with, nor yet armed you with hooked claws and tallons to offend your enemies; and in the mean while your own selves take, spoile, and bereave the soule of that natural weapon which is inbred with it, or at least wise cut the same short and dissable it?

Ulysses.

What *Gryllus*! you seem (as far as I guess) to have been heretofore some witty and great Orator; who now grunting out of your stie or frank, have so pithily argued the case, and discoursed of the matter in hand: but why have you not in the same train disputed likewise of temperance?

Gryllus.

Because, forsooth, I thought that you would first have refuted that which hath already been spoken; but I see well you desire to hear me speak of temperance, because you are the husband of a most chaste wife, and you think besides, that your selfe have shewed good proofe of your owne continency, in that you have rejected the love and wanton company of *Circe*; but even herein you are not more perfect, I mean in continence, then any one beast, for even they also lust not at all to company or engender with those that are of more excellent kinde then their owne, but take their pleasure with those, and make love to such as be of the same sort, and therefore no marvel, that as the Mendesian buck-goat in *Egypt*, when he was shut up with many fair and beautiful women, never for all that made to any of them, but abhorred to meddle with them; whereas he was raging wood in heat of lust after the Does or female Goats; So you, taking delight in your ordinary love, have no desire at all, being a man, to sleep or deal carnally with an immortal goddesse: And as for the chastity and continence of your own Lady *Penelope*, I tell you there be ten thousand Crowes in the world, that after their manner, caing and crooking as they do, will make a meere mock of it, and shew that it is no such matter to be accounted of; for there is not one of them, but if the male or cock chance to die, remaineth a widow without seeking after a mate, not for a little while, but even for the space of nine ages and lives of a man; so that in this respect, your fair *Penelope* cometh behind the poorest Crow or Raven that is, and deserveth not the ninth part of her honor for chastity: But seeing you are aware that I am so eloquent an Orator, I care not much if I observe a methodical order in this discourse of mine, and like a Clerk indeed, begin first with the definition of temperance, and then proceed to the division of appetites and lusts, according to their several distinct kinds right formally. Temperance therefore is a certain restraint, abridgement, or regularity of lusts, and desires, a restraint I say, and abating of such as are forraign, strange, and superfluous, to wit, unnecessary, and a regularity which by election and choise of time and temperature of a meane, doth moderate those that be natural and necessary; for you see that in lusts and desires, there be infinite differences: As for example, the appetite to drink, besides that it is natural, is also necessary; But the lust of the flesh, or concupiscence, although nature hath given the beginning thereof; yet so it is, that we may live commodiously without it: so as well it may be called natural, but in no wise necessary. Now there is another sort of desires, that be neither natural nor necessary, but accidental, and infused from without by a vain opinion, and upon ignorance of that which is; good, and there be such a number of them, that they go very neer to chase away and thrust out all your natural appetites, much like as when the aliens and strangers that swarm in a City, drive out and expel the natural inhabitants: whereas brute beasts give no entrance nor any communication and fellowship to forraign affections for to settle in their souls, but in their whole life, and all their actions be far remote from vain-glory, self-conceit, and fond opinions, as if they abode within the mediterranean parts, distant from the sea: True it is that in their port and carriage, they be not so elegant, so fine and curious as men: howbeit otherwise, for temperance and good government of their affections, which be not many in number, either domestical, or strange and forraign, they are more precise and wonderful exact in the observing of them then they: for the proof & truth hereof, the time was once, when I my self no less doated and was besotted upon gold then you are now, thinking verily that there was no good nor possession in the world comparable to it; I was in love also of silver and ivory, and he that had most store hereof, me thoughts was a right happy man, and most highly in grace and favour with the gods, whether he were Phrygian or Carian it skilled not, more base minded then *Dolon*, or infortunate otherwise then *Priamus*; insomuch as being linked fast and tied to these desires, I reaped and received no pleasure nor any contentment at all from all other blessings: for notwithstanding I was sufficiently furnished with them, yet I took my self lest needy and destitute of those which I accounted the greatest; and therefore I well remember, when

when I saw you upon a time stately arrayed, with a rich robe in *Candie*, I wished not to have your wisdome and vertue, but your beautiful cassock so daintily and finely wrought, your mantel I say of purple, so delicate and soft, the beauty whereof I beheld with such admiration, that I was even ravished and transported with the sight thereof, as for the button or clasp, all of pure gold, belonging thereto, it had in it a singularity by it selfe, and an excellent workman he was no doubt, who took delight in the turning and graving thereof; and verily for mine own part, I followed after you for to see it, as if I had been enchanted or bewitched: as women that be amorous of their Lovers: But now being delivered from these vain and foolish opinions, and having my brain purged from such fantastical conceits, I passe over gold and silver, and make no more account of them, then I doe of other ordinary stones; your goodly habiliments, your fine embroidered garments of needle work and rapistry, I set so light by, that I make more reckoning I assure you, of a good deep puddle of soft mire and dirt to walter and wallow in at mine ease, and for to sleep when my belly is full, then of them: neither is there any of these appetites comming from without, that hath place in our soul, but our life for the most part we passe in desires and pleasures necessary; and even those which are meer natural only, and not altogether so necessary, we use them neither disorderly, nor yet unmeasurably: And of them let us first discourse: As for that familiar pleasure which proceedeth from sweet odours, and such things, as by their sent doe affect the smelling, over and besides the simple delight that it yeeldeth, which costeth naught, it bringeth therewith a certaine profit and commodity, for to discern nourishment, and make choice of food; for the tongue is named, as it is indeed, the judge of sweet, of sharp, eager and sowre sapours, namely, when as the juyces of those things which are tasted, come to be mingled and conc:orporate with the discretive faculty, and not before: But our sense of smelling, before we once taste those juyces or sapours, judgeth of the force and quality of every thing, yea, and senteth them much more exquisitely then all the tasters that give essay before Kings and Princes: As for that which is familiar and agreeable unto us, it receiveth inwardly, but whatsoever is strange and offensive, it rejecteth and sendeth forth, neither will it suffer the same once to touch us, or to offend our taste; but it bewraeth, accuseth, and condemneth the evil and noisome quality thereof, before it doth us any harm, and otherwise it troubleth us not at all, as it doth you, whom it forceth to mix and compound together for perfumes, cinnamon, nard, spike, lavender, and camomill, malabathum, and the aromatical calamus, or cane of *Arabia*, medling and incorporating one within another, by the exquisite skill and cunning of the Apothecary and Perfumer, forcing drugs and spices of divers natures to be blended and confected together, and buying for great summes of money one pleasure, which is not beseeming men, but rather fit for fine wenches and dainty damosels, and nothing at all profitable: And yet being thus corrupt as it is, it marreth not only all women, but also the most part of you that are men, insomuch as you will not otherwhiles lie with your own espoused wives, unlesse they be perfumed and besmeared all over with sweet oyls and ointments, or else bestrewed with odoriferous powders, when they come to company with you: Whereas contrariwise among us, the Sow alloureth the Boar, the Doe or she Goat draweth unto her the Buck, and other Females the Males of their kind, by their own sent and smell, casting from them the pure and neat savour of the meddows, and the verdure of the fields, and so comming together as in marriage for generation, with a kind of mutual love and reciprocal pleasure; neither do the Females hold off and make it dainty, disguising and covering (as it were) their own lust as harlots do, with looking strange and coy at the matter, pretending colourable excuses, or making semblance of refusal, and all to enchant, entise, and draw on the rather; nor the Males when they come unto them, being pricked with the furious instinct of lust to generation, do buy either for money, or for great pain and travel, or for long subjection and servitude, the act of generation; but they perform the same unfeignedly, and without deceit in due time and season, without any cost, when as nature in the spring stirreth up and provoketh the generative concupiscence of all living Creatures; even as it putteth forth the buds and sprouts of plants, and anon delayeth as it were and quencheth the same: for neither the female after she is once sped and hath conceived, seeketh after the male, nor the male wooeth her any more, nor followeth after her: of so little regard and smal price is this pleasure among us; but nature is all in all, and nothing do we against it: Hereof also it is, that there hath not been known unto this day, any lust so far to transport brute beasts, as that males should joyn in this act with males, or females with females; whereas among you, there be many such examples, even of such as otherwise were accounted great and worthy personages, for I let those passe who were of no worth or note to speak of: Even *Agamemnon* went through all *Bœotia*, chasing and hunting after * *Argymnus*, who fled secretly from him; mean while he pretended colourable, yet false excuses of his abode there, to wit, the sea, and the winds, and afterwards this fair and goodly Knight, bathed himselfe gently in the pool of *Copais*, as it were there to quench the heat of his love, and to deliver himselfe from this furious lust. Semblably *Hercules* pursuing after a young beardlesse Ganymde whom he loved, was left behind the other Gallants and brave Knights that enterprised the voyage for the golden fleece, and so not embarking with them, betrayed the Fleet. Likewise upon a scutchion of the lower or vaulted roofe of *Apollos* Temple, surnamed *Ptoius*, there was one of you, who secretly wrote this Inscription; *Achilles* the fair; even after that *Achilles* himselfe had begotten a son; and I hear say, that these letters remain there to be seen even at this day: Now if it chance that a dunghil Cock tread another Cock, when there is no Hen at hand; hee is

Or Argeus.

burnt

burnt quick, for that some Wizzard, Soothsayer, or Interpreter of such strange prodigies, will pronounce that it is ominous, and presageth some evil luck: Thus you see, how men themselves are forced to confesse, that beasts are more continent then they, and that to satisfie and fulfil their lusts, they never violate nor abuse nature; whereas in you it is otherwise: for nature (albeit shee have the help and aid of the law) is not able to keep your intemperance within the limits and bounds of reason; but like unto a violent stream which runneth forcibly, oftentimes, and in many places it worketh outrage, causing great disorder, scandal and confusion against nature, in this point of carnal love and fleshly lust: for there have been men who attempted to meddle and deale with shee Goats, with Sows and Mares: as also women who have been as wood, and raging mad after certain beasts of the male kind: and verily, of such copulations as these, are come your Minotaures and Ægipanes; yea, and as I verily think, those Sphinxes and Centaures in time past, have been bred by the same means. True it is (I confesse) that otherwhiles, upon necessity and extream famine, a dog hath been known to have devoured a man or a woman, yea, and some fowle hath tasted of their flesh, and begun to eat it; but there was never found yet any brute beast to have lusted after man or woman, to engender with them; whereas men both in this lust and in many other pleasures; have oftentimes perpetrated outrage upon beasts. Now if they be so unbridled, so disordinate and incontinent in these appetites, much more dissolute they are known to be then beasts in other desires and lusts that be necessary, to wit, in meats and drinks, whereof we never take pleasure, but it is with some profit, but you that seek after the tickling pleasure and delight in drinking and eating, rather then the needful nourishment to content and satisfie nature, are afterwards well punished for it by many grievous and long maladies, which proceed all from one source, to wit, surfeit and repletion, namely, when you stuff and fill your bodies with all sorts of flatulent humours and vensosities, which hardly are purged and excluded forth: for first and formost, each sort of beasts hath a several food and peculiar kind of nourishment; some feed upon grasse, others upon roots, and some there be again which live by fruits: as for those that devour flesh, they never touch any other kind of pasture, neither come they to take from the weaker and more feeble kind, their proper nourture, but suffer them to graze and feed quietly. Thus we see that the Lyon permitteth the Stag and Hind to graze; and the Wolfe likewise the Sheep, according to natures ordinance and appointment: but man (being through hisdisordinate appetite of pleasures, and by his gluttony, provoked to all things, tasting and assaying whatsoever he can meet with or hear of, as knowing indeed no proper and natural food of his own) is of all creatures living, he alone that eateth and devoureth all things; for first, he feedeth upon flesh, without any need or necessity enforcing him thereto, considering that he may always gather, presse, cut and reap from plants, vines and seeds, all sort of fruits, one after another in due and convenient seasons, until he be weary again, for the great quantity thereof; and yet for to content his delicate tooth, and upon a loathsome fulnesse of necessary sustenance, he seeketh after other victuals, neither needful nor meet for him, nor yet pure and clean, in killing living creatures, much more cruelly then those savage beasts that live of ravin: for blood and carnage of murdered carcasses is the proper and familiar food for a Kite, a Wolfe, or a Dragon; but unto man it serveth in stead of his dainty dish: and more then so, man in the use of all sorts of beasts, doth not like other creatures that live of prey, which abstain from the most part, and waste with some small number, even for very necessity of food; for there is neither fowle flying in the air, nor (in manner) any fish swimming in the sea, nor (to speak in one word) any beast feeding upon the face of the earth, that can escape those tables of yours, which you call gentle, kind and hospital. But you will say, that all this standeth in stead of sauce to season your food; be it so: why then doe you kill the same for that purpose, and for to furnish those your mild and courteous tables?

* But the wisdom of beasts, far different; for it giveth place to no art whatsoever, that is vaine and needlesse; and as for those that be necessary, it entertaineth them not as coming from others, nor as taught by mercenary masters for hire and money; neither is it required, that it should have any exercise to glue (as it were, and join after slender manner) each rule, principle and proposition, one to another; but all at once of it selfe, it yeeldeth them as native and inbred therewith. Wee hear say, that all the Egyptians be Physicians; but surely every beast hath in it selfe not only the art and skill to cure and heale it selfe when it is sick, but also is sufficiently instructed how to feed and nourish it selfe, how to use her own strength, how to fight, how to hunt, how to stand at defence, yea, and in very musick they are skilful, each one in that measure as is requisite and befitting the own nature: for of whom have we learned, finding our selves ill at ease, to go into the rivers for to seek for Crabs and Crawfishes? who hath taught the Tortoises, when they have eaten a Viper, to seek out the herb *Organ* for to feed upon? who hath shewed unto the Goats of *Candie*, when they bee shot into the body with arrows, to find out the herb *Dictamnus*, for to feed on it, and thereby to cause the arrow head to come forth and fall from them? For if you say (as the truth is) that nature is the school-Mistresse, teaching them all this, you refer and reduce the wisedom and intelligence of dumb beasts unto the sagest and most perfect cause or principle that is: which if you think you may not call reason, nor prudence, ye ought then to seek out some other name for it, that is better and more honourable: and to say a truth, by effects shee sheweth her puissance to be greater and more admirable, as being neither ignorant nor ill taught, but having learned rather of it selfe, not by imbecillity and feebleneese of nature, but contrariwise, through the force and perfection of natural vertue, letting go, and nothing at all esteeming that beggerly prudence which is gotten from other

gotten from other by way of apprentisage. Nevertheless, all those things which men either for delicacy or in mirth and pastime, do present unto them for to learne and to exercise their conceit and wit withall, howsoever they be against the naturall inclination of the bodies: yet such is their capacity and the excellency of their spirit, that they will reach thereto and compass the same, throughly. I say nothing how whelps follow and trace beasts by the foot, or how colts practise to set their feet forward in their pace by measures: but how crowes and ravens will talke and prattle, how dogs will leap and dance upon wheeles as they turne round about: also horses and oxen we see in the theaters, how they being taught to couch and to ly down, to dance, to stand upright on their hinder feet, so wonderfully, that men themselves have enough to doe to performe the like dangerous gestures, and yet this they doe after they have once learned it from others, yea, and remember the feat thereof, only for a proof, if there were nothing else, that docible they be and apt to learne whatsoever a man would have them, since that all this serveth for nothing else in the whole world. Now if you be hard of beliefe, and will not be perswaded that we learne the arts, I will say more than so; namely, that we can teach the same: for the old rowen partridges teach their young ones how to run away from before the fowler, and to escape by lying upon their backs, and holding up with their fore feet a clod of earth to hide themselves under it; and see we not dayly upon the tops of our houses, how the old storks standing by their little ones, traine and teach them how to fly; semblably the nightingals instruct their young birds in song, insomuch as those which be taken unfledge out of the nest, and are nourished by mans hand, never afterwards sing so well, because they be had away before their time from schoole, and want their master of musick. For mine own part, after that I was entered into this body I marvelled much at those reasons and discourses of sophisters, who maintained and perswaded me before time, that all living creatures besides man were without reason and understanding.

Ulysses.

You are indeed *Gryllus* much changed, and you can shew unto us by sound demonstrations, that a sheep is reasonable, and an asse hath wit, can you not?

Gryllus.

Yes iwis, good *Ulysses*, for even by these very arguments, a man may principally collect and gather, that the nature of the beasts is not altogether void of the use of reason and intelligence: Like as therefore among trees, there is not one more (less destitute of soul, or I mean that which is sensitive) than another, but they be all indifferently and equally void thereof, and not one of them is one jot endued therewith; even so in sensible beasts, there would not be one found more slow and unapt to learne things of wit and understanding than another, if they were not all partakers of reason and intelligence, although some have the same in more or less measure than others; and say there be some very blockish and exceeding dull of conceit, consider withall, how the wily sleights & crafty conceits of others may be put in balance against the same, namely, when you shall compare the fox, and woolfe, or the bees with the sheep and the asse: it is all one as if you should set *Polyphemus* to your selfe; or that *Homer* of *Corinth* to your grandfather *Antolycus*; And yet I think verily, that there is not so great difference and distance between beast and beast, as there be ods in the matter of wisdome, discourse of reason, and use of memory between man and man.

Ulysses

But take heed of one thing *Gryllus*, that it be not a strange and absurd position, sounding of no probability at all, to attribute any use of reason unto those who have no sence or knowledge at all of God.

Gryllus.

What *Ulysses*, shall we not say that you being excellent as you are, were descended from the race of *Sisyphus*, &c?

Whether it be lawfull to eat flesh or no.

The former Oration or Treatise.

The Summary.

Eloquence was highly esteemed in times past among Greeks and Romans, and therefore their children were trained and framed betimes in the schooles to discourse well, in good tearmes, and proper phrases, yea, and with pregnant and sound reasons of divers matters; to the end that when they were come to more years, they might make proof of their sufficiency in courts and publike assemblies of Cities, in private consultations and familiar conferences, as it appeareth very plainly by the histories of all ages. Now after that young children had learned of their schoole-masters the rules and precepts nameed Progymnasmata, *or the first exercises, they were brought into the auditory of some great professor in Rhetorick; where there were proposed unto them certaine themes, gathered out of poets, historians, or*

philoſophers, upon which they exerciſed their ſtile to write pro and contra, in the defence or confutation of this or that opinion, according to the meaſure of their ſpirit and capacitie, more or leſs: Thoſe who were more forward, and further proceeded than the reſt, conn'd by heart that which they had penn'd, and pronounced the ſame afterward in the preſence of thoſe that came to hear them: Some of them who were grown to a great meaſure of knowledge, and as it were in the higheſt forme of ſuch exerciſes, were wont to ſtand forth and anſwer all queſtions propounded, diſputing and diſcourſing in praiſe or diſpraiſe of one and the ſame thing, as Gorgias, Carneades, and an infinite number of others, are able to make good and verifie. This manner of exerciſe, named declamations, was practiſed in Plutarch's time, as may be collected out of divers places of his works: and as theſe two treatiſes immediatly following, do ſufficiently declare, the which are maimed and imperfect at the very beginning, in the midſt toward the end eſpecially the ſecond: for it may be eaſily ſeen that they are fragments of certaine declamations which he wrot for his own exerciſe when he was a young man. Now albeit they be ſo corrupt and defective in manner all thorowout, yet the remnant which is left unto us, doth ſufficiently diſcover the honeſt occupation and imployment of learned men in thoſe dayes, and the carefull induſtrie that they had to examine and diſcuſs all things thorowly, to the end that by a diligent conference thereof, the truth might the better appear and be known. And if otherwhiles they mainteined certain paradoxes and ſtrange opinions, it was not upon any croſſe and litigious ſpirit to defend obſtinatly all that came into their fantaſticall brain, but for to augment and increaſe in themſelves an earneſt deſire to apprehend and underſtand things better. And howſoever our author ſeemeth to be of mind for to defend the opinion of Pythagoras, as touching the tranſmigration of ſouls, and the prohibition to eat fleſh; yet by other treatiſes written with more deliberate, mature and ſtaid judgement, he giveth us to underſtand, that he is of a contrary opinion; but his principall ſcope that he ſhooteth at ſeemeth to be a cutting off and abridging of the great exceſſe and ſuperfluitie in purveying, buying, and ſpending of wiands, which in his time began to grow out of all meaſure; a diſorder and enormitie which afterwards increaſed much more. For to gain and compaſs this point, he would ſeem to porſwade men to the opinion of Pythagoras, which mightily cutteth the wings of all riot and waſtfull diſſolution. Moreover, this ought not to be taken ſo, as if it favoured and ſeconded the errour of certain fantaſticall perſons, who have condemned the uſe of Gods good creatures: for in the ſchool of Chriſt we are taught good leſſons, which refute ſufficiently the dreames of the Pythagoreans, and reſolve aſſuredly the good conſcience of all thoſe that make uſe of all creatures (meet for the ſuſtentation of this life) ſoberly & with thanksgiving, as knowing them to be good, and their uſe clean and pure unto thoſe whom the ſpirit of regeneration hath ſanctified, for to make them partakers of that realme which is not ſhut up and incloſed in meats and drinks. As touching this preſent tract for the maintenance of Pythagoras his paradox, he alledgeth five reaſons: to wit, That the eating of fleſh, is a teſtimonie and ſigne of inhumanitie; That we ought to forbeare it, conſidering we are not driven upon neceſſitie to feed thereupon; That it is an unnaturall thing; That it hurteth ſoul and body: and for a concluſion; That men will never carry themſelves and converſe modeſtly together, if they learn not firſt to be pitifull and kinde even to the very dumb beaſts.

Whether it be lawfull to eat fleſh or no.

The former Oration or Treatiſe.

But you demand of me, for what cauſe *Pythagoras* abſteined from eating fleſh? And I again do marvell, what affection, what manner of courage, or what motive or reaſon had that man, who firſt approached with his mouth unto a ſlaine creature, who durſt with his lips once touch the fleſh of a beaſt either killed or dead; or how he could finde in his heart to be ſerved at his table with the dead bodies, and as a man may ſay, very idols, to make his food and nouriſhment of thoſe parts and members which a little before did bleat, low, bellow, walke and ſee. How could his eyes endure to behold ſuch murder and ſlaughter, whiles the poore beaſts were either ſticked or had the throats cut, were flayed and diſmembred? how could his noſe abide the ſmell and ſent that came from them? how came it that his taſt was not cleane marred and overthrown with horrour, when he came to handle thoſe uncouth ſores and ulcers, or receive the bloud and humours, iſſuing out of the deadly wounds.

The skins now flaied, upon the ground did ſprauſe,
The fleſh on ſpits did bellow ſtill and low:
Roaſt, ſod and raw, did cry aſwell as craule,
And yield a voice of living oxe or cow.

But this, you will ſay, is a loud lie, and a meer poeticall fiction; howbeit, this was certeinly a ſtrange and monſtrous ſupper, that any man ſhould hunger after thoſe beaſts, and deſire to eat them; whiles they ſtill keepe a-owing; to preſcribe alſo, and teach men how they ſhould feed of thoſe creatures which live and crie ſtill; to ordeine likewiſe, how they ought to be dreſſed, boiled, or roaſted, and ſerved upon the board.

But he who firſt invented theſe monſtroſities, ought to be inquired after, and not he who laſt gave over & rejected the ſame. Or a man may well ſay, that thoſe who at the firſt began to eat fleſh, had all juſt cauſes ſo to do, in regard of their want and neceſſitie: for ſurely, it was not by reaſon of diſ-

diſordinate and enormous appetite which they uſed a long time, nor upon plenty and abundance of neceſſary things, that they grew to this inſolency, to ſeeke after ſtrange pleaſures, and thoſe contrary to nature. But verily, if they could recover their ſenſes and ſpeech again, they might well ſay now, O how happy and well beloved of the gods are you, who live in theſe dayes! in what a world and age are you born! what affluence of all ſorts of good things do you enjoy! what harveſts, what ſtore of fruits yeeldeth the earth unto you! how commodious are the vintages! and what riches do the fields bring unto you! what a number of trees and plants do furniſh you with delights and pleaſures, which you may gather and receive, when you think good! you may live (if you liſt) in all manner of delicacy, without once fouling your hands for the matter; whereas our hap was to be born in the hardeſt time and moſt terrible age of the world, when as we could not chooſe but incur by reaſon of the new creation of all things) a great want and ſtreight indigence of many neceſſaries: the face of the heaven and skie was ſtill covered with the aire, the ſtars were dusked with troubled and inſtable humors, together with fire and tempeſtuous winds: the Sun was not yet ſetled and eſtabliſhed, having a conſtant and certaine race to hold his courſe in,

From Eaſt to Weſt, to make both even and morne
Diſtinct, nor ly returne from Tropiques twaine;
The ſeaſons chang'd from thoſe that were beforne,
Bedight with leaves, with flowers, with fruits and graine.

The earth ſuffered wrong by the inordinate ſtreames and inundations of rivers, which had neither certain chanels nor banks: much of it lay waſt and deformed, with loughs, mariſhes, and deepe boggs; much alſo remained ſavage, being over-ſpred with wild woods and fruitleſs forreſts, it brought forth no fruits ripe and pleaſant; neither were there any tools and inſtruments belonging to any art; nor ſo much as any invention of a witty head. Hunger never gave us eaſe or time of repoſe; neither was there any expectation or waiting for the yeerely ſeaſons of ſeedneſs, for there was no ſowing at all. No marvell therefore, if we did eat the fleſh of beaſts and living creatures even contrary to nature, conſidering that then the very moſs and bark of trees ſerved for food; and well was he who could finde any green graſs or quick coich, or ſo much as the root of the herb, *Phleos*: but whenſoever men could meet with acorns and maſt to taſt and feed upon, they would dance and hop for joy about an oak or beech tree: & in their ruſticall ſongs call the earth their bounifull mother & their kind nurſe: and ſuch a day as that onely, they accounted feſtivall: all their life beſides was full of vexation, ſorrow and heavineſs. But now, what rage, what fury and madneſs inciteth you to commit ſuch murders and carnage, ſeeing you have ſuch ſtore and plenty of all things neceſſary for your life? why belie you the earth, and moſt unthankfully diſhonour her, as if ſhe could not ſuſtein and nouriſh you? why doe you violate the divine power of *Ceres* the inventreſs of ſacred lawes, and ſhame ſweet and gracious *Bacchus*, as if theſe two deities gave you not ſufficient whereupon you might live? what! are you not abaſhed to mingle at your tables pleaſant fruits with bloudy murder? You call lions and libards ſavage beaſts; mean while your ſelves are ſteined with bloud ſhed, giving no place to them in cruelty, ſorwhere as they do worry & kill other beaſts, it is for very neceſſity and need of food: but you do it for dainty fare: for when we have ſlain either lions or wolves in defence of our ſelves we eat them not but let them lie: But they be the innocent, the harmleſs, the gentle and tame creatures, which have neither teeth to bite, nor prick to ſting withall, which we take and kill, although nature ſeemeth to have created them, onely for beauty and delight: [Much like as if a man ſeeing *Nilus* over-flowing his banks, and filling all the countrey about with running water, which is generative & fruitfull, would not praiſe with admiration the property of that river, cauſing to ſpring and grow ſo many fair and goodly fruits, and the ſame ſo neceſſary for mans life; but if he chance to eſpy a crocodill ſwimming, or an aſpick creeping and gliding down, or ſome venemous ſtie, hurtfull and noiſome beaſts all, blameth the ſaid river upon that occaſion, and ſaith that they be cauſes ſufficient, that of neceſſity he muſt complaine of the thing: Or verily, when one ſeeing this land and champian country over-ſpred with good and beautifull fruits, charged alſo and repleniſhed with ears of corn, ſhould perceive caſting his eie over thoſe pleaſant corn fields, here and there an ear of darnel, choke-ervil, or ſome ſuch unhappy weed among, ſhould thereupon forbeare to reape and carry in the ſaid corn, and forgoe the benefit of a plentifull harveſt: and finde fault therewith: Semblably ſtandeth the caſe when one ſeeth the plea of an orator in any cauſe or action, who with a full and forcible ſtreame of eloquence, endeavoureth to ſave his client out of the danger, of death, or otherwiſe to prove and verifie the charges and imputations of certaine crimes; this oration (I ſay) or eloquent ſpeech of his, running not ſimply and nakedly, but carrying with it many and ſundry affections of all ſorts, which he imprinteth in the minds and hearts of the hearers or judges, which being many alſo, and thoſe divers and different, he is to turn, to bend and change, or otherwiſe, to dulce appeaſe and ſtay: if he I ſay ſhould anon paſs over and not conſider the principal iſſue, and main point of the cauſe, and buſie himſelfe in gathering ſome by-ſpeeches beſides the purpoſe, or haply ſome phraſes improper and impertinent, which the oration of ſome advocate with the flowing courſe thereof hath carried down with it, lighting thereupon, and falling with the reſt of his ſpeech. But we are nothing moved either with the faire and beautifull colour, or the ſweet and tunable voice or the quickneſs and ſubtilty of ſpirit, or the neat and clean life, or the vivacitie of wit and underſtanding of theſe poore ſilly creatures: and for a little peece of fleſh we take away their life, we bereave them of the ſun and of light, cutting ſhort that race of life which nature had limited

* φλέω not φλοιὸς, which is the barke, & whoſoever ſay, the root of a barke but Pheos as Theophraſtus reporteth, is an herbe growing plentifully in the lake Orchomenus in Beotia, and therefore well enough knowne to Plutarch. I take it to be Red-mace or Cats-taile.

* I ſee not how this that is included within theſe marks [ ] agreeth with this place, or matter in hand: I ſuppoſe therefore it is inmeet here without iudgement, & taken out of ſome other booke.

and prefixed for them; and more than ſo, thoſe lamentable and trembling voices which thy utter for feare, we ſuppoſe to be intriculate or unſignificant ſounds, and nothing leſs than pitifull prayers, ſupplications, pleaes and juſtifications of theſe poor innocent creatures, who in their language, every one of them cry in this manner: If thou be forced upon neceſſity, I beſeech thee not to ſave my life: but if diſordinate luſt moove thee thereto, ſpare me: in caſe thou haſt a mind ſimply to eat on my fleſh, kill me: but if it be for that thou wouldeſt feed more delicatly, hold thy hand and let me live. O monſtrous cruelty! It is a horrible ſight to ſee the table of rich men onely ſtand ſerved and furniſhed with viands ſet out by cooks and victuallers that dreſs the fleſh of dead bodies; but moſt horrible it is to ſee the ſame taken up, for that the reliques and broken meats remaining, be far more than that which is eaten: To what purpoſe then were thoſe ſilly beaſts ſlaine? Now there be others, who making ſpare of the viand ſerved to the table, will in no hand that they ſhould be cut or ſliced; ſparing them when as they be nothing but bare fleſh; whereas they ſpared them not whiles they were living beaſts: But foraſmuch as we have heard that the ſame men hold and ſay: That nature hath directed them to the eating fleſh; it is plaine and evident, that this cannot accard with mans nature: And firſt and formoſt this appeareth by the fabrick and compoſition of his body: for it reſembleth none of thoſe creatures whom nature hath made to feed on fleſh, conſidering they have neither hooked bil, no hauk-pointed tallants, they have no ſharp and rough teeth, nor ſtomack ſo ſtrong, or ſo hot breath and ſpirit, as to be able to concoct and diſgeſt the heavy maſſe of raw fleſh: And if there were naught elſe to be alledged, nature her-ſelfe by the broadneſſe and united equallity of our teeth, by our ſmall mouth, our ſoft tongue, the imbecillity of naturall heat, and ſpirits ſerving for concoction, ſheweth ſufficiently that ſhe approveth not of mans uſage to eat fleſh, but diſſavoreth and diſclaimeth the ſame: And if you obſtinately maintaine and defend, that nature hath made you for to eat ſuch viands; then, that which you mind to eat firſt, kill your ſelfe, even your own ſelfe (I ſay) without uſing any blade, knife, bat, club, axe, or hatcher: And even as beares, lions, and woolves, ſlay a beaſt according as they mean to eat it; even ſo kill thou a beeſe, by the bit of thy teeth; ſlay me a ſwine with the help of thy mouth and jawes; teare in peeces a lambe or an hare with thy nailes; and when thou haſt ſo don, eat it up while it is alive, like as beaſts do; but if thou ſtaieſt untill they be dead ere thou eat them, and art abaſhed to chaſe with thy teeth the life that preſently is in the fleſh which thou eateſt; why doſt thou againſt nature eat that which had life? and yet, when it is deprived of life, and fully dead, there is no man hath the heart to eat the ſame as it is; but they cauſe it to be boiled, and to be roſted; they alter it with fire, and many drugges and ſpices, changing, diſguiſing, and quenching (as it were) the horror of the murder, with a thouſand devices of ſeaſoning; to the end that the ſence of taſting being beguiled and deceived by a number of ſweet ſauces and pleaſant conditure, might admit and receive that which it abhorreth, and is contrary unto it. Certes it was a prety conceit which was reported by a Laconian, who having bought in his Inne or hoſtelry, a little fiſh, gave it, as it ſhould ſeem, to the Inkeeper for to be dreſſed; but when he called unto him for viniger, cheeſe, and oyle to do it withall: If (quoth the Laconian) I had that which thou demandeſt of me, I would never have bought this fiſh. But we contrariwiſe, for to pleaſe our delicate tooth, are ſo delighted in ſlaughter and carnage, the fleſh we call our viand: and yet then we have need of other viands for the very dreſſing of fleſh it ſelfe, mixing and adding thereto, oyle, wine, hony, the prickle or ſauce *garum* and vineger, embalming (as it were) and burying a dead corps with Syriack ſpices and Arabick ſauces. And verily, when our fleſh meats after this manner be mortified, made tender, and in ſome ſort putrified, our natural heat hath much adoe to concoct the ſame, and being not able indeed to digeſt them perfectly, it ingendereth in us dangerous heavineſs and crudities apt to breed diſeaſes. *Diogenes* upon a time was ſo raſh, that he durſt eat a polype or pourcuttle fiſh all raw, becauſe he would have taken away the uſe and help of fire in dreſſing ſuch meats: and there being certaine prieſts and many other men ſtanding about him, when he covered his head with his cloak, and put the fleſh of the ſaid poulpe into his mouth, he ſaid unto them all: For your ſake it is that I hazard my ſelfe thus as I doe, and adventure this jeopardy. Now by *Jupiter*, this was a proper perill in deed, and a douty danger, was it not? for this Philoſopher here expoſed not himſelfe to any perilous hazard, as *Pelopidas* did, for recovery of the Thebans liberty: nor as *Armodius* and *Ariſtogiton*, for the freedome of *Athens*: who thus wreſtled with a raw poulpe fiſh in his ſtomack, and all to make the life of man more beaſtlike and ſavage. Well then, plaine it is that the eating of fleſh is not onely unnaturall in regard of the body, but alſo by repletion, fullneſs and ſatietie, it maketh the ſoull fat and groſſe: for the drinking of wine and feeding upon fleſh meats to the full, howſoever it may ſeem to cauſe the body to be more able and ſtrong, yet ſurely the mind it doth enfeeble and weaken. And leſt I ſhould be thought a profeſſed enemie to thoſe who practiſe the exerciſe of the body named Athleticæ, I will uſe the domeſticall examples of mine own countrey: for the inhabitants of *Attica* do tearme us of *Bœotia*, fat-backs, groſſe and ſenſeleſſe, yea, and blockiſh ſots, principally for our ranke and large feeding; like as one ſaid:

Of truth theſe men, in judgement mine,
Be nothing els but ſtanked ſwine.

And as *Menander* wrote in one place:

With fat their cheeks be puft and ſwolne:
See, ſee, their chaps how they be blone.

As

As alſo *Pindarus*:

They ply their jawes, they feed amaine,
That even their cheeks do ſhine againe.

But according to *Heraclitus*, the dry ſoul ſeemeth to be wiſeſt: for know thus much moreover; that empty tunnes, pipes, or barrels, reſound when they be knocked upon; whereas if they be full, they anſwer not again to the knocks or ſtroaks given them: braſſe pannes or coppers which be thin and ſlender, render ſounds, and ring all about untill ſuch time as one come and with his hand ſeem to ſtop and dull the ſtroak that otherwiſe went round about: The eye filled with ſuperfluous humidity, becometh dim and dark, neither hath it the full ſtrength and power to performe his office. When we behold the ſun through a moiſt aire, and a number of thick miſts, and groſſe undigeſted vapors, we ſee him not in his own nature pure, cleer, and bright; but as it were in the bottom of a cloud, all duskiſh, and caſting forth thick wandring and diſperſed beames: And even ſo through a body troubled with vapors, full fed, overcharged with nutriments, of unkind and ſtrange viands, it cannot chuſe but all the light and ſhining brightneſs of the ſoul which is naturall, ſhould become dusked and troubled, having no radiant ſetled ſplendour, able to peirce throughly to the ends and externities of ſubtile and fine objects, hardly to be diſcerned, but the ſame is wandering, unſteady, and diſperſed.

But letting all theſe matters aſide, is it not, think you, a right commendable thing to be acquainted and accuſtomed to humanity? for who would ever finde in his heart to abuſe and wrong a man, who is affectionate, gentle, and milde, to the very beaſts which are of a ſtrange kind from us, and have no communication of reaſon with us? Three dayes agoe, I alledged and cited in my diſputation a teſtimony of *Xenocrates* to this purpoſe; and namely: How the Athenians condemned him to pay a round fine, who had ſlayed a quick Ram: And in very truth, he that tormenteth and putteth to pain one that is living, is not in my conceit worſe than he that taketh the life away and killeth him: Howbeit, as far as I can ſee, more ſenſe and feeling we have of ſuch things as be unuſuall and againſt cuſtome, than unnaturall and contrary unto kind: But thoſe reaſons which I then delivered, ſmell haply of ſome groſſneſs, and were too triviali; for I fear and am loath to touch and ſet abroch in theſe my diſcourſes, that great and high principle, that deep and myſticall cauſe of this our poſition: That we ought not to eat fleſh; for that I ſay the hidden ſecret and original thereof is ſo incredible to baſe and timorous perſons, as *Plato* ſaith, and to ſuch as favour of nothing but of earthly & mortall matters: and herein I fare much like the Pilot and maſter of the ſhip, who in a tempeſt is afraid to put his ſhip to ſea; or unto a Poet, who dareth not ſet up his fabrick or engin in the theater, all while the ſtage or pageant is turned and carried round about: And yet peradventure it were not amiſſe in this place to reſound and pronounce aloud thoſe verſes of *Empedocles*, ***. For under covert tearmes he doth allegorize and give us to underſtand; that the ſouls here, are tied and faſtned to mortall bodies, by way of puniſhment, for that they have been murderers, have eaten fleſh, devoured one another, and been fed by mutuall ſlaughter and carnage: And yet this ſeemeth to be an opinion more ancient than *Empedocles*: for thoſe fictions of Poets as touching the diſmembring of *Bacchus*, and the outragious attempts of the Tyrants againſt him, and how they taſte of fleſh murdered, as alſo of their puniſhment, and how they were ſmitten with lightning, they be meere fables: the hidden methologie whereof, tendeth to that renovation of birth or reſurrection: for ſurely that brutiſh and reaſonleſſe part of our ſoul which is violent, diſordered, and not divine, but diveliſh and dæmoniack, the auncient philoſophers called Titans; and this is that which is tormented, and ſuffereth judiciall puniſhment.

Of eating Fleſh.

The ſecond Declamation.

The Summary.

Our author purſuing in this ſecond Treatiſe his matter and propoſition, which he broched and began in the former declamation; and acknowledging how gourmandiſe, gluttony, and evill cuſtome be dangerous counſellers; yet graunteth and agreeth in the end, that a man may eat fleſh, upon certaine conditions which he doth ſpecifie, condemning withall, the cruell exceſſe and riot of many in their fare. After this, having ſhewed by the example of Lycurgus, *that we ought to cut off the firſt occaſions of all ſuperfluities, he conferreth the opinions of* Pythagoras *and* Empedocles, *with thoſe of other philoſophers, and therewith ſetteth down his own conceit and advice. Afterwards when he had in one word touched, from whence, and whereupon men become ſo bold and hardy to eat fleſh: he declareth a freſh and proveth, that this manner of feeding doth wonderfully prejudice both body and ſoul. And in concluſion, he confuteth the Stoicks, oppoſite enemies to the doctrine of* Pythagoras; *leaving this refutation unperfect, were it that himſelfe never finiſhed it, or that the malice and iniquitie of the time hath deprived us thereof: Like as many other fragments miſſing in theſe words.*

Of eating Fleſh.

The second Declamation.

REaſon would, that we ſhould be freſh diſpoſed, and ready in will, in mind, and thought, to heare the diſcourſe againſt this muſty and unſavory cuſtome of eating fleſh: For hard it is, as *Cato* was wont to ſay, to preach unto the belly that hath no eares; and beſides we have all drunk of the cup of cuſtome, reſembling that of *Circe*, which

Compounded is of dolors, griefes and paines,
Of ſorrowes, woes, and of deceitfull traines.

Neither is it any eaſie matter for them to caſt up againe the hooke of the appetite to eat fleſh, who have ſwallowed it down into their entrals, and are tranſported and full of the love of pleaſures and delights: But well and happy it were for us, if, as the manner is of the Aegyptians, ſo ſoon as men are dead, to paunch them, and when their belly and bowells be taken forth, to mangle, cut and ſlice the ſame againſt the ſun, and then to fling them away, as being the cauſe of all ſinnes that they have committed: ſo we would firſt cut away from our ſelves all our gourmandiſe, gluttony, and murdering of innocent creatures, that we might afterwards lead the reſt of our life pure and holy; conſidering that it is not the belly it ſelfe that by murder defileth us; but polluted it is by our intemperance. But ſay, it is not in our power to effect thus much, or be it, that upon an inveterate cuſtome, we are aſhamed in this point to be innocent and faultleſs; yet let us at leaſt wiſe commit ſinne in meaſure, and tranſgreſs with reaſon: Let us I ſay eat fleſh, but ſo, as we be driven thereto for very hunger, and not drawn to it by a licorous tooth, to ſatisfie our neceſſitie, and not to feed our greedy and delicate humour: kill we a beaſt, howbeit with ſome griefe of heart, with ſome commiſeration and pitty: and not of a proud and inſolent ſpirit, ne yet of a murderous mind: as men do now adayes, after many and divers ſorts: For ſome in killing of ſwine or porkets, thruſt them in with red-hot ſpits; to the end that the bloud being ſhed and quenched as it were by the tincture of the firy iron, running through the body, might cauſe the fleſh forſooth to be more tender and delicate: ye ſhall have others leap upon the udders and paps of the poore ſowes ready to farrow, and trample upon their bellies and teats with their feet, that the bloud, the milk, and the congealed bag of the young piggs, knit within the dammes womb, being all jumbled, confuſed and blended together, even amidde the painfull pangs of farrowing (O *Jupiter Piacularis*) they might make (I would not els) a moſt dainty diſh of meat, and devour the moſt corrupt and putrified part of the poor beaſt: many there are who have a device to ſtitch and ſow up the eyes of cranes and ſwannes, and when they have ſo don, to mew them up in a darke place, and ſo feed them, cromming them with ſtrange compoſitions and paſtes made of dried figgs; but wot you why? becauſe their fleſh ſhould be more dainty and pleaſant: whereby it appeareth evidently, that it is not for need of nouriſhment, nor for want and neceſſity; but even for ſaciety; wantonneſs, ſumptuous curioſity, and ſuperfluous exceſs, that of horrible injuſtice and wickedneſs, they make their pleaſure and delight: and like as the filthy lecherous perſon, who is unſatiable in the pleaſure of women, after he hath aſſaied many, runneth on headlong ſtill, roving and ranging every way, and yet his unbridled and untamed luſt is not yet ſatisfied, but he falleth to perpetrate ſuch horrible villanies as are not once to be named; even ſo intemperance in meats, when it hath paſſed once the bounds of nature, and limits of neceſſity, proceedeth to outrage and cruelty, ſearching all means how to vary and change the diſordinate appetite; for the organs and inſtruments of our ſenſes, by a fellow-feeling and contagion of maladies, are affected one by another, yea, and run into diſorder and ſinne together, through intemperance, when they reſt not contented with the meaſure aſſigned them by nature: Thus the hearing being out of frame and ſick, or not guided by reaſon, marreth muſick; the feeling when it is degenerate into an effeminate delicacy, ſeeketh filthily after wanton ticklings, touchings, frictions and handling of women: the ſame vice of intemperance hath taught the eyeſight not to be contented with beholding morisks, pirrhick, or warlike dances, nor other laudable and decent geſtures, ne yet to ſee and view faire pictures and goodly ſtatues, but to eſteem the death and murder of men, their mortall wounds, bloudy fights, and deadly combats, to be the beſt ſights and ſpectacles that can be deviſed. And hereupon it is, that upon ſuch exceſſive fare and ſuperfluity at the table, there enſue ordinarily wanton loves; upon lechery and filthy venery, there followeth beaſtly talk; theſe baudy ballads and ſtinking tales, be accompanied commonly with hideous ſights, and monſtrous ſhewes: laſtly, theſe horrible ſpectacles have attending upon them, cruelty, and humane impaſſibility, even in the caſes to very mankind. Hereupon it was that *Lycurgus* the divine law-giver, in thoſe three ordinances of his which he called *Rhetræ*, commanded that the doors, rouſes and finials of houſes, ſhould be made with the ſaw and the ax onely, and no other inſtrument beſides there employed; which he did not, I aſſure you, for any hatred at all that he conceived againſt augers, wimbles, twibils, or other tools for joyners or carvers work; but he knew well enough, that a man would never bring among ſuch ſimple frames a guilded beadſtead, nor venture to carry into an houſe ſo

ſo plainly built, ſilver tables, hangings, carpets and coverings of rich tapeſtrie died with purple, or any precious ſtones; and he wiſt full well, that with ſuch an houſe, with ſuch beadſteids, tables and cups, a frugall ſupper and a ſimple dinner would agree and ſort beſt. For to ſay a truth, upon the beginning and foundation of a diſordinate diet, and ſuperfluous kind of life; all manner of delicacy and coſtly curioſity uſeth to follow;

Like as the ſucking foale, alway
Runnes with the damme, and doth not ſtay.

What ſupper then, is not to be counted ſumptuous, for which there is evermore killed ſome living creature or other: for do we think little of the diſpence of a ſoul? and ſuppoſe we, that the loſs of life is not coſtly? I do not ſay, that it was peradventure the ſoul of a mother, a father, ſome friend, or a ſonne, as *Empedocles* gave it out: but ſurely a ſoul endued with ſenſe, with ſeeing, hearing, apprehenſion, underſtanding, wit and diſcretion, ſuch as nature hath given to each living creature, ſufficient to ſeeke and get that which is good for it, and likewiſe to avoid and ſhun whatſoever is hurtfull and contrary to it. Conſider now a little, whether thoſe philoſophers that teach and will us to eat our children, our friends, our fathers and wives when they are dead, do make us more gentle and fuller of humanity, than *Pythagoras* and *Empedocles*, who accuſtome and acquaint us to be kind and juſt, even to other creatures. Well, you mock and laugh at him that maketh conſcience to eat of a mutton; and ſhall not we (ſay they) laugh a good and make ſport, when we ſee one cutting and chopping pieces of his father or mother being dead, and ſending away ſome thereof to his friends who are abſent, and inviting ſuch as be preſent and neer at hand, to come & make merry with the reſt, cauſing ſuch joints and pieces of fleſh to be ſerved up to the table, without any ſpare at all? But it may be, that we offend now, and commit ſome fault in handling theſe books, having not beforehand cleanſed our hands, mundified our eyes, purified our feet, and purged our ears; unleſs perhaps this be their cleanſing and expiation, to deviſe and diſcourſe of ſuch things with ſweet and pleaſant words, which as *Plato* ſaith, waſh away all ſalt and brackiſh hearing: but if a man ſhould ſet theſe books and arguments in parallell oppoſition or compariſion one with another; he would judge that ſome of them were the Philoſophy of the Scythians, Tartarians, Sagidians, and Melanchlænians, of whom when *Herodotus* writeth, he is taken for a lier; and as for the ſentences and opinions of *Pythagoras* and *Empedocles*, they were the very lawes, ordinances, ſtatutes, and judgements of the auncient Greeks, according to which they framed their lives, to wit: That there were between us and brute beaſts certaine common rights: who were they then, that afterwards otherwiſe ordeined?

Even they who firſt of iron and ſteel,
miſchievous ſwords did forge:
And of poore labouring ox at plough,
began to cut the gorge.

For even thus alſo began tyrants to commit murders; like as at the firſt in old time, they killed at *Athens*, one notorious and moſt wicked ſycophant, named *Epitedeius*; ſo they did by a ſecond, and likewiſe a third: now the Athenians being thus acquainted to ſee men put to death; ſaw afterwards *Niceratus* the ſonne of *Nicias* murdered: *Theramenes* alſo the great commander and captaine generall: yea and *Polemarchus* the philoſopher. Semblably, men began at firſt to eat the fleſh of ſome ſavage and hurtfull beaſt, then ſome ſouls and fiſh were ſnared and caught with nets, and conſequently cruelty (being fleſhed as it were, exerciſed and inured in theſe and ſuch like ſlaughters) proceeded even to the poor labouring ox, to the ſilly ſheepe that doth clad and trim our bodies, yea, and to the houſe-cock: and thus men by little and little augmenting their inſatiable greedineſs, never ſtaied untill they came to man-ſlaughter, to murder, yea, and to bloudy battels. But if a man cannot prove nor make demonſtration by ſound reaſons, that ſouls in their reſurrections and new nativities meet with common bodies; ſo as that which now is reaſonable, becometh afterwards reaſonleſs, and likewiſe that which at this preſent is wild and ſavage, commeth to be by another birth and regeneration, tame and gentle againe; and that nature tranſmuteth and tranſlateth all bodies, diſlodging and replacing the ſoul of one in another,

And cladding them with robes unknown,
Of other fleſh, as with their own.

Are not theſe reaſons yet at leaſt wiſe ſufficient to reclaime and divert men from this unbridled intemperance of murdring dumb beaſts? namely, that it breedeth maladies, crudities, heavineſs and indigeſtion in the body, that it marreth and corrupteth the ſoul, which naturally is given to the contemplation of high and heavenly things? to wit, when wee have taken up a wont and cuſtome, not to feaſt a friend or ſtranger who commeth to viſit us, unleſs wee ſhed bloud, and cannot celebrate a marriage dinner or make merry with our neighbours and friends without committing murder? And albeit the ſaid proof and argument of the tranſmigration of ſoules into ſundry bodies, be not ſufficiently declared, ſo as it may deſerve to be credited and believed; yet ſurely the conceit and opinion thereof, ought to worke ſome ſcruple and feare in our hearts, and in ſome ſort hold us in and ſtay our hands. For like as when two armies encounter one another in a night battle; if one chaunce to light upon a man fallen upon the ground, whoſe body is all covered and hidden with armour, and preſent his ſword to cut his throat, or run him through, & therewith heare another crying unto him that he knoweth not certeinly, but thinketh and ſuppoſeth that the party lying along is his brother, his ſon, his father, or tent-fellow; whether were it better, that he giving eare & credit to

this

this conjecture and suspicion (false though it be) should spare and forbear an enemie for a friend, or rejecting that which had no sure and evident proofe, kill one of his friends in stead of an enemie? I suppose there is not one of you all but will say, that the latter of these were a most grosse and leud part. Behold moreover *Merope* in the tragedy when she lifteth up her ax for to strike her own sonne, taking him to be the murderer of her sonne, and saying withall:

Have at thy head, for now I trow,
I shall thee give a deadly blow.

what a stir and trouble shee maketh over all the theater? how she causeth the haire to stand upright upon the heads of the spectators, for feare least she should prevent the old man who was about to take hold of her arme, and so would the guiltles young man her sonne? But if peradventure in this case there should have stood another aged man fast by, crying unto her: Strike hardly, for it is your enemie, and a third contrariwise, saying: Strike not in any wise, it is your own sonne; whether had been the greater and more grievous sinne, to let go the revengment of her enemie for doubt that he was her sonne or to commit filicide and murder her sonne indeed, for the anger she bare unto her enemie? When as therefore there is neither hatred nor anger that driveth us to do a murder; when neither revenge, nor feare of our own safety and life mooveth us, but even for our pleasure we have a poore sheep lying under our hand with the throat turned upward, a philosopher of the one side should say: Cut the throat, for it is a brute beast, and another admonish us on the other side, saying: Stay your hand and take heed what you do; for what know you to the contrary, whether in that sheepe be the soul lodged of some kinsman of yours, or peradventure of some God? Is the danger (before God) all one and the same, whether I refuse to eat of the flesh, or believe not that I kill my child or some one of my kinsfolk?

But surely the Stoicks are not equally matched in this fight for the defence of eating flesh: For what is the reason that they so band themselves, and be so open mouthed in the maintenance of the belly and the kitchin? what is the cause that condemning pleasure as they do, for an effeminate thing, and not to be held either good or indifferent, no nor so much as familiar and agreeable to nature, they stand so much in the patronage of those things that make to the pleasure and delight of feeding? And yet by all consequence, reason would, that considering they chase and banish from the table, all sweet perfumes and odoriferous ointments, yea, and all pastery worke, and banqueting junkets, they should be rather offended at the sight of bloud and flesh. But now, as if by their precise philosophicall rules, they would controule our day-books and journals of our ordinary expences, they cut off all the cost bestowed upon our table in things needless and superfluous; mean while they find no fault with that which savoureth of bloudshed and cruelty in this superfluitie of table furniture: We do not indeed, (say they) because there is no communication of rights between beasts and us; but a man might answer them again very well: No more is there between us and perfumes or other forraine and exoticall sauces, and yet you would have us to abstein from them, rejecting and blaming on all sides, that which in any pleasure is neither profitable nor needfull. But let us I pray you consider upon this point a little neerer, to wit, whether there be any community, in right and justice, between us and unreasonable creatures or no? and let us do it not subtilly and artificially, as the captious manner is of these sophisters in their disputations? but rather after a gentle and familiar sort, having an eye unto our own passions and affections, let us reason and decide the matter with our selves.

That a Man cannot live pleasantly according to the Doctrine of Epicurus.

The Summary.

GReat disputations there have been holden among the Philosophers and Sages of the world, as touching the sovereigne good of man, as it may appear even at this day by the books that are extant among us; and yet neither one nor other, have hit the true mark whereat they shot, to wit: The right knowledge of God: Howbeit, some of them are a great deale farther out of the way than others; and namely the Epicureans, whom our author doth perstringe in many places, as holding a doctrine cleane contrary unto theirs, according as his writings do testifie. And forasmuch as Epicurus *and his desciples placed and established this sovereigne good, in pleasure of the body: this their opinion is here examined and confuted at large: for in forme of a dialogue* Plutarch *reherseth the communication or reference which he had with* Aristodemus, Zeuxippus, *and* Theon, *as they walked together immediately after one lecture of his upon this mater, who having shewed in generall tearmes the absurdities of this Epicurian doctrine, maintaineth in one word: That it is no life at all to live according to the same. Then he explaineth and sheweth what the Epicureans mean by this word* To live: *and from thence proceedeth forward to refute their imagination, and what soever dependeth thereupon, and that by sound and weighty arguments, intermingling many prety conceits and pleasant jests, together with certaine proper similitudes for the purpose: After he had proved that they were deceived themselves, and seduced their disciples; he holdeth moreover this point: That even they deprive themselves of the true good, which consisteth in the repose and contentment of the mind, reiecting (as they do) all Histories, Mathematicall arts and liberal sciences, and among the rest Poetry and Musick; shewing throughout all this discourse, that such persons are deprived of common sence. Passing forward, he holdeth and maintaineth that the soul taketh joy in a contentment proper to it selfe: and afterwards in discoursing to the pleasure that active life doth bring; he refuteth more and more his adversary, addressing to this purpose, a certain conference and comparison between the pleasures of body and soul; whereby a man may see the misery of the one, and the excellency of the other. This point he enricheth with divers examples; the end whereof sheweth: That there is nothing at all to be counted great or profitable in the schoole of* Epicurus, *whose scholers never durst approve his opinion, especially in death: also: That vertuous men have without all comparison much more pleasure in this world, than the Epicureans, who in their afflictions know not how to receive any joy or comfort by remembrance of their pleasures past. And this is the very summe of the dialogue during the time that the above named persons did walke; who after they were set, began their disputations afresh, and spake in the first place, of Gods providence, condemning by divers reasons the atheisme of the Epicureans, who are altogether inexcusable, even in comparison of the common sort given to superstition: continuing and holding on this discourse, he depainteth very lively the nature of the Epicureans, and commeth to represent and set down the contentment that men of honour have in their religion: where also he holdeth this point: That God is not the author of evill: & that the Epicureans are sufficiently punished for their impiety, in depriving themselves of that pleasure which commeth unto us by meditation of the divine wisdome, in the conduct and management of all things. Consequently he sheweth that this their prophane philosophy overthroweth and confoundeth all persons, as well in their death, as during their life: Whereupon he proceedeth to treat of the immortality of the soul, and the life to come; describing at large the misery of the Epicureans: and for a finall conclusion, he compriseth in fewer or five lines the summary of all their error, and so shutteth up and concludeth the whole disputation.*

That a Man cannot live pleasantly according to the doctrine of Epicurus.

COlotes one of the disciples, and familiar followers of *Epicurus* wrot and published a book, wherein he endeavoured to prove and declare: That there was no life at all to speak of, according to the opinions and sentences of other Philosophers. Now as touching that which readily came into my mind for the answer of his challenge and discourse against his reasons in the defence of other Philosophers, I have before-time put down in writing, but forasmuch as after the lecture and disputation of this matter ended, there passed many speeches in our walke against that sect; I thought it good to collect and gather the same, yea, and to reduce them into a written treatise; if for nothing els, yet for this cause, to give them at least wise to understand who are so ready to note, censure and correct others, that a man ought to have heard and read with great heed and diligence (and not superficially) the works and writings of those whom he taketh upon him to reprove and refute, and not to pick one word out here and another there, or to take hold of his words delivered by way of talk and conference, and not couched and set down precisely in writing, thereby to repell and drive away the ignorant and such as have no knowledge of those things. For when as we walked forth, after the lecture (as our manner was) out of the schoole into the common place of exercise, *Zeuxippus* moving speech, began in this wise: Me thinks (quoth he) that this discourse hath been delivered much more mildly and gently, than becommeth frankneſse and liberty of speech beseeming the schooles; which is the reason that *Heraclides* and his followers be departed from us, as discontented and displeased, yea, and much more bitterly nipping and checking us (without any cause given on our part) than either *Epicurus* or *Metrodorus*. Then *Theon*: Why said you not (quoth he) that *Colotes* (in comparison of them) is the most modest and faireſt spoken man in the world? For the most foule and reprochfull tearms that can be devised for to raile and slander withall, to wit, of sacrileges, scurrilities, vanities of speech, talkative babbling, glorious and vanting arrogancy, whoremonging, murders, counterfeit hypocrites, cousiners, cursed creatures, heavy headed, brainsick, tedious, and making their brains ake who read them: these (I say) they have raked up together, and discharged as it were haile-shot upon *Aristotle*, *Socrates*, *Pythagoras*, *Protagoras*, *Theophraſtes*, *Heraclides*, *Hipparchus*, and whom not of all the most renowned and principall Philosophers? insuch sort, that how well and wisely soever they have carried themselves otherwise, yet in regard of their foule mouthes, slanderous speeches, and beastly backbitings, they deserve to be sequeſtred farre off and put out of the ranke and number of wise men and Philosophers: for envy, emulation and jealousie ought not to enter into this divine dance and heavenly quire: being so weake and impotent, that they cannot dissemble and hide their griefe and discontent. Hereat *Aristodemus*: *Heraclides* (quoth he) who by profession is a Gramarian, in the behalfe of all the poeticall rabble (for so it pleaseth the Epicureans to blason them) and for all the foolish and fabulous vanities of *Homer*, hath well requited *Epicurus*; or because *Metrodorus* in so many places of his writings hath reviled and abused that prince of poets: but as for them (O *Zeuxippus*) let

let them go as they are: and whereas it was objected in the beginning of the speech against those men: That there was no living at all after their precepts and rules, why do not we our selves, alone by our selves, taking unto us *Theon* for our associate (because this man here is weary) go in hand to prosecute the same thorowly? Then *Theon* made him this answer:

This combate hath before us, been
Perform'd by others, well I ween.

And therefore propouding to our selves (if it please you) another marke and scope to aime at, let us (for to be revenged of the injurie done unto other Philosophers) proceed after this forme of processe, and assay to prove and shew (if it be possible) that according to the doctrine even of these Epicureans, men cannot live in joy and pleasure. Say you so? (quoth I then, and laughed heartily withall) now surely, me thinks you are leapt upon their bellies, and be ready to trample them with both your feet: certes, you shall enforce these men to fight for their very own flesh if you bereave them of pleasure: who do nothing else but cry out and sing this note:

We are in deed no champions brave,
In fight with fists no grace we have,

neither are we eloquent orators, wise magistrates or prudent governours and rulers of cities or States,

But for to feast and make good cheere,
To eat and drink, we have no peere.

We love (I say) to banquet alwayes and make merry, to give our selves contentment and all the delightfull motions and pricks of the flesh, if haply any pleasure and joy hereby may be transmitted and sent into the soul: so as you seem to me not to deprive these men of joy and solace onely, but also of their very life, in case you do not leave them a pleasant and jocund life. How then? (quoth *Theon*) if you think so well of this subject matter, why do not you set in hand to it at this present? For mine own part (said he again) content I will be to heare you, and answer again, if you requeste so much; but begin you first to set us in the train thereof, for I will yeeld unto you the superiority and presidence of this disputation. Now when *Theon* seemed to pretend some small excuse; *Aristodemus*: O what a compendious, ready, faire and plaine way (quoth he) have you cut us off, for to come unto this point, in not permitting us first to make inquisition into this Epicurean sect, and to put them to their triall as touching vertue and honesty! for it is no easie matter, nay, it is unpossible to drive these men from a pleasant and voluptuous life, so long as they suppose and set down this: That the supreame end of all humane felicity lieth in pleasure; whereas, if we could once have brought this about: That they lived not honestly: presently and withall, they had been put by their pleasant life; for they themselves confesse, and say, That a man can not live in joy, unlesse he be honest, for that the one may not stand without the other. As touching that point (quoth *Theon*) we will not sticke in the progress of our discourse, to handle it, but for the present, we will take that which they grant, and make our use of it; this therefore they hold: That the sovereigne good whereof we speak, consisteth in the belly and parts thereabout, as also in those other passages and conduits of the body, thorow which, pleasure entreth into it, and no pain at all: and they are of opinion, that all the fine devices, subtill and witty inventions in the world were put in triall and practised, for to please and content the belly, or at least wise, for the good hope that she should enjoy contentment, according as the wise Philosoper *Metrodorus* hath said and written, And verily, by this their first supposition, without going any further, it is easie to be known, & seen (my good friend) what a slender, poore, rotten and unsteady foundation they have laid, to ground upon it their sovereigne good; considering that even those pores and conduits above said (by which they bring in their pleasures) lie as well open to admit grievous paines; or to say more truly, there be very few wayes in the body of man, by which pleasure entreth; whereas there is no part or member thereof, but receiveth dolor and pain. For be it granted, that all pleasures have their seat in the naturall parts, about joynts, sinewes, feet and hands; why, even in these very places are bedded and seated also the most cruell passions that be; to wit, of gouty fluxes and rheumaticke ulcers, of gangrenes, tetters, wolves, cancerous sores, which corrode, eat, mortifie and putrifie the parts that they possess. If you present unto the body the sweetest odours and the most pleasant savours that be, you shall find but few places therei (and seek thorowout) affected therewith mildly and gently to their contentment; whereas all the rest often times are grieved and offended thereby: nay, there is no part at all of the body, but subject it is to feele and suffer the smart dolors inflicted by fire, by sword, by sting, biting, scourging and whipping; the ardour of heat, the rigor of cold entreth and pierceth into all parts, like also as doth the seaver: but pleasures verily are much like unto prety puffs and gentle gales of winde, blowing after a smiling manner, some upon one extremity that beareth out of the body, and some upon other, as if it were upon the rocks lying forth in the sea, they pass away, blow over and vanish incontinently, their time and continuance is so short: much like unto those meteors or fire-lights in the night, which represent the shooting of stars, as if they fell from heaven, or traversed the skie from one side to the other; soone are the pleasures on a light fire, and as soone again gone out and quenched at one instant in our flesh; but contrariwise, how long pains and dolors do endure, we cannot alledge a better testimony then that of *Philoctetes* in *Aeschylus*, who speaking of the pain of his ulcer, saith thus:

That

That dragon fell, doth never leave his hold,
By day or night, since first my foot he caught:
The stinging smart goes to my heart full cold,
By poisoned tooth which from his mouth it raught.

Neither doth the anguish of paine lightly run over and glide, after a tickling manner, upon other superficiall parts and extremities of the body; but contrariwise, like as the grain or seed of the Sea-claver or Trefoile *Medica*, is writhen and full of points and angles, whereby it taketh hold of the earth and sticketh fast, and there (by reason of those points so rough and rugged) continueth a long time; even so dolor and pain having many crotchets and hooked spurns of roots, which it putteth forth and spreadeth here and there, interteth and interlaceth it selfe within the flesh, and there abideth, not only for a night and a day, but also for certain seasons of whole yeers, yea, and some revolutions of Olympiads, so that hardly and with much adoe at the last departeth, being thrust out by other paines, like as one nail is driven forth by another stronger than it. For what man was ever known to have drunk or eaten so long a time, as they endure thirst who are sick of an ague, or abide hunger who are besieged? and where is that solace and pleasure in the company and conversation of friends, that lasteth so long as tyrants cause them to abide torture and punishment, who fall into their hands? and all this proceedeth from naught els but the inability and untowardnesse of the body, to lead a voluptuous life; for that in truth, made it is more apt to abide paine and travell, than to joy in delights and pleasures; to endure laborious dolors, it hath strength and power sufficient; whereas to enjoy pleasures and delights, it sheweth presently how feeble and imporent it is, in that so soon it hath enough and is weary thereof: by occasion thereof, when they see that we are minded to discourse much as touching a voluptuous life, they interrupt and break incontinently our purpose, confessing themselves; that bodily and fleshly pleasure is very small and feeble, or (to say a truth) transitorie, and such as passeth away in a moment; unless haply they are disposed to lie and speak otherwise than they think; like as *Metrodorus* did, when he said: That often times we spit against the pleasures of the body; and *Epicurus*, when he writeth: That a wise man being sick and diseased, laugheth and rejoyceth in the midst of the greatest and most excessive pains of his corporall malady. How is it possible then, that they who so lightly and easily beare the anguish of bodily pains, should make any account of pleasures? for admit that they give no place to paines, either in greatnesse or continuance of time, yet they have at least wise some reference and correspondence unto them, in that *Epicurus* hath given this generall limitation & common definition to them all; to wit, Indolence or a substraction of all that which might cause and move pain; as if nature extended joy to the easement only of dolor, and suffered it not to proceed further in augmentation of pleasure; but when it came once to this point, namely, to feele no more pain, it admitted onely certaine needlesse varieties. But the way to come with an appetite and desire to this estate, being indeed the full measure of joy and pleasure, is exceeding briefe and short; whereupon these Epicureans perceiving well, that his place is very leane and hard, do translate and remove their sovereigne good, which is the pleasure of the body, as it were out of a barren soile, into a more fruitfull & fertill ground, & namely, to the soul, as if therein we should have alwayes orchards, gardens & meadowes covered over with pleasures and delights, whereas according to the saying of *Telemachus* in *Homer*:

In Ithaca there is no spacious place,
Affording plaines at large to run a race.

And even so in this poore fleshly body of ours, there is no fruition of pleasure united, plaine and smooth, but altogether rugged and rough, intermingled and delayed for the most part, with many agitations that be severous & contrary to nature. Hereat *Zeuxippus* taking occasion to speak: Think not then (quoth he) that these men do very well in this, that they begin with the body; wherein it seemeth that pleasure engendereth first, and afterwards ends in the soul, as in that which is more constant and firme, reposing therein all absolute perfection? Yes I wis (quoth I) and me thinks I assure you that they doe passing well, and according to the direction of nature, in case they still search after & find that which is more perfect, and accomplished, like as those persons do, who give themselves to contemplation and politicke life; but if afterwards you hear them protest and cry with open mouth, that the soul joyeth in no worldly thing, nor findeth content and repose, but onely in corporall pleasure, either present and actuall, or els in meer expectation thereof, and that therein alone consisteth their sovereigne good: think you not that they use the soul as a receptory for the body, and in thus translating the pleasure of the body into it, they do as those who powr and fill wine out of one vessell that leaketh and is naught, into another that is more compact and will hold better, for to preserve and keep it longer, as supposing thereby, to make the thing far better, and more honourable; and verily time doth keep well and mend the wine that is thus powred out of one vessell into another: But of pleasure, the soul receiving the remembrance onely, as the odour and smell thereof, reteineth nothing else; for that so soon as pleasure hath wrought or boiled as it were one walme in the flesh, it is soon quenched and extinguished, and that remembrance remaining thereof passeth soon away as a shadow, smoak, or fuming vapour; much like as if a man should gather and heap together a number of fancies and cogitations of whatsoever he had eat or drunk before time, and so make his repast and food thereof, for default of other wines & viands fresh & present in place: yet see how much more modestly the Cyrenaick philosophers are affected, although they have drunk out of the same bottle with *Epicurus* for they are of opinion,

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wanton sports of *Venus* should not be exercised openly, and in the day light, but would have the same to be hidden and covered with the darkness of the night; for fear lest our cogitation receiving cleerly by the eye-sight the representations of this said act, might estsoons inflame and stir up the lust and appetite thereto: whereas these men contrariwise do hold, that herein consisteth the perfection of a wise mans felicity, for that he remembreth certeinly, and reteineth surely all the evident figures, gestures, and motions of pleasures past. Now whether such precepts and rules as these, be unworthy the name of those who make profession of wisdome, namely, thus to suffer such scourings and filthy ordures of their pleasures to remaine in the soul, as it were in the sink and draught of the body, I purpose not to discourse at this time. But surely that unpossible it is for such matters to make a man happy, or to live a joyous life, may hereby appear most evidently: For the pleasure of remembring delights past, cannot be very great unto those, who had but a small fruition thereof when they were present; and unto those likewise, who find it expedient for them, to have the same presented in a measure, and soon to retire and withdraw themselves from them, it cannot be profitable to think thereupon long after, considering that even with those persons who of all others be most sensuall and given to fleshly pleasures, the joy and contentment abideth not at all after they have once performed the action; only there remaineth with them a certaine shadow, and the illusion (as it were in a dreame) of the pleasure that is flown away, continueth a while in their mind, for to maintaine and kindle still the fire of their concupiscence: much like unto those who in their sleep dream that they are drinking, or enjoying their loves; and verily such imperfect pleasures and imaginary joyes do nothing else but more eagerly whet and provoke lascivious lust: neither (I assure you) is the remembrance of those pleasures which these men have enjoyed in times past, delectable, but only out of the small reliques remaining of their pleasure, which are but weake, slender and feeble, the same remembrance doth renew and stir up again a furious appetite, which pricketh and provoketh them evidently, and giveth them no rest. Again, no likelihood there is, that even those who otherwise be sober, honest, and continently given, do amuse themselves and busie their heads in calling to mind such matters, and to read and count them out of a journall register or day-book and Kalender, according as the ridiculous jest goes of one *Carneades*, who was wont to do so, namely: How often have I lien with *Hedia* or with *Leontium*? In what and how many places have I drunk Thasian wine? At how many set feasts at three weeks or twenty dayes end, have I been merry and made great and sumptuous cheer? For this passionate affection of the mind, and disordinate forwardness, thus to call to remembrance and represent delights past, doth argue and bewray most evidently an outragious appetite and beastly furious heat after pleasures either present, or expected and looked for: and therfore my conceit is this: That even these men themselvs perceiving what absurdities do follow herupon, have had recourse to indolency and the good state and disposition of the body; as if to live in joy and happiness, were to think and imagine upon such a complexion, that either shall be or hath been in some persons. For this firme habit and compact constitution of the flesh (say they) and the assured hope that it will continue, bringeth an exceeding contentment, and a most sound permanent joy unto as many as can discourse and think thereupon in their minds: For the better proofe thereof, consider first and formost their behaviour and what they do, namely, how they remove, toss and transport up and down this pleasure, indolency, or firme disposition of the flesh, (call it what you will) transferring it out of the body into the soul, and again from the soul to the body, for that they cannot hold and stay it, being apt to slide and run from them: whereupon they are forced to tye and fasten it to some chiefe head and principle; and thus they do stay and susteine the pleasure of the body with the joy of the mind, and reciprocally determine and accomplish the joy of the mind in the hope and expectation of bodily pleasure. But how is it possible, that the foundation being thus moveable and inconstant, the rest of the building upon it, should not likewise be unstedfast? or how can the hope be fast, and the joy assured, being founded upon a ground-worke exposed so much unto wavering and to so many mutations as these be, which compasse and environ ordinarily the body, subject to a number of necessary injuries, hurts and wounds from without, and having within the very bowels thereof, the sources and springs of many evils and maladies, which the discourse of reason is not able to avert and turne away? For otherwise it could not be, that these men (prudent and wise as they are) should have been afflicted and tormented with the diseases of painfull strangury or pissing drop-meal, the suppression and difficulty of urine, bloody-flixes, dysenteries and dolorous wrings in the guts, phthisick, and consumptions of the lungs, or dropsies; of which maladies *Epicurus* himselfe was plagued with some, *Polyenus* with others; *Nicocles* also and *Agathobulus* had their part and were much troubled therewith, which I speak not by way of reproach unto them; for I knew very well, that *Pherecides* and *Heraclitus*, two singular personages, were likewise incumbred with grievous maladies: but we would gladly require and request them (if they will acknowledge their own passions and accidents which they endure, and not, upon a vaine bravery of words, to win a popular favour and applause of the people, incurre the crime of insolent arrogance, and be convict of leasing) either not to admit the firme and strong constitution of the flesh, for the element and principall of all joy; or else not to beare us in hand and affirm, that those who be fallen into painfull anguish and dolorous disease, do laugh, disport and be wantonly merry for well it may be, that the body and flesh may be many times in good plight and in a firme disposition; but that the hope should be assured and certaine that the same will so

continue,

continue, never yet could enter into a man of stayed mind and sound judgement. But like as in the sea, according to the Poet *Æschylus*,

The night always, even to a Pilot wise,
Breeds wo, for fear lest tempests should arise,
So doth a calme ——————

For why? who knows what will ensue? and future time is ever uncertain. Impossible it is therefore, that a soul which placeth and reposeth her soveraign good in the sound disposition of the body, and in the hope of continuance therein, should hold long without fear and trouble; for that the body is not only subject to storms and tempests without, as the sea is; but the greatest part of troublesome passions, and those which are most violent, she breedeth in her selfe: and more reason there is for a man to hope for fair weather in Winter, then to promise himselfe a constitution of body exempt from pain and harm, to persevere and remain so, long: for what else hath given Poets occasion and induced them to call the life of man a day-flower, unstable, unconstant and uncertain; or to compare it unto the leaves of trees, which put out in the Spring season, fade and fall againe in Autumn; but the imbecillity and feebleness of the flesh, subject to infinite infirmities, casualties, hurts and dangers: the best plight whereof, and highest point of perfection, Physicians themselves are wont to admonish us for to suspect, fear, diminish, and take down. For according to the Aphorisme of *Hippocrates*: The good constitution of a body when it is at the height, is dangerous and slippery: and as *Euripides* the Poet said very well:

Whose body strong, whose fast and brawny flesh,
Did shew erewhile a colour gay and fresh,
Soon gone he was, and extinct sodainly,
As star that seems to shoot and fall from sky.

Nay, that which more is; a common received opinion it is, that those persons who are most faire and in the flower of their beauty, if they be eie-bitten, or looked wistly upon by a witching or envious eye, sustain much hurt and dammage thereby; because the perfection and highest degree of vigour in the body, is most subject to a sudden alteration, by reason of very weaknesse and frailty; and that there is smal or no assurance at all that a man should lead his life without pain and sorrow, may evidently appear by that which they themselves do say unto others; for they affirm: That whosoever commit wickednesse and transgresse the Laws, live all their days in misery and fear: for howsoever they may perhaps live undetected, yet impossible it is that they should promise themselves assured security, never to be discovered; insomuch as the doubt and fear of future punishment, will not give them leave to take joy, or assuredly to use the benefit of present impunity; in delivering these speeches to others, they perceive not how they speak against themselves: For semblably well it may be, that oftentimes they may have their health, and carry able bodies about them; but to be assured that they shal continue so always, or a long time, is a thing that cannot be performed: for needs they must evermore stand in doubt and distrust of their body for the time to come; like as women great with Child, are ever gruntling and groaning against the time of their travel: otherwise, let them say, why they attend still a sure and confident hope of that which hitherto they never could attain unto. Moreover, it is not sufficient to work assured confidence, for a man to forbeare sin and wrong doing, or not at all to offend the Laws, considering that to be afflicted justly, and for desert, is not the thing to be feared, but simply to endure pain, is fearful and terrible. For if it be a griefe and trouble to be touched and vexed with a mans own sins, and trespasses; he cannot chuse but be molested and disquieted also with the enormities and transgressions of others: And verily if the outragious violence and cruelty of *Lachares* was not more offensive and troublesome to the Athenians; and likewise the tyranny of *Dionysius* to the Syracusanes; yet I am sure at least wise it was full as much as to their own selves: for whiles they vexed them, tormented they were and molested themselves, and they looked to suffer punishment one time or other for their wrongs and outrages, for that they offered the same before unto their Citizens and subjects who fel into their hands. What should a man alledge to this purpose, the furious rage of the multitude, the horrible and bloudy cruelty of theeves and rovers, the mischievous pranks of proud and presumptuous inheritors, plague and pestilence by contagion and corruption of the aire, as also the fell outrage of the angry sea, in a ghust whereof *Epicurus* himselfe writeth, he had like to have been swallowed up as he sailed to the City *Lampsacus*? It may suffice to relate in this place the nature only of our body and fraile flesh, which hath within it selfe the matter of all maladies, cutting (as we say merrily in the common proverb) out of the very Ox, leather thongs; that is to say, taking pains and torments, from it selfe, thereby to make life full of anguish, fearful and dangerous, as well to good persons as to bad; in case they have learned to rejoice, and to found the confidence and surety of their joy upon nothing else but the flesh and the hope thereof, according as *Epicurus* himselfe hath left written, as in many other of his books, so in those especially which he entituled, *Of the soveraign end of all good things*. We may therefore directly conclude, that these men do hold for the foundation of a joyful and pleasant life, not a principle that is not only unsteady, tottering, and not to bee trusted upon, but also base, vile, and every way contemptible; if so bee that to avoid evils, be their only joy and the soveraign felicity that they seek for; and in case they say: That they respect and regard naught else, and in one word: That nature her selfe knoweth not where else to lodge and bestow the said happinesse, but onely there, from whence is chased and driven away, that which

might

might annoy and offend her; and thus hath *Metrodorus* written in his treatiſe againſt Sophiſters: ſo that according to their doctrine, we are to make this definition of ſoveraign good, even the avoidance of evil: for how can one lodge any joy, or place the ſaid good, but only there, from whence pain and evil hath been diſlodged and removed: To the ſame effect writeth *Epicurus* alſo, to wit: That the nature of a good thing is ingendered and ariſeth from the eſchewing and ſhunning of evil; as alſo that it proceedeth from the remembrance, cogitation, and joy which one conceiveth, in that ſuch a thing hapned unto him. For ſurely it is an ineſtimable and incomparable pleaſure (by his ſaying) to wit, the knowledge alone that one hath eſcaped ſome notable hurt or great danger: And this (quoth he) is certainly the nature and eſſence of the ſoveraign good, if thou wilt directly apply thy ſelfe thereto, as it is meet, and then anon reſt and ſtay therein, without wandering to and fro, here and there, prating and babling I wot not what concerning the definition of the ſaid ſoveraign good. O the great felicity and goodly pleaſure which theſe men enjoy, rejoycing as they do in this, that they endure none evil, feele no pain, nor ſuffer ſorrow! Have they not (think you) great cauſe to glorifie, and to ſay as they do, calling themſelves immortal, and gods fellows? Have they not reaſon for theſe their grandeurs, and exceeding ſublimites of their bleſſings, to cry out with open mouth, and as if they were poſſeſſed with the frantick fury of *Bacchus* Prieſts, to break forth into loud exclamation for joy, that ſurpaſſing all other men in wiſdom and quickneſſe of wit, they only have found out the ſoveraign, celeſtial, and divine good, and that which hath no mixture at all of evil? So that now their beatitude and felicity is nothing inferior to that of ſwine and ſheep, in that they repoſe true happineſſe in the good and ſufficient eſtate of the fleſh principally, and of the ſoul likewiſe in regard of the fleſh; of hogs I ſay and ſheep; for to ſpeak of other beaſts which are of a more civil, gentle, and gallant nature; the height and perfection of their good, ſtandeth not upon the avoiding of evil, conſidering that when they are full, and have ſtored their crawes, ſome fall to ſinging and crowing, others to ſwimming; ſome give themſelves to flie, others to counterfeit all kinds of notes and ſounds, diſporting for joy of heart and the pleaſure that they take; they uſe to play together, they make paſtime, they hop, leap, skip, and dance one with another, ſhewing thereby, that after they have eſcaped ſome evil, nature inciteth and ſtirreth them to ſeek forward, and look after that which is good, or rather indeed that they reject and caſt from them, all that which is do orous and contrary to their nature, as if it ſtood in their way, and hindered them in the purſuite of that which is better, more proper and natural unto them: for that which is neceſſary is not ſtreight ways ſimply good; but ſurely the thing that in truth is deſirable and worthy to be choſen above the reſt, is ſituate farther, and reacheth beyond the avoidance of evil: I meane that which is indeed pleaſant, and familiar to nature, as *Plato* ſaid: who forbade expreſly to call or once to eſteem the deliverance of pain and ſorrow, either pleaſure or joy, but to take them as it were for the rude Sciography or firſt draught of a Painter, or a mixture of that which is proper and ſtrange, familiar and unnaturall, like as of black and white. But ſome there be, who mounting from the bottom to the midſt for want of knowledge what is the loweſt and the middeſt, take the middle for the top and the higheſt pitch, as *Epicurus* and *Metrodorus* have done, who defined the eſſential nature and ſubſtance of the ſoveraign good, to be the deliverance and riddance from evil, contenting themſelves with the joy of ſlaves and captives, who are enlarged and delivered out of priſon, or eaſed of their irons, who take it to be a great pleaſure done unto them in caſe they be gently waſhed, bathed, and annointed after their whipping-cheer, and when their fleſh hath been tome with ſcourges; mean while they have no taſte at all or knowledge of pure, true, and liberal joyes indeed, ſuch as be ſincere, clean and not blemiſhed with any ſcars, or cicatrices, for thoſe they never ſaw, nor came where they grew: for ſay that the ſcurf, ſcab, and manginеſs of the fleſh, ſay that the bleerednеſs or gummy watering of rheumatick eyes, be troubleſome infirmities, and ſuch as nature cannot away withall, it followeth not hereupon that the ſcratching and ſcraping of the skin; or the rubbing and cleanſing of the eyes ſhould be ſuch wonderfull matters, as to be counted felicities: neither if we admit that the ſuperſtitious fear of the gods, and the grievous anguiſh and trouble ariſing from that which is reported of the Divels in hell be evil: we are not to infer by and by that to be exempt and delivered there fro, is happineſſe, felicity, and that which is to be ſo greatly wiſhed and deſired: certes, they aſſign a very ſtraight room and narrow place for their joy, wherein to turn, to walk, to rome and tumble at eaſe, ſo far forth only, as not to be terrified or diſmayed with the apprehenſion of the pains and torments deſcribed in hell, the only thing that they deſire, Lo, how their opinion which ſo far paſſeth the common ſort of people, ſetteth down for the final end of their ſingular wiſedom, a thing, which it ſeemth the very bruit beaſts hate even of themſelves: for as touching that firm conſtitution and indolence of the body, it makes no matter, whether of it ſelf or by nature, it be void of pain and ſickneſſe; no more in the tranquillity and repoſe of the ſoul, ſkilleth it much, whether by the own induſtry or benefit of nature, it be delivered from fear and terror: and yet verily a man may well ſay, and with great reaſon, that the diſpoſition is more firm and ſtrong, which naturally admitteth nothing to trouble and torment it; then that which with judgement and by the light and guidance of learning doth avoid it: But ſet the caſe, that the one were as effectual and powerful as the other; then verily it will appear at leaſtwiſe, that in this behalf, they have no advantage and pre-eminence above bruit beaſts; to wit, in that they feel no anguiſh nor trouble of ſpirit: for thoſe things which are reported either of the Divels in Hell, or the Gods in Heaven; nor feare at all paines and torments, expecting when they ſhall

ſhall have an end. That this is true, *Epicurus* verily himſelfe hath put down in writing: If (quoth he) the ſuſpicions and imaginations of the meteors and impreſſions which both are and doth appear in the aire and ſky above, did not trouble us; nor yet thoſe of death and the pangs thereof; we ſhould have no need at all to have recourſe unto the naturall cauſes of all thoſe things, no more than thoſe dumb beaſts who entertaine no evill ſuſpicions or ſurmiſes of the gods, nor any opinions to torment them, as touching that which ſhall befall them after death: for they neither believe and know, nor ſo much as once think of any harme at all in ſuch things. Furthermore, if in the opinion that they hold of the gods, they had reſerved and left a place for divine providence, believing that therby the world was governed, they might have been thought wiſe men as they are, to have gone beyond brute beaſts for the atteining of a pleaſant and joyfull life, in regard of their good hopes; but ſeeing all their doctrine as touching the gods tendeth to this end, namely, to feare no god, and otherwiſe to be fearleſs and careleſs altogether, I am perſwaded verily that this is more firmly ſettled in thoſe, having no ſence and knowledge at all of God, than in theſe who ſay they know God, but have not learnd to acknowledge him for a puniſhing God, and one that can puniſh and can do harme: for thoſe are not delivered from ſuperſtition; and why? they never fell into it, neither have they laid away that fearfull conceit and opinion of the gods; and no marvell, for they never had any ſuch: the ſame may be ſaid as touching hell and the infernall ſpirits; for neither the one nor the other have any hope to receive good from thence; marie, ſuſpect, feare and doubt what ſhall betide them after death, thoſe muſt needs, leſſe, who have no fore-conceit at all of death; than they in whom this perſwaſion is imprinted beforehand, that death concerneth us not: and yet thus far forth it toucheth them, and that they diſcourſe, diſpute, and conſider thereupon; whereas brute beaſts are altogether freed from the thought and care of ſuch things as do nothing pertеine unto them: true it is, that they ſhun ſtroaks, wounds and ſlaughter; and thus much (I ſay) of death they feare, which alſo even to theſe men is dreadfull and terrible. Thus you ſee what good things wiſdome (by their own ſaying) hath furniſhed them withall: but let us now take a ſight and ſurvey of thoſe which they exclude themſelves fro and are deprived of. As touching thoſe diffuſions of the ſoul, when it dilateth and ſpreadeth it ſelfe over the fleſh, and for the pleaſure that the fleſh feeleth, if the ſame be ſmall or mean, there is no great matter therein, nor that which is of any conſequence to ſpeak of; but if they paſs mediocritie, then (beſides that they be vain, deceitfull and uncerteine) they are found to be comberſome and odious, ſuch as a man ought rather to ráther, to rearme not ſpirituall joyes and delights of the ſoul, but rather ſenſuall and groſſe pleaſures of the body, fawning, flattering and ſmiling upon the ſoul, to draw and entice her to the participation of ſuch vanities: as for ſuch contentments of the mind which deſerve indeed and are worthy to be called joyes and delights, they be purified cleau from the contrary, they have no mixture at all of troubleſome motions, no ſting that pricketh them, nor repentance that followeth them, but their pleaſure is ſpirituall, proper and naturall to the ſoul; neither is the good therein borrowed abroad, and brought in from without, nor abſurd and void of reaſon, but moſt agreeable and ſorting thereto, proceeding from that part of the mind which is given unto contemplation of the truth, and deſirous of knowledge, or at leaſtwiſe from that, which applieth it ſelfe to do and execute great and honourable things: now the delights and joyes as well of the one as the other, he that went about to number, and would ſtrain and force himſelfe to diſcourſe how great and excellent they be, he were never able to make an end: but in breef and few words, to help our memory a little as touching this point: Hiſtories miniſter an infinit number of goodly and notable examples, which yeeld unto us a ſingular delight and recreation to paſs the time away, never breeding in us a tedious fatietie, but leaving alwayes the appetite that our ſoul hath to the truth, inſatiable and deſirous ſtill of more pleaſure and contentment; in regard thereof, untruths and very lies therein delivered are not without their grace; for even in fables and fictions poeticall, although we give no credit unto them, there is ſome effectuall force to delight and perſwade: for think (I pray you) with your ſelfe, with what heat of delight and affection we read the book of *Plato* intituled *Atlanticus*, or the laſt books of *Homers Ilias*? Conſider alſo with what grief of heart we miſſe and want the reſidue of the tale behind, as if we were kept out of ſome beautifull temples, or faire theaters, ſhut faſt againſt us? for ſurely the knowledge of truth in all things, is ſo lovely and amiable, that it ſeemeth, our life and very being, dependeth moſt upon knowledge and learning; whereas the moſt unpleaſant, odious and horrible things in death, be oblivion, ignorance and darkneſſe; which is the reaſon (I aſſure you) that all men in a manner fight and war againſt thoſe who would bereave the dead of all ſence, giving us thereby to underſtand, that they do meaſure the whole life, the being alſo, and joy of man, by the ſence onely and knowledge of his mind; in ſuch ſort, that even thoſe very things that are odious and offenſive otherwiſe, we heare otherwhiles with pleaſure; and often times it falleth out, that though men be troubled with the thing they hear, ſo as the water ſtandeth in their eyes, and they be ready to weep and cry out for grief, yet they deſire thoſe that relate the ſame to ſay on and ſpeak all: as for example, *Oedipus* in *Sophocles*.

The Meſſenger.

Alas, my Lord, I ſee that now I ſhall
Relate the thing which is the worſt of all.

Oedipus.

Woe is me likewiſe: to hear it I am preſt,
There is no help; ſay on, and tell the reſt.

But peradventure this may be a current and stream of intemperate pleasure and delight, proceeding from a curiosity of the mind and will, too forward to hear and know all things, yea, and to offer violence unto the judgement and discourse of reason: howbeit, when as a narration or history containing in it no hurtful and offensive matter, besides the subject argument, which consisteth of brave adventures and worthy exploits, is penned and couched in a sweet stile, with a grace and powerfull force of eloquence; such as is the history of *Herodotus* as touching the Greek affaires, or of *Xenophon* concerning the Persian acts, as also that which *Homer* with an heavenly spirit hath endited and delivered in his verses, or *Eudoxus* in his peregrinations and description of the world, or *Aristotle* in his Treatise of the founding of Cities and Governments of State, or *Aristoxenus* who hath left in writing, the lives of famous and renowned persons; in such (I say) there is not only much delight and contentment, but also there ensueth thereupon no displeasure nor repentance. And what man is he, who being hungry, would more willingly eat the good and delicate meats? or a thirst, desire and chuse to drink the dainty and pleasant wines of the Phæacians, rather then read that fiction and discourse of the voyage and pilgrimage of *Ulysses*? and who would take more pleasure to lie with a most fair and beautiful woman, then to sit up all night, reading either that which *Xenophon* hath written of Lady *Panthea*, or *Aristobulus*, of dame *Timoclea*, or *Theopompus* of fair *Thisbe*? These be the pleasures and joyes indeed of the mind: but our Epicureans reject likewise, all those delights which proceed from the fine inventions of the Mathematical Sciences: and to say a truth, a History runneth plain, even simple and uniform; whereas the delectation that we have in Geometry, Astronomy and Musick, have besides (I wot not what) forcible bait of variety to attractive, that it seemeth men are charmed and enchanted by them: so forcibly they allure, and so mightily they hold men with their delineations and descriptions, as if they were so many forceries, spells and incantations: so that whosoever hath once tasted thereof, so he be practised and exercised therein, he may go all about well enough, chanting these verses of *Sophocles*.

The furious love of Muses nine
Hath heart and mind possessed mine:
Thus ravished, fast I me hie
To crest and cape of mountain hie:
Melodious songs, and sound withall
Of pleasant harp, me forth doth call.

Certes, *Thamyras* exercised his poetical heat about nothing else; no more verily did *Eudoxus*, *Aristarchus* and *Archimides*. For seeing that studious, and industrious Painters took so great pleasure in the excellency of their works, that *Nicias* when he was painting *Homers Necyia* (that is to say, the calling forth and raising the ghosts of folk departed) being so affectionate to it, forgat himselfe and asked his servitors ne sloones about him, whether he had dined or no: and when *Ptolomeus* King of *Egypt* sent unto him threescore Talents for the said picture after it was finished, he refused the same, and would never sell, or part with his handy work. What pleasure reaped (think you) and how great delight took *Euclides* in Geometry and Astrology, when he wrote the propositions of Perspective; and *Philip* when he composed the demonstrations of the divers forms and shapes appearing in the Moon? *Archimedes* also, when by the Angle called *Gonia*, he found out, that the Diameter of the Sun is just so big a part of the greatest Circle, as the Angle is of four right lines: *Apollonius* likewise and *Aristarchus*, who were the inventors of the like propositions; the contemplation and knowledge whereof, even at this day, bringeth exceeding pleasure and wonderful generosity and magnanimity unto those who can intend to study upon them. And verily those base and abject pleasures of the kitchin and brothel house, we ought not so much as to compare with these, and thereby to contaminate and disgrace the sacred Muses and their mountain *Helicon*,

Where shepherd none durst tend his flock,
On hill above or vale below:
Nor edged tool was known to stock
Or cut one tree that there did grow.

But these pleasures are indeed the intemperate and undefiled pastures of the gentle Bees; whereas those other resemble properly the itching lusts of swine and goats, which over and besides the body, fill with their filthy ordure the sensual part of the soul, subject to all passions and perturbations. True it is that lust and desire to enjoy pleasures, is a passion adventurous and hardy enough to enterprize many and sundry matters; yet was there never man found so amorous, who for joy that he had embraced his paramour, sacrificed a beef; nor ever was there known so notorious a glutton, who wished in his heart and desired, so he might first fill his belly with delicate viands and princely banqueting dishes, to die presently: and yet *Eudoxus* made this prayer, that he might stand neer unto the Sun, for to learn the form, the magnitude and the beauty of that Planet, upon condition to be burnt presently, as *Phaëton* was, with the beams thereof. *Pythagoras* for the proof one proposition or figure which he had invented, sacrificed an Ox, as *Apollodorus* hath recorded in this Dysticon:

No sooner had Pythagoras *this noble figure found,*
But solemnly he sacrific'd an Ox, even in that stound,

Whether it were that slope line in Geometry, called *Hypotinusa*, which answering directly to the right Angle of a Triangle, is as much in effect as the other two that comprehend and make the said Angle; or rather that lineary demonstration or proposition, whereby he measured the plot in a parabolick

bolick section of a Cone or round pyramidal figure. As for *Archimedes*, he was so intentive and busie in drawing his Geometrical figures, that his servants were faine by force to pull him away to be washed and anointed; and even then he would with the strigil or bathcombe (which served to curry and rub his skin) draw figures even upon his very belly: and one day above the rest, having found out whiles he was a bathing, the way to know how much gold the gold-smith had robbed in the fashion of that crown which King *Hiero* had put forth to making, he ran forth suddenly out of the baine, as if he had been frantick, or inspired with some fanatical spirit, crying out, *Heureca, Heureca*, that is to say, I have found it, I have found it, iterating the same many times all the way as he went. But we never heard of any Glutton so given to gourmandise and belly-cheer, who went up and down crying *Bebroca*, that is to say, I have eaten, I have eaten; nor of a wanton and amorous person, who having enjoyed his love, would set up this note, *Ephilesa*, that is to say, I have kist, I have kist. Notwithstanding there have been and are at this day, a thousand millions, even an infinite number of lascivious and loose persons: But contrariwise, we detest and abhor those, who upon an affection, bravery and pride, make rehearsal what feasts they have been at, as persons who highly account of so base and unworthy pleasures, which men ought indeed to have in contempt. Whereas in reading the works of *Eudoxus*, *Archimedes*, and *Hipparchus*, we are ravished and transported as it were with some heavenly and divine delight: beleeving that saying of *Plato* to be true, who writeth: That the Mathematical Arts, howsoever they be contemned, by those that be ignorant, and for default of knowledge and understanding neglected: yet for the grace and delight that they yeeld, be more and more in request, even in despight of those blind and blockish persons: All which pleasures so great and so many in number, running alwayes as a river: these men here do turn and drive another way, for to empeath and hinder those who approach unto them, and give eare unto their doctrine, that they should not once taste thereof, but command them to set up and spread all their main sayles, and flie away as fast as they can. Yea, and that which more is, all those of this sect, both men and women, pray and request *Pythocles* (for *Epicurus* sake) not to make any account of those arts which we name liberal: And in praising our *Apelles*, among other singular qualities, that they attribute unto him, they set down this for one: That from his first beginning he had forborne the study of the Mathematicks, and by that means kept himselfe unspotted and undefiled: As for Histories (to say nothing, how of all other Sciences they have neither heard nor seen any) I will cite only the words of *Metrodorus* writing of Poets: Tush (quoth he) be not abashed nor think it a shame to confesse that thou knowest not, of whether side *Hector* was, of the Greeks part or of the Trojans? neither think it a great matter if thou be ignorant what were the first verses of *Homers* Poem, and regard thou as little those in the midst.

Now forasmuch as *Epicurus* wist well enough, that the pleasures of the body (like unto the anniversary Etesian minds) do blow over and passe away, yea, and after the flower of mans age is once gone, decay sensibly, and cease altogether; therefore he moveth a question: Whether a wise man, being now far stept in years, and not able any more to keep company with a woman, taketh pleasure still in wanton touching, feeling or handling of fair and beautiful persons: Wherein verily he is far from the mind and opinion of *Sophocles*; who rejoyced and thanked God, that he had escaped from this voluptuous and fleshly love, as from the yoak, chain, or clog of some violent and furious master. Yet rather ought these sensual and voluptuous persons, seeing that many delights and pleasures corporal, do fade and decay in old age,

And that with aged folk in this,
Dame Venus *much offended is:*

(as saith *Euripides*) to make provision then most all, of other spiritual pleasures, and to be stored before hand, as it were against some long siege, with such dry victuals as are not subject to putrefaction and corruption: Then I say should they hold their solemn feasts of *Venus*, and goodly morrow-minds, to passe the time away by reading some pleasant Histories, delectable Poems, or pretty speculations of Musick or Geometry: And verily they would not so much as think any more of those blind feelings and bootlesse handlings (as I may tearm them) which indeed are no more but the pricks and provocations of dead wantonnesse, if they had learned no more but as *Aristotle*, *Heraclides*, and *Dicaarchus* did, to write of *Homer* and *Euripides*: But they being never careful and provident to purvey such victuals, and seeing all the rest of their life otherwise to be unpleasant, and as dry as a kex (as themselves are wont to say of vertue) yet willing to enjoy still their pleasures continually, but finding their bodies to say nay, and not able to perform the same to their contentment, they bewray their corruption in committing foul and dishonest acts out of season, enforcing themselves (even by their own confessions) to awaken, stir up, and renew the memory of their former pleasures in times past, and for want of fresh and new delights, making a shift to serve their turn with the old and stale, as if they had been long kept in salt pickle, or compost, untill their goodnesse and life were gone; desirous they are to stir, kindle, and quicken others that lie extinct in their flesh, as it were raked up in dead and cold ashes long before, clean against the course of nature; and all for default that they were not provided before of some sweet thing laid up in their soule, proper unto her, and delightsome according to her worthinesse: As for other spiritual pleasures wee have spoken of them already, as they came into our mind: but as touching Musick, which bringing with it so many contentments, and so great delights, men yet reject and flie from, no man I trow would willingly passe it over in silence, considering the absurd and impertinent speeches that *Epicurus* giveth out:

out: for in his questions he maintaineth: That a wise man is a great lover of shews and spectacles, delighting above all others to hear and see the pastimes, sports and fights, exhibited in Theaters during the feast of *Bacchus*; yet will he not admit any musical problemes, any disputations or witty discourses of Criticks in points of humanity and learning, so much as at the very table, in dinner and supper time: but giveth counsel unto Kings and Princes that be lovers and favourers of literature, to abide rather the reading and hearing of military narrations, and stratagems at their feasts and banquets, yea, and scurril talk of buffons, pleasants and gesters, then any questions propounded or discussed, as touching Musick or Poetry: for thus much hath he delivered in his book entituled: *Of Royalty*: as if he had written the same to *Sardanapalus* or *Naratus*, who was in times past a great Potentate and Lord of *Babylon*. Certes, neither *Hiero* nor *Attalus*, nor yet *Archelaus* would ever have been perswaded to remove and displace from their tables such as *Euripides*, *Simonides*, *Melanippides*, *Crates*, or *Diodorus*, for to set in their rooms *Cardax*, *Ariantes*, and *Callias*, known gesters and notorious ribauds; or some parasitical *Thrasonides* and *Thrasyleons*, who could skill of nothing else but how to make folk laugh, in counterfeiting lamentable yellings, groans, howlings, and all to move applause and clapping of hands. If King *Ptolomeus* the first of that name, who also first erected a liberty, and founded a colledge of learned men, had light upon these goodly rules and royal precepts of his putting down, would not he have exclamed and said unto the Samians:

O Muses fair, O Ladies dear,
What envy, and what spight is here!

For, beseeming it is not any Athenian thus maliciously to be bent unto the Muses, and be at warre with them: but according to *Pindarus*:

Whom Jupiter *doth not vouchsafe*
His love and favour for to have,
Amaz'd they stand and quake for fear,
When they the voice of Muses hear.

What say you, *Epicurus*? you go early in the morning by break of day unto the Theater, to heare musicians playing upon the Harp and Lute, or sounding shawmes and hautboies: if then it fortune at the table, in time of a banquet, that *Theophrastus* discourseth of Symphonies and musical accords? or *Aristoxenes*, of changes and alteration of tunes? or *Aristophanes* of *Homers* works, will you stop your ears with both hands, because you would not hear, for that you so abhor and detest them? Surely, there was more civility yet and honesty (by report) in that barbarous King of *Scythia*, *Ateas*, who when that excellent minstrel *Ismenias*, being his Captive, taken prisoner in the wars, played upon the flute before him as he sat at dinner, sware a great oath, that he took more pleasure to hear his horse neigh. Do not these men (think you) confesse and grant (when they be well charged) that they have given defiance to vertue and honesty, proclaming mortal and irreconcilable war, without all hope of Truce, Parley, Composition and Peace? for surely, setting pleasure only aside, what other thing is there in the world (be it never so pure, holy and venerable) that they embrace and love? Had it not been more reason, for the leading of a joyful life, to be offended with sweet perfumes, and to reject odoriferous oyls and ointments, as bettles, jeires and vultures do, then to abhor, detest and shun the talk and discourses of Humanitians, Criticks, Grammarians, and Musicians? for, what manner of flute, or hautboies, what harp or lute how well soever set, tuned, and fitted for song,

What quire resounding loud and shrill
From pleasant mouth and breast so sweet,
A song in parts, set with great skill,
When cunning men in musick meet?

so greatly delighted *Epicurus* and *Metrodorus*, as the discourses, the rules and precepts of Quires and Carols, the questions and propositions concerning flutes and hautboies, touching proportions, consonances and harmonical accords would affect *Aristotle*, *Theophrastus*, *Hieronymus* and *Dicaearchus*? As for example, what is the reason, that of two pipes or flutes (otherwise even and equal) that which hath the straighter and narrrower mouth, yeelderh the bigger and more base sound? also, what might be the cause, that the same pipe when it is lifted and set upward, becometh loud in all the tones that it maketh, but hold it downward once, it soundeth as low? so doth one pipe also when it is set close unto another, give a base sound; but contrariwise, if it be disjoined and put asunder, it soundeth higher and more shril. As also how it commeth to passe, that if a man sow chaff, or cast dust thick upon the stage or scaffold in a Theater, the people there assembled be deaf and cannot hear the Players or Minstrels? Semblably, when King *Alexander* the Great was minded to have made in the city of *Pella* the forepart of the stage in the Theater all of brasse; what moved his workman or Architect not to permit him so to do, for fear it would drown and dull the voice of the Players? Finally, why among sundry kinds of musick, that which is called Chromatical, delighteth, enlargeth and joyeth the heart, whereas the Harmonical contracteth and draweth it in, making it sad and dumpish? Moreover, the manners and natures of men which Poets represent in their writings, their witty fictions, the difference and variety of their stile, the solution of dark doubts and quaint questions, which (besides a delight some grace and beautiful elegance) carry with them a familiar and perswasive power, whereout each one may reap profit; insomuch as they are able (as *Xenophon* saith) to make a man forget even love it self, so effectual is this pleasure and delight. Howbeit, the Epicureans here have no

no feeling and experience: nay, which is worse, they desire to have none, as they say themselves; but imploying the whole contemplative part of the soul, in thinking upon nothing else but the body, and plucking it downward together with sensual and carnal lusts, as fishers nets with little rolls and plummets of lead; they differ nothing at all from horsekeepers, or shepherds and other herdmen, who day before their beasts, hay, straw, or some kind of grasse and herbs, as the proper fodder and forrage for the cattell which they have in charge: for do they not even so intend to feed the soule fat (as men frank up swine) with bodily pleasures; in that they would have her to be glad for the hope she hath that the body shall shortly enjoy some pleasure, or else in the remembrance of those which it hath enjoyed in times past? as for any proper delight or particular pleasure of her owne, they suffer her to receive none from her self, nor so much as to seek thereafter.

And verily can there be any thing more absurd and beside all apparence and shew of reason, then (whereas there be two parts whereof man is compounded, to wit, soul and body, of which the soul is more worth, and placed in the higher degree) to say and affirm, that there is in the body some good thing, proper, peculiar, familiar, and natural unto it, and none in the soule; but that she sits still tending the body, and looking only to it? that she smileth upon the passions and affections thereof, joying and taking contentment with it only; having of her self originally no motion, no election, no choice, no desire nor pleasure at all? Now surely they should either by putting off their mask and discovering themselves, have gone roundly to work, making man flesh, and nothing else but flesh; as some there be who flatly deny, that there is any spiritual substance in him; or else leaving in us two different natures, they ought to have let either of them alone by it self, with their several good and evil: that I say which is familiar or contrary unto it: like as among the five senses, every one is destined and appropriate to one object sensible, although all of them by a certain wonderful sympathy be affected one to the other. Now the proper sensative organ or instrument of the soule is, the understanding; and to say that the same hath no peculiar subject to work upon, no proper spectacle to behold, no familiar motion, no natural and inbred passion or affection, in the fruition whereof it should take pleasure and delight, is the greatest absurdity of all others: And verily this is the saying of these men; unlesse haply some there be, who ere they be aware, charge upon them some slanderous and false imputations. Hereat began I to speak and say unto him: not so Sir, if we may be Judges; but I pray you let be, all action of inquiry, and proceed hardly to finish and make an end of your discourse. And why (quoth he) should not *Aristodemus* succeed after me, if you haply refuse flatly, or be loath to speak? You say true indeed (quoth *Aristodemus*) but that shall not be until you be weary of speech, as this man is; and for the present, since you are yet fresh and in heart, I beseech you my good friend, spare not your self, but use your faculty, lest you be thought for very sloath and idlenesse to draw back and goe out of the lists. Certes (quoth *Theon* then) it is but a small matter, and the same very easie which is behind; for there remaineth no more but to shew and recount how many joyes and pleasures there be in active life, and that part of the soule which is given to action? First and formost, even they themselves in some place grant and confesse; that it is a greater pleasure to do good, and to benefit others, then to receive a benefit from another; as for good turns, a man I confesse may do them in bare words and sayings: but surely the most and greatest are performed by acts and deeds, and thus much doth the very word of of benefit or weldoing import; and even they themselves testifie no lesse: For but a while since, we heard this man report, what words and speeches *Epicurus* delivered; what letters he wrote and sent unto his friends, in extolling, praising, and magnifying *Metrodorus*; how bravely and valiantly he went down from the City of *Athens* to the Port *Pyreum*, for to aid and succour *Mythris* the Syrian, albeit *Metrodorus* did no service at all in that sally: What manner of pleasures then, and how great ought we to esteem those which *Plato* enjoyed, when *Dion* a Scholar of his, and one of his bringing up, rose up to put down the tyrant *Dionysius*, and to deliver the state of *Sicily* from servitude? what contentment might *Aristotle* find, when he caused the City of his Nativity, which was ruinate and razed to the ground to be re-edified, and his country-men and fellow-Citizens to bee called home who were banished? what delights and joyes were those of *Theophrastus* and *Phidias*, who deposed and overthrew those tyrants who usurped the Lordly dominion of their country? and for private persons in particular, how many they relieved, not in sending unto them a strike of a bushel of corn and meale, as *Epicurus* sent unto some; but in working and effecting, that those who were exiled out of their native country, driven from their own houses, and turned out of all their goods, might return home again and re-enter upon all; that such as had been prisoners and lien in irons, might be delivered and set at large; as many also as were put from their wives and children, might recover and enjoy them again: What need I make rehearsal unto you, who know all this well enough: But surely the impudence and absurdity of this man, I cannot (though I would) passe over with silence, who debasing and casting under foot the acts of *Themistocles* and *Miltiades* as he did, wrote of himself se to certain of his friends in this sort: Right nobly, valiantly, and magnificently, have you shewed your endeavour and care of us, in provision of Corne to furnish us withal; and again, you have declared by notorious signes, which mount up into Heaven, the singular love and good will which you bear unto me. And if a man observe the manner of this stile and writing, he shall find, that if he take out of the mysteries of this great Philosopher, that which concerneth a little Corne, all the words besides are so curiously couched and penned, as if the Epistle had been written purposely, as a thanksgiving for the safety of all *Greece*, or at leastwise,

wise, for delivering; setting free, and preserving the whole City and People of *Athens*.

What should I busie my head to shew unto you, that for the delights of the body, nature had need to be at great cost and expenses; neither doth the chiefe pleasure which they seek after, consist in course bisket-bread, in pease-pottage, or lentile broth; but the appetites of these voluptuous persons, call for evquisite and dainty viands, for sweet and delicate wines, such as those be of *Thasos*, for sweet odours, pleasant perfumes, and precious ointments, for curious junkets and banqueting dishes, for tarts, cake-bread, marchpanes, and other pastry works, well wrought, beaten and tempered with the sweet liquor gathered by the yellow winged Bee: over and besides all this, their mind stands also to fair and beautiful young damosels, they must have some pretty *Leontium*, some fine *Boidion*, some sweet *Hedia*, or dainty *Nicedion*, whom they keep and nourish of purpose within their gardens of pleasure, to be ready at hand. As for the delights and joyes of the mind, there is no man but will confesse and say: That founded they ought to be upon the greatnesse of some noble actions, and the beauty of worthy and memorable works, it we would have them to bee not vaine, base and childish; but contrariwise, reputed grave, generous, magnificent and man-like; whereas to vaunt and glory of being let loose to a dissolute course of life and the fruition of pleasures and delights, after the manner of Saylers and Mariners when they celebrate the feast of *Venus*; to boast also and please himselfe in this: That being desperately sick of that kind of dropsie which the Physicians call *Ascites*, he forbare not to feast his friends still, and keep good company, neither spared to adde and gather more moisture and waterish humours still unto his dropsie: and remembring the last words that his brother *Neocles* spake upon his death-bed, melted and consumed with special joy and pleasure of his own, tempered with tears; there is no man (I trow) of sound judgement and in his right wits, who would tearm these sottish follies, either sound joyes, or perfect delights; but surely, if there be any Sardonian laughter (as they call it) belonging also to the soul, it is seated (in my conceit) even in such joyes and mirths mingled with tears as these, which do violence unto nature: but if any man shall say, that these be solaces, let him compare them with others, and see how far these excel and go beyond them which are expressed by these verses:

By sage advice I have effected this,
That Spartaes *martial fame eclipsed is.*

Also:

This man, Of friend and stranger both,
was while he lived here,
The great and glorious Star of Rome,
his native City deare.

Likewise:

I wot not what I should you call,
An heavenly God und man mortall.

And when I set before mine eyes the noble and worthy acts of *Thrasybulus* and *Pelopidas*; or behold the victories either of *Aristides* in that journey of *Platee*, or of *Miltiades* at the battel of *Marathon*, I am even ravished and transported besides my selfe, and forced to say with *Herodotus*, and deliver this sentence: That in this active life, there is more sweetnesse and delectation, then glory and honor: and that this is so, *Epaminondas* will bear me witnesse, who (by report) gave out this speech, that the greatest contentment which ever he had during his life, was this: That his father and mother were both alive to see that noble Trophee of his, for the victory that he wan at *Leuctres*, being general of the Thebans against the Lacedemonians: Compare we now with this mother of *Epaminondas*, *Epicurus* his mother, who took so great joy to see her son keeping close in a dainty garden and orchard of pleasure, where he and his familiar friend *Polyenus* gat children in common, upon a trull and courtisan of *Cyzicum*: for, that both mother and sister of *Metrodorus* were exceeding glad of his marriage, may appear by his letters missive written unto his brother, which are extant in his books: and yet they go up and down every where crying with open mouth: That they have lived in joy, doing naught else but extoll and magnifie their delicate life, faring much like unto slaves when they solemnize the feast of *Saturn*, supping and making of good cheer together, or celebrate the Bacchanales, running about the fields; so as a man may hardly abide to hear the uttas and yelling noise they make, when upon the insolent joy of their hearts, they break out into many fooleries, and utter they care not unto whom, as vain and fond speeches, in this manner:

Why sit'st thou still, thou wretched lout,
Come let us drink and quaff about:
The meats upon the board set are,
Be merry man and make no spare:
No sooner are these words let flie,
But all at once they hout and crie;
The pots then walk, one fills out wine,
Another brings a garland fine
Of flowers full fresh, his head to crown,
And decks the cup, whiles wine goes down:
And then the minstrel, Phœbus knight,
With fair green branch of Laurel dight,
Sets out his rude and rusty throat,
And sings a filthy tuneless note:
With that one thrusts the pipe him fro,
And sounds his wench and bedfello.

Do not (think you) the letters of *Metrodorus* resemble these vanities, which he wrote unto his brother in these tearms? "There is no need at all, *Timocrates*, neither ought a man to expose himself, "into danger for the safety of *Greece*, or to strain and busie his head to win a Coronet among them, "in testimony of his wisedom; but he is to eat, and drink wine merrily, so as the body may enjoy "all pleasure, & sustain no harm. And again, in another place of the same letters he hath these words: "Oh how joyful was I, and glad at heart! Oh what contentment of spirit found I, when I had "learned once of *Epicurus*, to make much of my belly, & to gratifie it as I ought! For to say a truth "to you, O *Timocrates*, that Art a Naturalist: The soveraign good of a man lieth about the belly. "In summe, these men do limit, set out and circumscribe the greatnesse of humane pleasure within the compasse of the belly, as it were within center and circumference; but surely impossible it is, that they should ever have their part of any great, royal and magnifical joy, such as indeed causeth magnanimity and hautinesse of courage, bringeth glorious honour abroad, or tranquillity of spirit at home, who have made choice of a close and private life within doors, never shewing themselves in the world, nor meddling with the publick affairs of Common-weale; a life (I say) sequestred from all offices of humanity, far removed from any instinct of honour, or desire to gratifie others, thereby to deserve thanks, or win favour: for the soul (I may tell you) is no base and small thing, it is not vile and illiberal, extending her desires onely to that which is good to be eaten, as do these poulps or pourcuttle fishes which stretch their cleies as far as to their meat and no farther; for such appetites as these, are most quickly cut off with satiety, and filled in a moment; but when the motions and desires of the mind tending to vertue and honesty, to honour also and contentment of conscience, upon vertuous deeds and well doing, are once grown to their vigour and perfection, they have not for their limit, the length and tearm only of mans life: but surely, the desire of honour, and the affection to profit the society of men, comprehending all eternity, striveth still to go forward in such actions and beneficial deeds as yeeld infinite pleasures that cannot be expressed; which joies, great personages and men of worth cannot shake off and avoid though they would: for flie they from them what they can, yet they environ them about on every side, they are ready to meet them wheresoever they go, when as by their beneficence and good deeds they have once refreshed and cheered many other: for of such persons may well this verse be verified:

To town when that he comes, or there doth walk:
Men him behold as God, and so do talk.

For when a man hath so affected and disposed others, that they are glad and leap for joy to see him, that they have a longing desire to touch, salute, and speak unto him; who seeth not (though otherwise he were blind) that he findeth great joies in himself, and enjoyeth most sweet contentment: this is the cause that such men are never weary of well doing, nor think it a trouble to be employed to the good of others; for we shall evermore hear from their mouths these and such like speeches:

Thy father thee begat and brought to light,
That thou one day might'st profit many a wight.

Again,

Let us not cease, but shew a mind,
Of doing good to all mankind.

What need I to speak here of those that be excellent men, and good in the highest degree? for if to any one of those who are not extreamly wicked, at the very point and instant of death; he in whose hands lieth his life, be he a god, or some King, should grant one hours respit, and permit him to employ himselfe at his own choice, either to execute some memorable act, or else to take his pleasure for the while, so that immediately after that hour past, he should go to his death: How many think you would chuse rather during this small time, to lie with that courtisan and famous Strumpet *Lais*, or drink liberally of good Ariusian wine, then to kill the tyrant *Archias*, for to deliver the City of *Thebes*, from tyrannical servitude? for mine own part verily, I suppose, that there is not one: for this I observe in those sword-fencers, who fight at sharp a combat to the uttrance, such I mean as are not altogether brutish and savage, but of the Greekish nation, when they are to enter in place for to perform their devoir, notwithstanding there be presented unto them many dainty dishes and costly cates, chuse rather at this very time to recommend unto their friends, their wives and children, to manumise and enfranchise their slaves, then to serve their bellies and content their sensual appetites: But admit that these bodily pleasures be great matters, and highly to be accounted of, the same are common also even to those that lead an active live, and mannage affairs of State; For as the Poet saith:

Wine muscadel they drink, and likewise eat
Fine manchet bread, made of the whitest wheat.

They banquet also, and feast with their friends, yea, and much more merrily (in my conceit, after they be returned from bloody battels, or other great exploits and important services; like as *Alexander* and *Agesilaus*; *Phocion* also and *Epaminondas* were wont to do) then these who are annointed against the fire, or carried easily in their litters: and yet such as they mock and scorn those, who indeed

deed have the fruition of other greater and more dainty pleasures: for what should a man speak of *Epaminondas*, who being invited to a supper unto his friends house, when he saw that the provision was greater and more sumptuous then his state might well bear, would not stay and sup with him, but said thus unto his friend: I thought you would have sacrificed unto the gods, and not have been a wasteful and prodigal spender; and no marvel; for King *Alexander* the Great refused to entertain the exquisite Cooks of *Ada* Queen of *Caria*, saying: That he had better about him of his own to dresse his meat, to wit, for his dinner or breakfast, early rising and travelling before day light; and for his supper, a light and hungry dinner. As for *Philoxenus* who wrote unto him concerning two most faire and beautiful boies, to this effect, whether he should buy them for to send unto him or no? he had like to have lost the place of government under him, for his labour: and yet to say a truth, who might have better done it then *Alexander*? But like as of two pains and griefs (as *Hippocrates* saith) the lesse is dulled and dimmed (as it were) by the greater; even so, the pleasures proceeding from vertuous and honourable actions, do darken and extinguish (by reason of the minds joyes, and in regard of their exceeding greatnesse) those delights which arise from the body. And if it be so as these Epicureans say, that the remembrance of former pleasures and good things, bee material and make much for a joyful life, which of us all will beleeve *Epicurus* himselfe, that dying (as he did) in most grievous pains and dolorous maladies, he eased his torments, or asswaged his anguish by calling to mind those delights which before-time he had enjoyed? for surely, it were an easier matter to behold the resemblance of ones face in the bottom of a troubled water, or amid the waves during a tempest, then to conceive and apprehend the smiling and laughing remembrance of a pleasure past, in so great a disquietnesse and bitter vexation of the body; whereas the memory of vertuous and praise-worthy actions, a man cannot (would he never so faine) chase and drive out of his mind. For how is it possible, that *Alexander* the Great, should ever forget the battel at *Arbela*? or *Pelopidas*, the defeature of the tyrant *Leontiades*? or *Themistocles*, the noble field fought before *Salamis*? for as touching the victory at *Marathon*, the memorial thereof the Athenians doe solemnize with feasts even to this day; like as the Thebans celebrate the remembrance of the famous fight at *Leuctres*: and we verily (as you know well enough) make feasts for the victory of *Daiphantus* before the City *Hyampolis*; and not only we, keep yearly holiday then, but also the whole country of *Phocis* (upon that anniversary day) is full of sacrifices and due honours: neither is there one of us that taketh so great contentment of all that he eateth or drinketh at such a festival time, as he doth in regard of the remembrance of those noble acts which those brave men performed: we may well guesse and consider therefore, what joy, what mirth, what gladnesse and solace of heart accompanied them all their life time after, who executed these noble feats of arms, considering that after five hundred years and above, the memory of them is fresh, and the same attended with so great cheer and rejoycing. And yet *Epicurus* himselfe doth acknowledge, that of glory there do arise certain joyes and pleasures; for how could he do lesse, seeing that himselfe is so desirous thereof, that he is even mad withal, and fareth after a furious manner to attain thereto; insomuch, as not only he disavoweth his own masters and teachers, contesteth against* *Democrates* (whose opinions and doctrines he stealeth word for word) upon certain syllables and nice points, maintaining that there never was any wise man nor learned Clerk, setting himselfe and his disciples aside: but also, which more is, he hath been so impudent, as to say and write; that *Colotes* adored him as a god, touching his knees full devoutly, when he heard him discourse of natural causes; and that his brother *Neocles* affirmed and gave out even from his infancy; that *Epicurus* had never his like or fellow for wisedome and knowledge; as also, that his mother was happie and blessed for bearing in her womb such a number of Atomes, that is to say, indivisible small bodies, who concurring all together framed and formed so skilful a personage. Is not this all one with that which *Callicratides* sometime said of *Conon*: That he committed adultery with the sea; even so a man may say that *Epicurus* secretly by stealth and shamefully) made love unto Glory, and went about to sollicit, yea, force her by violence, not being able to win and enjoy her openly; whereupon he became passionate and love-sick: for like as a mans body in time of famine, for that it hath no food and nourishment otherwise, is constrained even against nature, to feed upon the own substance; even so ambition and thirst after glory, doth the like hurt unto the soules of ambitious persons; for being ready to die for thirst of glory, and seeing they cannot have it otherwise, enforced they are to praise themselves. But they that be thus passionately affected with desire of praise and honour, confesse not they manifestly, that they reject, forgo and neglect great pleasures and delights: when through their feeble, lazy and base minds, they flie from publick offices of State, forbear the management of affairs, and regard not the favours of Kings and following of great persons; from whence *Democrites* saith; there accrue unto man many ornaments to grace & commend this life? For *Epicurus* shall never be able to make the world beleeve, that (esteeming so much as he did and making so great account of *Neocles* his brothers testimony or the adoration of *Colotes*) he would not have been ready to have leapt out of his skin, and gone besides himselfe for joy, if he had been received by the Greeks at the solemnity of the Olympiack Games, with joyous acclamations and clapping of hands: nay, he would no doubt have shewed that gladnesse and contentment of heart with open mouth; he would have been aloft and flowen abroad, as the Poet *Sophocles* saith:

Like to the Down, which being light and soft
From thistle old, the wind doth mount aloft

And

*Or rather *Democritus.*

And if it be a gracious and acceptable thing, for a man to brute that he hath a good name: it followeth consequently, that grievous it is to be in an ill name: and what is more infamous and odious, then to be friendlesse, to want employment, to be infected with Atheism and impiety, to live loosely and abandoned to lusts and pleasures; finally, to be neglected and condemned? and verily (setting themselves aside) there is no man living, but he thinketh all these qualities and attributes to agree fitly unto this sect of theirs. True (will some man say) but they have the greater wrong. Well, the question now, is not, what is the truth, but what is the common opinion that the world hath of them: and to this purpose I mean not to cite the publick decrees and acts of Cities, nor to alledge the defamatory books written against them: for that were too odious: but if the Oracles, if divination, if the præscience and providence of the gods, if the natural love and affectionate kindnesse of parents to their children, if the managing of politick affairs, if the conduct of armies, if magistracy and rule in Common-wealth, be matters honourable and glorious, then it must needs be, that they who affirm: That no travel ought to be made for the safety of *Greece*, but that we are to eat and drink, so as the belly may be pleased, and receive no harm and discontentment, should be infamous, and reputed for wicked persons: and such as are so taken, must needs be odious and in great disgrace, if so be they hold honour, good name and reputation, to be things pleasant and delectable.

When *Theon* had made an end of this speech, thought good it was to give over walking: and when (as our custome and manner was) we were set down upon the seats, we rested a prety while in silence, ruminating (as it were) and pondering that which had been delivered, but long this was not: for *Zeuxippus* thinking upon that which had been said: And who (quoth he) shal go through with that which remaineth behind, considering that me thinks we are not as yet come to a full point and final conclusion? for seeing that erewhile he hath made mention by the way of Divination, and likewise put us in mind of Divine providence, two main points, I may tell you whereupon these men do greatly stand, and which by their saying yeeld them not the least pleasure, contentment, repose of spirit, and assurance in this life: * therefore I hold it necessary that somewhat were said as touching the same. Then *Aristodemus* taking the matter in hand: As for the pleasure (quoth he) which they pretend in this case, me thinks (by all in manner that hath been spoken) that if their reasons should go for current, and bring that about which they purpose and intend, well may they free and deliver their spirit of (I wot not what) fear of the gods, and a certain superstition: but surely they imprint no joy, nor minister any comfort and contentment to their minds at all, in any regard of the gods: for to be troubled with no dread of the gods, not comforted by any hope from them, worketh this effect, and maketh them so affected towards the gods, as we are to the fishes of the Hyrcan Sea, expecting neither goodnesse nor harm from them. But if we must adde somewhat more to that which hath been said already: thus much I take it we may be bold to set down, as received and granted by them: First and foremost, that they impugne them mightily, who condemn and take away all heavinesse, sorrow, weeping, sighs, and lamentations for the death of friends: and they affirm, that this indolence tending to a kind of impossibility, proceedeth from another evil, greater and worse then it, to wit, cruel inhumanity, or else an outragious and furious desire of vain-glory and ostentation: and therefore they hold it better to suffer a little sorrow, and to grieve moderately, so a man run not all to tears and marre his eyes with weeping, nor shew all manner of passions as some do by their deeds and writings, because they would be thought affectionate and hearty lovers of their friends, and withal of a gentle and tender nature: For thus much hath *Epicurus* delivered in many of his books, and namely in his letters where he maketh mention of the death of *Hegesianax*, writing unto *Dositheus* the Father, and *Pyrsos* the Brother of the man departed: For long it is not since by fortune those letters of his came to my hands, which I perused, and in imitating their manner of arguing, I say: That Atheism and impiety is no lesse sin, then the cruelty or vain and arrogant ostentation above said; unto which impiety they would induce us with their perswasions, who take from God both favour and also anger: For better it were, that to the opinion and beliefe which we have of the gods, there were adjoined and ingraffed an affection mixed and composed of reverence and fear, then in flying therefro, to leave unto our selves neither hope nor pleasure, no assurance in prosperity, ne yet recourse unto the goodnesse of the gods in time of adversity: True it is, that we ought to rid away from the opinion that we have of the gods, all superstition, if it be possible, as well as from our eyes all gummy and glutinous matter, offending the sight; but if this may not be, we are not therefore to cut away quite, or to put out the eyes clean of that faith and beliefe, which men for the most part have of the gods; and this is not a severe, fearful and austere conceit as these imagine, who traduce and slander divine providence, to make it odious and terrible, as folk do by little children, whom they use to scare with the fantastical illusion, *Empusa*, as if it were some infernal fury, or tragical vengeance seizing upon them: but some few men there be, who in that sort do fear God, as that it is better and more expedient for them so to do, then otherwise not to stand in awe of him: for in dreading him as a gracious and propitious Lord unto the good, and an enemy unto the wicked, by this one kinde of feare which maketh them that they have no need at all of many others, they are delivered from those baits which many times allure and entice men to evil; and thus keeping vice short, and not giving it head, but holding it neer unto them, and within their reach, that it cannot escape and get from them, they be lesse tormented then those who be so hardy as to employ the same, and dare put it in practise, but soon after, fall into fearful fits, and repent themselves: But as touching the disposition

* To wit, in denying both the one and the other.

disposition toward God in the common sort of men, who are ignorant, unlettered, and of a grosse conceit for the most part; howbeit not very wicked, nor stark naught: true it is, that as together with the reverence and honour that they bear unto the gods, there is intermingled a certain trembling fear, which properly is called superstition: so likewise there is an infinite deal more of good hope and true joy, which causeth them to pray unto the gods continually for their own good estate, and for happy successe in their affairs, and they receive all prosperity as sent unto them from heaven above; which appeareth evidently by most notable and significant arguments: for surely no exercises recreate us more, then those of religion and devotion in the temples of the gods: no times and seasons are more joyous, then solemn feasts in their honour: no actions, no sights, more delight and joy our hearts, then those which we do and see our selves, either singing and dancing solemnly in the presence of the gods, or being assistant at their sacrifices, or the ceremonious mysteries of divine service, for at such times our soul is nothing sad, cast down, or melancholick, as if she had to deale with some terrible tyrants, or bloudy butchers: where good reason were, that she should be heavy and dejected: but look where she thinketh and is perswaded most that God is present, in that place especially, she casteth behind her all anguishes, agonies, sorrows, fears, and anxieties: there I say she giveth her selfe to all manner of joy, even to drink wine most liberally, to play, disport, laugh, and be merry: As the Poet said in love and wanton matters.

Both gray-beard, old and aged trot
when they the sports remember,
Of lovely Venus, leap for joy,
no cares their heart encomber.

So verily in these solemn pomps, processions and sacrifices, not only the aged husband and the old wife, the poor man that liveth in low and private estate, but also

The fat leg'd wench well underlaid
Which to the mill bestirs full yerne,
Her good round stumps, and well appaid
To grind her grist, doth turn the querne,

the household hines and servants, and the mercenary day labourers, who get their living by the sweat of their brows, do altogether leap for mirth and joy of heart: Kings and Princes keep great cheer in their royal Courts, and make certain royal and publick feasts for all commers: but those which they hold in the sacred Temples, at sacrifices and solemnities of the gods, performed with fragrant perfumes and odoriforous incense: where it seemeth that men approach nearest unto the majesty of the gods, and think they even touch them, and be conversant with them in all honour and reverence: such feasts (I say) yeeld a more rare joy and singular delectation, then any other: whereof he hath no part at all who denyeth the providence of God: for it is not the abundance and plenty of wine there drunk, nor the store of roast and sodden meat there eaten, which yeeldeth joy and contentment at such solemn feasts: but the assured hope and full perswasion that God is there present, propitious, favourable and gracious; and that he accepteth in good part the honour and service done unto him. For some feasts and sacrifices there be, where there is no musick at all of flutes and haut-boies, ne yet any chaplets and garlands of flowers used at all; but a sacrifice, where no god is present, like as a temple without a sacred feast or holy banquet, is* profane, unfestival, impious, irreligious, and without divine inspiration and devotion; and to speak better, wholly displeasant and odious to himself that offereth it; for that he counterfeiteth by hypocrisie, prayers and adorations, only in a shew and otherwise then he meaneth, for fear of the multitude, and pronounceth words clean contrary unto the opinions which he holdeth in Philosophy: when he sacrificeth, he standeth by the Priest as he would by a Cook or Butcher, who cutteth the throat of a sheep; and after he hath sacrificed, he goes his way home, saying thus to himselfe: I have sacrificed a sheep as men ordinarily do unto the gods, who have no care and regard of me. For so it is that *Epicurus* teacheth his scholars, to set a good countenance of the matter, and neither to envy nor incur the hatred of the common sort, when they are disposed to be merry, but seeming others in practise, and themselves inwardly in being displeased with things done: for according as *Euenus* saith:

What things are done perforce by us,
Displeasant be and odious.

Hereupun it is, that they themselves do say and hold: That superstitious persons are present at sacrifices and religious ceremonies, not for any joy or pleasure they take there, but upon a fear that they have; and verily, herein no difference is between them and superstitious folk, in case it be so, that they do the same things for fear of the world, which the other do for fear of the gods; nay rather they be in a worse condition then those; in that they have not so much hope of good as they, but only stand always in dread and be troubled in mind, lest they should be detected and discovered, for abusing and deceiving the world by their counterfeit hypocrisie; in regard of which fear, they have themselves written books and treatises of the gods and of deity, so composed, that they be full of ambiguities: and nothing is therein soundly or clearly delivered, they do so mask, disguise and cover themselves; and all to cloak and hide the opinions which indeed they hold, doubting the fury of the people. Thus much concerning two sorts of men, to wit, the wicked and the simple or common multitude: now therefore let us consider of a third kind, such as be of the best mark, men of worth and honour, most devout and religious indeed; namely, what sincere and pure pleasures they

* Ἐνευε.

they have, by reason of the perswasion that they hold of God; beleeving firmly, that he is the ruler and director of all good persons, the author and father from whom proceed all things good and honest; and that it is not lawful to say or beleeve, that he doth evil, no more then to be perswaded that he suffereth evil: for good he is by nature; and look whatsoever is good, conceiveth no envy to any, is fearful of none, neither is it moved with anger or hatred of ought: for like as heat cannot coole a thing, but always naturally maketh it hot; so that which is good cannot hurt or do ill, Now anger and favour be far remote one from the other; so is choler and bitter gall much different from mildnesse and benevolence; as also malice and frowardnesse are opposite unto bounty, meeknesse, and humanity; for that the one sort ariseth from vertue and puissance; the other from weaknesse and vice. Now are we not to think that the divine power is given to be wrathful and gracious alike; but to believe rather, that the proper nature of God is always to be helpful and beneficial; whereas to be angry and to doe harm, is not so natural; but that mighty *Jupiter* in Heaven, he descended from thence first down to the earth, to dispose and ordain all things: after him, other gods, of whom the one is surnamed, The Giver; another, Mild and Bounteous; a third, Protector, or Defender: as for *Apollo*, as *Pindarus* saith:

Who doth in winged chariot flie,
Amid the starrs in azure skie,
To every man in his affaire,
Reputed is most debonaire.

Now as *Dogenes* was wont to say, all things are Gods, and likewise among friends, all things are common, and good men are Gods friends: even so, impossible it is, that either he who is devout and a lover of God, should not be withal happy; or that a vertuous, temperate, and just man should not likewise be devout and religious. Think ye then, that these who deny the government of Gods providence, need other punishment, or be not punished sufficiently for their impiety, in that they cut themselves from so great joy and pleasure as we find in our selves, we (I say) who are thus well given, and religiously affected toward God? The greatest joy that *Epicurus* stood upon and bare himselfe so boldly, were *Metrodorus*, *Polyænus*, *Aristobulus* and such; and those he was always employed about, either in curing and tending them when they were sick, or in bewailing them after they were dead: whereas *Lycurgus* was honoured even by the Propheteſſe *Pythia* in these reams:

A man whom Jupiter did love,
And all the heavenly Saints above.

As for *Socrates*, who had a familiar spirit about him, whom he imagined to speak and reason friendly with him, even of kindnesse and good will: and *Pindarus* likewise, who heard god *Pan* chant one of those Canticles which himselfe had composed, think we that they took small pleasure and contentment of heart thereby? Or what may we judge of *Phormio*, when he lodged in his house, *Castor* and *Pollux*; or of *Sophocles*, for entertaining of *Æsculapius*, as both himselfe was perswaded, and as others beleeved, for the manifest apparitions presented unto them? It were not amisse and beside the purpose, to rehearse in this place what a faith and beleefe in the gods, *Heromogenes* had, and that in those very words and tearms which he setteth down himselfe: The gods (quoth he) who know all things and likewise can do all, are so friendly unto me, that for the care they have of my person and affairs, are never ignorant day or night, either of that action which I purpose to do, or of that way which I intend to goe: and for that they foresee the issue and event of whatsoever I enterprize and undertake; they advertise me thereof beforehand by presage of osses, voices, dreams, auguries and bird-flights, which they send as messengers to me of purpose. Moreover, meet it is, that we should have this opinion of the gods, that whatsoever proceedeth from them is good: but when we are perswaded that the goods which we receive from them, be sent unto us, upon special favour and grace, this is a wonderful contentment to the mind, this worketh much confidence, breedeth a marvellous courage and inward joy, which seemeth as it were to smile upon good men: whereas they who are otherwise minded and disposed, hinder themselves of that which is most sweet in prosperity, and leave no refuge or retiring place in time of adversity; for when any misfortune lighteth upon them, no other haven or retrait have they then the dissolution or separation of body and soul: nothing I say but the depriving of all sense: as if in a storm or tempest at sea, a man should come and say for the better comfort and assurance of the passengers, that neither the Ship had a Pilot, nor the lucky fire-lights (*Castor* and *Pollux*) appeared to allay the surging waves, or still the boisterous and violent winds, and yet for all that, there was no harm toward, because forsooth the ship should soon sink and be swallowed up of the sea, or that she would quickly turn aside, or run upon some rock for to be split and broken in pieces: for these be the proper reasons which *Epicurus* useth in grievous maladies and extream perils: hopest thou for any good at Gods hand with all thy religion? thou art much deceived: for the essence and nature of God being happy and immortal, is neither given to anger, nor yet inclined to pity: Dost thou imagine a better state or condition after thy death, then thou hast in thy life? surely thou doteſt, and art mightily beguiled, for that which is once dissolved, loseth presently all manner of sense: and if it be senseleſſe, what is that to us? it toucheth not us, whether it be good or ill. But hear you (my good friend:) How is it that you exhort me to eat, to drink, and make good cheer? Marry because the tempest is so big, that of ne ssity shipwrack must soon ensue, and the extream peril at hand will quickly bring thee to thy death: and yet the poor passenger (after that the ship is broken all to pieces,

or that he is flung or fallen out of it) beareth himselfe upon some little hope, that he shall (by one good fortune or other) reach unto the shore and swim to land; whereas by these mens Philosophy there is no evasion for the soule:

To any place without the sea
With frothing fome all hoar and gray.

For that immediately she is dissolved, perisheth and dieth before the body; insomuch as she feeleth excessive joy, by having learned and received this most wise and divine doctrine: That the end of all her adversities and miseries, is to perish for ever, to corrupt and come to nothing. But it were (quoth he, casting his eye upon me) a great folly to speak any more of this matter, (considering that long since we have heard you discourse in ample manner) against those who hold, that the reasons and arguments of *Epicurus* make us better disposed and ready to die, then all that *Plato* hath written in his treatise concerning the soul. What of that? (quoth *Zeuxippus*) shall this present discourse be left unperfect and unfinished because of it? and fear we to alledge the oracle of the gods, when we dispute against the Epicureans? No (quoth I again) in any wise, for according to the sentence of *Empedocles*:

A good tale twice a man may tell,
And hear it told as oft full well.

And therefore we must entreat *Theon* againe; for I suppose he was present at the said disputation, and being (as he is) a young man, he need not fear that young men will charge him for Oblivion, or default of memory. Then *Theon* seeming as if he had been forced and overcome by constraint: Well (quoth he) since there is no other remedy, I will not do as you *Aristodemus* did? you were afraid to repeat that which this man had delivered; but I will not stick to make use of that which you have said: for in mine opinion you have done very well, in dividing men into three sorts; the first, of those, who are lewd and wicked; the second of them that be simple, ignorant, and the common people; the third, of such as be wise, honest, and of good worth. As for those who be wicked and naughty persons (in fearing the pains and punishments proposed in general unto all) they will be afraid to commit any more sin, and by this means not breaking out, but restraining themselves, they shall live in more joy, and with lesse trouble and disquietnesse. For *Epicurus* thinketh, that there is no other means to divert men from evil doing, then fear of punishment: and therefore he thinketh it good policy, to imprint in them the frights occasioned by superstition, to masker them with the terrors of heaven and earth, together with fearful earthquakes, deep chinks, and openings of the ground, and generally all sorts of fears and suspitions; that being terrified thereby, they might live in better order, and carry themselves more modestly; for more expedient it is for them, not to commit any heinous fact for fear of torments which they were to suffer after their death, then to transgresse and break the laws, and thereby, live all their life time in danger, and exceeding perplexity and distrust: As touching the mean people and ignorant multitude (to say nothing of the fear of that which such men beleeve to be in hell) the hope of eternity, whereof the Poets make so great promises, and the desire to live always (which of all other desires is the most ancient and greatest) surpasseth in pleasure and sweet contentment, all childish fear of hell: insomuch as forgoing and losing their children, their wives and friends, yet they wish rather they should still be somewhere, and continue (though they endured otherwise all manner of pains and calamities) then wholly to be taken out of the universal world and brought to nothing: yea, and willing they are, and take pleasure to hear this spoken of one that is dead: How he is departed out of this world into another, or gone to God: with other such like manner of speeches, importing, that death is no more but only a change or alteration, but not a total and entire abolition of the soul. And thus they use to speak:

Then shall I call even there to mind,
The sweet acquaintance of my friend.
Also:
What shall I say from you to Hector *bold?*
Or husband yours, right deer, who liv'd so old?

And hereof proceeded and prevailed this error, that men supposed they are well eased of their sorrow, and better appayed when they have interred with the dead, the arms, weapons, instruments and garments which they were wont to use ordinarily in their life time: like as *Minos* buried together with *Glaucus*:

His Candiot pipes, made of the long-shank bones
Of Aspple Doe Hind, that lived once.

And if they be perswaded, that the dead either desire or demand any thing, glad they are and willing to send or bestow the same upon them. And thus did *Periander*, who burnt in the funeral fire together with his wife, her apparel, habiliments, and jewels, for that thought she called for them, and complained that she lay a cold. And such as these are not greatly afraid of any judge *Æacus*, of *Æcalaphus*, or of the river *Acheron*: considering that they attribute unto them dances, theatrical plaies, and all kinde of musick, as if they tooke delight and pleasure therein: and yet there is not one of them all, but is ready to quake for fear, to see that face of death, so terrible, so unpleasant, so glum and grizly, deprived of all sense, and grown to Oblivion and ignorance of all things: they tremble for very horrour, when they hear any of these words: He is dead, he is perished, he is gone, and no more to be seen: grievously displeased and offended they be, when these and such like speeches are given out:

Within

Within the earth as deep as trees do stand,
His hap shall be to rot and turn to sand:
No feasts he shall frequent nor hear the lute
And harp, ne yet the sound of pleasant flute.
Again,
When once the ghost of man from corps is fled
And past'd the ranks of teeth set thick in head;
All means to catch and fetch her are but vain,
No hope there is of her return again.

But they kill them stone dead, who say thus unto them,

We mortal men have been once born for all,
No second birth we are for to expect,
We must not look for life that is eternal,
Such thoughts, as dreams, we ought for to reject.

For, casting and considering with themselves, that this present life is a small matter, or rather indeed a thing of nought, in comparison of eternity; they regard it not, nor make any account to enjoy the benefit thereof; whereupon they neglect all vertue and the honourable exploits of action, as being utterly discouraged and discontented in themselves, for the shortnesse of their life so uncertain and without assurance: and in one word, because they take themselves unfit and unworthy to perform any great thing. For, to say that a dead man is deprived of all sense, because (having been before compounded) that composition is now broken and dissolved: to give out also, that a thing once dissolved, hath no Being at all; and in that regard toucheth us not: howsoever they seem to be goodly reasons, yet they rid us not from the fear of death, but contrariwise, they do more confirm and enforce the same: for this is it indeed which nature abhorreth, when it shall be said, according to the Poet *Homers* words:

But as for you both, all and some,
Soon may you earth and water become.

meaning thereby, the resolution of the soul into a thing that hath neither intelligence nor any sense at all, which *Epicurus* holding to be a dissipation thereof into (I wot not what) emptinesse, or voidnesse and small indivisible bodies, which he termeth *Atomy*, by that means cutteth off (so much the rather) all hope of immortality; for which (I dare well say) that all folk living, men and women both, would willingly be bitten quite thorow and gnawen by the Hell-Dog *Cerberus*, or carry water away in vessels full of holes in the bottom, like as the *Danaides* did, so they might only have a Being, and not perish utterly for ever, and be reduced to nothing. And yet verily there be not many men who fear these matters, taking them to be Poetical fictions and tales devised for pleasure, or rather bug-bears that mothers and nurses use to fright their children with; and even they also who stand in fear of them, are provided of certain ceremonies and expiatory purgations, to help themselves withal: by which (if they be once cleansed and purified) they are of opinion, that they shall go into another world to places of pleasure, where there is nothing but playing and dancing continually among those who have the air clear, the wind mild and pure, the light gracious, and their voice intelligible: whereas the privation of life troubleth both young and old; for we all (even every one of us) are sick for love, and exceeding desirous

To see the beauty of sunn light,
Which on the earth doth shine so bright,

as *Euripides* saith: neither willing are we, but much displeased to hear this;

And as he spake, that great immortal eye
Which giveth light throughout the fabrick wide
Of this rounde world, made haste and fled hie
With chariot swift, clean out of sight to ride.

Thus together with the perswasion and opinion of immortality, they bereave the common people of the greatest and sweetest hopes they have. What think we then of those men who are of the better sort, and such as have lived justly and devoutly in this life? Surely, they look for no evil at all in another world, but hope and expect there the greatest and most heavenly blessings that be: for first and foremost, champions or runners in a race, are never crowned so long as they be in combat or in their course but after the combat ended and the victory atchieved; even so when these persons are perswaded that the prize of the victory in this world is due unto them after the course of this life, wonderful it is, and it cannot be spoken how great contentment they find in their hearts for the privity and conscience of their vertue, and for those hopes which assure them, that they one day shall see those (who now abuse their good gifts insolently, who commit outrage by the meanes of their might, riches, and authority, and who scorn and foolishly mock such as are better then themselves) pay for their deserts, and suffer worthily for their pride and insolency. And forasmuch as never any of them who are enamoured of learning, could satisfie (to the full) his desire, as touching the knowledge of the truth, and the contemplation of the universal nature of this world; for that indeed they see as it were through a dark cloud and a thick mist; to wit, by the Organs and Instruments of this body, and have no other use of reason, but as it is charged with the humours of the flesh, weake also and troubled, yea, and wonderfully hindered; therefore having an eye

and regard always upward, and endeavouring to flie forth of the body (as a bird that taketh her flight and mounteth up aloft, that she may get into another lightsome place of greater capacity) they labour to make their soul light, and to discharge her of all grosse passions and earthly affections, such as be base and transitory, and that by the means of their study in Philosophy, which they use for an exercise and meditation of death. And verily for my part, I esteem death a good thing, so perfect and consummate in regard of the soul which then shall live a life indeed, sound and certain, that I suppose the life here is not a subsistent and assured thing of it selfe, but resembleth rather the vain illusions of some dreams. And if it be so (as *Epicurus* saith:) That the remembrance and renewing acquaintance of a friend departed out of this life is every way a pleasant thing; a man may even now consider and know sufficiently, of what joy these Epicureans deprive themselves, who imagine otherwhiles in their dreams, that they receive and entertain, yea, and follow after to embrace, the very shadows, visions, apparitions, & ghosts of their friends who are dead, and yet they have neither understanding nor sense at all; & mean while they disappoint themselves of the expectation to converse one day indeed with their deer father and tender mother, and to see their beloved, and honest wives: and are destitute of all such hope of so amiable company and sweet society, as they have, who are of the same opinion, that *Pythagoras*, *Plato*, and *Homer* were, as touching the nature of the soul. Certes, I am verily perswaded, that *Homer* (coverdly and as it were by the way) shewed, what manner of affection theirs is in this point, when he casteth and projecteth amid the press of those that were fighting, the image of *Æneas*, as if he were dead indeed; but presently after, he exhibiteth him marching alive, safe and sound:

And when his friends saw him so vigorous
And whole of limbs, and with heart generous,
To battel prest, whom earst they took for dead,
They leapt for joy, and ban sh'd all dread.

leaving therefore the foresaid image and shew of him, they ranged all about him. Let us likewise (seeing that reason proveth and sheweth unto us, that a man may in very truth converse with those that are departed; that lovers and friends may touch, handle, and keep company one with another, having their perfect senses) be of good cheer and shun those, who cannot beleeve so much, nor reject and cast behind, all such fantastical images, and outward barks and rinds only, in which they do all their life time nothing else but grieve and lament in vain. Moreover, they that think the end of this life to be the beginning of another that is better; if they lived pleasantly in this world, better contented they are to die, for that they look for to enjoy a better estate in another; and if things went not to their mind here, yet are they not much discontented, in regard of the hopes which they have of the future delights and pleasures behind: and these work in them such incredible joyes and expectances, that they put out and abolish all defects and offences whatsoever; these drown (I say) and overcome all discontentments otherwise of the mind, which by that meanes beareth gently, and endureth with patience what accidents soever befal in the way, or rather in a short diverticle or turning of the way: whereas contrariwise (to those who believe, that our life here is ended and dissolved in a certaine deprivation of all sense) death (because it bringeth no alteration of miseries) is dolorous as well to them of the one fortune as the other; but much more unto those who are happy in this present life, then unto such as are miserable: for that as it cutteth these short of all hope of better estate; so from those it taketh away a certainty of good, which was their present joyfull life: And like as many medicinable and purgative drugs (which are neither good nor pleasant to the stomach, howbeit in some respect necessary, howsoever they ease and cure the sick) doe great hurt, and offend the bodies of such as be in health; even so the doctrine of *Epicurus* unto those who are infortunate and live miserably in this world, promiseth an issue out of their miseries, and the same nothing happy, to wit, a final end, and total dissolution of their soul: And as for those who are prudent, wise, and live in abundance of all good things, it impeacheth and hindereth altogether their alacrity and contentment of spirit, in bringing and turning them from an happy life to no life at all, from a blessed estate to no estate or being whatsoever. For first and foremost this is certaine: That the very apprehension of the losse of goods, afflicteth and vexeth a man as much, as either an assured expectance, or a present enjoying and fruition thereof rejoyceth his heart: yet would they bear us in hand, that the cogitation of this final dissolution and perdition into nothing, leaveth unto men a most assured and pleasant good, to wit, the refutation or putting by of a certain fearful doubt and suspition of infinite and endlesse miseries: and this, say they, doth the doctrine of *Epicurus* effect, in abolishing the fear of death, and teaching that the soule is utterly dissolved. Now if this be a singular and most sweet content (as they say it is) to be delivered from the fear and expectation of calamities and miseries without end, how can it otherwise bee but irksome and grievous, to be deprived of the hope of joyes sempiternal, and to lose that supreme and soveraign felicity? Thus you see it is good neither for the one nor the other, but this, Not-being, is naturally an enemy, and quite contrary unto all that have Being! And as for those whom the misery of death seemeth to deliver from the miseries of life, a poore and cold comfort they have (God wot) of that insensibility, as if they had an evasion and escaped thereby; and on the other side, those who lived in all prosperity, and afterwards came of a sudden to change that state into nothing: me thinks I see very plainly, that these carry for a fearful and terrible end of their race, which thus shall cause their felicity to cease; for nature abhorreth not privation of

of sense, as the beginning of another estate and being, but is afraid of it because it is the privation of those good things which are present. For to say: That the thing which costeth us the losse of all that we have, toucheth us not, is a very absurd speech, considering, that this very cogitation and apprehension thereof concerneth us much already: for this insensibility doth not afflict and trouble those who have no more Being, but such as yet are, namely, when they come to cast their account, what detriment and losse they receive by being no more, and that by death they shall be reduced to nothing: for it is not the three-headed-hellhound *Cerberus*, nor the river of teares and weeping, *Cocytus*, which cause the fear of death to be infinite and interminable: but it is that menacing intimation of Nullity or Not-being, and of the impossibility to return again into a state of Being, after men once are gone and departed out of this life; for there is no second nativity nor regeneration, but that Not-being must of necessity remain for ever, according to the doctrine of *Epicurus*: for if there be no end at all of Non-essence, but the same continue infinite and immutable, there will be found likewise an eternal and endlesse misery in that privation of all good things, by a certain insensibility, which never shal have end. In which point *Herodotus* seemeth yet to have dealt more wisely, when he saith: That God having given a taste of sweet eternity, seemeth envious in that behalfe, especially to those who are reputed happy in this world; unto whom that pleasure was nothing else but a bait to procure dolor, namely, when they have a taste of those things which they must foregoe: for what joy, what contentment and fruition of pleasure is there so great, but this conceit and imagination of the soul (falling continually as it were into a vast sea of this infinition) is not able to quell and chase away, especially in those who repose all goodness and beatitude in pleasure? And if it bee true as *Epicurus* saith: That to die in pain, is a thing incident to most men: then surely there is no mean at all to mitigate or allay the fear of death, seeing it haleth us even by griefe and anguish to the losse of a soveraign good: and yet his sectaries would seem to urge and enforce this point mainly, to wit, in making men beleeve that it is a good thing to escape and avoid evil: and yet forsooth, that they should not think it evil, to be deprived of good. They confesse plainly, that in death there is no joy nor hope at all, but what pleasure and sweetnesse soever we had, is thereby and then cut off: whereas contrariwise, even in that time, those who believe their souls to be immortal and incorruptible, look to have and enjoy the greatest and most divine blessings: and for certain great revolutions of yeers, to converse in all happiness and felicity, sometime upon the earth, otherwhiles in heaven, until in that general resolution of the universal world they come to burn together with Sun and Moon, in a spiritual and intellectual fire.

This spacious place of so many and so great joyes, *Epicurus* cutteth off and abolisheth clean, in that he annulleth all hopes that we ought to have in the aid and favour of the gods: whereby both in contemplative life he extinguisheth the love of knowledge and learning: and also in the active, the desire of valourous acts of winning honour and glory: restraining, driving and thrusting nature into a narrow room, of a joy which is very strait, short and impure, to wit, from the souls delight to a fleshly pleasure: as if she were not capable of a greater good, then the avoiding of evil.

Whether this common Mot, be well said: Live hidden, *or so live, as no man may know thou livest.*

The Summary.

THis precept was first given by Neocles *the brother of* Epicurus, *as* saith Suidas: *and* (as if it had been some golden sentence) it went current ordinarily in the mouths of all the Epicureans, who advised a man that would live happily, not to intermeddle in any publick affairs of State: but Plutarch considering well how ill this Empresse sounded, being taken in that sense and construction which they give unto it, and foreseeing the absurd and dangerous consequences ensuing upon such an opinion, doth now confute the same by seven arguments or sound reasons, to wit, That therein such foolish Philosophers discover mightily their excessive ambition: That it is a thing dishonest and perillous for a man to retire himself apart from others: for that if a man be vicious, he ought to seek abroad for remedy of his malady: if a lover of goodnesse and vertue, he is likewise to make other men love the same. Item, That the Epicureans life being defamed, with all ordure and wickednesse, it were great reason indeed, that such men should remain hidden and buried in perpetual darknesse. After this, he sheweth that the good proceeding from the life of vertuous men is a sufficient encouragement for every one to be employed in affaires: for that there is nothing more miserable then an idle life, and that which is unprofitable to our neighbours: That life, birth, generation, mans soul, yea, and man himself wholly as he is, teach us by their definitions and properties: That we are not set in this world, for to be directed by such a precept as this: and in conclusion: That the estate of our souls, after they be separate from the body, condemneth and overthroweth this doctrine of the Epicureans; and proveth evidently, that they be extream miserable, both during and after this life. All these premisses well marked and considered, instruct and teach them that be of good calling in the world, and in higher place, to endeavor and strain themselves in their several vocations, to flie an idle life, so farre forth, that

that they take heed withal, they be not over curious, pragmatical, busie and stirring, nor too ready and forward to meddle in those matters which ought to be let alone as they be; for fear lest whiles they weene to raise and advance themselves, they fall back, and become lower then they would.

Whether this common Mot, be well said: *Live hidden*: or, *So live, as no man may know thou liveſt.*

LO how even himſelfe, who was the Author of this ſentence, would not be unknown, but that all the world ſhould underſtand, that he it was who ſaid it; for expreſly he uttered this very ſpeech, to the end that it might not remain; unknown that he had ſome more underſtanding then others; deſirous to win a glory undeſerved and not due unto him, by diverting others from glory, and exhorting them to obſcurity of life. I like the man well veriily, for this is juſt according to the old verſe:

I hate him who of wiſedom bears the name,
And to himſelfe cannot perform the ſame.

We read that *Philoxenus* the ſon of *Eryxis*, and *Gnatho* the Sicilian, (two notorious gluttons given to belly-cheer, and to love their tooth) when they were at a feaſt, uſed to ſnite their noſes into the very diſhes and platters with meat before them; thereby to drive thoſe in their meſſe, and who were ſet at the table, from eating with them, and by that means to engorge themſelves, and fill their bellies alone with the beſt viands ſerved up: Semblably, they who are exceſſively and out of all meaſure ambitious before others as their concurrents and corrivals, blame and diſpraiſe glory and honour, to the end that they alone without any competitors might enjoy the ſame: And herein they do like unto Mariners ſitting at the Oare in a Boat or Gally; for howſoever their eye is towatd the Poup, yet they labour to let the Prow forward, in that the flowing of the water by reciprocation, cauſed by the ſtroak of the Oares, coming forcibly back upon the Poup, might help to drive forward the veſſel; even ſo, they that deliver ſuch rules and precepts, whiles they make ſemblant to flye from glory, purſue it as faſt as they can: for otherwiſe if it were not ſo; what need had he (whoſoever he was) to give out ſuch a ſpeech? what meant he elſe to write it, and when he had written it, to publiſh the ſame unto poſterity? If I ſay he meant to be unknown to men living in his time, who deſired to be known unto thoſe that came after him? But let us come to the thing it ſelfe: How can it - huſe but be ſimply naught? Live ſo hidden (quoth he) that no man may perceive that ever you lived; as if he had ſaid: Take heed you be not known for a digger up of Sepulchres, and a defacer of the Tombs and Monuments of the dead: But contrariwiſe, a foul and diſhoneſt thing it is to live in ſuch ſort, as that you ſhould be willing that we all, know not the manner thereof: Yet would I for my part ſay clean contrary: Hide not thy ſelfe, however thou do, and if thou haſt lived bodily, make thy ſelfe known; be wiſer, repent and amend; if thou be endued with vertue, hide it not neither be thou an unprofitable member; if vicious, continue not obſtinate there, but yeeld to correction, and admit the cure of thy vice; or rather at (leaſtwiſe Sir) make a diſtinction, and define who it is to whom you give this precept? If he be ignorant, unlearned, wicked, or fooliſh, then it is as much as if you ſaid thus: Hide thy Feaver, cloak and cover thy Phrenſie; let not the Phyſician take notice of thee; go and put thy ſelfe into ſome dark corner, where no perſon may have a ſight of thee or of thy maladies and paſſions, go thy way aſide with all thy naughtineſs, ſick as thou art of an incurable and mortal diſeaſe; cover thy ſpight and envy, hide thy ſuperſtition, ſuppreſſe and conceale (as it were) the diſorderly beatings of thine Arteries: take heed and be afraid how you let your Pulſe be feit, or bewray your ſelfe to thoſe who have the means, and are able to admoniſh, correct, and heal you. But long ago, and in the old world, our Anceſtors were wont to take in hand and cure openly in publick place, thoſe that were diſeaſed in body: in thoſe dayes, every one (who had met with any good medicine, or known a remedy whereof he had the proof, either in himſelfe being ſick, or in another cured thereby) would reveale & communicate the ſame unto another that ſtood in need thereof: and thus they ſay. The skil of Phyſick ariſing firſt, and growing by experience, became in time, a noble and excellent Science. And even ſo requiſite it is & neceſſary, to diſcover and lay open to all men lives that be diſeaſed, and the infirmities of the ſoul, to touch & handle them, and by conſidering the inclinations of every man, to ſay thus unto one; Subject thou art to anger, take heed thereof, unto another: Thou art given to jealouſie and emulation, beware of it, do thus and thus; to a third: Art thou amorous and full of love? I have been ſo my ſelf otherwhiles, but I repent me thereof. But now adayes it is cleen contrary: in denying, in cloaking, covering, and hiding men thruſt and drive their vices inwardly, and more deeply ſtill into their ſecret bowels. Now if they be men of worth and vertuous, whom thou counſeileſt to hide themſelves, that the world may take no knowledge of them, it is all one as to ſay unto *Epaminondas*: Take no charge of the conduct of an Army: or to *Lycurgus*, Amuſe not your head about making laws: and to *Thraſybulus*: Kill no Tyrants: to *Pythagoras*, Keep no School; nor teach in any wiſe: to *Socrates*, ſee you diſpute not, nor hold any diſcourſes of Philoſophy: and to your ſelfe *Epicurus* firſt of all: Write not to your friends in *Aſia*: enrol and gather no ſouldiers out of *Egypt*: have no commerce nor negotiate with them: do not protect and defend as it were with a guard from villany and violence, the young gentlemen of *Lampſacum*: ſend not your books abroad to all men and women alike, thereby to ſhew your learning; finally, ordain nothing about your Sepulture. To what tended your publick Tables? what meant thoſe Aſſemblies that you made of your familiar friends and fair young Boys: to what purpoſe were there ſo many thouſands of verſes written and compoſed ſo painfully by you in the honour of *Metrodorus*, *Ariſtobulus*, and *Charedemus*, to the end that after death they ſhould not be forgotten? Was all this becauſe you would ratifie and eſtabliſh vertue by oblivion; arts by doing nothing, Philoſophy by ſilence; and Felicity by forgetfulneſſe? Will you needs bereave mans life of knowledge, as if you would take away light from a feaſt, to the end that men might not know that you and your followers do all for pleaſure, and upon pleaſure? then good reaſon you have to give counſel, and ſay unto your ſelfe: Live unknown. Certes, if I had a mind to lead my life with *Hadia* the Harlot, or to keep ordinarily about me the Strumpet *Leontium*; to deteſt all honeſty; to repoſe all my delight and joy in the tickling pleaſures of the fleſh, and in wanton luſts: theſe ends verily would require to be hidden in darkneſſe, and covered with the ſhadow of the night; theſe be the things that would be forgotten, and not known: But if a man in the Science of natural Philoſophy, delight in Hymns and Canticles to praiſe God, his juſtice and providence; or in moral knowledge, to ſet out and commend the law, humane ſociety, and the politick government of Common-weale; and therein regard honour and honeſty, nor profit and commodity; what reaſon have you to adviſe him for to live obſcurely; Is it becauſe he ſhould teach none by good precept? is it for that no man ſhould have a zealous love to vertue, or affect honeſty by his example? if *Themiſtocles* had never been known to the Athenians, *Greece* had not given *Xerxes* the foil and repulſe; likewiſe if *Camillus* had been unknown to the Romans: peradventure by this time *Rome* had beene no City at all; had not *Dion* known *Plato Sicily* ſhould not have been delivered from tyranny. But this is my conceit, that like as light effecteth thus much, that we not only know one another, but alſo are profitable one unto another; even ſo in my judgement, to be known abroad, bringeth not only honour and glory, but alſo means of employment in vertue; Thus *Epaminondas* unknown unto the Thebans, until he was forty years old, ſtood them in no ſtead at all; but after that they took knowledge of him once, and had committed unto him the leading of their army, he ſaved the City of *Thebes*, which had like to have been loſt, and delivered *Greece*, being in danger of ſervitude; ſhewing in renown and glory (no leſſe then in ſome clear light) vertue producing her effects in due time: For according to the Poet *Sophocles*; By uſe it ſhineth

Like Iron or Braſs, that is both fair and bright
So long as men do handle it aright.
In time alſo, an houſe goes to decay,
And falleth down, if dweller be away.

whereas the very manners and natural conditions of a man be marred and corrupted gathering as it were a moſſe, and growing to age in doing nothing through ignorance and obſcurity. And verily a mute ſilence, a ſedentary life, retired a part in idleneſſe, cauſeth not only the body, but the minde alſo of man to languiſh and grow feeble: and like as dormant, or cloſe and ſtanding waters, for that they be covered, overſhadowed, and not running, grow to putriſie even ſo, they that never ſtir, nor be employed, what good parts ſoever they have in them, if they put them not forth, nor exerciſe their natural and inbred faculties, corrupt quickly, and become old. See you not how when the night commeth on and approach neer, our bodies become more heavy, lumpiſh, and unfit for any work, our ſpirits more dull and lazy to all actions; and the diſcourſe of our reaſon and underſtanding more drowſie and contracted within it ſelf? like unto fire that is ready to go out; and how the ſame by reaſon of an idleneſſe and unwillingneſſe comming upon it, is ſomewhat troubled and diſquieted with divers fantaſtical imaginations; which obſervation advertiſeth daily after a ſecret and ſilent manner, how ſhort the life of man is:

But when the ſun with light ſome beams
Diſpatched hath theſe cloudy dreams,

after he is once riſen (and by mingling together the actions and coagitations of men with his light) awaketh and raiſeth them up (as *Democritus* ſaith) in the morning, they make haſte jointly one with another upon a fervent deſire, as if they were compounded and knit with a certain mutual bond ſome one way, and ſome another, riling to their ſeveral works and buſineſſe. Certes, I am of advice, that even our life, our very nativity, yea and the participation of mankind is given us of God to this end: That we ſhould know him: for unknown he is and hidden in this great fabrick and univerſal frame of the world, all the while that he goeth to and fro therein by ſmall parcels and piece-meal: but when he is gathered in himſelfe, and grown to his greatneſſe; then ſhineth he and appeareth abroad, where before he lay covered: then is he manifeſt and apparent, where before hee was obſcure and unknown: for knowledge is not the way to his eſſence, as ſome would have it: but contrariwiſe his eſſence is the way to knowledge: for that knowledge maketh not each thing, but only ſheweth it when it is done: like as the corruption of any thing that is, may not be thought a tranſporting to that which is not, but rather a bringing of that which is diſſolved to this paſſe, that it appereth no more; Which is the reaſon that according to the ancient laws and traditions of our Country, they that take the ſun to be *Apollo*, give him the names of *Delius* and *Pythius*: and him that is the Lord of the other world beneath, whether he be a god or a divel, they call *Adeſ*: for that when we are dead and diſſolved, we go to a certain * obſcurity, where nothing is to be ſeen.

* *delitie.*

Even to the Prince of darkneſſe and of night
The Lord of idle dreams deceiving ſight.

And I ſuppoſe that our anceſtors in old time called man *Phos*, of light, for that there is in every one of us, a vehement deſire and love to know and be known one of another, by reaſon of the conſanguinity between us. And ſome Philoſophers there be, who think verily, that even the ſoul in her ſubſtance is a very light, whereunto they are led as well by other ſigns and arguments, as by this, that there is nothing in the world that the ſoul hateth ſo much as ignorance, rejecting all that is obſcure and unlightſome: troubled alſo when ſhe is entred into dark places, for that they fill her full of fear and ſuſpicion: but contrariwiſe, the light is ſo ſweet and delectable unto her, that ſhe taketh no joy and delight in any thing; otherwiſe lovely and deſirable by nature, without light or in darkneſſe: for that is it which cauſeth all pleaſures, ſports, paſtimes, and recreations to be more jocund, amiable, and to mans nature agreeable: like as a common ſauce that ſeaſoneth and commendeth all viands wherewith it is mingled: whereas he that hath caſt himſelfe into ignorance, and is enwrapped within the clouds of miſty blindneſſe, making his life a repreſentation of death, and burying it as it were in darkneſſe, ſeemeth that he is weary even of being, and thinketh life a very trouble unto him: and yet they are of opinion, that the nature of glory and eſſence, is the place aſſigned for the ſouls of godly, religious, and vertuous folk:

To whom the ſun ſhines always bright
When here with us it is dark night:
The medows there, both fair and wide,
With roſes red are beautified:
The fields all round about them dight
With verdure, yeeld a pleaſant ſight:
All tapiſſed with flowers full gay,
Of fruitfull trees, that bloſſom ay:
Amid this place the rivers clear
Run ſoft and ſtill, ſome there, ſome here.

Wherein they paſſe the time away, in calling to remembrance and recounting that which is paſt, in diſcourſing alſo of things preſent, accompanying one another, and converſing together. Now there is a third way, of thoſe who have lived ill, and be wicked perſons, the which ſendeth their ſoules headlong into a dark gulfe and bottomleſſe pit:

Where, from the dormant rivers bleak
Of ſhady night, thick miſts do reak,
As black as pitch continually,
And thoſe all round about do flie.

enfolding, whelming, and covering thoſe in ignorance and forgetfulneſs, who are tormented there and puniſhed: for they be not greedy Geiers or Vultures, that evermore eat and gnaw the liver of wicked perſons laid in the earth; and why? the ſame already is either burned or rotted: neither be there certain heavy fardels, or weighty burdens that preſſe down and overcharge the bodies of ſuch as be puniſhed:

For ſuch thin ghoſts and fibres ſmall,
Have neither fleſh nor bone at all.

Ne yet are the reliques of their bodies who be departed, ſuch as be capable of puniſhment, for that belongeth properly to a body that is ſolid and able to reſiſt; but the only way and true manner of chaſtiſing and puniſhing thoſe, who have lived badly in this world, is infamy, ignorance, an entire abolition, and total reducement to nothing, which bringeth them from the river *Lethe*, that is to ſay, Oblivion, into another mournful river, where there is no mirth, no joy, nor cheerfulneſſe, and from thence plungeth them into a vaſt Sea, which hath neither ſhore nor bottom, even idleneſſe and unaptneſſe to all good, which can do naught elſe but draw after it a general forgetfulneſſe and burial (as it were) in all ignorance and infamous obſcurity.

Rules and Precepts of Health in manner of a Dialogue.

The Summary.

THe conjunction of the ſoul with the body being ſo ſtraight, as every man knows it is; I cannot ſee how it is poſſible that the one ſhould commit any diſorder or exceſſe, but the other muſt needs be grieved therewith immediately: And if there be any thing that ought to be deplored and lamented, it is the loſſe of time, eſpecially and above all, when the ſame is occaſioned by our own intemperance: for that at ſuch a time when as we ſhould attend upon our duty, we become and continue unprofitable, hurting many times both our ſelves and many others. Now for that the ſtudy of good literature requireth a ſoul well compoſed and governed in a ſound, healthful, and vigorous body; it is not without good cauſe, that Plutarch *intermingleth among Philoſophical diſcourſes, certain rules and precepts as touching health. For in truth a vain endeavor and utter prize: thus were, and hardly could a man have his mind diſpoſed to good things, in caſe the body be ill*

ill affected and miſgoverned: But fearing leſt it would be thought, that he who made profeſſion of Philoſophy only, proceeded farther then in reaſon he ought, and brake the limits and bounds of ſciences, in meddling with Phyſick here: Before that he entreth into the Dialogue, when he had touched the occaſion of this conference and talk: he ſheweth, that the ſtudy of Phyſick is agreeable to Philoſophy: which done, he repreſenteth certain queſtions propoſed by a third perſon, which ſerve inſtead of a Preface to thoſe Precepts and Leſſons, by him ſet down afterwards; not following herein any exact or exquiſite method, but making choice of that which he thought to be moſt meet for the time, and ſuiting beſt to thoſe perſons, for whoſe ſake this Dialogue was written. He ſpeaketh firſt therefore of the uſe of meats, eſpecially ſuch as are ſweet and pleaſing to the tooth: alſo what a man is to take heed of in this behalfe: Then he treateth of the pleaſures of the body, declaring what meaſure therein we ought to keep, and diſcovering by a certain ſimilitude, the pernicious indiſcretion of thoſe who love to keep good chee and maintain dainty fare. Conſequently hereupon, he forbiddeth us to uſe badly pleaſures, unleſſe we be in good and perfect health; condemneth fulneſſe and overmuch repletion, which is the cauſe of moſt diſeaſes that are incident to mans body; and this he enricheth and amplifieth by another proper ſimilitude. He is deſirous alſo that maladies were foreſeen and prevented, ſetting down a ſpecial remedy therefore, and proving, that the body cannot enjoy any delight whatſoever, either in eating or drinking, in caſe it be not healthy. From this he proceedeth to make mention of dyet, and of the Prognoſticks of diſeaſes breeding and toward. Item, how, and wherewith the maladies of our friends ought to ſerve and ſtead us; adding thus much moreover, that for the better maintenance and preſervation of health, a man is not to feed to ſatiety; that he ought to travel and not ſpare himſelfe: alſo that he is to ſave his natural ſeed: upon this he diſcourſeth of the exerciſe and nouriſhment of ſtudents and ſcholars, deciphering particularly what ſoever in this point is moſt worth the noting and obſervation, and ſo cleareth this queſtion; namely, whether it be wholſome for the body to diſpute either at the table, or preſently upon meat: After all this, he treateth of walking, of ſleep, of vomiting, of purgations of the belly, of diets over exquiſite and preciſe: condemning expreſſly idleneſſe, as a thing contrary to the good diſpoſition of the body. Furthermore, he ſheweth when a man ought to be at quiet and reſt; as alſo the time that he may give himſelfe to pleaſure: but above all, he requireth of every man, that he learn to know his own nature and inclination, as alſo the meats and drinks that be agreeable unto his ſtomach: exhorting in the end all ſtudents to ſpare their bodies, to look unto them, and make much of them, that they may have the better means to proceed and go forward in the knowledge of good letters, whereby they might another day be profitable members of the common-wealth, and do more good to the ſociety of men.

Rules and Precepts of Health in manner of a Dialogue.

The Perſonages ſpeaking in this Dialogue, *Moſchion* and *Zeuxippus*.

Moſchion.

AND did you then indeed (my friend *Zeuxippus*) turn away *Glaucus* the Phyſitian yeſterday, who was deſirous to conferr with us in Philoſophy?

Zeuxippus.

NO I wis (good *Moſchion*) neither did I put him away, nor deſirous was he to do as you ſay: But this was it that I avoided and feared namely: To give him any advantage or occaſion to faſten upon me, and take hold on me, knowing him as I do to be litigious and quarrelſome: for in Phyſick, if I may uſe the words of *Homer*:

He may well ſtand for many a one,
Although he be but one alone.

As for Philoſophy, he is not well affected thereto, but always provided of ſome ſhrewd and bitter teams againſt her in all his diſputations, and as then eſpecially; for I obſerved how he came directly againſt us, crying out upon us afar off with a loud voice, and charging us, that we had to enterpriſe a great matter, and the ſame not very civil and honeſt, and in that we had broken the bounds, and pluckt up (as a man would ſay) the very limit-marks of Sciences, laying all common, and making a confuſion of them, in diſputing as we did of wholſome diet, and of the manner how to live in good health. For the confines and frontiers (quoth he) of Phyſicians and Philoſophers, are (as we uſe to ſay in the vulgar Proverb, as touching Myſians and Phrygians) far different, and removed aſunder: Moreover, he had readily in his mouth certain ſpeeches and ſentences of ours, which we delivered by way of paſtime only, and yet for all that, were not impertinent or unprofitable, and thoſe he would ſeem to controule, reprove, and ſcorn.

Moſchion.

But I for my part (O *Zeuxippus*) could be very well content, yea, and moſt deſirous to hear, even thoſe ſpeeches that he mocked and as others beſide, which ye had concerning this matter, if ſo be it might ſtand with your pleaſure to rehearſe the ſame.

Zeuxippus.

I think no leſſe (O *Moſchion*) for that you are enclined naturally to Philoſophy, and think not wel of that Philoſopher who is not well affected to Phyſick, but are diſpleaſed and offended with him;

in

especially, when there is some festival day toward, wherein they use to make exceeding cheare; or when they purpose to invite their friends to a great dinner, or otherwise look to be bidden themselves to some royal feast of a King, or Lord General, or else to a banquet, where they shall be put to quaff and carrouse in their turn, which they may not refuse to do: against such times (I say) they ought to prepare their bodies beforehand, as it were whiles the weather is calm and fair, and make it more fresh and lightsome, yea, and better able to abide the storm and tempest toward: for a very hard matter it is in such assemblies and feasts of great Lords or deer friends for a man to stay himself in a mean, and maintain his accustomed sobriety; but he shall be thought uncivil, unmannerly, insociable, too austere and odious to all the company. To the end therefore that we should not put fire to fire (as they say) lay gorge upon gorge, surfeit upon surfeit, and wine upon wine, good it were to imitate and follow in good earnest that which was sometime merrily done by King *Philip*, and that was this: A certain man invited him upon a time to a supper, into the countrey, thinking that he would come with a small company about him: but seeing that he brought a great traine and retinue with him, and knowing well that he had prepared no more then would serve for a few guests: he was wonderfully troubled: *Philip* perceiving it, sent underhand to every one of his friends that came with him, this word: That they should keep a room in their stomachs for a dainty Tart, or Cate that was comming: they beleeving this message in good sadnesse, made spare of other viands that stood before them, looking evermore when this dainty should be served up, in such sort, as that the meat provided was sufficient for the whole company; even so we ought before-hand to be prepared against the time that we are to be at such great feasts and meetings aforesaid, where we shall be put to it perforce, to drink round in our turn and to answer every ones challenge, to reserve (I say) a place in our bodies, both for meats, and also for fine Cates, and junketting dishes: yea, and beleeve me, it need be, for drunkennesse, and thither to bring an appetite fresh and ready for such things. But if peradventure such constraints and compulsions surprize us upon a sudden, when wee are either full and heavy or ill at ease, for that we have a little before over-eaten and drunk our selves: in case (I say) some great Lords be come to us, or in place unexpected, or haply a friend or stranger take us at unawares, and unprovided, so that we be forced for shame to keep others company, who are well enough disposed in body, and prepared for to drink and make merry; then must we be especially well armed against foolish bashfulnesse, and to meet with such bad shamefastnesse is the cause of so many evils among men; and namely by alledging and saying these verses of King *Creon* in a Tragedy of *Euripides*:

Better it were for me, you to displease
My friend, then at this time, for your content,
To give my selfe to pleasure and mine ease,
But after, with great sorrow to repent.

For to cast a mans self into a plurisie or phrensie, for fear to be held and reputed rustical and uncivil, is the part of a rude clown indeed, and of one who hath neither wit nor judgement, ne yet any skil or speech to entertain or keep company with men, unlesse they may be drunken and engorge themselves like gluttons: for the very refusal it selfe of eating and drinking, if it be handled with dexterity and a good grace, will be no lesse acceptable to the company, then drinking square and carrousing round: And if the man who maketh a feast, abstain himselfe, though he sit at the table (as the manner is at a sacrifice whereof he tasteth not) entertaining his guests with a cheerful countenance and friendly welcom, and whiles the cups and trenchers walk about him, be disposed to mirth and cast out some pretty jests of himself, he shall no lesse content and please his guests, then he that will seem to be drunken for company, and cram his belly with them, till it be ready to crack. To this purpose he made mention of certain ancient examples; and namely, (among other) of *Alexander* the Great, who after he had drunk well and liberally, was abashed and ashamed to deny the challenge of *Medius*, one of his Captains, who had invited him to supper; and thereupon (falling againe to drink wine afresh) died thereof. And of those who lived in our days, he spake of one *Riglis*, a notable Pancratiast or Champion at all feats of activity, whom *Titus Cæsar* the Emperor, sent for one day betimes in the morning to come and bath with him, who came indeed, and after he had bathed and drunk a great draught, was (by report) surprized with an Apoplexy, whereupon he died immediately. All these matters our Physician *Glaucus* mocked and reproved, calling them discourses of School-masters to Children their Scholars: and as he was not very willing to hear more, so were not we greatly desirous to relate and discourse farther unto him; for that he had no mind to consider each thing accordingly that was delivered. *Socrates* verily, who was the first that debarred us from eating those meats which drew us on to eat more still when we were not hungry nor had a stomach thereto; and from drinking such drinks which caused us to drink, although we were not dry and thirsty; forbade us not simply to use meats and drinks, but taught us rather to use them only when we had need of them, joining the pleasure of them with their necessity: like as they do, who employ the publick money of Cities (which before was wont to be spent at Theaters, in exhibiting Playes and shews) about the charges of maintaining souldiers for the wars: for that which is sweet, so long as it is a part of our nourishment, we hold to be proper and familiar to nature: and we ought all the whiles that we be hungry, to use and enjoy necessary nourishment, as sweet and pleasant; but otherwise not to stir and provoke other new and extraordinary appetites apart, after that we are delivered from those that be common and ordinary: for like as

unto

in case (I say) he suppose it more meet and beseeming for him to be seen studying Geometry, Logick, or Musick, then willing to enquire and learn

What rule at home in house, what work there is,
How things do stand, what goes well, what amis?

When I say, at home, I mean in his own body; and yet a man shall see ordinarily, what a number more there be of spectators at Theaters, where there is some publick dole or free distribution of money to those that are assembled to see the games and pastimes, as the manner is at *Athens*, then otherwise. Now of all the liberal sciences, Physick is one, which as it giveth place to none whatsoever, in beauty, in outward shew, and in pleasure or delight: so it alloweth a great reward and salary unto those that love it, even as much as their life and health comes to: and therefore wee are not to accuse and charge Philosophers, who discourse and dispute of matters concerning the regiment of health, for passing beyond their bounds and confines: but rather we ought to blame them, if they think that they should pluck up all together, and take away those land-marks, to labour (as it were) in some common field between them and Physicians, in the study and contemplation of things good and honest, aiming and seeking in all their disputations and discourses, after that which is both pleasant to know and necessary to understand.

Moschion.

But let us I pray you (*O Zeuxippus*) leave *Glaucus* to himselfe, who for the gravity which he carrieth, would be accounted a man in all points accomplished without any need at all of Philosophies help; and recount unto me (if you please) all those speeches which you had, especially at first, those I mean which you said were not spoken in earnest, and yet were scorned and reproved by *Glaucus*.

Zeuxippus.

I will, and that right willingly. This friend of ours therefore delivered thus much: how hee heard one say: That to have ones hands alwayes warm, and never suffer them to be cold, was no small meanes to the preservation of health: but contrariwise, to have ordinarily the extream parts of the body cold, drove heat inwardly into the Center of the body, and brought us to a certain familiarity and acquaintance with a feaver; as also, to turn and drive with out forth together with heat the matter thereof, and to distribute the same equally throughout the whole body, was an wholsome thing, as we see by experience, that if we occupy our hands, and do some work with them, the very motion exciteth and stirreth up, yea, and maintaineth naturall heat: but if we have no such businesse or employment for them, but hold them still and idle, yet for all that we are not to admit or entertain cold in those extream parts of the body: This (I say) was one of the points that *Glaucus* laughed at. The second (as I take it) was touching the meats that ye use to give unto sick persons: For that he counselled men (in time of health) to taste the same by little and little; so as they might be acquainted therewith, to the end that they should not abhor and loath them (as little children use to do) nor hate such a kind of diet; but make the same in some sort after a gentle manner, familiar unto their appetite; that (whensoever it hapned that they were sick) such viands might not go against their stomachs, as if they were Physick drugs or medicines, out of the Apothecaries shop: also, that we should not be offended and discontent, otherwhiles to feed upon one single dish and no more, and the same without any sauce to draw it on, or fine dressing and handling by cooks craft, to commend it. For which cause he would not have men think it strange, to come now and then to the table, without being at the baine or hot house before; nor to drink sheer water, when wine is upon the board, nor to forbear to drink our drink hot in summer time, although there be snow set before us to cool it. Provided alwayes, that this abstinence proceed not from any ambitious ostentation and vaine-glory, or because wee would vaunt and make our boast thereof afterward; but that we do it apart by our selves, making no words thereof, and accustome by little and little our appetite to obey reason willingly, and to be ruled by that which is good and profitable, by weaning our minds (long before) from that scrupulous curiosity, dainty niceness, and wayward complaints, about these matters in time of sickness; when commonly we are ready to whine and lament, for that we misse those our former pleasures, and great delights, which we were wont to enjoy, and see our selves brought to a more base kind of diet, and a straighter rule of life. For a good saying it was: Chuse the best life simply that is: use and custome will make it pleasing and agreeable unto thee: the which by good proofe and experience hath been found profitable in all things, but principally in the regard and care of our bodies (as touching diet) which in time of best health ought to be ordered so by use and custome, that the same may become kinde, familiar, and agreeable to our nature; and namely by calling to mind that which others are wont to doe and say in their sickness, how they fume and chafe, how they fare and go to work when hot water is brought unto them for to drink or warm broths to be supped or drie bread to be eaten: how they call these, untoward, naughty, and unsavory victuals, yea, and name those cursed and odious persons, who would seem to force the same upon them for to eat or drink. Many there have been, who had their bane by baines, such as ailed not much at the first, and were not very sick at the beginning; onely they had brought themselves to this passe, that they could neither eat nor drink, unlesse they were first bathed, or had sweat in a stouph: among whom, *Titus* the Emperour of *Rome* was one, as they were able to testifie who had the cure of him when he lay sick. It was said moreover: That always viands most simple, and such as cost least, were wholesome for the body: also that above all things, men ought to beware of repletion, of drunkennesse and voluptuous life;

especially

unto *Socrates* himſelfe, dancing was no unpleaſant exerciſe; even ſo he who maketh his whole ſupper or meale of junkets and banquetting diſhes, catcheth leſs harm thereby: but when a man hath taken already as much as is ſufficient to content nature, and wherewith he is well ſatisfied, he ought to beware as much as in any thing elſe, how he putteth forth his hands to any ſuch dainties. And we are to flie and avoid in theſe things, folly and ambition, no leſſe then friandiſe or gluttony: for theſe two vices induce us likewiſe oftentimes to eat ſomething when we are not hungry, and to drink alſo when we be not athirſt; yea, and they ſuggeſt and miniſter unto us certain baſe and extravagant imaginations, to wit, that it were great ſimplicity, and a very abſurd thing, not to feed liberally of a rare, deer and geaſon diſh, if it may be had; as for example: That which is made of a Sowes paps when ſhe is newly farrowed, Italian Muſhrooms, Samian Cakes, or Snow out of *Egypt*; for theſe toyes and imaginations ſmelling ſomewhat of vain-glory, as the ſent of meat comming out of a Kitchin, many times ſet our teeth a watering and our ſtomack on edge to uſe them, forcing the body (which otherwiſe would not ſeek after them) to participate thereof, only becauſe they be much ſpoken of and hard to come by; to the end that we make our report and recount unto others, what we have done, and be reputed by them right happy and fortunate; for that we have enjoyed things, ſo deere, ſo ſingular and ſo geaſon. The like affection they carry to women alſo of great name and reputation: for it falleth out, that having their own wives in bed with them, and thoſe fair and beautiful dames, ſuch alſo as love them deerly, they lie ſtill and ſtir not: but if they meet with any courtiſan, ſuch as *Phryne* or *Lais* was, unto whom they have payed good ſilver out of their purſe, though otherwiſe their bodies be unable, dull and heavy in performing the work of *Venus*, yet doing they will be, what they can, and ſtrain themſelves upon a vain-glorious ambition, to provoke and ſtir up their laſcivious luſt unto fleſhly pleaſure: whereupon *Phryne* her ſelfe, being now old and decayed, was wont to ſay: That ſhe ſold her lees and dregs the dearer, by reaſon of her reputation.

A great thing it is and wonderful, that if we receive into our bodies as many pleaſures as nature doth require or can well bear; or rather, if upon divers occaſions and buſineſſes, we reſiſt her appetites, and put her off unto another time, and that we be loth and hardly brought to yeeld unto her neceſſities, or (according as *Plato* ſaith) give place, after that ſhe hath by fine force pricked and urged us thereto, we ſhould not ſuffer for all that, any harm thereby, but go away freely without any loſſe or detriment: but on the other ſide, if we abandon our ſelves to the deſires that deſcend from the ſoul to the body, ſo far forth as they force us to miniſter unto the paſſions thereof, and riſe up together with them, impoſſible it is, but that they ſhould leave behind them exceeding great loſſes and dammages, inſtead of a few pleaſures, and thoſe feeble and ſmall in appearance, which they have given unto us: and this above all things would be conſidered, that we take heed how we provoke the body to pleaſures, by the luſt of the mind: for the beginning thereof is againſt nature. For like as the tickling under the armholes, procureth unto the ſoul a laughter, which is not proper, mild and gentle, but rather troubleſome & reſembling ſome ſpaſme or convulſion: even ſo all the pleaſures which the body receiveth when it is pricked and provoked by the ſoul, be violent, forced, turbulent, furious and unnatural. Whenſoever therefore any occaſion ſhall preſent it ſelfe to enjoy ſuch rare and notable delights, it were better for us to take a glory in the abſtinence, rather then in the fruition thereof, calling to mind that which *Simonides* was wont to ſay: That he never repented any ſilence of his, but oftentimes he beſhrewed himſelfe for his ſpeech: and even ſo we never repent that wee have refuſed any viands, or drunk water inſtead of good Falerne wine. And therefore we ought not only not to force nature, but if otherwhiles we be ſerved with ſuch Cates and meats as ſhe craveth, we are to divert our appetite from the ſame, and to reduce it to the uſe of ſimple and ordinary things many times, even for cuſtome and exerciſe:

If right and law may broken be,
for any earthly thing,
The beſt pretence is for to win
a crown, and be a King.

So ſaid *Eteocles* the Thebane, though untruly: but we may better ſay: If we muſt be ambitious and deſirous of glory in ſuch things as theſe, it were moſt honeſt and commendable to uſe continence and temperance for the preſervation of health. Howbeit, ſome there be, who upon an illiberal pinching, and mechanical ſparing, can reſtrain and keep down their appetites when they be at home in their own houſes; but if it chance they be bidden forth to others, they gorge and fill their bellies with theſe exquiſite and coſtly viands: much like to thoſe, who in time of war and hoſtility, raiſe booties and prey upon the lands of their enemies, what they can; and when they have ſo done, they goe from thence ill at eaſe, carrying away with them for the morrow (upon this their fulneſſe and unſatiable repletion) crudity of ſtomack and indigeſtion. *Crates* therefore, the Philoſopher thinking; that civil wars and tirannies ariſe and grow up in Cities, as well by reaſon of ſuperfluity and exceſſe in dainty fare, as upon any other cauſe whatſoever, was wont by way of mirth, to give admonition in theſe tearms: Take heed you bring us not into a civil ſedition, by augmenting the platter always before the Lentil: that is to ſay, by diſpending more then your revenues will beare. But indeed, every man ought to have this command and rule of himſelfe, as to ſay: Augment not evermore the platter before the Lentil, nor at any time paſs beyond the Creſſes & the Olive, even to fine tarts and delicate fiſhes, leſt you bring your body into a domeſtical diſſention afterwards with it ſelfe

namely, to painfull colicks, laskes, and fluxes of the belly, by over-much fulneſſe and exceſſe of feeding: for ſimple viands and ordinary, containe the appetite within the bounds and compaſſe of nature; but the artificiall devices of cookes and cunning fellows in paſtry, with their curious cates of all ſorts, with their exquiſite ſauces and pickles (as the comicall Poet ſaith) ſet out and extend alwaies the limits of pleaſure, encroaching ſtill beyond the bounds of utility and profit. And I wot not verily, how it comes about, that conſidering we ſo much deteſt and abhor thoſe women, who give love-drinks, and can skill of charmes and ſorceries to bewitch and enchant men with, we betake thus as we do, unto mercenary hirelings or ſlaves, our meats and viands, to be medicined (as it were) and no better than poiſened for to enchant and bewitch us. And admit, that the ſaying of *Arceſilaus* the Philoſopher, againſt adulterers and other laſcivious perſons, may ſeem ſomewhat with the bitterest; namely, that it made no great matter, which way one went about that beaſtly work, whether before or behind, for that the one was as bad as the other; yet impertinent it is not, nor beſide the ſubject matter which we have in hand. For to ſay a truth, what difference is there between eating of Ragwort, Rogket, and ſuch hot herbs, for to ſtir up the luſt of the fleſh, and to provoke the taſte and appetite to meat by ſmels and ſauces? like as mangy and itching places have alwaies need of rubbing and ſcratching. But peradventure it would be better to reſerve unto another place, our diſcourſe againſt diſhoneſt fleſhly pleaſures, and to ſhew how honeſt and venerable a thing in it ſelfe is continence: for our purpoſe at this preſent is to debar many great pleaſures, otherwiſe in their own nature honeſt: for I aſſure you, our diſeaſes do not put us by ſo many actions, ſo many hopes, voyages or paſtimes as they deprive us of our pleaſures, yea, and mar them quite: and therefore they who love their delights and pleaſures moſt had leſt need of any men in the world, to neglect their health. For many there be, who for all they be ſick have meanes to ſtudy philoſophy, and diſcourſe thereof: neither doth their ſickneſſe greatly hinder them, but that they may be generals in the field to lead armies, yea, and Kings (beleeve me) to governe whole Realmes.

But of bodily pleaſures and fleſhly delights, ſome there be which during a malady will never breed; and ſuch as are bred already yeeld but a ſmall joy, and ſhort contentment, which is proper and naturall unto them, and the ſame not pure and ſincere, but confuſed, depraved and corrupted with much ſtrange ſtuffe, yea, and diſguiſed and blemiſhed as it were with ſome ſtorme and tempeſt: for the act of *Venus* is not to any purpoſe performed upon gurmandiſe and a full belly, but rather when the body is calme, and the fleſh in great tranquillity; for that the end of *Venus* is pleaſure, like as of eating alſo and of drinking; and health unto pleaſures is as much as their faire weather and kind ſeaſon, which giveth them ſecure and gentle breeding, much like as the calme time in winter affords the ſea-fowles called *Alcyones*, a ſafe cooving, ſitting and hatching of their eggs. *Prodicus* is commended for this pretty ſpeech: That fire was the beſt ſauce: and a man may moſt truly ſay, That health is of all ſauces moſt divine, heavenly, and pleaſant: for our viands how delicate ſoever they be, boiled, roſted, baked, or ſtewed, do no pleaſure at all unto us, ſo long as we are diſeaſed, drunken, full of ſurfet, or queaſie ſtomacked, as they be who are ſea-ſick; whereas a pure and cleane appetite cauſeth all things to be ſweet, pleaſant, and agreeable unto ſound bodies, yea, and ſuch as they will be ready to match at, as *Homer* ſaith. But like as *Demades* the Orator, ſeeing the Athenians without all reaſon, deſirous of armes and war, ſaid unto them, That they never treated and agreed of peace, but in their black robes, after the loſſe of kinſfolke and friends; even ſo we never remember to keep a ſpary and ſober diet, but when we come to be cauterized, or to have cataplaſmes and plaſters about us: we are no ſooner fallen to thoſe extremities, but then we are ready to condemne our faults, calling to mind what errours we have committed in times paſt; for untill then we blame one while the aire as moſt men do; another while the region or countrey, as unſound and unwholſome; we find fault that we are out of our native ſoile, and are wonderfull loath to accuſe our own intemperance and diſordinate appetites. And as King *Liſymachus* being conſtrained and enforced within the Country of the *Getes* for very thirſt to yeeld himſelfe priſoner, and all his army captivate unto his enemies; after he had taken a draught of cold water, ſaid, Good God, what a great felicity have I forgone and loſt for a momentary and tranſitory pleaſure! even ſo we may make uſe thereof, and apply the ſame unto our ſelves when we are ſick, ſaying thus, How many delights have we marred quite? How many good actions have we fore-let? What honeſt paſtimes have we loſt? and all by our drinking of cold water, or bathing unſeaſonably, or elſe for that we have over-dranke our ſelves for good fellowſhip: for the bite and ſting of ſuch thoughts as theſe toucheth our remembrance to the quick, in ſuch ſort as the ſcarre remaineth ſtill behind after that we are recovered, and maketh us in time of our health more ſtaied, circumſpect, and ſober in our diet: for a body that is exceeding ſound and healthy never bringeth forth vehement deſires, and diſordinate appetites, hardly to be tamed or withſtood; but we ought to make head againſt them when they begin to breake forth and fling out for to enjoy the pleaſures which they are affected unto; for ſuch luſts, ſome complaine, pule, and cry for a little, as wanton children do, and no ſooner is the table taken away, but they be quiet and ſtill: neither find they fault and make complaint of any wrong or injury offered unto them: but contrariwiſe, they be pure, jocund, and lightſome, not continuing heavy, nor ready to heave and caſt, the next day to an end: like as by report, Captaine *Timotheus*, (having upon a time been at a ſober and frugall ſcholars ſupper, in the Academy with *Plato*) ſaid, That they who ſupped with *Plato* were merry and well appaied the next day after. It is reported alſo, that King *Alexander* the Great when he turned back

those cooks which queene *Ada* sent unto him, said, That he had about him all the yeare long better of his own, namely, for his breakfast or dinner, rising betimes, and marching before day light; and for his supper, eating little at dinner. I am not ignorant that men otherwhiles are very apt to fall into an ague upon extreame travell, upon excessive heats also and colds: but like as the odours and sents of flowers be weake and feeble of themselves; whereas if they be mixed with some oyle, they take force and vigour; even so fulness and repletion is the ground, which giveth (as a man would say) body and substance unto the outward causes and occasions of maladies; and of a great quantity of superfluous humours there is no danger, because all such indispositions and crudities are soon discussed, dissipated, and dissolved, when some fine or subtill bloud, when some pure spirit (I say) receiveth their motion: but where there is a great repletion indeed, and abundance of superfluities, (as it were a deep and miry puddle all troubled and stirred) then there arise from thence many malign accidents, such as be dangerous and hard to cure: and therfore we are not to do like some good masters of ships, who never thinke their vessels be fully fraught and charged throughly; and when they have taken in all that ever they can, do nothing else but work at the pumpe, void the sinke, and cast out the sea water which is gotten in; even so when we have well filled and stuffed our bodies, fall to purge and cleanse them with medicines and clisters: but we ought rather to keep the bodie alwaies neat, nimble, and light, to the end, that if it chance otherwise at any time to be pressed and held down, it might be seen above for lightnesse like unto a peece of corke floating aloft upon the water: but principally we are to beware of the very precedent indispositions, which are fore-runners of maladies: for all diseases walke not (as *Hesiodus* saith) in silence and say nothing when they come,

As whom wise Jupiter *hath bereft*
Of voice, and tongue to them none left.

But the most part of them have their vant-curreurs as it were, their messengers, and trumpets: namely, crudities of stomack, wearinesse, and heavinesse over all the body. According to the Aphorisme of *Hippocrates*; lassitudes and laborious heavinesse of the body, comming of themselves without any evident cause, prognosticate and fore-signifie diseases; for that as it should seeme, the spirits that should passe unto the nerves and sinews are obstructed, stopped, and excluded, by the great repletion of humours: and albeit the body it selfe tendeth as it were to the contrary, and pulleth us to our bed and repose, yet some there be, who for very gluttony and disordinate lust, put themselves into baines and hot-houses, making haste from thence to drinking square with good fellows, as if they would make provision before-hand of victuals against some long siege of a City, or feare that the feaver should surprise them fasting, or before they had taken their full dinner: others somewhat more honest, yea, and civill than they, are not this way faulty, but being ashamed (fooles they are) to confesse that they have eaten or drunke over-much that they feele any heavinesse in head or crudity in stomack, loath also to be known for to keep their chamber all the day long in their night-gownes, whiles their companions go to tennis and other bodily exercises abroad in publike place, and call them forth to beare them company, rise up and make them ready to go with them, cast off their cloaths to their naked skin, with others, and put themselves to do all that men in perfect health are to performe. But the most part of these (induced and drawn on, by hope perswaded) are bold to arise, and to do hardly after their wonted manner, assisted by a certaine hope, grounded upon a proverb; as an advocate to defend gourmandise, and wanton life, which adviseth them that they should expell wine with wine; drive or digest one surfeit with another. Howbeit, against all such hope, we are to oppose the wary and considerate caution, that *Cato* speaketh of (which as that wise man saith) doth diminish and lessen great things; and as for small matters it reduceth them to nothing: also that it were better to endure want of meat, and to keep the body empty and in quiet, than so to hazzard it, by entring into a baine, or run to an high Ordinary to dine and sup: for if there be some disposition to sicknesse, hurtfull it will be that we have not taken heed, nor contained our selves, but been secure: if none, dangerous it will not be that we have held in and restrained our selves, and by that restraint made our body so much more pure and cleare. But that childish foole whosoever he be, that is afraid to let his friends and those of his own house know that he is amisse or ill at ease, for that he hath eaten overmuch, or surfeited with strong drinke, as being ashamed to confesse this day his indigestion, shall be forced to morrow even against his will, to bewray either an inordinate catarrh and fluxe, or an ague, or else some wrings and torments of the belly: thou takest it for a great shame to be known that thou didst want or were hungry: but far greater shame it is to avow crudity and rawnesse, to bewray heavinesse, proceeding from full diet, and upon repletion of the body to be drawn nevertheless into a baine, as if some rotten vessell or leaking ship, that would not keep our water, should be shot into the sea. Certes such persons as these resemble some sailers or sea-faring men, who in the tempestuous time of winter be ashamed to be seene upon the shore doing nothing: but when they have once weighed anchor, spread saile, and lanched into the deepe, and open sea, they are very ill appaied, crying out pitiously, and ready to cast up their gorge: even so, they that doubt some sicknesse, or find a disposition of the body ready to fall into it, thinke it a great shame and discredit to stand upon their guard one day, to keep their beds and forbeare their ordinary table and accustomed diet: but afterwards with more shame, they are faine to lie by it many daies together, whiles they be driven to take purgations, to apply many cataplasmes, to speake the physicians faire, and fawn upon them, when they would have

have leave of them to drinke wine or cold water; being so base minded, as to do absurdly, and to speake many words impertinently, feeling their hearts to faile, and be ready to faint, for the paine they endure already, and the feare they are to abide more. Howbeit, very good it were to teach and admonish such persons (as otherwise cannot rule & contain themselves, but either yeeld, or be transported and carried away by their lusts) that their pleasures take the most and best part of the body for their share. And like as the Lacedæmonians alter that they had given vinegar and salt to the cook, willed him to seek for the rest in the beast sacrificed: even so in a body which one would nourish, the best sauces for the meat are these, which are presented unto it, when it is found in health and clean. For that a dish of meat is sweet or deare is a thing by it selfe, without the body of him who taketh it, and eateth thereof: but for the pleasantnesse or contentment thereof, we ought to have regard unto the body that receiveth it; also for to delight therein. it should be so disposed as nature doth require; for otherwise, if the body be troubled, ill-affected, or over-charged with wine; the best devices and sauces in the world will lose their grace, and all their goodnesse whatsoever: and therefore it would not be so much looked unto, whether the fish be new taken, the bread made of pure and fine flower, the bath hot, or the harlot faire and beautifull; as considered precisely, whether the man himselfe have not a loathing stomack, apt to heave and vomit, be not full of crudities, errour, vanity, and trouble: else it will come to passe, that it shall incur the same fault and absurdity that they do, who after they are drunken, will needs go in a maske, to play and dance in an house, where they all mourne for the death of the master thereof lately deceased: for instead of making sport and mirth, this were enough to set all the house upon weeping and pitious wailing. For even so, the sports of love or *Venus*, exquisite viands, pleasant baines, and good wines, in a body ill disposed and not according to nature, do no other good, but stir, trouble fleame and choler in them, who have no setled and compact constitution, and yet be not altogether corrupt; as also they trouble the body, and put it out of tune more than any thing else yeelding no joy that we may make any reckoning of, nor that contentment which we hoped and expected. True it is, that an exquisite diet observed streightly and precisely according to rule, and missing not one jot, causeth not only the body to be thin, hollow, and in danger to fall into many diseases; but also dulleth all the vigour, and daunteth the cheare fulnesse of the very mind, in such sort, as that she suspecteth all things, and feareth continually to stay long as well in delights and pleasures, as in travels and paines; yea, and generally in every action enterprizing nothing assuredly and with confidence: whereas we ought to deale by our body, as with the sailes of a ship; that is to say) neither to draw it in and keep it down too straight in time of calme and faire weather, nor to spread and let it out over-slack and negligently, when there is presented some suspicion of a tempest; but as occasion shall require, to spare it, and give some ease and remission, that afterwards it may be fresh and lightsome, as hath been said already, and not to slack the time, and stay untill we sensibly feele crudities, laskes, inflammations; or contrariwise, stupidities and mortifications of members, by which signs (being as it were messengers, and ushers going before a feaver, which is hard at the doore) hardly will some be so much moved, as to keep in, and restraine themselves, (no not when the very accesse and fit is ready to surprise them) but rather long before to be provident, and to prevent a tempest:

So soone as from some rock we find
The puffing gales of northerne wind.

For absurd it is, and to no purpose, to give such carefull heed unto the crying wide throats of crows, or to the craing and cackling of hens, or to swine, when in a rage they tosse and fling straw about them (as *Democritus* saith) thereby to gather presages, and prognostications of wind, raine, and stormes; and in the meane time not to observe the motions, troubles, and fiering indispositions of our bodie, nor prevent the same, ne yet to gather undoubted signes of a tempest ready to rise and grow even out thereof. And therefore we ought not only to have an eye unto the body, for meat and drinke, and for bodily exercises, in observing whether we fall unto them more lazily and unwillingly than our manner was before time; or contrariwise whether our hunger and thirst be more than ordinary; but also we are to suspect and feare, if our sleeps be not mild, and continued, but broken and interrupted: we must besides regard our very dreames; namely, whether they be strange and unusuall: for if there be represented extraordinary fancies and imaginations, they testifie and shew a repletion of grosse, viscuous, or slimy humours, and a great perturbation of the spirits within. Otherwhiles also it hapneth that the motions of the soule it self do fore-signifie unto us that the body is in some near danger of disease: for many times men are surprised with timorous fits of melancholly, and heartlesse distrusts without any reason or evident cause, the which suddenly extinguish all their hopes: you shall have some upon every small occasion apt to fall into cholerick passions of anger; they become eager and hasty, troubled, pensive, and offenced with a little thing, insomuch as they will be ready to weep and run all to teares, yea, and languish for griefe and sorrow: And all this commeth when evill vapours, sowre and bitter fumes ingendred within, do arise and steame up, and and so (as Plato saith) be intermingled in the waies and passages of the soule. Those persons therefore who are subject to such things ought to thinke and consider with themselves, that if there be no spirituall cause thereof, it cannot chuse but some corporall matter had need either of evacuation, alteration, or suppression.

Expedient also it is and very profitable for us, when we visit our friends that be sick, to enquire

diligently the causes of their maladies, not upon a cavelling curiosity or vaine ostentation, (to dispute sophistically, and discourse thereof only, or to make a shew of our eloquence, in talking of the instances, the iniuks, the intercidences, communities of diseases, and all to shew what books we have read, and that we know the words and tearmes of physick;) but to make search and enquiry in good earnest, and not slightly or by the way, as touching these slight common and vulgar points, namely, whether the sick party be full or empty? Whether he over-travelled himselfe before, or no? and whether he slept well or ill? but principally, what diet he kept? and what order of life he followed, when he fell (for examples sake) into the ague? then (according as *Plato* was wont to say unto himselfe, whensoever he returned from hearing and seeing the faults that other men committed:) Am not I also such an one? So you must compose and frame your selfe to learne by the harmes and errours of neighbours about you, for to looke well unto your own health, and by calling them to mind, to be so wary and provident, that you fall not into the same inconveniences, and forced to keep your bed, and there extoll and commend health, wishing and desiring (when it is too late) for to enjoy so precious a treasure; but rather (seeing another to have caught a disease) to marke and consider well, yea, and to entertaine this deep impression in your heart; how deare the said health ought to be unto us, how carefull we should be to preserve, and chary to spare the same. Moreover, it would not be amisse for a man afterwards to compare his own life with that of the foresaid patient: for it it fall out so, that (notwithstanding we have used over-liberall diet both in drinks and meats, or laboured extreamely, or otherwise committed errour in any excesse and disorder) our bodies minister unto nature no suspicion, nor threaten any signe of sicknesse toward; yet ought we nevertheless, to take heed and prevent the harme that may ensue; namely, if we have committed any disorder in the pleasures of *Venus*, and love-delights; or otherwise been over-travelled, to repose our selves and take our quiet rest; after drunkennesse or carrowsing wine round for good fellowship, to make amends and recompence with drinking as much cold water for a time; but especially, upon a surfeit taken with eating heavy and grosse meats, and namely, of flesh, or else feeding upon sundry and divers dishes, to fast or use a spary diet, so as there be left no superfluity in the body: for even these things, as of themselves alone, if there were no more) be enough to breed diseases; so unto other causes they adde matter and minister more strength. Full wisely therefore was it said by our ancients in old time, that for to maintaine our health, these three points were most expedient: *To feed without satiety*; *To labour with alacrity*; and *To preserve and make stave of naturall seed*. For surely lascivious intemperance in venery of all things, most decayeth and enfeebleth the strength of that naturall heat, whereby our meat and food which we receive is concocted, and so consequently is the cause of many excrements and superfluities engendred, whereupon corrupt humours are engendered and gathered within the body.

To begin therefore to speake againe of every of these points; let us consider first the exercises meet and agreeable to students or men of learning: for like as he who first said, That he wrote nothing of Teeth to those that inhabited the sea coasts, taught them (in so saying) the use of them; even so a man may say unto scholars and men of learning, That he writeth nothing unto them as touching bodily exercises; for that the dayly practice of the voice by speech and pronuntiation, is an exercise wonderfull effectuall, not only for health, but also for strength, I mean not such as is procured to wrestlers and champions by art, which breedeth brawny carnosity, and causeth the skin to be firme and fast without forth (like unto an house which to the outward shew is rough-cast or thick coated with lime or plaster;) but that which maketh a tough constitution and a vigorous firmitude and strength indeed in the noblest parts within, and the principall instruments of our life. Now, that the spirits augment and confirme the powers of our body, the annointers of mens bodies in the place of publike exercise know full well, when they give order and command the wrestlers, and such like, when their limbs are rubbed, to withstand such frictions in some sort, in holding their wind observing precisely, and having an eye to each part of the body that is handled or rubbed. The voice therefore (being a motion of the spirit (fortified, not superficially and by starts, but even in the proper fountaines and springs which are about the vitall bowels) encreaseth naturall heat) doth subtiliat the blood, cleanseth the veines, openeth all the arteries, not suffering any obstruction, oppilation, or stopping by superfluous humours to grow upon us, or remaine behind (like unto dregs or grounds) in the bottome of those vessels which receive and concoct those viands whereof we are nourished: by reason whereof they have need to use ordinarily this exercise, and make it familiar unto them by speaking in publike place, and discoursing continually. But if haply they doubt that their bodies be but weake, and not able to support and endure so much travell, yet at least wise they are to read with a loud voice; for look what proportion there is between gestation or carriage of the body, and the exercise thereof upon the very ground, the same is between simple reading and discoursing, or open disputation: for this reading doth gently stir and mildly carry the voice by the chariot, (as it were) and litter of another mans speech; but disputation addeth thereto a certaine heat and forcible vehemence; for that the mind and the body conspire and concurre together in that action: howbeit, in this exercise we must beware of over-loud vociferations and clamours; for such violent strainings of the voice, and unequall extensions and intensions of the wind, many times cause some rupture of veines, or inward spasmes and convulsions. Now when a student hath either read or discoursed in this manner, good it is for him before he walke abroad, to use some unctious, warme, and gentle frictions, to handle and rub the skin and flesh after

after a soft and mild manner; yea, and as much as he can to reach into the very bowels within, that the spirits may be spread and distributed equally throughout, even to the very extremities of the body. In these rubbings and frictions this gage and measure would be observed, that he continue them so long, and so often as he findeth them to agree sensibly with his body, and bring no offence with them. He that in this wise hath appeased and settled the trouble or tension of the spirits in the center of the body, if haply there should remaine some superfluity behind, it would do him no great harme: for say, that he should forbeare walking for want of leisure, or by occasion of sudden businesse, it is all one, and it maketh no matter; for why, nature hath had already that which is sufficient, and standeth satisfied therewith. And therefore a man is not to pretend colourably for to excuse his silence, or forbearance of reading either navigation, when he is accompanied with other passengers at sea in one ship, or his abode and sojourning in an hostelry or common inne, although all the company there should mock him for it: for as it was no shame nor dishoneſt thing to eate before them all, no more unseemly is it to exercise himselfe in their presence by reading. But rather more undecent it were to be affraid or stand in aw of marriners, muliters, or inne-keepers, when they laugh at you, not for playing at ball alone, or fighting with your own shadow, but for speaking before them in your speech, either teaching, or discoursing, or else learning by roat, and rehearsing some good thing for your exercise. *Socrates* was wont to say, That for him who would move and stir his body by way of dancing, a little roome (that would receive seven setles or seats) was sufficient and big enough; but him that mindeth to exercise his body either by singing or saying, every place will serve, whether he stand, lie, or sit. Only this must we take heed of, that we straine not our voice, nor set out an open throat, when we are privy to our selves that we have eaten or drunke liberally, ne yet presently after the company of a woman, or any other wearisome travell whatsoever; as many of our Orators and great Masters of Rhetorick use to do; who enforce and give themselves to declaime and pronounce their Orations too loud, even above the strength of their body; some for vain-glory and ambition, because they would put forth themselves; others for reward, and to get a fee, or else upon emulation to their concurrents. Thus did *Niger*, (a friend of ours) who professed Rhetorick in *Galatia*: this man having swallowed down a fish-bone which stuck still in his throat (when another Rhetorician, travelling that way, chanced to make a publike Oration; for that he was ashamed to be thought his inferiour, and yet durst not deale with him in that faculty) would needs shew himselfe in open place, and declaime, whiles the said bone remained still in his troat: but by this meanes there ensued a dangerous and painfull inflammation; and being no longer able to endure the dolorous anguish thereof, he suffered himselfe to be launced without forth, and to have a deep incision and a wide orifice made, whereby the bone indeed was plucked out, but the was so grievous, and oppressed beside with a descent and defluxion of rheumatick humours thither, that he died thereof. But haply, better to the purpose it were to speake of this hereafter. Well, after exercise to go presently into the bath, and to wash in cold water, were the part of a lusty wild-brain and a giddy-headed youth, who will needs in a bravery shew what he can do, rather than wholsome any way: for all the good that such cold baths bring is this, that they seeme to harden the body, and confirme it so as it is lesse subject to take offence by the qualities of the aire without; but surely they do more harme within by a great deale; for that they enclose and shut up the pores of the body, causing the humours and fumosities which would evaporate and breath forth continually to become thick and grosse. Furthermore, needfull it is for them that love to bath thus in cold water to fall into the subjection of that over-straight and exquisite diet, (which we would avoid) having evermore an eye upon this, not to breake the same in any point whatsoever, for that the least fault and smallest errour in the world is presently chastised and cosseth full deare: whereas contrariwise to enter into the baine, and wash in hot water pardoneth us, and holdeth us excused for many things; for it doth not so much diminish the strength and force of the body, as it bringeth profit another way for the health thereof; framing and applying most gently and kindly the humours to concoction: and in case there be some which cannot well and perfectly be digested, (so they be not altogether crude and raw, nor float aloft in the mouth of the stomack) it causeth them to dissolve and exhale without any sense of paine; yea, and withall, it doth mitigate and cause to vanish and passe away the secret lassitudes of the musculous members. And yet as good as baries be, if we perceive the body to be in the naturall state and disposition, firme and strong enough, better it were to intermit and for-let the use of baths; and instead thereof I hold it wholsomer to annoint and rub the body before a good fire, namely, if it have need to be chafed and set in a heat; for by this means there is dispersed into it as much heat as is requisite, and no more; which cannot be against the sun; for of his heat a man cannot take more or lesse at his own discretion, but according as he affecteth or tempereth the aire, so he affordeth his use. And thus much may serve for the exercise of students.

To come now unto their food and nurture: if the reasons and instructions before delivered, by which we learne to restraine, represse, and mitigate our appetites, have done any good, time it were to proceed forward to other advertisements: but in case they be so violent, so unruly and untamed, as if they were newly broken out of prison, that it is an hard piece of work to rank them within the compasse of reason; and if it be a difficult peece of worke to wrestle with the belly, which (as *Cato* was wont to say) have no ears; we must work another feat and device with it: namely, by observing the quality of the viands, to make the quantity more light and lesse offensive: and if they be such as be solid and nourish much; as for example, grosse flesh meats, cheese, dry figgs, and hard eggs,

they must feed of them as little as they can; for to refuse and forbeare them altogether were very hard: but they may be more bold to eate heartily of those that be thin and light, such as are the most part of worts, or pot-herbs, birds, and fishes, that be not fat and oylelous: for in eating of such meats a man may at once both gratifie his appetite, and also never overcharge his body: but above all, take heed they must of crudities and surfeits, proceeding from liberall eating of flesh-meats; for besides that they load the stomack presently as they are taken, there remaine afterwards behind naughty reliques: and therefore it were very well, that they accustomed their bodies never to call for flesh; considering that the earth it selfe bringeth forth other kinds of food, sufficiently not only for the necessity of nourishment, but also for pleasure and the contentment of the appetite; for some of them are ready to be eaten without any dressing, or the help of mans hand, others be mingled and compounded after divers sorts to make them more savory and toothsome. But to ramuch as custome (after a sort) is a second nature, or at least wise not contrary to nature; we must not accustome our selves to feed on flesh, for to fulfill our appetites, after the manner of wolves, and lions, but use it only as the foundation and ground of other viands; which being once laid, we are to make our principall nourishment of other cates and dishes, which as they are more appropriate to our bodies, and suitable to nature, so they do incrassate and dull lesse the vigour and subtility of the spirit, and the discoursing reasonable part of the soule, which is kindled, maintained, and set to burne cleare, by a more delicate and light matter. As touching liquid things, they must use milke, not as an ordinary drinke, but as a strong meat that nourisheth exceeding much: but for wine, we are to fly to it, as *Euripides* did to *Venus*:

Welcome to me in measure and in meane,
Too much is naught: yet do not leave me cleane.

For of all drinks it is most profitable, of medicines most pleasant, and of dainty viands most harmelesse; provided alwaies that it be well delayed and tempered with opportunity of the time, rather than with water. And verily water (not that only wherewith wine is mingled, but also which is drunke between whiles, apart by it selfe) causeth the wine tempered therewith to do the lesse harm: in regard whereof, a student ought to use himselfe to drinke twice or thrice every day a draught of sheere water, for that it will enfeeble the headinesse of the wine, and make the usuall drinking of pure water more familiar to the stomack: and this I would have to be done, to this end, that if they be driven perforce to drinke faire water, they might not thinke it strange, nor be ready to refuse it. For many there be, who oftentimes have recourse to wine, when iwis, they had more need to run to the water; and namely, when they be over-heat with the sun: yea, and contrariwise, when they be stiffe frozen with cold, or have strained themselves to speake much, or studied and sitten hard at their book; and generally, after that they have travelled sore, till they be weary, or have performed some vehement exploit, or violent exercise; then (I say) they thinke, that they ought to drinke wine; as if nature her selfe required and called for some contentment and refreshing of the body, and some change and alteration after travels: but nature verily is not desirous to have any good done to her in this sort, if you call such pleasure a doing of good; but she demandeth only a reducement to a meane between labour and rest: and therefore such persons as these are to be cut short and abridged of their victuals and either to be debarred quite of all wine, or else enjoyned to drinke it well delayed with water: for wine being of it selfe of a violent and stirring nature, augmenteth and maketh more unquiet the stormy perturbations arising within the body, it doth irritate and distemper more and more the parts therein already offended and troubled; the which had much more need to be appeased and duiced: to which purpose water serveth passing well: for if we otherwise being not athirst, drinke hot water after we have laboured, or done some painfull exercise, in the exceeding heats of the summer; we find a notable cooling, refreshing, and easement in our inward bowels; the reason is, because the humidity of water is kind and mild, procuring no debate or disquietnesse at all; whereas the moisture of wine hath a vehement force, which never is at quiet and repose, but maketh a deep impression, nothing agreeable nor fit to appease the indispositions that are a breeding. Now if one do feare the soure and sharpe acrimonies, and the bitter tastes which (by the saying of some) hunger and want of food engender in our bodies, or as little children use to do, thinketh much not to sit at the table for to eate, a little before the fit of an ague, or when he suspecteth it comming: the drinking of water is as it were a confine and frontier between both, very fit to remedy the one and the other: and many times we offer unto *Bacchus* himselfe certaine sacrifices called *Nephalia*, for that there is no wine used therein: accustoming our selves wisely thereby not to be alwaies desirous for to drinke wine. *Minos* took away from sacrifices, the flute, and the chaplets used to be worne on mens heads, in regard of griefe and sorrow: and yet we know full well, that the heavy and sorrowfull mind is neither by flutes nor flowers passionate; whereas there is not the body of a man, (how strong and stout soever he be) but if it be stirred troubled, and enflamed, will take more harme and offence by wine if it be taken or powred into it. It is recorded in the Chronicles, that the Lydians in time of a great dearth and famine did eate but once in two daies, and spent the time between at dice-play, and other such games and pastimes: and even so it were well beseeming a student & lover of the Muses and his book, at such a time as he had need to make a late and short supper, to have before him the figure serving for some Geometricall proposition, or some little book, some harpe or lute; this will not suffer him to be led as prisoner to his own belly, but by diverting and turning ordinarily his mind from the boord, to these honest pastimes

stimes and recreations; will chase away from the Muses the greedy appetite of eating and drinking, as if they were so many ravenous fowles and harpies: For a shame it were that a Scythian whiles he is drinking should ever and anon take his bow in hand ready bent, and twang the string, and by the sound thereof awaken and quicken his courage, which otherwise would become drowsie, loose, and dull by wine: and that a Grecian should be ashamed or affraid of a flout or mock, in assaying gently to refraine and bridle an unreasonable, violent, and greedy appetite, by the meanes of books and writings: for much after the same manner in a comedy of *Menander*, when there was a bawd, who for to tempt certaine young men sitting at supper together, brought in amongst them certaine pretty young wenches, very faire, and richly arraid; every one of the said young men (because they were afraid and unwilling to look those beautifull damosels in the face) made no more ado, but as he saith:

Cast down the head, and like good merry mates,
Fall to their junkets hard, and dainty cates.

Moreover, men that are addicted to their study, and to learning, have many other proper and pleasant meanes to turne away their eyes, and divert their minds, if otherwise they be not able to looke off; and to stay or hold in this violent and dog-like greedy appetite, when the meat standeth before them upon the board. For as touching the speeches of some masters of wrestlers, or the words of certaine schoole-masters, who go up and down, saying, That to reason, argue, and discourse at the table upon points of learning, causeth the meat to corrupt within the stomack, and breedeth head-ach, or heavinesse of the braine: we may indeed feare somewhat; if we will needs (while we be at our repast) fall to resolve such a sophisticall argument, as the Logicians call *Indos*: or if we be disposed to reason and dispute about the masterfull sophisme, named *Kyrieton*: It is said, that the crown or upmost tuft growing upon the date tree, called the braine thereof, is exceeding sweet and pleasant to the taste, yet hurtfull to the head: howbeit, these pricky and intricate disputations in Logick at supper time; are no pleasant banqueting dishes, but offensive to the braine, tedious, and irkesome, nothing more. But if those men will not permit us to discourse, to heare, read, or talke of other matters in supper time, which together with honesty and profit, have an attractive pleasure and sweetnesse joyned therewith: we will desire them to let us alone, and not trouble us, but to arise from the table, and go their waies into their galleries and halls for wrestling, and there to hold and maintaine such positions among their scholars and champions, whom they withdraw and turne away from the study of good letters; and accustoming them to spend their time all the day long in scoffes and scurrile speeches, they make them in the end (as gentle *Ariston* said) as witlesse, and without sense (yet glib and well greased) as the stone pillars which support those galleries; and places of exercise where they use to converse and keep schoole. But we contrariwise being ruled by the Physicians, who advise us alwaies to interpose some competent time between supper and sleep, are not presently to go unto it, after we have filled our bellies with viands, and stuffed our spirits, even whiles the morsels of meat be all raw, or beginning now to be concocted; thereby to hinder and stay digestion; but give some space and breathing-time between, untill the meat be well setled in the stomack. And as they who give us counsell to move and stir the body after meales, will us, not to run our selves out of breath, nor to exercise our selves so, as that we put all the parts of our body to the triall, after the manner of the Pancratiasts; but either to walke faire and softly, or to daunce after a gentle and easie manner; semblably, we are to think that we ought to exercise our wits and minds after a dinner or supper, not about any affaires of deep study, and profound meditation, nor in sophisticall disputes, tending to the ostentation of a quick and lively spirit, or which be litigious, and breed contention; but there be many questions besides of naturall philosophy, pleasant to be discussed, and easie to be decided; many pretty tales and narrations there are, out of which a man may draw good considerations and wise instructions, for to traine and frame our manners; and these containe that grace and facility in them, which the Poet *Homer* calleth *Memoukes*, that is to say, yeelding to anger, and in no wise crosse and resistant: Hereupon it is, that some do pleasantly tearme this exercise of moving, propounding, and resolving historicall or poeticall questions; the second course or the service of banketting dishes for students and learned men. Moreover, there be other sorts of pleasant talke besides these, and namely, to heare and recite fables devised for mirth and pleasure; discourses of playing upon the flute, harpe, or lute, which many times give more contentment and delight, than to heare the flute, harpe, or lute it selfe plaied upon. Now the very precise time measured as it were, and marked out to be most proper and meet for such recreations; is when we feele that our meat is gently gone down, and setled quietly in the bottome of the stomack shewing some signe of concoction, and that naturall heat is strong, and hath gotten the upper hand.

Now to ramuch as *Aristotle* is of opinion, that walking after supper doth stir up and kindle (as one would say) our naturall heat: and to sleep immediately after a man hath supped, doth dull and quench it: considering also, that others be of a contrary mind, and hold, that rest and repose is better for concoction; that motion so soon after troubleth and impeacheth the digestion and distribution of the meats, which is the cause that some use to walke after supper, others sit still and take their ease: me thinks a man may reconcile and satisfie very well after a sort these two opinions; who cherishing and keeping his body close and still after supper, setteth his mind a walking, awaketh it, suffering it not to be heavy and idle at once by and by; but sharpneth and quickneth his spirits,

ἐγκέφα-λον τὸ φοίνικος. Which some interpret the braines of the bird Phœnix: but this bird being so rare, as that it is thought for a fabulous thing, I see not how this propesty should be observed in the braines thereof.

spirits, as it beforesaid, by little and little, in discoursing, or hearing discourses of pleasant matters and delectable, such as be not biting in any wise, nor offensive and odious.

Moreover, as touching vomits or purgations of the belly by laxative medicines, which are the cursed and detestable easements and remedies of fulnesse and repletion; surely they would never be used but upon right great and urgent necessity: a contrary course to many men, who fill their gorges and bodies with an intent to void them soone after; or otherwise, who purge and empty the same for to fill them againe, even against nature; who are no lesse troubled, nay, much more offended ordinarily, by being fed and full, then fasting and empty: insomuch as such repletion is an hinderance to the contentment and satisfying of their appetites and lusts; by occasion whereof they take order alwaies, that their body may be evermore emptied; as if this voidance were the proper place and seat of their pleasures. But the hurt and dammage that may grow upon these ordinary purgations and vomits is very evident: for that both the one and the other put the body to exceeding great straines and violent disturbances. As for vomiting, it bringeth with it one inconvenience by it selfe, more than the former, in that it procureth and augmenteth an unsatiable greedinesse to meat: for ingendred there is by that means a violent and turbulent hunger (like as when the course or streame of a river hath been for a while stopped and staid) snatching or greedy at meat, which is evermore offensive, and not a kind appetite indeed, when as nature hath need of meat; but resembling rather the inflammations occasioned by medicines or cataplasmes. Hereupon it is that the pleasurus proceeding from thence passe and slip away incontinently, as abortive and unperfect, accompanied with inordinate pantings and beatings of the pulse, great wrings in the enjoying of them, and afterwards ensue dolorous tensions, violent oppressions or stoppings of the conduits and pores, and the reliques or retensions of ventosities; which stay not for naturall ejections and evacuations, but run up and down all over our bodies, like as if they were ships surcharged, having more need to be eased of their burden, than still to be laden with more excrements. As for the troublesome motions of the belly and guts, occasioned by purgative drugs, they corrupt, spill, and resolve the naturall strength of the solid parts, so that they engender more superfluities within than they thrust out and expell. And this is for all the world like as if a man, being discontented to see within his native City a multitude of naturall Greeks inhabitants, should for to drive them out fill the same with Scythians or Arabian strangers. For even so, some there be, who (greatly miscounting and deceiving themselves) for to send forth of their bodies the superfluous humours which are in some sort domesticall and familiar unto them, put into them I wot not what, Gnidian graines, Scammony, and other strange drugs set from far Countries, such as have no familiar reference to the body, but are meere wild and savage, and in truth have more need to be purged and chased out of the body themselves, than power and vertue to void away and expell that wherewith nature is choaked and overcharged. The best way therefore is, by sobriety and regular diet to keep the body alwaies in that moderate measure of evacuation and repletion, that it may be able by proportionable temperature to maintaine it selfe without any outward help. But if it fall out otherwhiles, that there be some necessity of the one or the other, vomits would be provoked without the help of strange physicall drugs, and not with much ado and curiosity that they disquiet and trouble no parts within, but only for to avoid crudity and indigestion, reject & cast up that gently which is too much, and cannot be prepared and made meet for concoction. For like as linnen cloaths that be scoured and made cleane with sopes, ashes, lees, and other abstersive matters, weare more and fret out sooner than such as be washed simply in faire water; even so, vomits provoked by medicines offend the body much more, and mar the complexion. But say, the belly be bound and costive, there is not a drug that easeth it so mildly, or provoketh it to the siege so easily, as do certaine meats, whereof the experience is familiar unto us, and the use nothing dolorous and offensive. Now in case the body be so hard that such kind viands will not worke and cause it to be soluble, then a man ought for many daies together to drinke thin and cold water, or use to fast, or else take some clister, rather than purgative medicines, such as disquiet the body, and overthrow the temperature thereof. And yet many there be, who ever and anon are ready to run unto them; much like unto those lewd and light wanton women who use certaine medicines to cause abortion, or to send away the fruit which they have newly conceived; to the end that they might conceive soon again, and have more pleasure in that fleshly action. Now it is time to say no more, but to let them go that perswade such evacuations.

As for those on the contrary side, who interject certaine exact, precise, and criticall fastings, observed too straightly according to just periods and circuits of daies: surely they teach nature, (wherein they do not well) to use astriction before it have need; and acquaint her with a necessary abstinence of food, which in it selfe is not necessary, even at a prefixed time, which calleth for that then whereto it is accustomed. Better yet it were for a man to use these chastisements of his body freely and at his own liberty, without any fore-knowledge or suspition: and as for other diet, (as hath been said before) to order it so, that it may frame and be obsequent to all manner of occurrences and changes that shall come between, and not be tied and bound to one forme and manner of life, exactly to keep certaine daies, just numbers, and set circuits, without failing or missing in any jot. For this course is neither sure, nor easie; it is not civill, nor yet agreeable to humanity: it resembleth rather the life of an oister, or some stock of a tree; to captivate himselfe, and be so subject and thrall, that he cannot change or alter his viands; he may not once vary in his fastings and abstinencies,

abstinencies, in his motions or repose, but continue alwaies close and covert in a shady kind of life, idle, private to himselfe, without conversing with friends, without participation of honours, far remote from the administration of weale publike, which were to shut himselfe up as it were a close prisoner; a life I assure you which I cannot like nor allow: for we cannot buy our health with idleneese and doing naught; which two are the principall inconveniences incident unto diseases: and all one this were, as if a man would think to preserve his eyes, by not employing them to see; or his voice, by speaking not at all; thus to be perswaded, that for the preservation of health it were necessary to have continuall repose, without doing ought: for a man in health, cannot do better for to maintaine the same, than to be employed in many good duties, and commendable offices of humanity. An absurd errour therefore it is, to thinke idleneese to be either healthy or wholesome, considering that it destroyeth the very end of health, which is employment: neither is it true, that the lesse men do, the more healthfull they be. For *Xenocrates* had not his health better than *Phocion*; nor *Theophrastus* than *Demetrius*: and as for *Epicurus* and all the crew of his sectaries, they had no benefit at all for the attaining of that contentment and tranquillity of the body which they make so great reckoning of, and praise so highly; by flying and avoiding all State affaires, and medling in no publike and honourable office. Other meanes therefore and provision would be made to entertaine and keepe that disposition and habitude of the body, which is according to nature: for this is certaine, that all sorts of life be capable, as well of sickneese as of health. Howbeit, Politicians (quoth he) and States-men are to be admonished to do cleane contrary unto that which *Plato* advertised his young scholars to do. For *Plato* ever as he went out of the schoole was wont thus to say unto them: Go to my sons, see you employ that leisure which you have in some honest sports and pastimes. But we may exhort and put in mind those who deale in the administration of Common-wealth to bestow their labour and travell in honest and necessary things, and not to overtoile and spend their bodies in small matters of little or no consequence; as the manner is of most men, who trouble and torment themselves about just nothing, overwatching, running to and fro, here and there, up and down about things which many times are neither good nor honest; but only because they would disgrace and shame others, either upon envy that they beare unto them, or upon obstinate and wilfull selfe-conceit, or else to pursue and maintaine some vaine and foolish opinions that they have taken. For I thinke verily it was in regard of such persons especially, that *Democritus* said, If the body should call the soule judicially into question upon an action of injury or wrong done, and for to make satisfaction of losse and dammage; she were not able to answer it, but must needs confesse the action, and be condemned. And *Theophrastus* peradventure said well and truly, when speaking by a metaphor or allegory; he affirmed, that the soule paid a deare rent for her dwelling within the body. For (I assure you) the body may thanke the soule for many harmes that it sustaineth; when as she useth it not with reason, nor intreateth it according as it is meet and convenient; and looke when she hath any proper and peculiar passions of her owne, or some enterprizes and actions to be performed, she maketh no spare of the poore body. As for the tyrant *Jason*, he was wont (I wot not upon what reason or ground) to say, That he ought to deale unjustly in small matters, who would be just in the greatest affaires: and even so, we may well advise a man of State and Government, to make no reckoning of trifling things, but disport, play, and solace himselfe in repose with them; if he would not have his body over-spent, dull, or lazy, against the time that he should employ it in great and important causes: much like to an old shippe which hath been drawn up to land, for to be newly calked and trimmed, after it hath rested a time, is fit to do new service at sea; for even so, the body upon repose and ease, whensoever the soule shall put it to any affaires, will be ready to follow

And run with her, as sucking fole doth go
Hard by the dam, and never parts her fro.

And therefore when occasions will permit and give leave, we are to refresh and recreat our selves, not envying the bodies naturall sleep, or usuall repose and refection of dinner, ne yet easement and recreation, which is of a middle nature between pleasure and paine, nor observing a strict rule: which many men do keep, and in keeping it spill and spend the body by sudden mutations; like as iron that is often made hot and quenched againe: for whensoever the body is soiled and tired with travels, then they will even melt and dissolve it in excessive and unmeasurable pleasures: and all upon the sudden againe, when it is weakned and enfeebled with the delights of *Venus*, or by drinking out of course they will draw and drive it presently to the serious travels of the Common Hall or the Court, to the soliciting and following of some affaires of great importance, which requireth earnest attendance and hot pursuit. *Heraclitus* the Philosopher, being fallen into a dropsie, willed his Physician to make drought of great raine. But most men ordinarily do fault herein exceeding much: now when they be wearied, toyled, and foiled with painfull labours and wants, yeeld their bodies to be melted and spent quite with voluptuous pleasures; and afterwards againe, wrest and straine them as it were upon the tenters, immediately upon the fruition of some pleasures. For nature verily neither liketh nor requireth these alterations and sudden changes by turnes: but it is the incontinency and illiberall lasciviousnesse of the soule, and nothing else, that abandoneth her selfe inordinately unto pleasures and delights, so soone as it is out of laborious exercises; like as mariners and sailers do at sea. And contrariwise, immediately after sports and pleasures, betaketh it selfe to the

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eager pursuit of gain, and to the mannagement of great affairs: giving no time and space of rest to nature to enjoy repose and quiet tranquillity, whereof it hath need, but setteth it out of frame, and distempereth it mightily, by reason of this inequality. But wise and discreet persons are very wary and carefull in this behalfe; neuer presenting such pleasures to their bodies when they be out-wearied with labour and travell, for need thereof they have none at all; and besides, they do not regard nor thinke upon them, having their minds continually intentive upon the honestly and decency of the action or thing whereabout they are; dulling or dimming as well the joy as the earnest solicitude and care of their mind, by the meanes of other desires and appetites; as it is written of *Epaminondas*, that he should say in game and merriment, of a certaine valiant man, who about the time of the Leuctrique war died of sickneſſe in his bed: O *Hercules*, how had this man any leisure to dye amidst so many important affaires! even so it may be said truly and in good earnest of a great personage, who hath in his hand the mannaging of some weighty affaires in matter of government, or treatise of Philosophy: How should such a man as he have time either to be drunken, or to surfet with gluttony, or given himselfe to fleshly pleasures of the body? But wise men indeed, when they be freed from important matters of action can find a time to rest and repose their bodies, discharging them of needlesse and unprofitable travels, but much more of superfluous and unnecessary pleasures, flying and shunning them as enemies and contrary to nature.

I remember that upon a time I heard, how *Tiberius Cæsar* was wont to say, That a man being once above threescore yeares of age deserveth to be mocked and derided if he put forth his hand unto the Physician for to have his pulse felt. For mine own part, I take this speech of his to be somewhat too proud and insolent; but me thinks this should be true, That every man ought to know the particularities and properties of his own pulse, for there be many diversities and differences in each one of us: also that it behoveth no man to be ignorant in the severall complexion of his own body, as well in heat as in drinesse: also to be skilfull what things be good for him, and what be hurtfull, when he useth them: for he that would learne these particularities of any other than of himselfe, or goeth to a Physician to know of him, whether he be better in health in summer time than in winter, or whether he stand better affected in taking dry things rather than moist; also whether naturally he have a strong pulse or a weake, a quick or a slow; surely hath no sense or feeling of himselfe, but is as it were deafe and blind, a stranger he is dwelling in a borrowed body, and none of his own: for such points as those are good to be be known and easie to be learned, for that we may make proofe thereof every houre, as having the body with us continually.

Also meet it is, among meats and drinks, to know those rather which be good and wholsome for the stomack, than such as be pleasant to the tooth; and to have experience of that which doth the stomack good, more than of that which is offensive thereto; as also of those things that do not trouble and hinder concoction, than which content and tickle the taste. For to demand of a Physician what is easie of digestion, and what not; what doth looſe, and what bindeth the belly; me thinks is no lesse shamefull than to aske him, what is sweet, what bitter, what sowre, tart, or austere. But now we shall have many folk that know well how to find fault with their cooks and dressers of meat, for seasoning their broths, or making sauce to their viands, being able to discern which is sweeter than it ought to be; which is over-tart or too much salted: and yet they themselves are not able to say, whether that which is put into the body and united therewith be light or no; and whether it be harmelesse, not offensive, or profitable. Hereupon it is, that their pottage misseth not often the right seasoning; whereas contrariwise, for want of well seasoning their own selves, but daily faulting therein they make much worke for Physicians: for they esteeme not that pottage best which is the sweetest, but they mingle therewith many sharp juyces and soure herbs, to make it somewhat tart withall; but contrariwise, they send into the body all manner of sweet and pleasant things, even untill it cry, Ho; partly being ignorant, and in part not calling to mind and remembrance that nature adjoyneth alwaies unto things that be good and wholsome, a pleasure not mingled with displeasure and repentance. Moreover, we are likewise to remember and beare in mind all those things that be fit and agreeable to the body; or contrariwise, in the changes of the seasons in the yeare, in the qualities and properties of the aire, and other circumstances, to know how to accommodate and apply our diet accordingly: for as touching all the offences proceeding from niggardize, avarice, and pinching, which the common sort do incur about the painfull inning and laborious bestowing or laying up of their corn and fruits; who by their long watchings, by their running and trudging to and fro, discover and bewray what is within the body, rotten, faulty, and ulcerous: we are not to feare, that such accidents will befall to learned persons or students, ne yet to States-men and Politicians, unto whom principally I have addressed this discourse; but they ought to beware and eschew another kind of more eager covetousnesse and illiberall niggardise in matter of study and literature, forcing them to neglect and not regard their own poore bodies, which oftentimes being so travelled and outwearied, that they can do them no more service, yet they spare them never the more, nor give them leave to be refreshed and gather up their crums again; but force that which is fraile and mortall, to labour a vie with the soule which is immortall: that (I say) which is earthly, to hold out with the spirit that is heavenly. Well the Oxe said unto the Camel his fellow-servant who would not ease him a little of his burden: Thou wilt not help me now to beare somewhat of my charge; but shortly thou shalt carry all that I carry, and me besides: which fell out so indeed when the Oxe died under his burden; semblably it hapneth to the soule, which will not allow the silly body (wearied and tired) some little time of rest and repose: for soon after comes a feaver, head-ach, dizzinesse of the brain, with a dimnesse of the sight, which will compell her to lay aside all books, to abandon all good letters, disputations and study; and in the end is driven to languish and lie sick in bed together with it for company. And therefore *Plato* wisely admonisheth us not to move and exercise the body without the soule, nor the soule without the body, but to drive them both together equally, as if they were two steeds drawing at one spire of a chariot; and especially at such a time, when as the body is infused with the soule, and laboureth together with her, we ought to have the most care of it, and to allow it that attendance and cherishment which is meet and requisite, to the end that thereby we may requite it with good and desirable health; esteeming this to be the greatest benefit and most singular gift that proceedeth thereupon, in that neither the one nor the other (for default of good disposition) is impeached or hindered in the knowledge of vertue and the practise thereof, as well in literature as in the actions of mans life.

Of the Romans Fortune.

The Summary.

IF ever there were any State politike, in the rising, growth, and declination whereof we are to see and acknowledge the admirable providence of God, together with the strength and wisdome of man; certes the Roman Empire ought to be set in the formost range. The causes of the foundation and advancement of this great Monarchy, are otherwise considered by those whom the heavenly truth (revealed in the holy Scripture) doth illuminate, than by the Pagans and Sages of this world, guided only by the discourse of their reason, corrupted with sin and ignorance of the true God. For when the question is, as touching the government of the universall world, although the soveraigne Lord thereof use oftentimes the spirituall and corporall vigour both of mortall men for to execute his will; yet we may behold above it, and before any exploit of visible instruments, this great and incomprehensible wisdome of his; who having decreed in himselfe all things, executeth every moment his deliberations; so that in regard of him there is nothing casuall, but all keep a course according to his determinate and resolute will: but in respect of us many things be accidentall: for that the counsels of that eternall and immutable wisdome are hidden from us, and appeare not but by little and little. Infidels and miscreants, who are not able to comprehend this secret, have imagined and set down for governesses of mans life, Fortune and vertue; meaning by Fortune, that which the common saying compriseth in these few words: In this world there is nothing else but good luck and bad: but so, as if any man could skill how to manage his own fortune, he might make it of bad good and commodious: and this they meant by the word Vertue, which is an habitude or disposition of the mind and body; by the meanes whereof he that is indued therewith, might prevent and overthrow quite all the assaults of Fortune. Some there be, who abuse the word Fortune, for to abolish the providence of God; and others have attributed so much unto Vertue, that they have set man out of those limits, in which his own proper nature, and above all the divine truth placed him. Others againe, have ascribed something unto Fortune, and yet they neither understand nor declare what it importeth, but have given out (although very irresolutely) that Fortune cannot give the check to a vertuous man. If we had this Treatise following entire and perfect, all the ancient philosophy and learning, as touching this question, had been manifestly discovered unto us. But the principall part of this discourse is lost, in such sort, as Plutarch *(having brought in Fortune and Vertue disputing upon this point: Whether of them should have the honour of the foundation and maintenance of the Roman Empire?) hath left unto us nothing but the plea of Fortune; who by divers reasons and proofes holdeth that the wisdome and valour of the people of* Rome, *was not the cause of their grandeur: but Fortune, that is to say, (as he expresly sheweth in one place) the guidance and help of God, who hath so raised this estate for many others, and for to hold one good part of the world joyntly in one body, under such a chiefe and soveraigne. As concerning the reasons alledged in the favour and maintenance of Fortune, they be marked in order, and drawn out well at large: whereas those of Vertue are omitted, or peradventure reserved to the judgement and discretion of the Reader, for to invent, devise, and apply them by himselfe, and of them all to collect and gather one conclusion, tending to this, for to shew the great wonders of God: providence in sustaining the Roman Empire, and the notable aide of an infinite number of instruments, which the said divine providence employed in planting, raising up, and pulling down so mighty and renowned a dominion.*

Of the Romans Fortune.

VErtue and Fortune have fought many great combates, and those oftentimes one against the other: but that which presenteth it selfe unto us at this time is the greatest of all the rest; to wit, the debate and plea which they had together as touching the Empire of *Rome*, namely; whether of them twaine wrought that worke? and which of them brought forth so mighty a puissance? For this will be no small testimony on her side who shall gaine the victory, or rather

rather a great apology againſt the imputation charged upon the one and the other. For Vertue is accuſed, in that ſhe is honeſt, but unprofitable: and Fortune, that ſhe is uncertaine, but yet good: and it is commonly ſaid, that as the former is fruitleſſe for all her paines; ſo the other is faithleſſe and untrulty in all her gifts. For who will not ſay, if the greatneſſe of *Rome* be adjudged and awarded to one of them, that either Vertue is moſt profitable, in caſe ſhe could do ſo much for good and honeſt men: or Fortune moſt firme and conſtant, if ſhe have preſerved and kept ſo long that which ſhe once hath given? *Ion* the Poet in thoſe works of his which he compoſed without verſe, and in proſe, ſaith, That Fortune and Wiſdome (two moſt different things, and far unlike one to the other) produce nevertheleſſe moſt like and ſemblable effects: both the one and the other indifferently make men great and honourable; they advance them in dignity, puiſſance, eſtate, and authority. And what need I (for to draw out this matter at length) rehearſe and reckon up a number of thoſe whom they have preferred, conſidering that even nature her ſelfe who hath borne us, and brought forth all things; ſome take to be Fortune, and others Wiſdome. This preſent diſcourſe therefore, addeth unto the City of *Rome* a great and admirable dignity, in caſe we diſpute of her as our manner is of the earth, the ſea, the heaven and the ſtars, namely, whether it were by Fortune or by Providence, that ſhe was firſt founded and had her being? For mine own part I am of this opinion, that howſoever Fortune and Vertue have alwaies had many quarrels and debates otherwiſe, yet to the framing and compoſition of ſo great an Empire and puiſſance, it is very like they had made truce and were at accord; that by one joint conſent alſo they wrought both together, and finiſhed the goodlieſt peece of worke that ever was in the world. Neither think I that I am deceived in this conjecture of mine; but am perſwaded, that like as (according to the ſaying of *Plato*) the whole world was not made at firſt, of fire and earth, as the two principall and neceſſary elements, to the end that it might be viſible and palpable; conſidering that as the earth gave maſſineſſe, poiſe, and firmitude; ſo fire conferred thereunto colour, forme, and motion. Beſides, the other two natures and elements which are between theſe two extreames (to wit, aire and water, by ſoftning, melting, tempering, and quenching (as it were) the great diſſociation and diſſimilitude of the ſaid extreames) have drawn together, incorporate, and united by the meanes of them, the firſt matter: even ſo, time and God together, intending ſuch a ſtately piece of worke as *Rome*, tooke Vertue and Fortune, and thoſe they tempered and coupled in one, as yoke-fellowes; to the end, that of the thing which is proper both to the one and the other, they might found, build, and reare a ſacred Temple indeed, an edifice beneficiall and profitable unto all, a ſtrong Caſtle ſeated upon a firme ground-worke, and an eternall element, which might ſerve inſtead of a maine pillar to ſuſtaine the decaying ſtate of the world, ready to reele and ſinke downward; and finally, as a ſure anchor-hold againſt turbulent tempeſts, and wandering waves of the ſurging ſeas, (as *Democritus* was wont to ſay.) For like as ſome of the naturall Philoſophers hold, That the world at the firſt was not the world, and that the bodies would not joyne and mingle themſelves together, for to give unto nature a common forme, compoſed of them all: but when the ſaid bodies, (ſuch as yet were ſmall and ſcattered here and there) ſlid away, made meanes to eſcape and flie for feare they ſhould be caught and interlaced with others; ſuch alſo as were more ſtrong, firme, and compact, even then ſtrove mainly one againſt another, and kept a foule coile and ſtir together in ſuch manner, as there aroſe a violent tempeſt, a dangerous ghuſt, and troubleſome agitation, filling all with ruine, errour, and ſhipwrack, untill ſuch time as the earth aroſe to greatneſſe by the tumultuary concourſe of thoſe bodies that grew together, whereby ſhe her ſelfe began firſt to gather a firme conſiſtence; and afterwards yeelded in her ſelfe, and all about her a ſure ſeat and reſting place for all other. Semblably, when the greateſt Empires and Potentacies among men, were driven and carried to and fro, according to their fortunes, and ran one againſt another, by reaſon that there was not one of that grandeur and puiſſance as might command all the reſt, and yet they all deſired that ſoveraignty; there was a wonderfull confuſion, a generall deſtruction, a ſtrange hurliburly, a tumultuary wandering, and an univerſall mutation and change throughout the world, untill ſuch time as *Rome* grew to ſome ſtrength and bigneſſe, partly by laying and uniting to her ſelfe the neighbour nations and cities neare about her; and in part, by conquering the Seigniories, Realmes, and Dominions of Princes far off, and ſtrangers beyond ſea; by which meanes the greateſt and principall things in the world began to reſt, and be ſetled as it were a firme foundation and ſure ſeat, by reaſon that a generall peace was brought into the world, and the maine Empire thereof reduced to one round circle, ſo firme as it could not be checked or impeached: for that indeed all vertues were ſeated in thoſe who were the founders and builders of this mighty State; and beſides, Fortune alſo was ready with her favour to ſecond and accompany them; as it ſhall (more plainly) appeare and be ſhewed in this diſcourſe enſuing. And now me thinks I ſee from this project, as it were from ſome high rock and watch tower: Vertue and Fortune marching toward the pleading of their cauſe, and to the judgement and deciſion of the foreſaid queſtion propounded: but vertue in her pace and manner of going ſeemeth to be mild and gentle, in the carriage alſo of her eye, ſtaied and compoſed; the earneſt care likewiſe and deſire ſhe hath to maintaine and defend her honour in this contention, maketh her colour a little to riſe in her face, albeit ſhe be far behind Fortune, who commeth apace, and maketh all the haſte ſhe can: now there conduct her, and attend upon her round about in manner of a guard, a goodly traine and troupe

Of

Of worthies brave, who martiall captains were,
In bloody wars, and bloody armours beare.

All wounded in the fore part of their bodies, dropping with blood and ſweat mingled together, leaning up the truncheons of the lances and pikes haſte broken, which they had won from their enemies. But would you have us to demand and aſk who they might be? They ſay, that they be the *Fabricii*, the *Camilli*, the *Lucii* ſurnamed *Cincinnati*, the *Fabii Maximi*, the *Claudii Marcelli*, and the two *Scipio's*: I ſee alſo *C. Marius* all angry, and chafing at Fortune. *Muſius Scævola* likewiſe is amongſt them, who ſheweth the ſtump of his burnt hand, crying aloud withal: And will you aſcribe this hand alſo to Fortune? And *Marcus Horatius Cocles* that valiant Knight, who fought ſo bravely upon the bridge, covered all over with the ſhot of Tuſcan Darts, and ſhewing his lame thigh, ſeemeth to ſpeak (from out of the deep whirle-pit of the River into which he leapt) theſe words: And was it by chance and Fortune that my leg became broken, and I lame upon it? Lo, what a company came with Vertue to the trial of this controverſie and matter in queſtion!

All warriours ſtout in compleat armour dight:
Expert in feats of arms, and preſt to fight.

But on the other ſide, the gate and going of Fortune ſeems quick and faſt, her ſpirit great, and courage proud, her hopes high and haughty: ſhe over-goeth Vertue, and approacheth neer at hand already; not mounting and lifting up her ſelfe now with her light and flight wings, nor ſtanding a tiptoe upon a round ball or boule, commeth ſhe wavering and doubtful; and then goeth her way afterwards in diſcontentment and diſpleaſure: but like as the Spartiates deſcribe *Venus*, ſaying, That after ſhe had paſſed the river *Eurotas*, ſhe laid by her mirrors and looking glaſſes, caſt aſide her dainty jewels, and other wanton ornaments, and threw away that triſue and lovely girdle of hers; and taking ſpear and ſhield in hand, ſheweth her ſelfe thus prepared and ſet out, unto *Lycurgus*; even ſo Fortune having abandoned the Perſians and Aſſyrians, flew quickly over *Macedonia*, and ſoon ſhook off *Alexander* the Great: then travelled ſhe a while through *Ægypt* and *Syria*, carrying after her Kingdoms as ſhe went; and ſo having ruined and overthrown the Carthaginians ſtate, which with much variety and change ſhe had oftentimes upheld; ſhe approached in the end to mount *Latine*, and when ſhe had paſſed over the river *Tibre*, even there (as it ſhould ſeem) ſhe caſt off her wings; then ſhe put off her flying patins; her boule ſo inconſtant turning and rolling to and fro ſhe forſook, and ſo entred *Rome* as to mak her ſtay and abode there: and in this guiſe and manner ſheweth ſhe her ſelfe now, and maketh her appearance for to hear juſtice, and have this quarrel decided: not as a baſe, unknown, and obſcure perſon (as *Pindarus* ſaith) nor guiding and wreſting with her hand two helms: but rather as the ſiſter of *Eunomia*, that is to ſay Equity: and of *Peitho*, that is to ſay Perſwaſion: and the daughter of *Prometheia*, that is to ſay Providence, according as *Aleman* the Poet deriveth her Genealogy and Pedigree. Moreover ſhe holdeth between her hands that plentiful Horn of all abundance, ſo much celebrated and renowned, and the ſame filled, not with ſtore of fruits always freſh and verdant which Autumn yeelds, but brim full of all thoſe pretious and exquiſite commodities

Which any land or ſea doth breed,
or out of rivers ſpring:
Which in deep mines by delfe are found,
or havens by veſſels bring.

And thoſe powreth ſhe forth abundantly, and giveth abroad in great largeſſe. There are about her alſo to be ſeen in her train, a number of moſt noble and right excellent perſonages, to wit, *Numa Pompilius* deſcended from the Sabines: *Tarquinius Priſcus* from the City *Tarquinia*: whom being aliens and meer ſtrangers ſhe enſtalled Kings, and enthronized in the Royal ſeat of *Romulus*. Alſo *Paulus Æmilius*, who brought back his army ſafe and ſound from the defeature of *Perſeus* and the Macedonians, where he atchieved ſo fortunate a victory, that there was not ſeen one Roman with a weeping eye, for the loſſe of any friend in that war: and when he returned in triumph magnified Fortune. Even ſo did that good old Knight, *Cæcilius Metellus*, ſurnamed *Macedonicus*, as well in regard of his brave victories, as of this rare felicity of his, that he was carried unto his Sepulture by four of his own ſons, who had been all Conſuls: namely, *Quintus Balearius*, *Lucius Diadematus*, *Marcus Metellus*, and *Caius Capravius*: there attended alſo upon his corps, two ſons in law of his, that married his daughters, both conſular men, and as many Nephews, his daughters children: men of mark and name all, both for great proweſſe in feats of arms, and alſo for their high place which they held in government of State and Common-weale. *Æmilius Scaurus* likewiſe (who being of a low degree and condition of life, yet came from a ſtock more baſe then it, a new upſtart and of the firſt head) was raiſed and advanced by her, and by the means of her favour, made a great Lord and Prince of that high Court and honourable counſel, called the Senate. *Cornelius Sylla* likewiſe, whom ſhe took out of the lap and boſome of *Nicopolis* a Courtiſan, for to exalt him above all the Cunbrick Trophees and Laureat Triumps: yea, and the ſeven Conſulſhips of *Marius*, to raiſe him to that high pitch and ſoveraign degree of an abſolute Monarch in the world, and a Dictator: he (I ſay) openly and directly gave himſelfe (as it were) by way of adoption unto Fortune, and attributed his whole eſtate and all his actions to her favour, crying with a loud voice with *Oedipus* in *Sophocles*:

To Fortunes court I owe all ſute,
And her good ſon my ſelfe repute:

Insomuch as in the Roman language he surnamed himselfe *Felix*, that is to say, Happy: and unto the Greeks, he wrote thus in their tongue: Λύκιος Κορνήλιος Σύλλας Ἐπαφρόδιτος, that is to say: *Lucius Cornelius Sylla*, beloved of *Venus* and the Graces. And verily those Trophees of his, which are to be seen in our Country of *Charonea*, in regard of those noble victories which he gained against the Lieutenants General of King *Mithridates*, have the like inscription, and that right worthily. For it is not the night (as *Menander* saith) but Fortune, that is best acquainted and in greatest favour with *Venus*. Should not he therefore (who is desirous to plead the cause of Fortune) do very well to lay this for a good ground of his plea, and in the fore-front and *Exordium* of his Oration, bring in very fitly and properly for his witnesses to depose, the Romans themselves, who have ascribed more unto Fortune than to Vertue: Certes, late it was among them, and after many ages, ere *Scipio Numantinus* builded a Temple to Vertue: and after him, *Marcellus* caused to be built that chappel bearing the name *Virtutis* and *Honoris*, that is to say, Of Vertue and Honour: like as *Aemilius Scaurus* gave order for another to be reared by the name of *Mentis*, that is to say, of understanding; even about the time of the Cimbrick war: in which age, (when liteature, and professors of learning and eloquence, flocked thick, as it were, and resorted to the Citie of *Rome*) they began to have in price and reputation, such matters: and yet to this very day there is not one chappel of Wisdome Temperence, Patience and Magnanimitie: ne yet of Continence; whereas of Fortune there be Temples so stately, so glorious, and so ancient withall, that a man would take them to have been edified even in manner when the first foundations of the Citie were laid. For first and formost, *Ancus Martius* the Nephew or Daughters Son of King *Numa*, and the fourth King of *Rome* after *Romulus*, founded one in the honour of Fortune. And peradventure he it was that surnamed Fortune, *Virilis*, and derived it of *Fortis*: for Virility, that is to say, Manhood, and Fortitude, that is to say, Prowesse and Valour, have most help by Fortune, to the atchieving of victory. As for that Temple of Feminine Fortune, named otherwise *Muliebris*, they built it also before the days of *Camillus*, at what time as *Martius Coriolanus* (who led under banners displayed, against the City of *Rome*, a puissant power of the Volscians) was turned back and retired, by the means and intercession of certaine noble Dames that encountered him: for those Ladies went in solemn Embassage to wardhim, accompanied with his Wife and Mother: and so earnestly intreated and effectually perswaded with him, that in the end they prevailed, insomuch, as for their sakes he pardoned and spared the City, and so withdrew the forces of that barbarous nation: and then it was (by folks sayings) that the statue or image of Fortune at the dedication thereof, pronounced these words: You have (good Roman Dames) according to the ordinance of the City, consecrated me right devoutly. And verily *Furius Camillus* (at what time as he had quenched the flaming fire of the Gaules, and recovered the City of *Rome* out of the very scoles of the balance where it was to be weighed in counterpoise against a certain quantity of Gold) erected a Temple, neither to Good Counsel, nor to Valour, but unto *Fame and Rumour, even in that very place by the new street, where (by report) *Marcus Caeditius* as hee went by the way, heard in the night a voice, that gave warning and advertised, that shortly after they should look for the Gaules to war upon them. As for the Temple (upon the bank of the River *Tiber*) of Fortune surnamed *Fortis*, that is to say, Strong, Martial, Valiant, and Magnanimous, for that to her belonged generosity and the forcible power to tame and overcome all things, they built it to the honour of her, within the Orchards and Gardens that *Cesar* (by his last will and testament) bequeathed unto the people of *Rome*: as being perswaded that himselfe (by the gracious favour of Fortune) became the greatest man of all the Romans, as himselfe doth testifie. As concerning *Julius Cesar*, I would have been abashed and ashamed to say, that through the favour of Fortune he was lifed up to that rare greatnesse, but that his own selfe beareth witnesse thereof: for being departed from *Brindoile* the fourth day of *January*, and imbarked for to pursue *Pompeius*, even at the very height and in the heart of Winter, he crossed the seas most safely, as if Fortune had held in, the tempestuous weather of that season; and when he found *Pompeius* strong and puissant as well by sea as land, as having all his forces assembled together about him in a set and standing camp, being himselfe but weak and accompanied with a small power; for that the companies which *Antonius* and *Sabinus* should have brought, lingered and stayed behind, he adventured to take sea again; and putting himselfe into a small Frigat, sailed away unknown both to the Master, and also to the Pilot of the said Barque, in simple habit, as if he had been some mean and ordinary servitor: but by occasion of a violent return of the Tide, full against the current of the River, and withal, of a great tempest that arose, seeing that the Pilot was ready to alter his course, and turn about back, he plucked away his garment from his head, wherewith he sat hood-winked, and discovered his face, saying unto the Pilot: Hold the Helm hard (good fellow) & be not afraid to set forward: be bold (I say) hoise sails, spred them open to the wind at aventure, and fear not, for thou hast aboard *Cesar* and his Fortune. So much perswaded was he, and confidently assured, that Fortune sailed with him, accompanied him in all his marches and voyages, assisted him in the camp, aided him in battel, conducted, and directed him in all his wars: whose work indeed it was, and could proceed from nothing else but her, to command a calm at sea, to procure fair weather and a Summer season in Winter: to make them swift and nimble, who otherwise were most slow and heavy; to cause them to be couragious, who were greatest cowards and most heartlesse; and that which is more incredible then all the rest, to force *Pompey* to flie, and *Ptolomeus* to kill his own guest, to the end that *Pompey* might die, and yet *Cesar* be not stained with his bloodshed. What should I allege the testimony of his son, the first Emperour

* To *Alius Lucanius* as some think; to the goddesse *Monta*, as others

rour surnamed *Augustus*, who for the space of fifty years and four, was absolute Commander, both by Sea and Land of the whole world? who when he sent his Nephew or Sisters Son to the Wars, prayed and wished at Gods hands for no more, but that he might prove as valiant as *Scipio*, as well beloved as *Pompey*, and as fortunate as himselfe; ascribing the making of himselfe as great as hee was, unto Fortune; as if a man should entitle some singular piece of work with the name of the Workman or Artificer: which Fortune of his, was the cause that he got the start and vantage of *Cicero*, *Lepidus*, *Pansa*, *Hirtius*, and *Marcus Antonius*, by whose counsels, brave exploits and prowesses, expeditions, victories, voyages, armados, legions, camps, and in one word, by whose wars, as well by sea as by land, she made him ever chiefe and principal, lifting him on high still, & putting them down by whom he was mounted and advanced; until in the end, he remained alone, and had no Peere nor Second. For it was for his sake *Cicero* gave counsel: *Lepidus* led an army, *Pansa* vanquished the enemy, *Hirtius* lost his life in the field, and *Antonius* lived riotously in drunkennesse, gluttony, and leachery: for I reckon *Cleopatra* among the favours that Fortune did to *Augustus*, against whom, as against some rock, *Antonius* so great a Commander, so absolute a Prince, and mighty Triumvir, should run himselfe, be split, and sink; to the end that *Cesar Augustus* might survive and remain alone. And to this purpose reported it is of him; that there being so inward acquaintance and familiarity, as there was among them, that they used often to pass the time away together in playing at tennis, or at dice, or seeing some pretty sport of Cocks and Quailes of the game, which were kept for the nonce to fight: when *Antonius* went evermore away with the worst, and on the losing hand; one of his familiar friends, (a man well seen in the Art of Divination) would many times frankly say unto him by way of remonstrance and admonition, Sir, what mean you to meddle or have any dealing with this young Gentleman, (meaning *Augustus*) Fly and avoid his company. I advise you: more renowned and better reputed you are then he: his elder you are, you have a greater command and seignory then he, more expert in feats of arms, and of better experience and practice by far: but good Sir, your Genius or familiar spirit is afraid of his, your Fortune, which by it selfe apart is great, flattereth and courteth his, and unlesse you remove your selfe far from him, it will forsake you quite and go unto him.

Thus you see what evidences and proofes Fortune may alledge for her selfe, by way of testimony. But we are besides to bring forth those which are more real, and drawn from the things themselves, beginning our discourse at the very foundation and nativity, as it were, of *Romes* City. In the first place therefore, who will not say and confesse, that for the birth, the preservation, the nurture, rearing, and education of *Romulus*, well might the excellencies of Vertue be the hidden ground-work, and first foundation: but surely it was Fortune alone that raised the same above ground, and built all up? For to beginne at the very generation and procreation, even of those, who first founded and planted the City of *Rome*; they seem both to proceed from a wonderful favour of rare Fortune: for it is said, that their Mother lay with god *Mars*, and was by him conceived: and like as the report goeth, that *Hercules* was begotten in a long night, by reason that the day extraordinarily, and besides the course of nature was held back, and the Sunne stayed in his race and rising: even so we finde it recorded in Histories, that when *Romulus* was gotten and conceived, the Sunne became Ecclipsed, by reason of his full conjunction indeed with the Moone, like as *Mars* being a very god, medled with *Sylvia* a mortal Woman: also that the same hapned againe unto *Romulus*, just upon the very same day when hee was translated out of this life: for they say, that even at the very instant when the Sunne entred into the Ecclipse, he also departed out of sight, and was no more seen; which fell out to be upon the day called *Nona Capratine*: upon which day the Romans doe still at this present celebrate a solemn feast. Now when these first founders were in this manner bred and born: after that the tyrant sought to make them away, by good fortune it hapned, that the Minister to take them and execute the deed, was neither a barbarous nor a mercilesse cruel slave, but a gracious and pitiful fervitor, who would in no wise murder the silly babes: but finding a convenient place, upon the banck by the river side, adjoining hard to a faire green meddow, and shaddowed with pretty trees growing low by the ground; there hee bestowed the infants, neer unto a wild fig-tree, which they called afterwards *Ruminalis*; for that a teat or pap in Latin is called *Ruma*: which done, it chanced that a bitch-wolfe having newly whelped her litter, and feeling her paps best rut with milk, and so stiffe by reason that her young ones were deed, that they aked again, and were ready to burst, seeking to be eased and to discharge her selfe thereof; came gently to these babes, stooped down, and seemed to wind about them, put unto them her teats, desirous and labouring to be delivered of her milk, as if it had been a second litter: And then (see the fortune of it) a certain bird (consecrated to *Mars*, which thereupon men name in Latine *Picus Martius*, that is to say, a Speght or Wood-pecker) chanced to approach neer, and having alighted gently upon the tips of her toes fast by them, and softly opened with one of her clees the mouths of these infants, one after another, she conveyed into them certaine morsels, minsed small, even of her own food and provision. That this is true, the said wild fig-tree at this day is named *Ruminalis* of the Wolves teat, called in Latine *Ruma*, which she held unto the babes for to suckle them, doth testifie. And long time after, the inhabitants about that place have observed this custome; not to expose and cast forth any thing that is bred and born amongst them; but to rear and nourish all, in a venerable memoriall of this happe and resemblance of the accident which befel unto *Romulus* and his brother *Remus*. Now that these two foundlings were nourished

ed and brought up afterward in the City of *Gabii*, unknown to all the world that they were the children of *Sylvia*, and the Nephews or Daughters Children of *Numitor* the King; may seem to bee a crafty theevish cast, and deceitful sophistry, proceeding from Fortune; to the end that they should not perish before they had done some worthy exploit, by reason of their noble birth, but be discovered by their very deeds and effects; shewing their vertue as a mark of their nobility. And here I call to mind a certain speech which *Themistocles* (a brave and wise Captain) upon a time gave to some other Captains, who after him, and in a second place, were in great name at *Athens*, and much esteemed, howbeit, pretending to deserve more honour then he: The morrow-minde (quoth he) quarrelled and contended upon a time with the feast or holy-day, which went before it, saying; That she was * full of labour and businesse, and never had any rest; whereas in her there was nothing but eating and drinking that, which before hand had been prepared and provided with great pain and travel; unto whom the feast made this answer: Certes, true it is, that thou sayest; but if I had not been, where hadst thou been? Even so (quoth *Themistocles*) if I had not conducted the Medians war, what good would you have done now? and where had your imployment been? Semblably, me thinks that Fortune saith the same unto the Vertue of *Romulus*: Thy acts are famous, and thy deeds renowned; thou hast shewed by them indeed, that descended thou art from divine blood and some heavenly race; but thou seest again, how far short thou art of mee, how long after me it was, ere thou didst come in place; for if I had not (when time was) shewed my selfe kind, gracious and courteous unto those poor infants, but had forsaken and abandoned them silly wretches, how could you have had any being, and by what means should you have been so gloriously seen in the world? in case (I say) a female wild beast, even a she-wolfe, had not come in the way, having her bigs swollen, enflamed and aking with the plenty of milk, flowing (as it were) a stream unto them, seeking rather whom to feed, then by whom she should be fed? or if she had been altogether savage indeed and hunger-bitten; these roial houses, these stately Temples, these magnificent Theaters, these faire Galleries, these goodly Halls, Palaces, and Councel-Chambers, had they not been at this day, the Lodges, Cottages and Stalls of Shepherds and Herdsmen, serving (as Slaves) some Lords of *Alba* and *Tuscan*, or else some Masters of the Latine Nation? The beginning, in all things, is chiefe and principal, but especially in the foundation, and building of a City; and Fortune is shee who is the Author of this beginning and foundation, in saving and preserving the founder himselfe: for well may Vertue make *Romulus* great, but Fortune kept him, until he became great.

* κοπιῶντος not κομπάζοντος.

It is for certain known and confessed, that the reign also of *Numa Pompilius*, which continued long, was guided and conducted by the favour of a marvellous Fortune: for to say that the Nymph *Ægeria*, one of the Wood-Fairies, called *Dryades*, a wife and prudent goddesse, was enamoured of him, and that lying ordinarily by his side, taught him how to establish, govern and rule the Weale-publick, per adventure is a meer fabulous tale; considering that other persons, who are recorded to have been loved by goddesses (and to have enjoyed them in marriage; as for example, *Peleus*, *Anchises*, *Orion*, and *Emathion*) had not for all that (thorow out their life) contentment and prosperity, without some trouble and adversity: but surely it seemeth that *Numa* in very truth had good Fortune for his domestical and familiar companion, and to reign jointly with him; which Fortune of his (receiving the City of *Rome*, as in a boisterous and troublesome tempest, or in a turbulent sea, to wit, in the enmity, envy and malice of all the neighbour Cities and nations bordering upon it; and besides disquieted within it selfe, and troubled with an infinite number of calamities and seditious factions) quenched all those flames of anger, and alayed all spightful and malicious grudges, as some boisterous and contrary winds. And like as men say, that the sea, even in mid-water received the young brood of the birds Halcyones, after they be newly hatched, and given them leave to be nourished and fed in great calm and tranquility; even so Fortune (spreading and drawing round about this people newly planted, and as yet ready to wag and shake every way, such a quiet and still season, void of all busie affairs, without wars, without mortality, without danger or fear of danger) gave good means unto the City of *Rome* to take root and set sure footing, growing still in repose with all security, and without any hinderance and impeachment whatsoever. Much like therefore, as a great carraque, hulk, or gally, is framed, wrought and set together by many a knock & stroak, and that with great violence; whiles it feeles the blows of sledges and hammers, is pierced with spikes and great nails, cut with saws, axes and hatches; and when it is once made and finished by the Shipwright, ought to rest quiet and in repose, for a competent time, until the braces be well setled and fastened, and the joints firmly knit and compact: for otherwise, he that should stir it, and shoot it into the Sea, whiles the junctures and commissures be yet green, fresh, loose, and not well consolidate, all would chink, cleave, and open, when it came to be never so little shaken and tossed by the boisterous billows of the sea, so that she would leak and take in water thorowout; even so, the first Prince, Author and Founder of the City of *Rome*, having composed it of rustical peisants herdmen, as it were, of rough hewen planks and posts of tough and stubborn oak, had much adoe, and took no small paines, but engaged himselfe far into sundry warres, and exposed his person and estate to manifold and great dangers, being of necessity enforced to encounter and fight with those who opposed themselves, and withstood the nativity (as it were) and foundation thereof, before hee could bring his work to an end; but the second King receiving the same at his hands, gave it good time and leasure to gather strength, and to confirm the growth and augmentation thereof

thereof by the favour of happy Fortune, who afforded him the means to enjoy great peace and long repose. But if at that time, some such as King *Porsenna*, had come against it, pitching his camp before it, and leading a strong army of Tuscans to give assault thereto, whiles the walls were yet green, soft, and ready to shake with every small thing: or if some puissant Prince and Potentate, or worthy warriour from among the Marsians, upon Apostasie and revolt: or else some Lucan, for envy or upon a troublesome spirit and desire of contention, a busie-headed person, factious and quarrelsome, such an one as afterwards *Marius* or stout *Silon* was, surnamed the *Bold*: or last of all, *Tertullus*, with whom *Sylla* scuffled, and found himselfe somewhat to do: him I mean, who (as it were) with one signal could make all *Italy* rise and take arms: if one of these (I say) had come and given the alarme, environing and assailing with sound of trumpets this Sage-like Prince and Philosopher *Numa*, whiles he was at sacrifice, or in his devotions and prayers to the gods: surely the City in that infancy of hers and first beginnings, had never been able to have held out and withstood so great a storm and tempest, neither had it grown up as it did, to so goodly a number of lusty and serviceable men: whereas, it seemeth that the long peace which continued under this King, served in stead of a provision of furniture and all sorts of munition for innumerable wars ensuing: and the people of *Rome*, much like unto a champion who hath to fight a combat, having been exercised and enured at leisure, in a peaceable time, for the space of three and forty years after the wars which they had fought under *Romulus*, became strong enough, and sufficient to make head against those that afterwards assailed them: for it is for certain recorded, that during all that time, there was neither pestilence nor famine, no unkind barrenesse of the earth, nor unseasonable distemperature of Winter or Summer, to afflict or trouble the City of *Rome*, as if there had been no humane providence, but only a divine Fortune which took the care and government of all those years. In those dayes likewise it was, that the two-leaved doors of the Temple of *Janus* were shut up and locked fast, those (I mean) which they call the gates of war, for that they were set open in the time of war, and kept shut when it was peace. No sooner was King *Numa* dead, but these gates were opened for the Albane war, which brake out suddenly and with great violence, and so stood open still, during an infinite number of other wars ensuing continually one after another thereupon: but in processe of time, namely, about four hundred and fourscore years after they were shut again, when the first Punick war was ended, and peace concluded with the Carthaginians, even that year wherein *C. Atilius* and *Titus Manlius* were Consuls. After this, they were set open by occasion of new wars, which lasted until the very time that *Cæsar Augustus* won that noble victory under the Promontory *Actium*. Then had the Romans a cessation or surcease of arms, but the same continued not long: for that the tumultuous stirs of the Biscains, the Galatians and Germans comming all together, troubled the peace. And thus much may serve out of Histories, for testimonies in behalfe of the felicity and good Fortune of King *Numa*.

But the Kings also that reigned in *Rome* after him, highly honoured Fortune, as the chiefe Patroness, Nurse, and the Prop or Pillar, as *Pindarus* saith, which supported and upheld the City of *Rome*: as we may judge by the reasons and arguments following. There is at *Rome*, I wot well, the Temple of Vertue highly honoured: but founded it was and built of late dayes, even by *Marcellus*, who forced and won the City of *Syracusa*. There was another also in the honour of reason, understanding, or good advice, which they called by the name of *Mentis*: but *Æmilius Scaurus* was the man who dedicated it; about the time of the Cimbrick wars. For that by this, the learning, the arts, and pleasant eloquence of the Greeks were crept already into the City: but, to Wisedome there is not yet to this day so much as one Temple or Chappel: neither to Temperance, nor Patience: ne yet to Magnanimity, whereas of Fortune there be many Churches and Temples very ancient, and those much frequented; and to speak in one word, celebrated with all kinds of honour: as being founded and erected amid the noblest parts, and most conspicuous places of the City. For there is the Temple of Masculine Fortune called *Fortuna virilis*, which was built by *Martius Ancus* the fourth King of *Rome*, and by him so called; for that he thought that fortune availed as much as Fortitude to the obtaining of victory. As for the other, entituled by the name of Fortune Feminine; otherwise called *Fortuna Muliebris*, every man knoweth that they were the Dames of the City, who dedicated it, after they had averted and turned back *Martius Coriolanus*, who was come with a puissant power of enemies, and presented himselfe before the City. And *Servius Tullius* who augmented the puissance of the people of *Rome*, and brought it unto a goodly and beautiful manner of government, no Prince so much, having set down and established a good order for the giving of suffrages and voices at the elections of Magistrates, and enacting of Laws: and besides instituted the order of military discipline: having been himselfe the first Censor of mens manners, and the Controller or Overseer of every mans life and behaviour: who seemed also to have been a right valiant Prince, and most prudent withall: This man, I say, wholly avowed himselfe the Vassaile of Fortune, and did homage to her, acknowledging all principality to depend upon her: in such sort as men say Fortune her selfe used to come and lie with him, descending down by a window into his chamber: which now they call the gate Ferrestella. He founded therefore within the Capitoll one Temple to the honour of Fortune, called *Primigenia*, which a man may interpret, first begotten: and another to fortune *Obsequens*, which some take to be as much as obeisant: others gratious and favourable. But not to stand any longer upon the Roman names and appellations, I will leave them, and endeavour to reckon up and interpret in Greek the meaning and signification of all these

these Temples, founded and dedicated in the honour of Fortune. For in the mount *Palatine* there standeth one Chappel of private fortune, and another of gluing Fortune: which tearm may haply seem to be ridiculous; howbeit, by way of a Metaphor it carrieth a signification very important, as if we were to understand thus much by it: That it draweth unto it, and catcheth those things which be far off: and holdeth fast whatsoever sticketh and cleaveth unto it. Moreover, neer unto the fountain called *Muscosa*, that is to say, Mossie; there is another Chappel of Fortune the Virgin: as also in the mount *Esquilius*, another of Adverse Fortune; upon the street called the Long Way, an altar there is erected to Fortune Good-hope, or as it were Hope: and neer adjoining unto the Altar of *Venus-Epitelaria*, that is to say, Foot-winged *Venus*, a Chappel and Image of Fortune Masculine: besides a thousand honours and denominations more of Fortune, which *Servius* for the most part instituted and ordained: as knowing full well, that in the regiment of all humane things, Fortune is of great importance, or rather can do all in all. And good reason he had therefore, considering that himselfe by the beneficial favour of Fortune, being descended as he was by birth from a Captive, and that of an enemy nation, was raised and advanced to royal dignity. For when the City of the *Corniculanes* was wonforcibly by the Romans, a certain young Damosel named *Ocrisia*, being taken prisoner (who notwithstanding her infortunate captivity; was neither for beauty of face, nor comely behaviour blemished or stained) was given unto Queen *Tanaquil*, the Wife of King *Tarquin*, to serve her, and afterwards bestowed in marriage upon one of the reteiners or dependants to the King; such as the Romans call *Clientes*: and from these two came this foresaid *Servius*. Others say, that it was nothing so; but that this Maiden *Ocrisia* taking ordinarily certain first fruits or assaies as it were, both of viands and wine from the Kings Table, carried the same to the hearth of the domestical Altar; and when one day above the rest she cast these primicies or libaments aforesaid (as her usual manner was) into the fire upon the hearth; behold all on the sudden when the flame went out, there arose out of the said hearth, the genital member of a man; whereat the young Damosel being affrighted, reported what a strange sight she had seen, unto Queen *Tanaquil* alone: who being a wise and witty Lady, apparelled and adorned the Maiden like a Bride in every respect, and shut her up with the foresaid apparition; taking it for a divine thing, presaging some great matter. Some say, that this was the domestical or tutelar god of the house whom they cal *Lar*: others *Vulcan*, who was enamored of this young Virgin: but whatsoever it was, *Ocrisia* was thereupon with Child, and so was *Servius* born. Now whiles he was but an infant, there was seen a shining light, much like unto the flash of lightning, to blaze out of his head round about. But *Valerius Antias* recordeth this narration otherwise: saying, that *Servius* had a wife named *Gegania*, who hapned to die; by occasion of whose death, he grew into a great agony and passion of sorrow, in the presence of his Mother, until in the end for very heavinesse and melancholy, he fell asleep, and as he slept, the woman of the house might perceive his head shining out in a light fire; a sufficient argument and testimony, that engendred he was of fire; yea, and an assured presage of a Kingdom unlooked for; which he attained unto after the decease of *Tarquinius*, by means of the port and favour that *Tanaquil* graced him with. For otherwise, of all the Kings that were of *Rome*, he seemed to be the man that was unlikest to reach unto a Monarchy, and least intended, or minded to aspire thereunto: considering that when he was King, he determined to resign up the Crown; though he was empeached and stayed for so doing: because *Tanaquil* upon her death-bed conjured and bound him by an oath to continue in his royal estate and dignity, and in no case to give over the politick government of the Romans, wherein he was born. Lo, how the regal power and kingdom of *Servius* may be wholly ascribed unto Fortune, seeing that as he came unto it beyond all hope and expectation, so he held it even against his will.

But to the end it may not be thought, that we withdraw our selves and retire, flying unto antiquity, as it were into a place obscure and dark, for want of more clear and evident proofs, let us leave the history of the Kings, and turn our speech unto the most glorious acts of the Romans, and their wars, which were of greatest name and renown: wherein I will not deny, and who is there but must confesse, there did concur

Both boldnesse stout and fortitude,
with martial discipline,
In war which aie co-operant
with vertue doth combine,

according as *Timotheus* the Poet writeth? but the prosperous train and happy course of their affairs, the violent stream also, and current of their progresse into such puissance and growth of greatnesse, sheweth evidently unto those who are able to discourse with reason, and to judge aright, that this was a thing conducted neither by the hands nor counsels, ne yet by the affections of men, but by some heavenly guidance and diuine direction, even by a fore-wind and gale of Fortune blowing at the poup and hastening them foreward. Trophees upon Trophees by them were erected, one triumph met with another continually: the former blood upon the weapons not yet cooled, but still warm was washed away by new bloodshed comming upon it: they reckoned and numbered their victories not by the multitude of enemies slain and heaps of spoiles, but counted them by realms subdued, by nations conquered and brought to subiection, by isles and firm lands of the continent reduced into servitude and bondage, and all to augment the greatnesse of their Empire. In one battel King *Philip* was chased out of *Macedonia*: one blow & one conflict caused *Antiochus* to aban-

abandon and forego *Asia*; by one defeature the Carthaginians lost *Lybia*: one man alone in one expedition, and by the power of one Army, conquered unto them *Armenia*, the Kingdome of *Pontus*, the sea *Euxinus*, *Syria*, *Arabia*, the Albanians, the Iberians, all the nations even as far as the mountain *Caucasus*, and the Hircanians, yea, and the very Ocean Sea which environeth the world round about, saw the same man thrice Victor and Conqueror: the Nomades in *Affrick* he repressed and vanished, even to the coasts of the south Sea: the Kings of the Albanians he pursued, and never left the chase until he had driven them to the Caspian Sea. All these brave exploits and glorious conquests he atchieved, so long as he used the publick Fortune of the City, but afterwards hee was overthrown and came to ruine by his own private destiny. Now that great *Damon* and tutelar god of the Romans, did not second them for a day as it were and no more: neither in a short time did his best and came to the height and vigour of his gracious favour, as that of the Macedonians; nor gave them his assistance upon the land only, as he who was the patron of the Lacedemonians; or at Sea alone, as the Athenians god; ne yet was longere he would stir, as he whom the Colophonians trusted upon; no, nor gave over quickly, as the Persians patron did: but even from the very nativity and foundation of the City; it began, it grew up, waxed, and went forward as it did, it managed the government of it, it continued firm and sure with it, by land, by sea, in war, in peace, against Barbarians, and against the Greeks: He it was that when *Annibal* the Carthaginian overspred all *Italy*, in manner of a land-flood, or violent brook, wrought it so, that partly through envy, and in part through the malice of his spightful fellow-Citizens, no succours and supplies were sent to feed and maintain him; and so by that means wasted, spent, and consumed him to nothing in the end: he it was that dispersed and kept the Armies and Forces of the Cimbrians, and Teutonians a great way, and a long time asunder, so as they could not meet: to the end that *Marius* might be furnished and provided sufficiently to fight with them, and to defeat them both, one after another: he empeached the joining together of three hundred thousand fighting men at one time, all invincible souldiers, and appointed with arms insuperable, that they might not invade and over-run, all *Italy*. For this cause, and by the means of this Protector, *Antiochus* sat still, and stirred not to aid *Philip*, all the whiles that the Romans made sharp war upon him: likewise, when *Antiochus* was in distresse and danger of his whole estate, *Philip* being discomfited before, durst not hold up his head, and died the while: he, and none but he procured, that whiles the Marsians war set all *Rome* and *Italy* on a light fire, the Sarmatian, and Bastarnian war held King *Mithridates* occupied. Finally, through his procurement, King *Tigranes*, when *Mithridates* flourished, and was in his ruff most puissant, upon suspition, envy, and distrust, would not join with him: and afterwards when the said *Mithridates* had an overthrow, combined and banded with him; that in the end he might also lose his life and perish with him for company.

What! in the greatest distresses and calamities that lay heavy upon the City; was it not the Roman Fortune that redressed all, and set it upright again? As for example: When as the Gaules were encamped round about the mount Capitol, and held the Castle besieged:

A plague she sent, the souldiers soon fell sick,
Throughout their hests, whereof they died thick.

Fortune also it was, and meer chance, that revealed their comming in the night, and gave advertisement thereof, when no man in the world either knew or doubted thereof: and peradventure it would not be impertinent and besides the purpose, in this place to discourse of it more at large. After the great discomfiture and overthrow that the Romans received neer the river *Allia*: as many as could save themselves by good footmanship, when they were come to *Rome*, filled the whole City with a fright and trouble; insomuch, as the people wonderfully amazed with this fearful news, fled scattering here and there, excepting only a few, who put themselves within the Castle of the Capitol, resolved to keep that piece, and abide the extremity of the siege: others who escaped after that unfortunate battel and defeature, assembled themselves immediately in the City *Veii*; and chose for their dictator *Furius Camillus*, a man, whom the people (proud and insolent upon their long prosperity) had beforetime rejected, and sent away into banishment, condemning him for robbing the common treasure: but they being humbled by this affliction, and brought to a low ebbe: called him back again, after that discomfiture: committing and putting into his hands, the absolute power and soveraign authority: but to the end it might not be thought, that it was by the occasion of the iniquity and infortunity of the time, and not according to order of Law, that the man accepted of this high magistracy, and that in a desperate state of the City, without all hope that ever it should rise again, he was elected by the rumultuary suffrages of a broken Army, dispersed and wandering here and there: his will was, that the Senators of *Rome* who had retired themselves within the Capitol aforesaid, should be made acquainted and advertised thereof, and that by their uniform consent, they might approve and confirm that election of him, which the souldiers and men of war had decreed. Now among the others there was one named *Caius Pontius*, a valiant and hardy man, who undertook and promised in his own person to go and carry the news of that which had been determined, unto those who abode within the Capitol: and verily he enterprised a thing exceeding dangerous, for that he was to passe through the midst of the enemies who then invested the Capitol with trenches, and a strong *Corps-de-guard*: when he was come to the river side by night, hee fastened just under his breast certain broad pieces, or plates of Cork, and so committing his body to the lightnesse of such a Barge, he bare himselfe thereupon, and hulled with the course of the water, which

* All this is to be understood of *Pompeius Magnus*.

which was so good and favourable unto him, that it carried him over, and set him gently upon the bank on the other side of the river, without any danger at all; where he was no sooner landed, but he went directly toward that place which he saw was without all light, conjecturing by the darkneſſe and silence withal, that he should not light upon any of the watch or ward there: thus hee began to climb up the steep rock, whereas he could find any way to set sure footing upon the stones that stuck out, or wheresoever he found a place to yeeld better accesse and ascent then another: so fetching a compasse, and catching hold with his hand upon the rough crags, and bearing himselfe as well as possibly he could; he made such shift, that in the end he crawled up to the top thereof; and there those Romans that kept watch and ward, and were formost of the *Corps-de-guard*, having espied him, helped to pull him up: then declared he unto those within the place, what had beene set down and agreed upon by them who were without, from whom he had no sooner received their assent and approbation of the foresaid ordinance concluded, but the very same night he made his returne the way that he came, unto *Camillus*: the next morning one of the barbarous enemies, as hee walked about that place, thinking of no such thing, perceiving by very chance, partly the print of a mans tiptoes, together with the marks of unsteady footing, and partly the grasse and weeds crushed and broken, which grew here and there in such places, where they had some little earth to maintain them; as also the tracts and traces where he had leaned and wrestled with his body, either in clambering up, or striving overthwart; went strait ways and related unto his fellow souldiers what he had seen: who taking it thus, that the enemies themselves shewed them the way, and tred it out before them, assayed presently to do the like, and to gain the top of the rock. In the night time therefore having observed where the place was most solitary, and void of watchmen, they mounted up, without being descried and discovered, not only by the men who were in guard and sentinel, but nor so much as by the dogs, which were set afront before, for to assist the watch, so sleepy they were all, both the one and the other. Howbeit, the good Fortune of *Rome* wanted no voice to bewray so imminent a danger, and to give warning thereof; for there were within the Capitol certain Geese consecrated unto the goddesse *Juno*, kept at the Cities charges, in the honour of her, close under her Temple: now is this creature of all others by nature very timorous, and at every little noise that is made, ready to be affrighted; and at that time especially, by reason that there was within the place great scarcity of victuals, they were neglected, and for that they were kept somewhat hungry, slept not so soundly as they were wont to do; by reason whereof, at the first being aware of the enemies comming, even so soon as they had gotten over the battlements of the walls, they came full butt upon them, and being affrighted besides to see their bright armour, set up such a gagling note after their manner, that all the court of the Castle rung with their violent and dissonant noise: whereat the Romans were awakened, and suspecting deeply what the matter was, ran incontinently to the wall, gave the enemies the repulse, and turned them down with their heads forward: in memorial of which accidents and occurrents, Fortune goeth as it were in triumph even at this day. For at *Rome* they are wont upon a certain set day of the year in a solemn procession, to have a Dog carried in a shew crucified; and a Goose borne in a gorgeous litter upon a rich cushion, most sumptuously dight and set out: which spectacle representeth and sheweth unto us the puissance of Fortune, and the great means that she hath to effect all those things with ease and facility, which in mans reason seem unpossible; considering that she giveth a kind of witty perceivance and understanding, to brute beasts, otherwise foolish and void of reason; yea, and insuleth bold courage and strength to those which by nature are fearful, weak, and cowardly. For what man is there, unlesse he be altogether deprived of natural sense and affection, who would not be astonied and ravished again with a wonderful admiration, to consider and discourse after a sort with himselfe, comparing the heavy cheer and mournful condition of this City in those days, with the felicity and stately port thereof at this present; to look up (I say) to the Capitol, and behold the riches there, the sumptuosity and magnificence of the monuments and oblations there to be seen; the excellent pieces of work wrought by most cunning artificers, striving who might do best; the presents of Cities, contending who should be most bounteous and liberal: the Crowns sent by Kings and Princes, and what precious things soever the earth, the sea, the islands, the firm lands of the continent, the rivers, trees, beasts, champion fields, mountains and metal mines, do afford; and in one word, the first fruits and choice parcels of all things in the world, which seem all to strive one with another, to embelish, grace, adorn, enrich and beautifie this only place? and withal, to look back unto those times past, and consider how it went within a very little, that all this should never have been, or at least wise not extant at this day; seeing that all being within the power of mercilesse fire, fearful darkneſſe of the mirk night, cruel and barbarous swords, and most bloody minds and inhumane hearts of these Gaules; the poor contemptible beasts, foolish, reasonlesse and timorous, made the overture to save all, and were the principal instruments of preservation; also, how those brave gallants, valorous Knights, and great Captains and Commanders, the *Manlii*, the *Servii*, the *Posthumii* and *Papirii*, the ancestors and progenitors of so many noble houses afterwards, were very neer and at the point to have been undone for ever, and come to nothing; had not these silly Geese awakened and started up to fight for their countrey, and to defend the god, Patron and Protector of the City. And if it be true that *Polibius* writeth in the second book of his History, as touching those Gaules, who at that time surprised the City, and were Lords of *Rome*: That when news came suddenly unto them, how certain of their barbarous neighbours neer at hand, were entred

tred in arms within their own country, and won all before them as they went: they had returned in haste back, and made peace with *Camillus*, certes, without all doubt, Fortune even then had been the cause also of the Cities safety, in distracting the enemies, or rather in withdrawing them another way, contrary to all hope and expectation of man: But what need we to stand thus upon these old Historie, wherein there is no certainty to build upon delivered: considering that the state of *Rome* was then ruinate, and all their Annals, Records, Registers, and Memorials, either perished or confounded, according as *Livie* himself hath left in writing: seeing that the affairs of the Romans which happened afterward, and carry more light and perspicuity with them, declare and testifie sufficiently the love and indulgence of Fortune? For mine own part, I count this for one singular favour of hers, to wit, the death of *Alexander* the Great, a Prince of incomparable courage, and spirit invincible, who being lifted up by many great prosperities, glorious conquests, and happy victories, lanced himself in manner of a Star Volant in the Air, leaping out of the East into the West, and beginning now to shoot the flaming beams and flashing raies of his armour as far as into *Italy*: having for a pretence and colourable cause of this enterprise and expedition of his, the death of his kinsman *Alexander* the Milosſian, who together with his army, was by the Brutians and Lucanians (neer unto the City *Pandesia*) put to the sword and cut in pieces: although (in truth) that which carried him thus against all nations, was nothing else but a desire of glory and soveraignty, having proposed this unto himself upon a spirit of zeal and emulation, to surpasse the acts of *Bacchus* and *Hercules*, and to go with his army beyond the bounds of their voyages and expeditions. Moreover he had heard say, that he should find the force and valour of the Romans, to be as it were a gad of steel, to give edge unto the sword of *Italy*: and he knew well enough (by the general voice and report abroad in the world, which was brought unto him) that famous warriers they were, and of greatest renown, as being exercised and hardened like stout champions in wars and combats innumerable,

And verily, as I do ween,
A bloody fight there would have been,

if the undanted and unconquered hearts of the Romans, had encountered in the field with the invincible armies of the Macedonians: for surely the Citizens of *Rome* were no fewer at that time in number, by just computation, then a hundred and thirty thousand fighting men, able all to bear arms, and hardy withal:

Who expert were on horseback for to fight,
And when they saw their time, on foot to light.

The rest of this Discourse is lost, wherein we miss the reasons and arguments that Vertue alledgeth for her self in her plea.

THE

MORALS,

OR

Miscellane Works of *PLUTARCH.*

The Second Tome.

The Sympoſiaques, or Table-Questions.

The First Book.

The Summary.

1. *WHether we may discourse of Learning or Philosophy at the table?*
2. *Whether the master of the feast ought himself to place his guests, or suffer them to sit and take their places at their own discretion?*
3. *What is the cause that the place at the board, called Consular, is held to be most honourable?*
4. *What manner of person the Sympoſiarch or master of the feast ought to be?*
5. *What is meant by this usual speech: Love teacheth us Poetry or Musick?*
6. *Whether* Alexander *the Great were a great drinker?*
7. *How it is, that old folk commonly love to drink meer wine undelayed?*
8. *What is the cause, that elder persons read better afar off then hardby?*
9. *What might the reason be, that cloaths are washed better in fresh and potable water then in sea water?*
10. *Why at* Athens, *the dance of the tribe or linage Æantis, is never adjudged to the last place.*

The

The Sympoſiaques, or Table-Queſtions.

THE FIRST QUESTION.

Whether we may diſcourſe of Learning and Philoſophy at the Table.

SOme there be (Sir *Soſſius Senecio*) who ſay that this ancient proverb in Greek, Μισῶ μνήμονα συμπότην. *At banquet, wine, or any feaſt, I hate a well remembring gueſt.* was meant of *Hoſteliers or rulers at feaſts, who ordinarily are odious, troubleſome, uncivil, ſaucy, and imperious at the table. For the Dorians who in old time inhabited *Italy* (as it ſhould ſeem) were wont to call ſuch an one, μνήμων. Others again, be of opinion, that this proverb admoniſheth and teacheth us to forget all that hath been done and ſaid at the board, and among our cups, when we have been merry together. Hereupon it is, that in our countrey, men commonly ſay: That both Oblivion and alſo the Palmar, or the plant *Ferula*, that is to ſay, Fenel-giant, bee conſecrated unto *Bacchus*; which giveth us to underſtand, that the errors and faults which paſſe at the table, are either not to be remembred at all, or elſe deſerve to be chaſtiſed gently as children are. But ſeeing you alſo are of the ſame mind that *Euripides* was, namely: That howſoever

Bad things and ſilthy to forget,
Indeed, is counted wiſdom great.

yet the Oblivion generally of all that is ſpoken at the board and when we drink wine, is not onely repugnant to this vulgar ſaying: That the table makes many a friend; but alſo hath divers of the moſt renounced and excellent Philoſophers to bear witneſſe to the contrary, to wit, *Plato*, *Xenophon*, *Ariſtotle*, *Speuſippus*, *Epicurus*, *Prytanis*, *Hieronymus* and *Dion* the Academick, who all have thought and reputed it a thing worth their travel, to put down in writing, the talk that had been held at meat and drink in their preſence. And for that you have thought it meet, that I alſo ſhould collect and gather together the principal and moſt memorable points of learned diſcourſes, which have paſſed ſundry times and in divers places, both here and there: I mean as well at *Rome* among you, as alſo with us in *Greece*, when we were eating and drinking together among our friends; I ſettled my ſelfe unto it willingly; and having ſent unto you three books heretofore, containing every one of them ten queſtions, I will ſhortly ſend you the reſt, if I may perceive that theſe which you have already, were not altogether thought unlearned, impertinent, and without good grace.

* Some were called in Latine, *Regis & Mediperatores.*

The firſt queſtion then, which I have ſet abroad, is this: Whether it be a ſeemly and decent thing, to Philoſophize, that is to ſay, To ſpeak and treat of matters of learning at the table? for you may remember very well, that this queſtion being moved upon a time at *Athens* after ſupper: Whether it were befitting thoſe who are come to make good cheere for to enter into ſpeech, or mainteine diſcourſe, as touching Philoſophical matters or no? and if it were: How far forth it might be allowed, and within what bounds it ought to be limitted? *Ariſton*, one of the company there preſent: What (quoth he) and are there any perſons indeed (tell me for the love of God) who deny Philoſophers and learned men a room at the board? Yea marry are there (my good friend, quoth I again) who not only do ſo, but alſo in good earneſt and great gravity (after their ironical manner) give out and ſay: That Philoſophy, which is (as it were) the miſtreſſe of the houſe, ought not to be heard ſpeaking at the board, where men are met to make merry; who commend alſo the manner of the Perſians for good & wiſe, who never would ſeem to drink wine merrily, and until they were drunk, nor yet to dance with their wedded Wives, but in the company of their Concubines: for ſemblably, they would have us at our feaſts and banquets, to bring in muſick, dances, plays, masks, and counterfeit pleaſures, but in no wiſe meddle with Philoſophy; as if ſhe were never meet for mirth and play, nor we at ſuch a time fit and diſpoſed for ſerious ſtudy. For even ſo the Orator *Iſocrates* (ſay they) could never be brought to make any other anſwer to thoſe that earneſtly intreated him, and were very urgent, that he ſhould make ſome good ſpeech before them, when he and they were drinking wine, but this: The time fitteth not now for thoſe matters which I profeſſe, and have skill in; and of ſuch things as this preſent time requireth, I am altogether unskilful. Then *Crato* crying out with a loud voice: Now ſo god *Bacchus* help me (quoth he) I con the man thank, and commend him highly, for refuſing, and (as it were) forſwearing talk at Table, in caſe he meant thoſe long clauſes and tedious trains or periods of ſentences of his, wherewith he ſhould have driven away all the Graces from the feaſt. But, in my conceit, it is not all one, to baniſh from the board an affected ſpeech or rhetorical language: and to chaſe away a Philoſophical diſcourſe; for certainly, Philoſophy is a far different thing, which being the art profeſſing to teach us how we are to live, there is no reaſon to ſhut the doors againſt her, at any game, ſport, or pleaſant paſtime for our recreation whatſoever: for ſhe ought to ſtand by and be preſent at all, for to inſtruct us what time, what meaſure and meane we ſhould obſerve: unleſſe by the ſame rule wee will ſay, that we muſt not admit to our feaſts either Juſtice or Temperance, or other vertues, as ſcorning and ſcoffing (forſooth) their venerable gravity. Now, if we were to eat and drink ſome where in

in a ſolemn judicial Hall or publick place of juſtice, as the manner is of thoſe who feaſted *Oreſtes*, and entertained him with all ſilence; ſomewhat it were, and peradventure it might ſerve for ſome pretenſe or excuſe (though the ſame were but an untoward and unhappy precedent) to colour and cloak our ignorance and incivility: but in caſe, *Bacchus* be by right ſurnamed *Lyſius* or *Lydius*, that is to ſay, the Deliverer and ſetter free of all things, and principally of the tongue, from which it taketh away the bit and bridle, giving all liberty to the voice: I ſuppoſe it were meer folly and ſottiſhneſſe indeed, to deprive that time (which commonly is moſt talkative and fulleſt of words) of the beſt ſpeeches and moſt fruitful diſcourſes: It were abſurd (I ſay) to diſpute in School, what duties are to be obſerved at a feaſt; what is the office of a gueſt; how a man ſhould behave himſelfe at the table; and in what ſort he ought to drink wine; and then afterwards wholly bereave all Banquets and Feaſts of Philoſophy, as if ſhe were not able to confirm that by deed, which ſhe preſcribeth and teacheth in word. And when thereupon, you inferred and ſaid: That it was unmeet and booteleſſe for to go about for to contradict *Crato* in theſe points, but it behooved rather to ſtudy what limits to appoint, and what preſcript form to ſet down of Philoſophical diſcourſes at the table, to avoid that jeſt (which uſually and not unpleaſantly is caſt forth at them, who are given litigiouſly to cavil, argue and diſpute, when they ſhould eat) taken out of this verſe of *Homer*:

For this time now to ſupper goe,
That ſoon 'twixt us a combat may be.

and withal exhorted and animated me to ſpeak mine advice, I entred into ſpeech and ſaid: That firſt and formoſt I thought it a point eſpecially to be conſidered, what manner of perſons are meet at a feaſt, and what the company is? for if there be more in number of learned men then of others at the board, ſuch as the table was of *Agathon*, of *Socrates*, of *Phædrus*, *Pauſanias*, *Eryximachus*, *Calbias Charmidas*, *Antiſthenes*, *Hermogenes* and others like unto them, ſuffer them as well to have Philoſophical talk, tempering and mixing *Bacchus*, (that is to ſay Wine) no leſſe with the Muſes then with the Nymphs (that is to ſay Waters;) for that, as theſe make him to enter and go down into the body mild and gentle; ſo the other may cauſe him to be as kind, curteous, and acceptable to the mind. For if ſo be there are ſome few ignorant and unlettered perſons among many learned and skilful clerks, yet will they like unto mute letters, and conſonants between vowels, participate with them in a kind of voice, not altogether inarticulate and unſignificant, yea, and learn ſomewhat by by thoſe means, of their skill and knowledge: but ſay there bea ſort of rude gueſts, ſuch as can abide to hear either the crowing and ſinging of any bird whatſoever, or the ſound of any ſtring or piece of wood, it skills not what it be, rather then the tongue of a Philoſoper: then were it good to practiſe that which *Piſiſtratus* did; who being aa ſome debate and difference with his own children, and perceiving that his enemies were well enough contented therewith, and laughed thereat in their ſleeves; called a ſolemn aſſembly, wherein he delivered this ſpeech unto the people: That deſirous he had been indeed to have drawn his children to his own opinion, but ſince it would not be, and ſeeing how obſtinate they were bent, he meant to be ruled by them, and to follow their mind; even ſo a learned man and a Philoſopher being matched with other gueſts, that have no liſt at all to give ear unto his ſage laws and wiſe words, will range himſelfe to their ſide, and change his own conceit, he will I ſay, dance after their pipe, and take pleaſure in their paſtimes, ſo long as they exceed not the bounds of honeſty and civility; as knowing thus much: That men cannot ſhew and exerciſe their eloquence but in ſpeaking, but they may declare and practiſe their Philoſophy even in ſilence and ſaying nothing: yea, and in diſporting themſelves with others, giving and taking pretty ſcoffs enterchangably. For it is not only a point (as *Plato* ſaith) of extream injuſtice, when a man is unjuſt, to make a ſemblance and ſhew of juſtice, but alſo a kind of ſoveraign and principal wiſedome to Philoſophize, and yet to ſeem no Philoſopher, and by way of game and mirth, to do the ſerious offices of thoſe that are in good earneſt, ſtudious: for like as the frantick women in *Euripides* called *Bacchæ*, without arms or any weapon of iron and ſteele, onely ſmiting with their little javelins or ferula-ſtems, wounded thoſe that ſet upon them; even ſo the pleaſant words of true Philoſophers indeed, caſt out by way of jeſt, yea, and the very laughters of wiſe men are able to move and correct in ſome ſort, ſuch as are not altogether incorrigible, nor ſo hard as nothing will pierce and enter into them. Moreover, I ſuppoſe there be certain narrations fit to be related at a feaſt where men are aſſembled, whereof ſome be drawn out of written Hiſtories, others, preſent occaſions, and occurrences do dayly yeeld, and thoſe containe examples to incite and provoke men partly to the ſtudy of Philoſophy, and in part to Piety, Religion and Devotion toward the gods: ſome induce us to imitate generous and magnanimous acts, others ingender a fervent zeal to perform the works of bounty and humanity: which precedents, he that can cloſely and with dexterity uſe as documents and inſtructions to thoſe that be drinking with them, ſo as they perceive him not, ſhall diſcharge the time which they drink, of many vices, and thoſe not the leaſt, which are imputed unto it: ſome there be, who put leaves of Burrage into Wine, others beſprinkle the floores and pavements of parlours, and dining chambers with water, wherein they have infuſed or ſteeped the herbs Vervain and Maiden-hair; having an opinion, that theſe devices procure ſome joy and mirth in the hearts of thoſe who are at a feaſt; and all to imitate Lady *Helene*, who, as *Homer* reporteth, with certain ſpices and drugs wherewith ſhe had medicined and charmed (as it were) the Wine that her gueſts ſhould drink: but they do not perceive) that this tale being fetched from as far as *Egypt*, after a great way and long circuit, eadeth at the laſt in

in honeſt diſcourſes fitted and accommodated to time and place: for that the ſaid *Helene* recounteth unto them as they drunk with her at the table, the travels of noble *Ulyſſes*, and namely,

What things this valiant Knight had done,
and what he had endured;
What wrongs alſo he wrought himſelfe,
to which he was inured;

For this was that *Nepenthes* (if I be not deceived) a medicine which diſcuſſeth and charmeth all ſorrow and paine, even a diſcreet ſpeech, framed aptly and in ſeaſon to the affections and occaſions, which are preſented: but men conſiderate, well adviſed, and of good jndgement, howſoever they may ſeem to deal in Philoſophy, yet they carry their words, and place them ſo, that they are effectual, rather by a gentle way of perſwaſion, then by force and violence of demonſtration. For thus you ſee how *Plato* alſo (in the Treatiſe called, *His Banquet*: where he diſcourſeth of the final end of humane actions, of the ſoveraign good of man, and in one word, treateth of God and Heavenly matters, like a Divine and Theologian) doth not enforce and ſtretch the proofe of his Demonſtration, nor beſtrew and powder, as it were, with duſt his adverſary, according to his wonted manner, otherwiſe to take ſurer hold, that hee might not poſſibly ſtruggle out of his hands: but inſinuateth and draweth on the hearers his gueſts, by a weaker kinde of arguments and ſuppoſitions, by pretty examples, and pleaſant fictions. Moreover, the very queſtions and matters at ſuch a time and place propounded, and not only their reaſons ought to be ſomewhat eaſie, the problems and propoſitions plain and familiar: the interrogations alſo and demands probable, and carrying a reſemblance of truth, and nothing dark or intricate: leſt they doe perſtringe and dazzle their eyes, who are not quick ſighted, ſuffocate ſuch as are but weake ſpirited, and in one word, turne them clean away, who are but ſhallow witted and of a mean conceit. For like as there is a cuſtome allowable to remove and ſtirre (when a man will) the gueſts at a feaſt, by urging them either to dance alone, or in a ring: but he that ſhould force them to riſe from the Table, for to put on Armour and fight in compleat harneis, or to fling the bar, or caſt a ſledge, doth not only make the feaſt unpleaſant and nothing acceptable to his gueſts, but alſo hurtfull unto them: even ſo, eaſie and light queſtions, exerciſe mens ſpirits handſomely, and with great fruit and commodity: but we muſt reject and baniſh all diſputations of matters litigious, intricate, and ſnarled (as *Democritus* ſaith) to wit, knotty queſtions and hard to be undone, ſuch as both buſie themſelves, who propoſe them, and trouble thoſe that hear them. For thus it ought to be, that as the Wine is all one and common throughout the Table; ſo the queſtions propounded at a feaſt or banquet, to be talked of, ſhould be intelligible unto all, for otherwiſe, they who broach matters ſo dark and myſtical, were as unreaſonable, and ſhould have as little regard of the common benefit of their company, as the Crane, and Fox in *Æſops* Fables, had one of the others good. For the Fox having invited the Crane to dinner, ſet before her a good meſſe of fatty broth, of beans and peaſe, which he had powred upon a broad ſhallow ſtone veſſel, in ſuch ſort, as the poor Crane was made a foole and laughing-ſtock by this meanes, for that with her long and ſmall bill ſhe could get none of it up, but it went ſtill beſides, it was ſo thin and glib withal: the Crane again, becauſe ſhe would be quit and meet with the Fox, bade him to dinner, and preſented unto him good victuals within a bottle, that had a long and narrow neck, at which ſhe her ſelfe could eaſily convey and thruſt her bill to the very bottome: But Reinard was not able to take out his part with her; even ſo, when learned men at a table plunge and drown themſelves (as it were) in ſubtile problems and queſtions interlaced with Logick, which the vulgar ſort are not able for their lives to comprehend and conceive; whiles they alſo again for their part come in with their fooliſh ſongs, and vaine ballads, of *Robin-hood* and little *John*, telling tales of a tub, or of a roaſted horſe and ſuch like: enter into talke of their traffick and merchandiſe, of their markets and ſuch mechanical matters; Certes all the fruit and end of ſuch an aſſembly at a feaſt is utterly loſt, and meer injury done unto god *Bacchus*: for like as when *Phrynicus* and *Æſchylus* firſt brought a Tragedy (which at the beginning was a ſolemn ſong, in the honour of *Bacchus*) to fables and narrations pathetical, aroſe this proverb: And what is all this I pray you to *Bacchus*? even ſo it comes many times into my mind to ſay thus unto one that draweth by head and ſhoulders into a feaſt, that ſophiſtical and maſterful ſyllogiſme called Κέρτωψ. My good friend, what is this to *Bacchus*? Haply there is ſome one who ſingeth certain of theſe ordinary ſongs at feaſts, called * *Scotia*, as a man would ſay oblique, or crooked, when the great ſtanding cup of wine is ſet in the midſt of the table before all the company, and the chaplets of flowers divided and dealt among the gueſts, which that god *Bacchus* putteth upon our heads, to ſignifie, that hee giveth us all liberty: but ſurely this is neither good nor honeſt, nor yet beſeeming that freedome which ſhould bee at feaſts, howſoever ſome ſay that thoſe ſonnets are not darkly compoſed, as the word *Scotia* ſeemeth to imply, which ſignifieth crooked; but that they took the name, becauſe in old time the gueſts, at firſt ſung altogether with one voice and accord, one ſong in the praiſe of *Bacchus*, and afterwards every one in his turne chanted another apart; giving one to another in order from hand to hand, a branch or garland of a myrtle tree; which I ſuppoſed they called * *Aſaron*: for that he who took the ſaid branch was to ſing in his courſe: and to the ſame purpoſe, a lute there was, or an harp that went round about the table; and look who could skill to play upon it, took it in hand and ſung thereto in meaſures; but thoſe who had no knowledge at all in muſick, and refuſed the ſaid inſtrument, gave

* Some think they were ſo called, κατ' ἀντιφρασιν, that is to ſay, by the contrary; for that they were plain and eaſie.

* Or rather Aſachon ὅτι ἥδες ἅπαν τὸν ἥχοντα.

gave occaſion of the name *Scotion*, becauſe ſuch manner of ſinging was not common or eaſie unto all: others there be who ſay, That the ſaid branch of myrtle went not round about to all the gueſts in order, but paſſed from table to table, or from bed to bed; for when he that ſat formoſt at the firſt table had ſung, he ſent it to the principall or firſt man of the ſecond, and he to the chiefe perſon of the third; and ſo conſequently, the ſecond did by the ſecond; by reaſon whereof, and in regard of this croſſe and overthwart variety in the oblique revolution thereof, the ſong was called *Scotion*.

THE SECOND QUESTION.

Whether the maſter of the feaſt ought himſelfe to aſſigne unto every gueſt his place, or ſuffer them to ſit as they will themſelves?

MY brother *Timon* having upon a time invited many perſons to a feaſt, willed every one of them as he entred in, to take his place, and ſit where he thought good himſelfe, for that there were among them ſtrangers, citizens, neighbours, familiars, friends, and kinſfolke, and in one word, all that were bidden were not one mans children, but a medley and mixt number of all ſorts and conditions. Now, when as they were for the moſt part come already, and had taken their places, a certaine ſtranger well appointed, like an amorous gallant in ſome Comedy, all in his purple, exceſſive otherwiſe in curious and coſtly apparell, attended beſide with a traine of lacquies and pages following at his heeles; and in one word, better guarded than regarded, came to the doore of the Hall or dining-Chamber, who after he had caſt his eye round about, and viewed all the company how they ſate at the table, would not enter in, but flung away immediately, and ſtayed not. Many there were who ran after him, requeſting him to retvine and beare them company; but in no wiſe would he, ſaying That he ſaw never a place left worthy his perſon: which when they who were ſet already, underſtood, (and many of them had taken their drinke well, and had in manner their full load) they being right glad, took up a great laughter, and with this note:

Now farewell he, ſince needs he will be gone,
Better his roome than company (quoth each one.)

But after ſupper was done, my father addreſſing his ſpeech unto me who ſate a great way off: *Timon* and I (quoth he) have choſen thee for a judge, to decide a matter of ſome queſtion and difference between us: for I blamed and reproved him a pretty while ſince about this ſtranger; for if at the firſt he had ordered the matter well, according as I would have had him, and beſtowed every man in his own place, we ſhould not have been condemned for our over-ſight and diſorder in this behalfe, eſpecially by ſuch a perſon who hath the skill

Horſemen to range in comely battell ray,
And targatiers on foot, to lead the way.

For it is reported, that *Paulus Æmilius* (him I meane, that defeated *Perſeus* King of *Macedonie*, after that glorious victory) made many great and magnificent feaſts; wherein (beſides the wonderfull furniture and proviſion that he ordained) he obſerved in all points a ſingular order and diſpoſe, ſaying, That to one and the ſame man belonged the knowledge, as well how to ſet out a moſt friendly and merry feaſt, as to range a moſt terrible battell; for both the one and the other required great diſcretion and good order: which was the reaſon that *Homer* the Poet was wont (when he ſpake of right valiant warriers and moſt royall perſonages, deſerving beſt the higheſt place of command) to tearme them κοσμήτορας λαῶν, that is to ſay, the diſpoſers and ſetters of the people in order. Yea, and you that are Philoſophers doubt not to ſay and affirme: That the great God of heaven (in making and creating the world) did nothing but change diſorder into good order, without putting to or taking away ought that was before, by diſpoſing and ſetting every thing in place meet and convenient; and ſo, by giving a moſt beautifull forme to that confuſed maſſe or Chaos in nature, which had no forme at all, wrought this admirable piece of work, which we call the World. As for theſe great and high points indeed of doctrine, we learne them of you; but we our ſelves are able to ſee and obſerve thus much; that how ſumptuous ſoever a feaſt be otherwiſe, yet if it want good order, there is no grace or pleaſure at all in it. A very ridiculous thing it is therefore, and a meere mockery that cooks, clerks of the kitchin, and ſewers, ſhould be ſo carefull what diſhes ought to be ſerved firſt, ſecond in the middle, or in the laſt place: yea, and (beleeve me) to look unto it very diligently, that there be a convenient place ordained for perfumes & ſweet odours, when they are to be brought in; for chaplets alſo and garlands that are to be diſtributed and dealt about; and laſt of all, for a minſtrell wench (if any be there) to ſing and play, where ſhe may be beſt heard; and in the mean while the Maſter of the feaſt ſuffer tho'e who are bidden to all this, for to ſit pell-mell at the table at a venture, as if they came only to fill and cram their bellies, without giving either to age or to dignity, or to any matter of like quality) that ranke and order which is fit decent, and meet for every one in the keeping of which diſcretion, the beſt man in the place hath his due honour in ſitting higheſt; he that is ſecond and inferior is by uſe and cuſtome acquainted and well contented to ſit accordingly; and the huiſher who hath the ordering of the matter is well exerciſed, to diſtinguiſh and judge that which is befitting every one according to his eſtate and degree. For it cannot ſtand with any reaſon, that in the Councell-houſe there ſhould be a place known, either of ſitting or ſtanding, more or leſſe honourable, according to the quality and dignity of the perſon; and that for ſetting men at the

table,there ſhould not be the like order obſerved. And is it meet, that the hoſt or maſter of the feaſt ſhould drink to one before another,and yet have no regard at the firſt in placing of his guests?putting no difference, nor obſerving any diſtinction at all? making of a feaſt,even in the very beginning,one *Myconos* (as they ſay in the common proverb) which is as much as miſh-maſh and confuſed mingle-mangle of all. And thus much of the reaſons and allegations of my father for his plea. But *Timon* my brother, on the contrary ſide, anſwered, That he was not wiſer than ſage *Bias*; and conſidering, that he refuſed alwaies to be arbitratour or umpire between two of his own friends, though they requeſted him; why ſhould himſelfe become a judge at once among ſo many kinſfolke and friends, yea,and other perſons beſides? eſpecially, where the queſtion is not about money and goods,but as touching pre-eminence and ſuperiority; as if he had ſent for them all,not to be merry and make good cheer,but to diſquiet them,and ſet them out one with another, who were good friends before?For if (quoth he) *Menelaus* in old time committed one great abſurdity, inſomuch as there grew upon it a proverb and by-word, in that he intruded himſelfe unſent for into the Councill of *Agamemnon*? far greater reaſon there is, that he ſhould be thought more abſurd, who conſtituteth and maketh himſelfe, of a courteous hoſt and civill maſter of a feaſt,an auſtere judge and preciſe cenſurer of thoſe that require no ſuch matter, nor willingly deſire that one ſhould determine and judge of them, who is the better man or the worſe; ſeeing they are not cited peremptorily to a judiciall Court for triall of a controverſie,but invited friendly to a good ſupper, for to make merry? Over and beſides no eaſie matter it is to make diſtinction aright: for that ſome go before in age,others in degree of kindred and linage; and therefore,he that would take ſuch a taske or charge in hand, ought evermore to be ſtudying upon the degrees of compariſon, or elſe of the argument in Logick, *A comparatis*, that is to ſay,drawn from compariſon: and to have alwaies in his hand, either the Topiques of *Ariſtotle*, or elſe the Precedences of *Thraſymachus*,a book which he entituleth *Hyperbollantes*, wherein a man ſhould do no good at all; but contrariwiſe much harme,by transferring the vain-glory about higher place,from judiciall Courts,Common Halls and Theaters, to ſitting at feaſts; and when he hath endeavoured to abate and repreſſe other paſſions of the ſoule by good-fellowſhip and company-keeping, now ſtir up and ſet on foot pride and arrogance; of which, in mine advice, we ought to ſtudy more for to cleanſe our ſoules, than to waſh and ſcoure away the dirt and filth from our feet: to the end that we may converſe familiarly and fellow-like at the table,with all mirth and ſingleneſſe of heart. But now, when we go about and do what we can with one hand,to take away from our gueſts all rancor and enmity, bred either upon anger, or ſome worldly affaires that they have had together, in making them eate at one table,and drinke one to another,we do as much as lies in us, with the other hand to fret an old ſore, and kindle a new fire of grudge and malice by ambition, in debaſing one,and exalting another: but if withall, according to the preference which we have made in the placing of them.we take the cup alſo and drink oftner,or ſet better meat and daintier diſhes to ſome than to others; if, I ſay, we make more of this man than of that, cheare one up, and ſpeak unto him after a more familiar manner than to another; ſurely, inſtead of a feaſt of friends and familiars, it will be a ſtately Aſſembly altogether of Lords and Potentates. But if in all things elſe we are carefull and preciſe in our feaſts, to obſerve and maintaine equality of perſons; why begin we not at the firſt, in the placing of our gueſts, to accuſtome and acquaint them for to range themſelves,and take their ſeats ſimply and familiarly one with another? conſidering at the firſt entrance into the Hall or great Chamber, they ſee that they were not ſummoned ariſtocratically to a Senate houſe of Lords and great States, but invited democratically and after a popular manner to ſupper, where the pooreſt may take his place with the richeſt, like as in the ſtate of a City and Commonwealth,called Democracy.After theſe oppoſite reaſons were alledged,and that all the company there preſent demanded my ſentence,I ſaid,That taking my ſelfe choſen as an arbitrator,and not as a judge, I would deale indifferently,and with an equall hand in the middle between both: As for thoſe(quoth I) who feaſt young men their equals, all friends and of familiar acquaintance, they ought to accuſtome them (as *Timon* ſaith) to carry themſelves ſo void of pride and arrogance, that they may take contentment in any place whatſoever that falleth out unto them; and to thinke this facility and ſingleneſſe of heart, to be a ſingular meanes and proviſion for the feeding and nouriſhing of amity: but in caſe the queſtion be of entertaining ſtrangers, or worſhipfull perſonages of high calling and great place in Common-weale, or of elder perſons; I feare me, that as we ſhut out at one doore in the fore-front pride and arrogance, ſo we let it in at another bak-gate behind, by our indifference and making no diſtinction. Herein therefore we ought to give ſomewhat unto uſe and cuſtome, or elſe we muſt altogether forbeare all manner of cheering up,drinking to, and ſaluting of our gueſts,which faſhions we uſe not without judgement and diſcretion hand-over-head, to ſuch as we meet with or ſee firſt; but with as great regard and reſpect as we can, honouring them according to their worth and quality:

With higheſt place,with viands of the beſt,
With moſt cupi full,and thoſe not of the leſt.

As ſaid *Agamemnon* that great King of the Greeks, putting as you ſee the ſeat in the firſt and chiefe place of honour. We commend alſo King *Alcinous*, for that he placed the ſtranger who came in, next unto himſelfe,

And caus'd his ſon Laodama,
A gallant,for that gueſt

To

To riſe, who cloſe to father ſat,
And whom he loved beſt.

For to diſplace a beſt-beloved ſon, and in his roome to ſet an humble ſuppliant, was a ſingular example of rare curteſie, and humanity. And verily the gods themſelves do obſerve this diſtinction of place,and of ſitting: for *Neptune* although he came laſt into the Aſſembly of the gods in counſell,

Yet took his own place for all that,
And in the midſt of them he ſat.

as being the ſeat which of right appertained unto him. And *Minerva* ſeemeth alwaies to challenge as proper and peculiar to her above all others, the very next place to *Jupiter*: which the Poet *Homer* doth after a ſort covertly inſinuate unto us, ſpeaking of dame *Thetis* in this manner:

By Jupiter *ſhe ſat, of ſpeciall grace*
And favour; For Minerva *gave her place.*

But *Pindarus* ſignifieth as much in expreſſe tearmes when he ſaith:

To lightning next that ſl.ſheth fire
Sat Pallas, *cloſe unto her ſire.*

Howbeit,*Timon* ſaid,That we ought not to take from others,for to gratifie and pleaſure one; and take he doth away, who maketh that vulgar and common, which by right is proper: and proper there is nothing more than that which is meet and befitting the dignity of each perſon: Moreover, in giving that ſuperiority and preeminence to running faſt, and making moſt haſte, which is done unto vertue,kindred, magiſtracy, and ſuch other qualities, in ſeeming to avoid the opinion of being odious or offenſive,to his biddenguests,he draweth upon himſelf ſo much more trouble and heart-burning of others; for he offendeth them in depriving every one of that honour which he deſerveth,or is wont to have. For mine own part, I do not thinke it ſo hard a peece of worke to make this diſtinction, as he would have it to be: for firſt and formoſt, it is not ordinary nor often ſeen, that many men of like degree and dignity are bidden to one and the ſame feaſt; beſides, being as there are, many honourable places, a man of judgement and diſcretion hath good meanes to diſpoſe of them accordingly, among many, if there be occaſion; for one of them he may content in ſetting him higheſt and above the reſt; another he may pleaſe with a place in the midſt; to one he may do the favour as to ſet him next unto himſelfe; another he may gratifie by placing him cloſe to ſome friend or familiar of his, or elſe faſt by his maſter and teacher: in this order, I ſay, he may ſatisfie many of them who ſeeme to be of better reputation, in diſtributing the places alſo which are of more reſpect among them; as for the reſt, I leave them meanes alſo for their contentment; namely certaine gifts, favours, curteſies, and kindneſſes, which may in ſome ſort make amends for the want of ſome honourable place. But ſay, that their deſerts and dignities be hard to be diſtinguiſhed, or the perſons themſelves not eaſie to be pleaſed; marke what advice I have in ſuch a caſe to ſerve the turne: My father,if he be preſent) I take by the hand and ſet him in the moſt honourable place of all; if not, I do the ſame by my grand-ſire, my wives father, or mine uncle by the fathers ſide, or my colleague and companion in office, or elſe my fellow-Senatour and brother-Alderman; or ſome one of thoſe who hath ſome ſpeciall and inward prerogative above others of honour and account, with the Maſter of the feaſt himſelfe, that biddeth the gueſts: taking this for a rule in the caſes borrowed out of the books of *Homer*, which are preſidents of duties and ſhew what is beſeeming every man to do; and namely, in that place where *Achilles* ſeeing *Menelaus* and *Antilochus* debating the matter very hotly. about the ſecond prize for horſe-running, and doubting how far-forth their anger and contention might proceed, would needs give the ſaid prize in queſtion to a third man; pretending in a word, that he took pity of *Eumelus*; and that he was minded to do him ſome honour; but indeed and truth, it was to take away the occaſion of difference and quarell between the other two. As I was thus ſpeaking, *Lamprias*, who was ſet cloſe in an odde corner of the chamber, upon a low pallet, thundering out his words after his wonted manner, demanded of the aſſiſtance or company, in this wiſe, My Maſters, pleaſeth it you to give me leave for to reprove and rebuke a little this ſottiſh judge here? and when every one made anſwer,ſaying,Good leave have you, ſpeake your mind freely, and ſpare him not: And who can (quoth he) forbeare that Philoſopher, who ſetteth out and diſpoſeth of the places at a feaſt, like as he would do in ſome theater, namely, according to birth and parentage,wealth and riches,eſtate and authority in Common-wealth? yea, and as if he ordained the ſeats and ſitting places, for to opine or give voice in that ſolemn Aſſembly of the States of *Greece*, called *Amphictyones*? to the end, that even at the very table, whereas we are met to drinke wine and be merry, we ſhould not be rid of ambition, nor ſhake off the fooliſh deſire of glory: for ſurely,the places at a feaſt ought not to be diſtributed ſo,as reſpective to honour, but rather to the eaſe and pleaſure of the gueſts that are to ſit in them; neither is the dignity of each one by himſelfe in his degree to be regarded, but rather, the affection, diſpoſition, and habitude of the mind one to another how they can ſort and frame together: like as our manner is to do in ſome other things which are to meet in one common conjunction: for a good architect or maſon will not (I trow) lay his firſt worke or fore-front of the houſe with Attick or Lacedæmonian marble, before the Barbarian ſtone, becauſe the ſame is in ſome ſort of a noble kind and comming from the worthier place; neither will a cunning painter diſpoſe his richeſt and moſt coſtly colour in the principall place of his picture; nor the Carpenter or Shipwright employ before all other timber

in the ſtem of his ſhip, either the pine tree wood of *Pathmos* in *Peloponneſus*, or the Cypreſſe of *Candy*: but ſothey order and diſtribute their ſtone, their colours, and their timber, that being joyned and fitted well together one with another, the common worke ariſing of them all, may be more firme and ſtrong, faire, and beautifull, good, and commodious. And thus you ſee, God himſelfe, whom our Poet *Pindarus* calleth the beſt workeman and principall artiſan, doth not place the fire alwaies aloft, nor the earth below, but according as the uſe of bodies compounded doth require; like as *Empedocles* teſtifieth in theſe verſes:

The oiſters, murets of the ſea,
And ſhel-fiſh every one,
With maſſie coat the tortoiſe eke
With cruſt as hard as ſtone,
And vaulted back, which arch-wiſe he
Aloft doth hollow reare,
Shew all, that heavy earth they do
Above their bodies beare.

Not in that place which nature ordained for it in the firſt conſtitution and framing of the univerſall world, but in that which the compoſition of a new worke requireth: for diſorder and confuſion is bad enough in all things; but when it commeth among men, eſpecially when they are drinking and eating together, it ſheweth her badneſſe moſt of all by inſolency, outrages, and other enormities that cannot be numbred; which to foreſee and remedy is the part of a man induſtrious, well ſeen in policy, good order and harmony. And that is well ſaid of you, (anſwered we) but why envy you to this company that ſcience of order, proportion, and harmony, and do not communicate it unto us? Surely there is no envy at all (quoth he) in the way, in caſe ye will beleeve me, and be ruled by me, in that which I do change and alter in the order of the feaſt, like as you would be directed by *Epaminondas*, if he ſhould range a battell in good order, which before was in diſarray. We all agreed, and gave him leave ſo to do: then he voiding firſt out of the hall or dining-place all the boies and lackies, caſt his eye upon every one of us in the face, and ſaid, Hearken and give eare, how I meane to range and ſort you one with another; for I would adverriſe you of it before-hand, becauſe I am of this mind, that the Theban *Pammenes*, juſtly and upon good reaſon reproved *Homer*, ſaying that he had no skill at all in *love-matters, for that he ranged together in battell thoſe who were of one and the ſame nation, and mingled ſuch as were of the ſame race, linage, and bloud; whereas he ſhould have joyned the lover, and the beloved, to the end that the whole battell might be incited by one ſpirit, and draw in the ſame line, as linked by a lively bond. Semblably, will I do in this feaſt of ours, not coupling at the table one rich man with another; nor matching a young man with a young man; ne yet ſetting a Magiſtrate or a Ruler juſt by another; no, nor two friends together: for ſurely ſuch an ordering as this hath no life in it, no vigour and power at all, either to breed and imprint, or to nouriſh and augment the heat of mutuall benevolence and affection of one to another; but framing and applying to that which hath need the thing that is fit and proper thereto, I would have a ſtudent to ſit next unto a learned man; a mild and gentle perſon unto one that is hard to be pleaſed; to an old prating fellow who loves to heare himſelfe ſpeake, a youth who is deſirous to heare, I would place a boaſting and glorious bragger with a dry child and ſoothing companion; with a teaſty and cholerick man, one who is ſilent or of few words: if I ſee a rich or mighty perſonage, and withall, bountifull and free of gift, I will fetch out of one corner or other, ſome poore honeſt body to be his next-neighbour, to the end that from him (as out of a full cup) there might overflow ſome goodneſſe into another which is void and empty: but I will be very wary and circumſpect, that I do not ſort two Oratours or profeſſed Rhetoricians together, nor match one Poet with another; for according to the proverbiall verſe:

A begger can no begger well abide,
And chaunter one by another is envied.

Howſoever theſe two here *Soſicles* and *Modeſtus*, confirming in alternative courſe the ſpeeches one of another:

Blow not the coales that ready are to dye,
But juſt accord together moſt friendly.

I ſever alſo aſunder buſie and troubleſome perſons, ſuch as take one another by the throat; injurious folk, teaſty and cholerick men; interpoſing alwaies ſome mild and modeſt nature between, as an emollitive of their hardneſſe, for feare they ſhould cruſh and bruiſe one another: contrariwiſe, I bring together ſuch as love wreſtling, and other exerciſes of the body, hunters alſo, and thoſe that profeſſe husbandry: for of ſimilitudes and reſemblances two ſorts there be, the one quarrellous and given to fight, as that of cocks; the other loving and amiable, as that of jayes or daws. Alſo thoſe that be good companions, and can drinke well, I uſe to ſet and match cloſe together; yea, and amorous folke:

Not only thoſe who feele hot fancies prick,
To boies and of love maſculine are ſick.

As *Sophocles* ſaith, but ſuch alſo as are pinched with the love of wives and maidens; for that being heat and enchafed with the ſame fire, they will catch and take hold the ſooner one of another; like as peeces of iron that cleave and be united together when they be red hot; provided alwaies, that their love do not ſettle in one place, whether it be male or female.

THE

*Ἀφ' ἑαυτικὸν ἐρωτῶν.

THE THIRD QUESTION.

What is the reaſon that the place at the table, named Conſular, is held honourable?

After this there aroſe a queſtion as touching the places of ſitting at a table; for that ſome are reputed honourable in one countrey, and ſome in another. Among the Perſians, the middle place is accounted beſt; for therein ſitteth the King: In *Greece* the firſt is held chiefe and principall: and the Romans make moſt regard of the laſt in the middle pallet or table; and this commonly is called the Conſular place; whereas contrariwiſe, certaine Greeks that inhabite the Countrey about *Pontus*, and namely thoſe of *Heraclea* reckon the firſt of the ſaid middle pallet, the higheſt place of honour: but we made moſt doubt of the ſaid place called Conſular: for the ſame was in our time alſo counted honourable; but not in regard that it was either the formoſt, or the midſt; and beſides, of the accidentall qualities obſerved therein, ſome were not proper and peculiar to it alone, and others ſeemed to be of no importance at all: howbeit, three reaſons alledged there were, which ſeemed ſomewhat to move and induce us above the reſt: the firſt was this, That the Conſuls having depoſed and expelled the Kings of *Rome*, and changed all into a more popular eſtate, withdrew themſelves from the royall place in the midſt to a lower roome, to the end, that by quitting and forgoing the place which to them appertained, they might avoid all occaſions of making their power and authority odious unto thoſe that converſed with them. Secondly, that ſeeing the two firſt tables or pallets being deſtined and appointed for the gueſts invited, the third, and namely, the firſt place thereof belonged properly to him who made the feaſt; for there ſitteth he moſt commodiouſly, in manner of a Coach-man in a Chariot, or Pilot in a ſhip; to ſee the whole order of the ſervice: neither is he far from other tables, but that he may cheare up and welcome all the company: for, of the places neare unto him, that underneath is appointed uſually for his wife or children; and that above, ordinarily and by good right, was allowed for the moſt honourable perſonage of all them that were bidden, to the end, that he might ſit neare unto the Maſter of the feaſt. Thirdly, this place ſeemed to have this property by it ſelfe, that it was thought commodious for ſuch as were employed and had any affaires in hand. For the Roman Conſull was nothing like unto *Archias* ſometime the Captaine Generall of the Thebans; who if there had been brought unto him any letters, newes, or adverriſement of importance, in the midſt of ſupper time; or if there fell out any ſerious occaſions, would cry out aloud, and ſay, To morrow morning will we thinke of earneſt matters; the pacquet of letters he laid aſide, and inſtead thereof tooke a boule of wine in hand: the Roman Conſull (I ſay) was not ſuch an one, but even at theſe times eſpecially he is moſt vigilant, and looketh circumſpectly about him, for not only according to the common proverbe in *Æſchylus*:

The night alwaies event to a Pilot wiſe
Breeds woe for feare leſt tempeſt ſhould ariſe.

But alſo amidſt all pleaſures, feaſts, and pattimes, it is requiſite in a wiſe Captaine, and man of government, that he alwaies ſtand upon his guard, and carry a watchfull eye about him; to the end therefore that he might evermore be ready to underſtand all occurrents, to command alſo, direct, ſigne, or ſubſcribe if need required: this place was alloted unto him of purpoſe above the reſt: wherein, by reaſon that the ſecond table ſtood cloſe joyned to the firſt, the corner within the turning leaveth a ſpace open, or void diſtance, giveth roome and meanes very handſomely for a Secretary, a Notary, a Serjeant, or Apparitor, a Penſioner, or one of the Guard, yea, and to any meſſenger or purſevant comming from the Campe, to approach neare unto the Conſull, to declare his meſſage, to aske any queſtion, or to commune and confer with him, and that without troubling any body, or being moleſted by any perſon there met at the feaſt or banquet: for both his hand is his own and at command, and alſo his voice at liberty, to ſay and do whatſoever he would.

THE FOURTH QUESTION.

What manner of man he ought to be who is choſen Maſter of the Feaſt?

Crato my ſon in law, and *Theon* our familiar friend, being with us at a certaine feaſt, where there began ſome miſrule and diſorder, upon large drinking of wine, which notwithſtanding was ſoone appeaſed, tooke occaſion thereby to ſpeake of the Maſtery and Preſidency of ſuch feaſts obſerved in old time, being of this opinion, and ſaying (withall to me) That I ought to weare a chaplet of flowers upon my head, and not ſuffer the ancient cuſtome of creating a King or Governour of the feaſt, who is to give order in all things, and to ſee there be no miſrule, by diuſe and diſcontinuance to be utterly neglected and aboliſhed; but rather that I ought to bring that laudable order up againe, and put it in practiſe. Of the ſame mind was the whole company, and liked very well of the motion; inſomuch as they all with a loud voice and one accord, requeſted me to take the thing upon me: Seeing then (quoth I) that you be all of this mind. I am content to chuſe my ſelfe Preſident, and Maſter of this Feaſt: and here to begin withall, I give commandement

to all the reſt, that for this preſent they drinke at their own diſcretion, and as it pleaſeth themſelves: as for *Crato* and *Theon*, who were the firſt that ſet this matter on foot, I will by vertue of my office and place enjoyne them ſummarily and in few words, to declare here before us what manner of perſon ought to be choſen for the preſident, and Maſter of ſuch a feaſt, and what he muſt aime at when he is elected; as alſo how he is to carry himſelfe towards thoſe who have made choice of him; and this charge I lay upon them two, permitting them to divide it between them, and to handle it according to their good diſcretion. At the firſt, they made ſome ſemblance of refuſall, praying me to hold them excuſed: howbeit when they ſaw the whole company crying upon them for to obey the Preſident; *Crato* began firſt, and ſaid, That as the Captaine of the guard or watch ought himſelfe eſpecially to be a moſt diligent and vigilant warder, according to the ſaying of *Plato*; even ſo ſhould he who hath the command of gueſts met together for to make merry, be himſelfe of all other a right good fellow, and a cheerefull companion; and ſuch an one he ſhall be, in caſe he be neither one that will quickly be cup-ſhotten, and over-ſeen with wine; nor yet untoward and unwilling to drinke liberally, much like as *Cyrus* wrote ſometime unto the Lacedæmonians: That as in all other points he was more worthy to be a King than his brother; ſo in this reſpect eſpecially, that he would take his wine in greater meaſure, and beare the ſame better than he: for he that will be ſoon drunke groweth inſolent, unſeemly, and outragious in his drunkenneſſe: and he again, who is too too ſober, and abſtinent altogether, becommeth unpleaſant and unſociable, meeter indeed to be a ſchoole-maſter, and to have the bringing up of boies, than a Preſident of a feaſt to order gueſts. *Pericles*, ſo oft as he was choſen Captaine Generall of the Athenians, no ſooner put on his mantle of eſtate, and was ready to ſet forward, but before any thing elſe, uſed thus to ſay unto himſelfe, as it were to refreſh his memory by way of admonition: Look about thee now *Pericles*, thou haſt the command of free men; thou commandeſt now the Greeks; nay, thou art commander of the Athenians; even ſo ſhould our Maſter of a feaſt reaſon thus within himſelfe: Thou haſt the rule now of friends; to the end that he neither permit them to do any unſeemly or diſhoneſt thing; nor bereave them of their delights and pleaſures; for as he ought to be friendly affected unto them in their ſerious occaſions, ſo he muſt be no enemy to their ſports and paſtimes, but framed indifferently, and as it were well tempered for the one and the other; and yet by his naturall diſpoſition, he ſhould, like good wine, be ſomewhat more enclined unto a kind of hardneſſe or auſterity: for by this meanes the wine which he drinketh will reduce his manners and behaviour to a meane or mediocrity, by moiſtning, as it were, and ſoftning it, that it may be more gentle and pliable: for as *Xenophon* ſaid, That the ſad cheere, heavy and ruſticall ſeverity otherwiſe of *Clearchus*, ſeemed to be more lightſome and pleaſant in battell and conflict, by reaſon of his reſolute confidence; even ſo, he who is by nature not bitter nor crabbed, but only grave and ſevere, by drinking, becommeth more remiſſe, and not ſo ſtraight-laced; and by that meanes more lovely and amiable alſo. And thus much of his own perſon.

Moreover, he ought above all things to know by experience every one of the gueſts: what alteration there is wrought in them by drinking? Into what accidents or paſſions they be ready to fall; and how they can beare ſtrong wine? For we are not to thinke, but if there be a proper temperature and ſeverall mixture with water fit for every ſort of wine; which Kings taſters and cup-bearers know well enough, and in that regard can diſcerne and diſtinguiſh, when they are to uſe more or leſſe water to the delaying of wines; there is more reaſon that there ſhould be a temperature likewiſe of man and wine, which our Maſter or Preſident of a feaſt ought to know, and when he knoweth it, to obſerve; that like an expert Muſician, by ſtretching as it were and ſetting up one a note higher, in making him to drinke largely, and letting down another by cauſing him as much to ſpare, he may bring and reduce different natures unto an uniforme equality and conſonance, not meaſuring the ſame by weight and meaſure, pints or quarts, nor by ſo many cups or glaſſes, but going by a certaine rule of time and age, as alſo by the ſtrength of the body, giving to each one that which is meet and convenient. Now if peradventure this ſeeme an hard peece of worke, namely, to know all theſe particularities, yet meet it is at leaſt wiſe that he ſhould be skilfull in generality, as touching ſeverall complexions and ages: as for example, that old folke are ſooner and more eaſily made drunke than young perſons; thoſe that be ſtirring and in continuall motion, rather than ſuch as be in repoſe and reſt; ſad, heavy, penſive, and melancholick men, more than thoſe who are jocund and merry; laſtly, thoſe who are chaſte, or uſe women modeſtly, much more than ſuch as be diſſolute or exceſſively given that way. He that is thus far forth acquainted with theſe circumſtances, may be a meeter and fitter perſon a great deale to maintaine decency, order, and agreement at a feaſt, than he who is ignorant therein. Furthermore, what is he who knoweth not very well, that the maſter of a feaſt ought to be well affected, and to carry a loving mind unto all thoſe who are invited to a feaſt; to carry neither open malice, nor ſecret grudge to any one of them: for otherwiſe, if he commandeth ought, it will not be well taken; if he diſtribute and deale amongſt them, he ſhall not be thought equall and indifferent: laſt of all, if he be diſpoſed to mirth and jollity, he ſhall hardly eſcape a rebuke and blame. Loe, *Theon*, what manner of Preſident and Maſter (quoth *Crato*) I have framed unto you by words, as if he were wrought out of waxe, and him I deliver into your hands. Then anſwered *Theon*: And I receive him from you ſo much the rather, as one ſhaped and faſhioned indeed for a right governour of a feaſt, and a good companion beſides: but whether I ſhall ever uſe him or no, or whether in ſo doing I ſhall ſhame my ſelfe, I wot not: howbeit, this I am aſſured of,

of, that if he be ſuch an one as you have deſcribed, he will know how to order and governe a feaſt, and not ſuffer that one while it ſeeme a ſolemn aſſembly of a City, another while a ſchoole of Rhetorick, now a knot of dice-players or cheaters met together, and anon a ſcaffold forſooth for dancers and ſingers, or a ſtage for players and comedians: this I ſay, for that you ſee ordinarily ſome making orations, and pleading at the table, as it were in the Court, or at the barbefore judges; others exerciſing themſelves how to ſpeake in publike, or elſe rehearſing and reading certaine of their own compoſitions; and others againe taking upon them like judges of dancers and ſtage-plaiers, who do beſt for to win the prize; and yet this is not the worſt: for *Alcibiades* and *Theodorus* made of *Politions* feaſt, a very place of divine myſteries, repreſenting there the ſolemn carrying of torches and other ceremonies, at the ſhewing of ſome ſacred reliques; which I would not have a good Maſter and Preſident of a feaſt to be ſo careleſſe as to abide; but to allow place and time for ſuch talke, ſuch ſpectacles, ſights, plaies, and paſtimes only, which tend to that end for which feaſts be made; that is to ſay, to breed and augment amity between them that are preſent, by the meanes of the delight they take in eating together; for that in truth a feaſt is nothing elſe but a pleaſant recreation at the table, aiming at this marke, to contract friendſhip by the entercourſe of mutuall drinking one to the other.

But forаſmuch as in all things variety is very pleaſing, and nature joyeth in nothing more than in diverſity and change; but contrariwiſe, a ſimple uniformity alwaies, one and the ſame, is hurtfull, and bringeth tediouſneſſe with it incontinently; whereas the mixture of divers things applied in time and place with meaſure, taketh that away which is offenſive to pleaſure, and hurtfull to profit: therefore the Maſter of a feaſt muſt deviſe for his gueſts, and exhibite unto them ſome mixed ſport to paſſe away the time whiles they be drinking. I have heard many men ſay, that to walk by the ſea ſide, as alſo to ſaile along the ſhore is moſt pleaſant; and even ſo a man muſt joyne alwaies ſport with ſerious affaires, and profit with pleaſure, to the end that thoſe who play may in ſome ſort be in good earneſt; and likewiſe, when they be buſie in ſerious matters, find ſome recreation; like as thoſe who are ſea-ſick, and ready ever and anon to caſt up their ſtomack, recover their ſpirits and are revived, when they ſee how they be neare the land: even ſo a man may profit in mirth and laughter; he may likewiſe laugh and be merry in profit, and make his ſerious affaires pleaſant enough; for as the old proverbe goeth:

With calthrop thiſtles, and among the pricky reſt-harrow,
The violets and ſoft wall-flowers are alwaies wont to grow.

But as for all other ſports and plaies, which without any profit at all leap impudently into feaſts, he ſhall command his gueſts expreſly to forbeare, leſt ere they be aware they become outragious and furious, like as thoſe who have taken the juyce of henbane: they alſo abuſe their power, and go too far in their commandements, (for ſo they be called at the wine) who enjoyne ſtutters, ſtammerers, and maſſlers to ſing, or bald-pates to kembe their heads, or lame creeples to go upright on their feet without halting. Thus upon a time at a certain merry meeting and feaſt, where *Agameſor* the Academick Philoſopher was, who had a withered leg, and nothing left thereof but skin and bone, all the company (by way of mockery) inſuired upon him, and made a Law among themſelves, that they ſhould ſtand all upon their right leg, and every one drinke his boule of wine, or elſe pay a certaine peece of money, as a forfeiture: now when it came to *Agameſors* turne by right to command, he charged them all to drinke in that ſort and manner as they ſaw him to drinke: then called he for an empty earthen pitcher with a narrow mouth to be brought into the place; into which when he had thruſt his poore conſumed leg aforeſaid, he dranke up his cup of wine; and when all the reſt had aſſaied, and found they could not do as he did, were all forced to pay the forfeit. Herein was *Agameſor* to be commended: for after his manner the Maſter of a feaſt ought to be revenged in a kind of mirth and gentle ſort; alſo to accuſtome himſelfe to ſuch commandements, as tend to pleaſure and profit both, charging each one to do thoſe things which be proper, poſſible, and eaſie for him, and yet may commend the doer: as for example, to impoſe upon them who have good voices, and be profeſſed Muſicians, to ſing; Orators and Rhetoricians, to declaime; Philoſophers, to reſolve darke queſtions, and cleare ambiguities; and Poets, to pronounce ſome of their verſes; for every one of theſe joyeth and taketh pleaſure to be put to that

Wherein he knows he can do well,
And other men far doth excell.

There was ſometime a King of the Aſſyrians, who by voice of heralds, and ſound of trumpet, proclaimed a great prize and reward to him that could deviſe a new kind of pleaſure: but the King and Governour of a feaſt ſhould do very well to propoſe an honourable reward unto him that could invent an honeſt game or paſtime, wherein were no inſolency, ſome delight or diſport profitable, and procure laughter not accompanied with wanton reproofe and ſcornfull reproach, but ſuch as carrieth a grace and pleaſure with it: for this is it wherein moſt part of feaſts ſuffer ſhipwrack, namely, when they are miſgoverned, or not ordered as they ought to be. But the part it is of a wiſe and prudent man, to know how to avoid enmity and anger in the market-place, gotten by avarice; in the publike halls of bodily exerciſes, by contention and emulation; in bearing offices, and ſuing for them, by ambition and vain-glory; and laſt of all, in feaſts and banquets, by ſuch plaies and paſtimes.

THE FIFTH QUESTION.

What is meant by this common proverbe: Love teacheth muſick and poetry.

THe queſtion was moved one day in *Soſſius Senerius* houſe, after certaine verſes of *Sappho* were chanted, how this ſaying of *Euripides* ſhould be underſtood:

Love teacheth muſick, marke when you will,
Though one before thereof had no skill.

Conſidering that the Poet *Philoxenus* reporteth, how *Cyclops Polyphemus* the giant cured his love by the ſweet tongued Muſes? Whereupon it was alledged, that Love is of great power to move a man for to be bold, hardy, and adventurous, yea, and miniſtreth a readineſſe to attempt all novelties, according as *Plato* named it, the enterprizer of all things; for it maketh him talkative and full of words, who before was ſilent; it cauſeth the baſhfull and modeſt perſon to court it, and put himſelfe forward in all manner of ſervice; it is the meanes that an idle careleſſe lubber, and a negligent, becommeth diligent and induſtrious; and that which a man would moſt marvell at, a miching hard-head and mechanicall penni-father, if he fall once to love, doth relent and waxe ſoft as iron in the fire, and ſo proveth more liberall, courteous, and kind, than ever before: ſo that this pleaſant and merry proverbe ſeemeth not to be altogether ridiculous and impertinent, namely, that Loves purſe is tied and knit up with a leeke or porret blade. Moreover, it was there ſpoken, That Love reſembled drunkenneſſe, for that the one as well as the other doth ſet folke in a heat; it maketh them cheerefull, merry, and jocund; and when as men be once come to that, they fall ſoon to ſing, to rime, and make verſes. And it is ſaid, that the Poet *Æſchylus* compoſed his Tragedies, when he had well drunken, and was heat with wine. I had a Grandfather alſo my ſelfe, named *Lamprias*, who ſeemed alwaies more learned, witty, and fuller of inventions, yea, and to ſurpaſſe himſelfe in that kind, when he had taken his cups liberally; and he was wont to ſay, That at ſuch a time he was like unto incenſe, which being ſet on fire, rendreth the ſweet odour that it hath. Moreover, they that take exceeding great pleaſure to ſee their loves, are no leſſe affected with joy when they do praiſe them, than in looking upon them: for love, as it is in every thing a great pratler, and full of words; ſo eſpecially and moſt of all, in praiſes: inſomuch, as lovers would willingly perſwade others to that, wherein they are themſelves perſwaded firſt; namely, that they love nothing but that which is perfect in goodneſſe and beauty; and others they would have to be witneſſes with them of it. This was it that induced the Lydian King *Candaules*, to draw and traine *Giges* into his bed-chamber, for to ſee the beauty of his wife naked: for why? ſuch are willing to have the teſtimony of others. Loe, what the reaſon is, that if they write the praiſes of that which they love, they embeliſh and adorne the ſame with verſes, ſongs, and meeter, like as images with gold; to the end that the ſaid praiſes might be heard more willingly, and remembred better by more people: for if they beſtow a fighting-cock, an horſe or any other thing whatſoever, upon thoſe whom they love, their mind is principally that this their preſent ſhould be faire and beautifull in it ſelfe; afterwards, that it be moſt gallantly and in beſt manner ſet out; but above all, in caſe they be diſpoſed to flatter them in words or writings, their chiefe care is, that the ſame run roundly and pleaſantly, that they be alſo glorious and beautified with fine figures, ſuch as is ordinarily the ſtile of Poets. Then *Soſſius* approving well of theſe reaſons, ſaid moreover, That it were well if ſome would take in hand to draw and gather arguments out of that which *Theophraſtus* left in writing as touching Muſick: For long it is not (quoth he) ſince I read over that book; wherein he delivereth thus much after a divine manner: That three principall cauſes or roots there be of Muſick, to wit, paine, or griefe, pleaſure, or joy, and the raviſhment of the ſpirit; of which three every one doth bend and turne the voice a little out of the ordinary tune: for griefes and ſorrows uſually bring with them moanes and plaints, which quickly run into ſong; which is the reaſon that we ſee Oratours in the perorations or concluſions of their ſpeeches the actours alſo in tragedies, when they come to make their doleſull lamentations, bring their voices down gently to a kind of melody, and by little and little tune them (as it were) thereto. Alſo the great and vehement joyes of the mind do lift up all the body of them eſpecially who are any thing lightſome by nature, yea, and provoke the ſame to leap, skip, and clap their hands, obſerving a kind of motion according to number and meaſure, if they cannot dance:

And otherwiſe in furious ſort,
Like frantike folke they dodiſport;
They ſhake, they wag, they ſet out throat,
And ſend out many a fooliſh note.

According as *Pindarus* ſaith. But in caſe they be ſomewhat more grave and ſtaied than others, when they find themſelves moved with ſuch a paſſion of joy, they let their voice only go at liberty, ſpeaking aloud and ſinging ſonnets. But above all, the raviſhment of the ſpirit, or that divine inſpiration, which is called *Enthuſiaſmus*, caſteth body, mind, voice, and all, far beyond the ordinary habit; which is the cauſe, that the furious and raging Prieſts of *Bacchus*, called *Baccha*, uſe rime and meeter; thoſe alſo, who by a propheticall ſpirit give anſwers by Oracle, deliver the ſame in verſe: and few perſons ſhall a man ſee ſtarke mad, but among their raving ſpeeches, they ſing and ſay ſome verſes. This being ſo, if you would now diſplay love, and view it well, being unfolded and laid open abroad, hardly ſhall you meet with another paſſion, which hath either ſharper dolours, or joyes more violent or greater extaſies and raviſhments of the ſpirit, lying (as it were) in a trance; ſo that a man may diſcover in amorous perſons, a ſoule much like unto that City which *Sophocles* deſcribeth:

Full of ſongs and incenſe ſweet,
Of ſighs and groanes in every ſtreet.

No marvell is it therefore, nor a ſtrange thing, if love (containing and comprehending in it ſelfe all thoſe primitive cauſes of muſick, to wit, dolour, joy, and raviſhment of ſpirit,) be likewiſe in all other things diligent, induſtrious, talkative, and namely, inclined to making of verſes and chanting ſongs as much or rather more than any other paſſion which can enter into the heart of man.

THE SIXTH QUESTION.

Whether King Alexander *of* Macedony *were a great drinker.*

THere was ſome ſpeech upon a time, as touching King *Alexander* the Great, to this effect: That he dranke not ſo much, as ſat long at his meat, and paſſed the time away in deviſing and talking with his friends: but *Philinus* ſhewed by certaine ſcrowles, papers, and day-books of the ſaid Kings houſe, that they who held that opinion knew not well what they ſaid, for that this particular inſtance was ordinarily found in thoſe records, That ſuch a day the King ſlept all day long upon his liberall drinking of wine; yea, and otherwhiles it appeareth, that he ſlept the morrow after likewiſe: which is the reaſon, that he was not ſo forward in venereous matters, nor given much to women, though otherwiſe he was haſty, quick and couragious; great arguments of an inward heat of body: and it is to be ſeen upon record, That his fleſh yeelded from it, and breathed a paſſing ſweet ſmell; inſomuch as his ſhirts and other cloaths were full of an aromaticall ſent and ſavour, as if they had been perfumed: which ſeemeth alſo to be an argument and ſigne of heat. For we ſee, that thoſe be the hotteſt and drieſt countries which bring forth Cynamon and Frankincenſe, according as *Theophraſtus* ſaith, That a ſweet odour proceedeth of perfect concoction and digeſtion of humours; namely, when by naturall heat all ſuperfluous moiſture is quite chaſed and expelled. And by all likelihood this was the principall cauſe, that *Calliſthenes* grew into diſgrace, and loſt the Kings favour; for that he was unwilling to ſup with him, in regard that he would impoſe upon him to drinke ſo much. For it is reported, that upon a time the great boule or goblet, ſurnamed, *Alexanders* boule, having paſſed round about the table throughout, untill it came to *Calliſthenes*, he refuſed it, and put it back; ſaying withall, I will not drinke in *Alexander* for to have need of *Æſculapius*. And thus much was ſaid then concerning King *Alexanders* much wine-bibbing.

Moreover, King *Mithridates*, he who warred againſt the Romans, among other games or priſe which he exhibited, ordained one for thoſe who could drinke beſt and eate moſt; and by means ſaying himſelfe performed them both ſo well, that he won the prize in the one and the other: for he could eate and drinke more than any man living in his time: by occaſion whereof he was commonly ſurnamed *Dionyſus*, that is to ſay, *Bacchus*. But as touching the reaſon of this ſurname, we ſay it is an opinion raſhly received: for when he was a very infant lying in the cradle, the lightning caught the ſwadling cloaths, and ſet them on fire, but never touched or hurt his body, ſave only that there remained a little marke of the fire upon his forehead, which notwithſtanding the haire did cover that it was not greatly ſeen, ſo long as he was a child: againe, when he was a man grown, it chanced that the lightning pierced into the bed-chamber where he lay aſleep; and for his own perſon it was not ſo much ſinged therewith; but it blaſted a quiver of arrows that hung at his bed-ſide, went through it, and burnt the arrows within; which (as the ſoothſayers and wiſe men out of their learning did interpret) ſignified, that one day he ſhould be puiſſant in archers and light armed men. But moſt men affirme, that he got his ſurname of *Bacchus*, or *Dionyſus*, in regard of the reſemblance and likeneſſe of ſuch accidents of lightning, and blaſting as many times befall.

After theſe words paſſed, they entred into a ſpeech as touching great drinkers; among whom was reckoned alſo one *Heraclides*, a famous wreſtler, or champion, whom the men of *Alexandria* in our fathers dales peaſantly called little *Hercules*. This good fellow when he could not meet with a companion able to ſet foot to his, and drinke with him continually; uſed to invite ſome to breake their faſt with him in a morning; others to beare him company at dinner; ſome he would bid to ſupper; and intreat others laſt of all to ſit with him at his collation or banquet after ſupper: now when the firſt were gone, came in the ſecond immediately; then you ſhould have the third ſucceed them in place; and no ſooner were they departed, but in ſteps the fourth crue, without any interruption; and he himſelfe ſate it out ſtill, and making no intermiſſion, was able to hold out with all, and beare thoſe foure repaſts and refections one after another. Among thoſe who were familiarly acquainted with *Dioniſius* ſon to the Emperour *Tiberius*, a Phyſician there was, who in drinking would challenge and defie all the world: but obſerved it was by ſome that ſpied and looked neare unto him, That to prevent drunkenneſſe, he uſed to take alwaies five or ſix bitter Almonds before every cup that he drunke: and when he was once debarred of them, and not ſuffered ſo to do, he was not able to beare his drinke, nor reſiſt the leaſt headineſſe and ſtrength thereof. And verily ſome there be who

who ſay, that theſe Almonds have an aqſterſive propeety to bite, to cleanſe and ſcoure the fleſh, in ſuch ſort as that they will take away the ſpots and freckles of the viſage; by reaſon of which quality, when they be taken afore drinke, with their bitterneſſe they fret the pores of the skin, and leave the impreſſion of a certaine biting behind them, by meanes whereof, there enſueth a certaine revulſion downward from the head of thoſe vapours which flie upthither, and ſo evaporate away through the ſaid pores. But for mine own part, I am of this opinion rather, that their bitternesſe hath a vertue to dry up and ſpend humours: which is the reaſon that of all vapours the bitter is moſt unpleaſant and diſagreeable to the taſte: for that indeed as *Plato* ſaith, conſuming moiſture (as it doth) by meanes of the drineſſe which it hath, it doth unnaturally bind & draw in the little veins of the tongue, which of themſelves be ſoft, and ſpungeous: after the ſame manner men uſe to reſtraine ſuch wounds or ulcers which be moiſt with medicines, or ſalves compoſed of bitter drugs, according as the Poet *Homer* teſtifieth in theſe verſes:

A bitter root he bruis'd with hands,
And laid upon the ſore,
To take the anguiſh cleane away,
That it might ake no more:
And loe, applied when it was,
All paines were ſoon allaid,
The running ulcer dried anon,
And flux of blood was ſtaid.

He ſaid well and truly of that which is in taſte bitter: That it hath a vertue and property to dry. And it ſhould ſeem alſo, that the powders which women ſtrew upon their bodies for to repreſſe diaphoreticall and extraordinary ſweets, be by nature bitter and aſtringent; ſo forcible is their bitternesſe to bind and reſtraine; which being ſo, great reaſon there is, (I ſay) that bitter Almonds ſhould have power to withſtand the ſtrength of meere wine, conſidering they dry the body within, and will not permit the veines to be full, upon the tention and commotion whereof (they ſay) drunkenneſſe doth proceed: and for evident proofe of this, there may be a good argument gathered from that which befalleth foxes; who having eaten bitter Almonds, if they drinke not preſently upon them, die therewith, by reaſon that all their humours ſuddenly are ſpent and conſumed.

THE SEVENTH QUESTION.

What is the cauſe that old folke take greater delight in pure and ſtrong wine than others.

THere aroſe a queſtion about old perſons, what the reaſons might be, that they loved better to drink wine with water, or at the leaſtwiſe delayed but a little? Some alledged the habit of their bodies, being cold, and hard to be ſet into an heat; in regard whereof, the ſtrength of wine was meet and agreeable to their temperature: a reaſon very common and ready at hand: but ſurely, neither ſufficient for to be the cauſe of ſuch an effect, nor yet ſimply true; for the ſame happeth to their otherſences, as being hard to be moved and affected; yea, and nothing eaſie to be ſtirred, for to apprehend the qualities thereto belonging, unleſſe the ſame be paſſing ſtrong and vehement; whereof the true cauſe indeed is this: that their temperature being weake, dull, and feeble, loveth to be put in mind by knocking upon; and this is the cauſe, that for their taſte they delight in ſuch ſapours as be biting; their ſmelling likewiſe ſtanpeth even ſo to odours that be ſtrong, for affected it is with more pleaſure in ſuch as be not tempered nor delayed: as for the ſenſe of touching, they feele no great paine of ulcers and ſores; and if it happen that they be wounded, their hurt and harme is not ſo great: the ſame befalleth to their hearing, for their eares be in manner deafe: and hereupon it is that Muſicians as they grow in yeares and waxe aged, ſtraine and raiſe their voice in ſinging ſo much the higher and louder, as if they ſtirred up the organs of hearing by the vehement force of the ſound; for look what is ſteele to the edge and temper of iron for cutting; the ſame is ſpirit to the body, for ſenſe and feeling: and when it begins to ſlack, faile, and decay, the ſenſe likewiſe and the inſtruments thereof become dull, heavy, and earthly, having need of ſome ſuch quick thing to prick it in good earneſt as ſtrong wine is.

THE EIGHTH QUESTION.

How it comes to paſſe, that old folk read better afar off than neare at hand.

AGaing thoſe reaſons which we deviſed and alledged upon the ſubject matter and point in hand, it ſeemed that there might be oppoſed to the eye-ſight; for that elder perſons, for to read any thing the better, remove the letters farther from their eyes; and in truth cannot well read neare at hand: which the Poet *Æſchylus* ſeemeth covertly to imply, and ſhew unto us in theſe verſes:

Know him thou canſt not, if neare he ſtand to thee,
A good old ſcribe thou maieſt much ſooner be.

And

And *Sophocles* more plainly teſtifieth as much, when he writeth of old folke in this wiſe:

The voice to them arrives not readily,
And hardly thorow their eares the way can find,
Their eyes do ſee far off confuſedly,
But neare at hand, they all be very blind.

If then it be ſo, that the ſenſes of aged perſons, and the inſtruments ſerving thereto, are not willingly obeiſant to their proper objects, unleſſe the ſame be ſtrong and vehement; what ſhould the cauſe be, that in reading they cannot endure the reverberation of the light from letters, if they be near? but ſetting the book farther off from their eyes, they do by that meanes enfeeble (as it were) that light, for that it is ſpread and diſſipate in the aire, like as the ſtrength of wine when it is tempered with water? To this probleme ſome anſwered thus; That they remove books and letters far from their eye-ſight, not becauſe they would make the ſaid light more mild or leſſe radiant; but contrariwiſe, for that they are deſirous to catch and gather more ſplendor, and to fill the meane interval (which is between the eye and the letter) with lightſome and ſhining aire. Others accorded with thoſe who hold that the eyes do ſend out of them certaine raies; for by reaſon that as well from the one eye as the other a pyramidall beame doth iſſue, the point whereof is the ſight of the eye, and the baſis doth comprehend the object that is ſeen; probable it is, that both theſe pyramides go forward apart one from the other a good ſpace and diſtance, but after they be a great way off, and come to encounter one another, and be confounded together, they make but one entire light: and this is the reaſon that albeit the eyes are twaine, yet every thing that we ſee appeareth one, and not two; for that (in truth) the meeting and ſhining together of thoſe two pyramides in common, do make of two ſights but one. This being preſuppoſed and ſet down, old men approaching neare to letters, comprehend the ſame more feebly, in regard that the pyramidall beames of their eyes are not yet joyned and met together, but each of them reach to the object apart; but if they be farther off, ſo that the ſaid pyramides may be intermingled, they ſee more perfectly; much like to them, who with both hands can claſpe and hold that, which they are not able to do with one alone.

Then my brother *Lamprias* oppoſed himſelfe againſt all this: and as one who had not read the book of *Hieronymus*, but even upon the pregnancy and quickneſſe of his wit ſeemed to render another reaſon; namely, That we ſee by the meanes of certaine images ariſing from the objects of viſible things, which at the firſt be big, and for that cauſe trouble the ſight of old folk, when they regard them neare and hard by, being indeed but hard and ſlow of motion: but when the ſaid images be advanced and ſpread farther into the aire, and have gained ſome good diſtance, the groſſe and terreſtriall parts of them breake and fall down; but the more ſubtile portions reach as far as to the eyes without any paine or offence unto them, and do inſinuate and accommodate themſelves equally and ſmoothly into their concavities: ſo that the eyes being leſſe troubled, apprehend and receive them better. And even ſo it is with the odours of flowers, which are very ſweet to ſmell unto a good way off; whereas if a man come over-neare unto them, they yeeld nothing ſo kind and pleaſant a ſent: the reaſon is, becauſe that together with the ſavour there goeth from the flower much earthly matter, groſſe, and thick, which corrupteth and marreth the fragrant ſweetneſſe of the odour. If it be ſmelled to very neare; but in caſe the ſame be a pretty way off, that terreſtriall evaporation is diſperſed round about, and ſo falleth away, but the pure and hot part thereof, continueth behind, and pierceth forward ſtill, by reaſon of the ſubtilty that it hath, untill it be preſented unto the noſtrils. But we, receiving and admitting the principle of *Plato*, affirme and hold, That there paſſeth from the eyes an illuminate ſpirit, which intermingleth it ſelfe with the cleareneſſe and light that is about the bodies of viſible objects; by which meanes there ariſeth an united compoſition from them twaine, according in every point one with another, but concorporate they be by meaſure and proportion; for neither the one nor the other ought to periſh, as being ſurmounted by his fellow. but of twaine contempered together in juſt proportion, there is made one puiſſance and meane faculty between. Seeing then, that the thing which paſſeth thorow the eye-ſight of thoſe perſons who be far ſtept in yeares, be it ſome fluxion, lightſome ſpirit, or bright beame, (call it what you will) is in them weake and feeble, there cannot be a mixture and compoſition of it with the ſhining aire abroad, but rather an extinction and ſuffocation, unleſſe they remove the letters a pretty way off from their eyes. and by that means temper and reſolve the exceeding brightneſſe of the light, ſo as the ſame hit not upon their ſight, ſo long as it is too radiant and reſplendant, but meaſured and proportioned to the feebleneſſe of their eyes. This alſo is the cauſe of that which befalleth to thoſe living creatures which ſee beſt in the darke, and feed themſelves by night; for their eye-ſight being naturally weake is offuſcate and darkened by the great light of the day; for that ſuch weak raies proceeding from ſo tender a ſource or fountaine will not well ſort and agree with ſo ſtrong and forcible light; but their eyes do ſend forth beames ſufficient and proportionable, to be mingled with a light more dim and duskiſh, like as the light of a ſtar in the night ſeaſon appeareth beſt: and thus being incorporate with it it, it is cooperative to the performance of ſenſe.

THE

THE NINTH QUESTION.

Whᵛt is the cauſe that cloaths be better waſhed in freſh water than that of the ſea?

THeon the Grammarian, upon a time when we were feaſted by *Metrius Florus*, demanded of *Themiſtocles* the Philoſopher, how it came to paſſe that *Chryſippus* having made mention in many places of ſtrange poſitions and paradoxes, which ſeemed to go againſt all reaſon; as for example: That ſalt fiſh, or powdred fleſh, if it be watered or waſhed in ſea-water, becommeth more ſweet: alſo fleeces of wooll are leſſe pliable, if they be plucked forcibly, than if they be gently handled, tooſed and drawn in ſunder. Item, that they who have faſted long, chew their meat, and eate more ſlowly at the firſt, than after they have eaten a little; rendreth no reaſon of the one nor the other: Unto whom *Themiſtocles* anſwered, That *Chryſippus* propoſed them by the way only, and as it were for example ſake to advertiſe and admoniſh us; for that we are ready to beleeve, even without all reaſon, any thing that carrieth with it ſome ſmall likelihood and probability, and contrariwiſe to diſcredit that which at the firſt ſight ſeemeth unlikely: But what reaſon I pray you (quoth he) my good friend have you to ſearch and enquire into theſe matters? For if you be ſo contemplative and inquiſitive in finding out the cauſes of naturall things, you need not to go far from that which belongeth to your profeſſion: but tell me why *Homer* bringeth in *Nauſicaa*, waſhing her cloaths in the river, and not in the ſea which was ſo neare unto her; notwithſtanding that ſalt ſea water being hotter, more tranſparant, and abſterſive than freſh water of the river, ſeemeth by all appearance better for to waſh withall? As touching this proble (quoth *Theon*) long ſince hath *Ariſtotle* reſolved it, referring all to the terreſtrity of the ſea: for that in ſea water there is mingled much earthly ſubſtance, which cauſeth it to be ſo ſalt, by reaſon whereof it beareth them up better who ſwim therein: alſo it carrieth a greater and heavier burden than freſh water, the which yeeldeth and giveth way, as it is more ſubtile, lighter, and feebler, as being more ſimple and pure: in which regard it pierceth ſooner, and by this penetrative faculty it ſcoureth and cleanſeth away all ſtaines and ſpots better than ſea-water: and thinke you not that this reaſon of *Ariſtotle* carrieth great appaience of truth? Yes verily, (quoth I) there is apparence and probability indeed thereof, but no truth at all: for this I ſee ordinarily that the manner is to incraſſate freſh water with aſhes or gravell ſtones; or if there be none to be had, even with very duſt, as if the roughneſſe of terreſtriall ſubſtance were more meet and apt to cleanſe all filthineſſe, which ſimple and cleare water cannot do ſo well, by reaſon of the thin ſubtilty thereof, and becauſe it is very weake: and therefore it is not well and truly ſaid, that the thickneſſe of the ſea-water hindereth his effect. But the true cauſe is, for that it is penetrant and piercing; for this acrimony doth unbind and open the ſmall pores, and ſo draweth forth the ordure outwardly; whereas contrariwiſe, that which is groſſe and thick is never good and meet for to waſh withall, but rather it maketh ſpots and ſtaines: now is the ſea fatty and oyleious, which may be a principall cauſe why it is not good to waſh withall: and, that ſea-water is unctious, *Ariſtotle* himſelfe beareth witneſſe; for even ſalt it ſelfe hath a certaine fattineſſe and unctuoſity in it; by reaſon whereof it cauſeth thoſe lamps to burne more clearely wherein it is put: yea, and ſea-water if it be ſprinkled or dropped upon the flame, will likewiſe be of a light fire and burn withall; neither is there any water that burneth ſo much as that of the ſea; and in this regard I am of opinion, that it is of all other water hotteſt: howbeit there may be another reaſon yeelded: for conſidering that the end and conſummation of waſhing, is to dry thoſe things we hold moſt neat and cleane which are drieſt; and therefore the moiſture that doth waſh muſt go away together with the ordure; like as the root of Ellebore is ſent out of the body with the melancholike humour: as for the humidity which is ſweet and freſh by reaſon of the lightneſſe thereof, the ſun draweth it up very quickly; whereas the ſaltneſſe of the ſea-water ſticketh faſt to the ſmall pores, and by reaſon of the aſperity thereof is hard to be dried. Then *Theon*: This that you ſay (quoth he) is nothing but very falſe; for *Ariſtotle* in the ſame book affirmeth, that thoſe who waſh in the ſea are ſooner dry than they that waſh in freſh water, if they ſtand in the ſun. He ſaith ſo indeed (quoth I) but I thought that you would ſooner beleeve *Homer*, who holdeth the contrary. For *Ulyſſes* after he had ſuffered ſhipwrack met with Lady *Nauſicaa*:

All terrible and fearefull to be ſeen
For that in ſea all plunged he had been.

Yea, and himſelfe ſaid unto her women and waiting maidens:

Retire aſide and ſtand you far from me,
Faire damoſels, untill ſuch time you ſee,
That I have waſht from off my ſhoulders twaine
The filth of ſea, that now my skin doth ſtaine.

And when he had thus ſaid, he went down into the river,

And there anon he ſcowr'd cleane away
The ſalt ſea-ſome, upon his head that lay.

In which place, the Poet hath marvellous well obſerved and expreſſed that which ordinarily happeneth in ſuch a caſe: for that when they who come forth of the ſea ſtand drying them in the ſun; his heat doth preſently diſſipare the moſt ſubtile and lighteſt ſubſtance of the humidity, and then, that which is moſt foule and filthy remained behind, ſticketh to, is baked and felted to the skin, in manner of a ſalt cruſt, untill it be waſhed off with freſh and potable water.

THE

THE TENTH QUESTION.

What is the cauſe that at Athens they never judged nor pronounced the daunce of the tribe Aeantis *to be the laſt?*

AT the ſolemn feaſt which *Serapion* made for the victory of the daunce, which the tribe or linage *Aeantis* obteined, by his leading and conduct: to which feaſt we were bidden, as being of that tribe; for that the people had endued us with the priviledge and right of bourgeoiſie in the ſame; much talk there was occaſioned by the great emulation and ſtrife which had been for the honour of that preſent daunce: and indeed followed it was with much zeal and heat of affection, by reaſon that king *Philopappus* himſelfe in perſon, was a moſt honourable and magnificent president hereof, having defraied the charges belonging to the daunces of every tribe: who being preſent alſo with us, invited gueſts to this ſtately ſupper (as he was a prince no leſs courteous and full of humanity, than ſtudious and deſirous of knowledge) had both the propoſing and alſo hearing of many antiquities. Now there was propounded and put to diſcourſe, ſuch a matter as this, by *Marcus* the Grammarian, namely: that *Neanthes* the Cyzicene wrot in his fabulous narrations of this city, that the tribe *Aeantis* had by eſpeciall honour, this eſpeciall priviledge above the reſt, that their daunce was never adjudged to the laſt place. That writer (quoth the king) is not ſufficient to authorize a hiſtory; but ſuppoſing that this were true, let us make it the ſubject matter of our diſcourſe at this preſent, and ſearch the cauſe thereof. But admit (quoth our friend *Milo*) that this were a falſe tale. What then? (quoth king *Philopappus*) there were no great matter in it, if the like befall unto us for love of learning, as ſometime did to the wiſe philoſopher *Democritus*; who feeding one day (as it ſhould ſeem) upon a cucumber, when he perceived the juice and liquor thereof to be very ſweet, and to taſt of hony; demanded of his maid-ſervant who attended upon him, where ſhe bought it: who named a certein garden: whereupon he roſe from the board, and would needs have her to bring him thither, and to ſhew him the very place where it grew: but the wench wondring at her maſter, and asking him the reaſon what he meant to be gone in ſuch haſt: Why (quoth he) I muſt needs find out the cauſe of this extraordinary ſweetneſs, and finde it I ſhall, when I have well viewed and conſidered the place: hereat the maiden ſmiling: ſit you ſtill good Sir (quoth ſhe) and let this thing trouble your head no farther; for the truth is this: I chanced before I was aware, to put this cucummber into a veſſell that had hony in it. Then *Democritus* ſeeming to be offended and diſpleaſed with her: Thou angereſt me to the heart with thy prittle-prattle, I will (I tell thee) go forward in this my intended purpoſe, and ſearch into the cauſe hereof, as if this ſweetneſs were naturall and came of the cucumber it ſelfe; and even ſo we will not pretend this readineſs and facility of *Neanthes* in delivering ſome matters intelligible, as an evaſion or excuſe, to avoid this preſent diſputation: for if none other good will come of our diſcourſe, yet I am ſure it will ſerve well to whet and exerciſe our wits the while. Then all the company at once with one accord, fell to praiſe the ſaid tribe *Aeantis*, relating and collecting what comendable acts ſoever and glorious feats of armes had been performed by that tribe. And here they failed not to rehearſe the famous battel of *Marathon*, which is a State belonging to the tribe *Aeantis*. They forgat not to alledge likewiſe, how *Harmodius* and *Ariſtogiton* were Æantides, born in *Aphidne*, a town of that tribe. Alſo *Glaucias* the orator affirmed, that the right wing or point of that battel of *Marathon* was aſſigned to them of that tribe, proving the ſame by the Elegies or verſes which the poet *Aeſchylus* had compoſed in the praiſe of their good ſervice, having himſelfe in perſon fought valiantly in the ſaid conflict. Moreover, he ſhewed that *Callimachus* the high marſhall of the field, being one of that linage, both bare himſelfe right bravely that day, and was one of the principall authors (after captain *Militiades*) of that fought field, gave his voice with him, and perſwaded to ſtrike this battel. Unto this allegation of *Glaucias*, I my ſelfe added moreover, and ſaid: That the decree or commiſſion, by vertue wherof *Militiades* led forth the Athenian army with banner diſplaied, into the field, was concluded at what time as the tribe *Aeantis* was preſident of the councell at *Athens*; as alſo that the ſame tribe in the battel of *Platea* carried away the praiſe and prize for their brave ſervice above the reſt: and hereupon it is, that this tribe of *Aeantis* ſolemnizeth every year a ſtately ſacrifice, for that victory, as being commanded and appointed ſo to do by the oracle of *Apollo*, upon the mount *Citharon*, and and the ſame performed by nymphs or maidens * *Sphagitides*: for the celebration of which ſolemnity, the city furniſheth them with beaſts and other things need full for the ſame ſacrifice. But yet you ſee (quoth I) that all the reſt of the tribes may as well alledge for themſelves many valiant acts by them atchieved; and namely *Leontis*; from which my ſelfe am deſcended, which in glorious renown, giveth place to none whatſoever. Conſider therefore my maſters, whether it be not very like and more probable, that this was attributed unto it, for to appeaſe and comfort that worthy perſon who gave the name unto this tribe: I meane *Ajax* the ſon of *Telamon*, who had not the patience to endure the overthrow in judgement, and loſs of *Achilles* armour, but was ſo far inflamed with envy, emulation, and wrath, that he ſpared not hing, nor cared for the ruine of all: to the end therefore that he might not fall into another fit of fury, and be implacable, thought good it was to eaſe him of the thing which might of all things offend and vexe him moſt, in that diſhavour and diſgrace to wit: That the tribe which beareth his name, ſhould never be thruſt down into the loweſt and laſt place.

* Sacriſicers.

The Second Book
Of Sympoſiaques.

The Summary, or ſeverall Chapters thereof.

1 VVHat be thoſe things which Xenophon ſaith, that men are better contented to be asked of at the table, yea, and to be ſcoffed at for, than otherwiſe no?
2 What is the reaſon that we have better ſtomacks to our meat, and eat more in Autumne, than in any other ſeaſon of the year?
3 Whether the hen was before the egge, or the egge before the hen?
4 Whether wreſtling was of all the ſacred exerciſes and games of prize, moſt ancient?
5 Why Homer among all the combats of prize, putteth evermore in the firſt place, the fight at buffets; next to it, wreſtling; and laſt of all, running the race?
6 What is the cauſe that the pine, ſapine or pitch tree, and other like, yeelding roſine, cannot be graffed by way of inoculation or the ſcutiſian?
7 Of the ſtay-ſhip fiſh Remora.
8 How it commeth to paſs, that the horſes of Lycoſſades are ſaid to be more courageous and better ſpirited than any others?
9 How is it, that the ſheepe worried by wolves, yeeld fleſh more tender, but woolle more ſubject to breed lice than others?
10 Whether our anceſtours did better in old time, to eat every man his own part divided by himſelfe at the board, or the men now living, who feed in common, of viands ſet before them all together?

The Second Book
Of Sympoſiaques.

THE FIRST QUESTION.

What be the things whereof Xenophon *ſaith: That men love better to be asked and to be ſcoffed at for, when they ſit at the board, than otherwiſe no?*

The Preface.

OF thoſe things (O *Soſſius Senecio*) which are provided to furniſh and ſet out feaſts and banquets, ſome are to be ranged as altogether neceſſary; namely, bread, wine, viands, meats, both fleſh and fiſh, benches, ſtools, formes, and tables; others be but acceſſaries and may be ſpared, deviſed only for pleaſure, and not upon any urgent neceſſity; as plaies, ſhewes, and paſtimes brought in, either to be heard or ſeen; ſome pleaſant buffon or merry jeſter to make folk laugh, ſuch an one as *Philip* in *Kallais* his houſe, which diſports men are delighted in otherwhiles, if they be preſented, and if they be not, they are not greatly miſſed, nor much cared for, neither is the feaſt thought defective for want thereof. The ſame may be ſaid of table-talk: for one kind there is which modeſt and civill men do embrace and enterteine, in regard of their proper uſe fitting and agreeable for meals and meat indeed; another ſort they admit, and allow, as conteining ſome gentle ſpeculation, and the ſame beſeemeth rather the time imployed in hearing muſick, of flute, hautboies, lute and viall. And of both theſe, our firſt book conteined certain miſcellane examples one with the other; as namely, of the firſt ſort were theſe queſtions: whether it be good and commendable, to treat and diſpute of philoſophicall matters at the table or no? Alſo, whether it be better, that the maſter of the feaſt himſelfe place his gueſts, at the board, or permit them to ſit at their own diſcretion? Of the ſecond kind be theſe; whereupon aroſe this common ſaying: That love teacheth muſick or poetry; as alſo the queſtion concerning the tribe *Acamtes* and ſuch like. For mine own part, I would call the former *Sympotica*, as properly belonging to a feaſt; the other by the generall name *Sympoſiaca*, as beſeeming rather a banquet after the feaſt is done: howbeit ſet down they are by me pell-mell, and not diſtinctly, but according as every one of them came into my mind and remembrance: neither muſt the readers marvell if I collect and gather certaine ſpeeches for to dedicate unto you, which have been haply held heretofore by others, or by our own ſelfe: for albeit our learning is not alwayes a calling to remembrance, yet oftentimes it falleth out, that to remember & to learne, concurre and meet together in one ſubject matter. Moreover, having digeſted in every booke ten queſtions, the firſt of this ſecond is one, that *Xenophon* a diſciple of *Socrates*, hath in ſome ſort propoſed unto us, when he writeth: That *Gobryas* being upon a time at ſupper with *Cyrus*, as he praiſed many other faſhions of the Perſians, ſo he commended them eſpecially in this: That they demanded one of another ſuch queſtions, wherewith they ſtood better pleaſed than if they had not been asked at all: and between whiles, let flie ſuch pleaſant ſcoffs and jeſts as that the parties ſo ſcoffed at, liked thereof better, than otherwiſe if they had been let alone. For if it be ſo, that other men, even with their praiſes many times offend us, why ſhould we not greatly admire the ſeemly grace and witty conceit of thoſe, whoſe ſcoffs and jeſts

jeſts yeeld pleaſure and contentment to thoſe who ſeem to be mocked therewith? This is the reaſon why *Sopater* having one day invited us to a feaſt at *Patræ*, moved this talke and ſaid: Gladly would I know what kind of queſtions and interrogatories, they were? of that nature, & what the manner of them was? For no ſmall part it is (quoth he) of our entercourſe and naturall communication one with another, to have the dexterity & skill, both to know and alſo to obſerve the decency and congruity in ſuch pleaſant demands and facete jeſts. Nay, (quoth I again) a great matter it is; but mark, if *Xenophon* himſelfe was well in the Sympoſium or banquet of *Socrates*, as in thoſe of the Perſians, giveth not us to underſtand what was the order thereof: and if you think good that we enter into this diſcourſe, and that I ſhould adde ſome-what of mine own. Firſt and formoſt this is mine opinion: That men are well enough pleaſed to be asked thoſe queſtions, to which they are able eaſily to anſwer, and namely, of ſuch things as they have beſt skill and experience of: for if one ſhould demand of them, matters that they know not, either they be offended and grieved if they can ſay nothing unto them (like as thoſe who are called upon to pay debts which they are not able to diſcharge) or if they bring out croſs, impertinent, and untoward reaſons, they are much troubled, diſmaied, and perplexed: whereas if their anſwers be not only ready and eaſie, but alſo witty and exquiſite, ſo much the more pleaſant and agreeable it is to the anſwerers: now thoſe I coune witty and exquiſite, which carry ſomewhat with them, that the common multitude knoweth not, or which few men have heard of; ſuch as be the points of aſtrology or logicke, eſpecially if they be well ſeen therein, and have as it were the habit of them: for every man is well pleaſed and appaied, not only in practiſing and ſpending his time, as *Euripides* ſaith:

Whereby he may quit himſelfe ſo well,
That even himſelfe he may excell;

but alſo in reaſoning and diſcourſing of that wherein he hath beſt skill and knowledge. For men take great contentment when they be asked queſtions of that which they have an inſight in, and knowing ſo much by themſelves as they do, loth they be to have their cunning hidden, and to be thought of others ignorant therein: therefore thoſe who have been great travellers, and ſailed in many voiages, cannot be better pleaſed than when others enquire of them as touching farre countries, ſtrange ſeas, the manners, faſhions, and cuſtomes of barbarous nations; and you bring them to bed (as they ſay) when you put them to diſcourſe of ſuch matters; as being moſt willing to deſcribe and draw upon a table the coaſts, places, ſtraights, and gulfes by which, and through which they have paſſed, reputing it to be no ſmall fruit of all their travels, and an eaſement of the pains which they have endured: in one word, looke whatſoever we of our ſelves are wont, without the demand and intreaty of others to recount and relate willingly; the ſame are we deſirous that men ſhould ask us queſtions of, and howſoever we ſeem to do pleaſure to the company, yet indeed we have much adoe to hold, and with great paine forbeare to utter the ſame. This is a very malady incident to ſailers and ſeamen above all other. As for thoſe that be of a more modeſt and civill nature, they are deſirous to be asked thoſe things, which they are willing enough to utter, but that they be abaſhed, and in reverent regard of them that be preſent, paſs over in ſilence thoſe exploits which they have performed happily and with great honour: and therefore good old *Neſtor* in *Homer* did very wiſely, who knowing well the ambitious humour and deſire of glory which was in *Ulyſſes*, ſpake unto him:

Ulyſſes, flower of noble chivalry,
Renowned knight, and all the Greeks glory,
To tell us now, I pray (good ſir) begin,
How ye both twain did thoſe great horſes win.

For unwilling men are to hear thoſe who praiſe themſelves or recount their own worthy acts, if there be no one or other of the company that is urgent with them ſo to do, or unleſs they be in manner forced unto it; and therefore they are glad, when they be asked concerning the ambaſſages wherein they have been imployed; of their acts during the time of their government of State, eſpecially, if they have performed ſome great and honourable ſervice therein: and withall perceive that it is not for envy nor malice, that ſuch demands be made: for otherwiſe, ſuch as be envious or malicious, weepe at thoſe reports, and be ready to put them by, not willing to give place unto any narrations, nor to miniſter occaſion or matter of talke, that may turne to the honour and commendation of him that delivereth the ſame. Moreover, this is another meanes to gratifie thoſe who are to anſwer; namely, to move queſtion of ſuch things as they wot well enough, that their enemies and ill-willers are loth to hear. And verily, *Ulyſſes* ſaid to *Alcinous* in this wiſe:

A mind you have, to hear me tell
my wofull miſery;
That I might ſtill ſigh, grone and waile
for my harmd deſtiny.

Even ſo *Oedipus* in *Sophocles* anſwered thus to the company of the Chorus:

A woe it is (my friend) to raiſe and wake
A griefe that long hath ſlept and reſt doth

But contrariwiſe, *Euripides* wrote after this ſort:

How ſweet is it to one for to remember
The pain now paſt, which ſometime he did ſuffer!

True it is, but not to thoſe who ſtill wander, and (being toſſed in troubleſome ſeas) do yet meet with new misfortunes and calamities. But to return again to our former purpoſe: we ought to beware how we dem & ill newes: for men are grieved at the heart, to make report either how they have been caſt and condemned in any ſuite, or that they have buried their children, as alſo, how infortunate they have been in their traffique either by ſea or land: contrariwiſe, they are all well pleaſed to rehearſe and repeat often times (if they be asked the queſtion) how they have had good audience given them from the publike place of making orations, and obteined whatſoever they there demanded; how they have been ſaluted and honourably entreated by ſome king and potentate: and how, when other paſſengers and travellers with them, have been plunged into dangers of tempeſt or theeves, they onely eſcaped the perill: and for that in the bare relation, they ſeem (as it were) to enjoy the thing itſelfe, they cannot be ſatisfied, with the diſcourſe and remembrance thereof. Alſo men rejoyce and take delight, when they be asked as touching their friends, who are fortunate and do proſper in the world, or of their own children that profit well in learning and good literature, or have ſped well in pleading cauſes, or otherwiſe are of credit in the court and with princes: ſemblably, they be very well content and pleaſed, to be moved for to relate, and ſo are more willing to make report of the loſſes or ſhameſull diſgraces of their enemies and ill-willers, whom either they have overthrown at the bar and cauſed to be condemned, or who otherwiſe are fallen into any diſaſtrous calamity; for of themſelves, loath they are, unleſs they be required thereto, to recount ſuch things, leſt they might be reputed malicious, and glad to hear of other mens harmes. A hunter loveth very well, to have ſpeech and queſtion moved unto him as touching hounds; ſo doth a champion, and one that delighteth in bodily exerciſes, to be trained to talke of gymnaſticall paſtimes and feats of activity, like as an amorous lover, of ſuch perſons as be fair and beautifull, a devout and religious man diſcourſeth ordinarily of dreams and viſions that he ſeeth, and whatgood ſucceſs he hath had in his affaires, by obſerving the direction of oracles, the preſages of augurie and offes, by doing ſacrifice, and generally, by the grace and eſpeciall favour of the gods: and ſuch be well pleaſed for to be asked queſtions as concerning theſe matters. As for old folke, you ſhall do them a high pleaſure, if you put them to it, for to make any diſcourſe whatſoever: for although the narration concern them nothing at all, nor be to any purpoſe, yet if one ask them queſtions, he tickleth them in the right veine, and ſcratcheth them (as they ſay) where it itcheth. This appeareth by theſe verſes out of *Homer*.

> *O* Neſtor, *ſonne of* Neleus,
> *tell me in verſtie,*
> *How* Agamemnon, *elder ſonne*
> *of* Atreus, *did die?*
> *Where was his younger brother then,*
> *ſir* Menelaus *hight?*
> *Lives he or no, in* Achæa,
> *at* Argos *city bright?*

Here you ſee *Telemachus* asketh him many queſtions at once, giving him occaſion and matter of much ſpeech, not as ſome do, who reſtreining old folke to anſwer to the point onely which is neceſſary, and driving them within a narrow compaſs, bereave them of that which is their greateſt pleaſure. In ſum, they that would rather pleaſe and delight, than diſpleaſe and trouble, propoſe ſuch queſtions, the anſwers whereunto, draw with them, not the blame and reproofe, but the praiſe and commendation; not the hatred and ſpight, but the amity and good will of the hearers. And thus much may ſerve for interrogatories and demands.

As touching ſcoffs and merry jeſts, he that knoweth not how to uſe and handle them with dexterity, good diſcretion and skill, according to time and place convenient, I would adviſe him altogether to forbear them. For like as if men be in a ſlippery or tickliſh ground, they that touch them never ſo little in running by, are able to overturne and lay them along; even ſo at the table, when we are drinking, in danger we be upon every ſmall occaſion in the world offered (by a word not well placed, or untowardly delivered) to fall into choler; yea, and many times, more moved we are with a ſcoff or pleaſant gibe, than with a reproachfull taunt and meer ſlander: for that ordinarily it is ſeen, that a reproachfull word proceedeth from a violent fit & ſudden paſſion of anger, even againſt his will that giveth it: but we take more to the heart, a mock or ſcornfull flour, as comming from a prepenſed malice, and a voluntary mind ſet upon miſchief, without any neceſſity at all enforcing thereto: and to be brief, we are in generall more offended with thoſe that can give a dry frump in good ſadneſs, than ſuch as caſt forth words at random. And this we hold for certain, that every one of ſuch frumps biteth ſore, and ſeemeth to be an artificiall kind of reproach deviſed and thought upon a purpoſe before-hand: as for example, if one call another ſalt fiſh-monger, by that word he gives him openly a plain reproach; but if he ſay, we remember well, that you are wont to wipe or ſnuffe your noſe upon your ſleeve, he mocks him covertly, and calls him as much by craft. The like frump it was, that *Cicero* uſed to one *Octavius*, who ſuppoſed to be an Affrican born: for when he ſeemed to excuſe himſelfe that he heard not what *Cicero* ſpake: and that is a great wonder (quoth *Cicero* again) conſidering that you have a hole bored through your ear. And *Melanthius* being flouted and made a mocking ſtock by a comedy-maker: You have (quoth he) given me a reward that I never deſerved, and paid me that which you owed me not: ſuch gibes therefore

therefore and mocks as theſe, do prick worſe, and much like to arrowes with barded heads, ſticke longer by them who are thus flouted; and for their wittneſs more delight thoſe who are preſent, than for any other pleaſure elſe, ſeem to win credit unto him that uſeth them. For to ſpeak a truth a ſcoff or mock is nothing elſe but a covert and diſſimuled reproach for ſome fault, according to *Theophraſtus*: ſo as he that ſtandeth by and heareth it, can make conſtruction thereof, and gueſs how to adde more unto it, as knowing and believing all the reſt behind to be true. For no doubt he that laugheth heartily as if he were tickled, when he heareth the anſwer of *Theocritus* to one, who being named for a common ſtripper of men out of their garments, as they went late in the ſtreets, aſked him if he went forth to ſupper? Yes mary do I (quoth he) but I mean to lie there all night: ſuch an one (I ſay) ſeemeth to confirme the opinion of the foreſaid crime, for which the party was ſuſpected; inſomuch as he that mocketh and ſcoffeth impertinently and without grace, poſſeſſeth the ſtanders by and hearers with malice, as if they inſulted over the party mocked. and were abbetters themſelves, as being glad that he is thus derided or reproached. But in that noble city *Lacedæmon*, among their good diſciplines in times paſt there taught, men learned alſo to jeſt at others without biting, and not to count themſelves nipped, when themſelves were jeſted with: and if peradventure a man ſhewed himſelfe diſcontented with ſome broad jeſt, and could not beare it well, the other party preſently gave over and was quiet. How then can it chuſe but be an hard matter, to finde that kinde of ſcoff or taunt which may content and pleaſe the party mocked? conſidering that it is a point of no ſmall art, nor meane experience and dexterity to be able for to diſcerne and judge, what it is that in the feat of mockery which is not offenſive. Howbeit to open a little the means thereto: Firſt and formoſt it ſeemeth, that as theſe jeſts touch and ſting them moſt who know themſelves to be guilty of thoſe vices for which they be mocked: ſo the ſame frumps if they note men for ſuch faults of which they be moſt cleer, muſt needs in ſome ſort be pleaſant and acceptable unto them upon whom they be diſcharged. Thus *Xenophon* jeſting pleaſantly with that foule and illfavoured fellow above all others, all hairy, and as rough as a bear; ſaid: He was the minion and love of *Sardanapalus*. You may call to mind alſo *Quintus* a good friend of ours, who when he lay ſick in bed, complained that his hands were cold: But you brought them warme enough not long ſince (quoth *Aufidius Modeſtus*,) when you returned out of the province: which Quippe being banded upon him, an honeſt and upright Prætor, miniſtred occaſion of mirth, contentment, and laughter; the ſame if it had light upon a proconſull that had uſed extortion or oppreſſion, would have been a girding and nipping reproach. This is the reaſon that when *Socrates* challenged *Critobulus* the faireſt young man then living, to compare their beauties, jeſted merrily with him, but ſcorned and derided him not. And *Alcibiades* himſelfe was pleaſantly diſpoſed with *Socrates*, when he ſaid: that jealous he was of faire *Agathon*. And even kings & great princes verily otherwhiles joy & take pleaſure when they be ſpoken of, as if they were poore or private perſons; like as one of theſe pleaſants or parаſiti all jetters, when king *Philip* ſeemed to gird and ſcoff at him, returned upon him againe this word: What ſir, know you not who I am, do not I keepe and mainteine you? For in reproaching perſons with ſuch vices and defects as are not in them, they do after an oblique manner give them to underſtand, and do make known the vertues and perfections which they have. But here we muſt take heed and be ſure in any wiſe, that ſuch good parts they be endued withall indeed, and without all doubt; otherwiſe that which is ſpoken to the contrary, buzzeth in their heads, & breedeth a doubtfull ſuſpition in themſelves: for he that ſaith unto a rich and great monied man, that he will be his broker, and help him to ſome uſurers of whom he may take up mony at intereſt; or unto a ſober perſon, who drinketh nothing but water, that he is a drunkard, or hath taken his own too liberally; or he that calleth a liberall man, well known to ſpend magnificently, and ready to pleaſure all men, a baſe mechanicall *Kymbix*, and a pinching peny-father; or he who threateneth a famous advocate or councellor at the barre, who hath a great name for law and eloquence in all courts of plea, and beſides for pollicy and government is in high authority, that he will bring him to a non-ſuit, or overthrow him judicially, he (I ſay) miniſtreth matter of good ſpirit and laughter unto the party whome he ſeemeth ſo to challenge or menace. After this manner king *Cyrus* became very loving and gracious, by his ſingular curteſie, in that he would ſeem to provoke his familiars for to performe thoſe feats, wherein he knew himſelfe inferior to them: and when *Iſmenias* the famous muſician plaied one day upon his flute, during the time of ſacrifice, but ſo, as for all his muſick there appeared no good prognoſticks and ſignes, in the beaſt ſacrificed, teſtifying that the gods were propice and well pleaſed; another mercenary minſtrell, taking the inſtruments in his hand, kept a fooliſh and ridiculous tooting full untowardly: and when all the company there in place reproved him for it: To ſound an inſtrument (quoth he) to the contentment of the gods, is an heavenly gift: whereat *Iſmenias* laughed a good, and made this anſwer: You take the matter amiſs (quoth he) and I ſean contrary. for whiles I plaied, the gods tooke ſo great pleaſure in my muſick, that they intended it onely, and had no while to accept of the ſacrifice; but when thou began'ſt to meddle with the pipes, they received it immediately, and made haſt to be ridde and delivered of thy abſurd piping. Moreover they who call ſuch things as be ſimply good, by odi ous and opprobrious names, and that in mirth, if they do the ſame with a good grace; pleaſe more than thoſe who directly praiſe the ſame: like as they do nip and bite more ſhrewdly, who give reproaches under faire and lovely termes, as for example: ſuch as called wicked perſons, *Ariſtides*, or baſe cowards, *Achilles*: after the manner of *Oedipus* in *Sophocles*, when he ſaid: Creon

Creon *who had been alwayes kind*
And even firſt her faithfull friend.

Another kinde there ſeemes to be of ironicall praiſe, oppoſite unto the former; namely, when ſemblant is made of blame and reproof: which manner of praiſe, *Socrates* often uſed; as for example, when he called the induſtrious means that *Antiſthenes* practiſed to reconcile men and make them friends, as alſo to gaine good will and favour, broakage, bands-craft, entiſement and allurement: as alſo for that the Philoſopher *Crates*, had a good grace with him whereſoever he went, and becauſe he was alwayes welcome, honourably received, and kindly entertained into what houſe ſoever he came, he was commonly named *Thyrepanœctes*, as one would ſay: The door opener. Furthermore, that mockery is pleaſing, which goeth in manner of a complaint, and yet carrieth with it a kinde of gratitude and teankefullneſs. Thus *Diogenes* ſpeaking of his maſter & teacher *Antiſthenes*,

Who clad me in a cloake thred-bare,
And made me ragged cloaths to wear;
Who forced me to beg my food,
And houſeleſſe for to walke abroad.

For nothing ſo good a grace it would have had, in caſe he had uſed theſe words: He who made me wiſe, contented, and happy. Alſo a certaine Laconian, who making a ſhew, that he blamed the warden of the publicke ſtouphes and halles of exerciſe, for giving him wood ſo dry, that it would not ſo much as ſmoak, ſaid thus of him: Here is one, by whoſe meanes we can not be ſuffered to ſhed a tear. Semblably, if a man ſhould call him who kept a bountifull table, and featted him every day, a tyrant and taker of men perforce, ſaying withall, that he would not ſuffer him to eat his meales at home, nor to ſee ſo much as once his own table in ſo many yeers ſpace: like as if one ſhould complaine of the king, for making him, of a poor man, rich and wealthy, in theſe tearms: That he had laid wait for him to do him a ſhrewd turne, in taking from him his repoſe and leaſure, and bereaving him of his ſleepe and naturall reſt: or as if ſome man having gathered plenty of good wine, turning againe upon the gods *Cabeiri* in *Aeſchilus*, ſhould cauſe them, for that they had cauſed him to have ſcant of vineger in his houſe, as they themſelves in bourd and mirth had menaced to do. For theſe kindes of covert, ſecret and diſſimuled praiſes, nter ſather, carrying with them a greater grace and more effectuall by farre, in ſuch ſort, as they who in this wiſe perceive themſelves to be commended, are nothing offended thereat, nor take it in ill part.

Over and beſides, it behoveth him who would give a frump or ſcoff with a grace and dexterity, to know alſo the difference of a defect and imperfection, from ſtudies and recreations wherein men are given: as namely, to diſtinguiſh between avarice or a contentious humour, and the love of muſicke or of hunting: for as men can not abide to be twit by thoſe, ſo they are very well contented to be ſcoffed at for theſe; as *Demoſthenes* the Mitylenæan plaied in this kinde pleaſantly upon a time: for when he went to viſit a familiar friend of his, who loved muſicke paſſing well, and was much addicted to play upon the harp; after that he had knocked at the door, and the other hearing that it was he willed him to come in: But firſt (quoth he) I would have you tie up your harp. But the paraſiticall buffon of king *Lyſimachus* contrariwiſe rejoyned in this ſort as rudely and uncivilly; for when the king had thrown a counterfeit ſcorpion made of wood, upon his coat, whereat he firſt ſtarted and was afraid; but when he perceived once that the king was merrily diſpoſed, and did but make ſport, came upon him againe: And I will fright you, ſir king, aſwell (quoth he;) come on and give me a talent from you. The like regard ought to be had, and the ſame difference made, as touching the defects or imperfections of the body, at leaſtwiſe in many of them: for if men be jeſted at, for that they be long-noſed and hawked, or otherwiſe have ſhort ſnout-noſes, they will but laugh thereat. Thus one of the minions of *Caſſander*, was nothing offended with *Theophraſtus*, when he ſaid: I wonder at your eyes, that they fall not a ſinging, and make good muſicke, conſidering your noſe is ſet and hidden within them: meaning, that he had a noſe ſo flat and ſunk into his head. And *Cyrus* ſeeing one with a long noſe and hawked withall, willed him to marry a wife with a flat and ſhort noſe: For when (quoth he) you would match well, and make a good medley between you. But in caſe we jeſt and make game at thoſe whoſe noſtrils ſtink, or who have a ſtrong and unſavory breath they take it not well at our hands but are diſpleaſed. On the other ſide, if they be played upon for their bald-pates, they can abide it well enough, and put it up; but ſay a man mock them for having but one eye or being blinde, they will not endure it. Indeed king *Antigonus* would jeſt pleaſantly with himſelfe for the loſs of one eye; as namely, when there was preſented unto him a ſupplication written in great capitall letters: Why (quoth he) a man may ſee this, if he were ſtarke blinde, and had never an eye in his head: but *Theocritus* of *Chios* his priſoner, he put to death, for that, when one to comfort him, came and ſaid: That if the kings eyes once had a ſight of him, he would be pardoned, and ſave his life: Why then (quoth he) God have mercy upon me; for impoſſible it is for me to eſcape death: which he ſaid, becauſe king *Antigonus* had but one eye. *Leo* the Bizantine, when *Paſiades* objected unto him his bleered eyes, ſaying: Mine eyes be ſore with looking upon yours: Goe to (quoth he) you twit and reproach me, for a bodily infirmity that I have, and never look your ſelfe upon a ſonne of your own who carrieth the vengeance of God upon his ſhoulders: now this *Paſiades* had a ſonne, who was crumpt-ſhouldred and bunch-backed. Likewiſe *Archippus*, who in his time bare a great ſway in *Athens*, as being one of the orators who led the people, and ruled the State, was very angry with *Melanthius*, who alluding to this bunch-

bunch-backe, and ſcoffing thereat, uſed theſe terms: That he did not ſtand manfully upright in the defence of the city, but * ſtouped and bended forward, as if he had ſuffered it likewiſe to leane, reele, and ſinck downward. And yet ſome there be, who can carry theſe broad jeſts patiently, and with good moderation; as one of the minions of king *Antigonus*, who having craved a talent in free gift, and ſeeing that he was denied it, required at the kings hands, that he would allow him a ſtrong guard to accompany him: for feare (quoth he) that I be forelaid by the way, and rifled by him, who enjoyned me to carry a talent of ſilver at my back. See, how men are diverſly affected in theſe externall things, by reaſon of the inequalitie of their maimes, ſome after one ſort, and ſome after another. *Epaminondas* ſitting at a feaſt with his companions and colleagues in goverment, dranke wine as ſharpe as vineger, and when they asked him why he did ſo, and whether it made for his health? I know not that (quoth he) but well I wot this, that good it is to put me in minde of my home diet. And therefore in caſting out jeſts and pleaſant taunts, regard would be had of mens natures and diſpoſitions, for that ſome have broader backs to beare ſcoffs than others: and endeavour we muſt ſo to converſe with men both in bourd and earneſt, that wee offend no perſon, but be acceptable unto all.

Græcè, melius.

As for love, a paſſion very divers it is, and paſſing variable, as in all other things, ſo in jeſts and gibs eſpecially: for that ſome will take offence and be ſoone angry, others will be merry and laugh it out, if they be touched in that point; and therefore above all things the opportunity of the time would be well obſerved: for like as when a fire is newly kindled and but weake at the firſt, the winde will put it quite out, but when it hath gotten ſtrength & burneth forth, it maintaineth, feedeth, and augmenteth the flame: even ſo love, when it is a breeding, and whiles it lieth ſecret, and ſheweth not it ſelfe, quickly taketh diſpleaſure and offence againſt thoſe that diſcover it; but when it is once broken forth, and is made apparent and known to all, then nouriſhed it is, and taketh delight to be blown (as it were) and enflamed and more with ſcoffs and merry jeſts: and that which pleaſeth lovers beſt is this, when they be jeſted with, in the preſence of thoſe whom they love, and namely in love matters, otherwiſe not; and if the caſe ſtand ſo, that they be wonderfully enamoured upon their own wedded wives, or young ladds by the way of honeſt and vertuous love, then they joy exceedingly, they glory and take a pride, in being ſcoffed at for the love of them. Hereupon *Arceſilaus* being upon a time in his ſchool; when one of theſe profeſſed lovers and amorous perſons, chanced in communication, to give him theſe words: Me thinks that you have ſaid toucheth none of this company; replied thus and ſaid: No more then you are touched and moved; and withall, ſhewed him a faire & well favoured youth in the prime of his years ſitting by him. Furthermore, good regard and conſideration would be had, who they be that are preſent and in place, for otherwhiles, men are diſpoſed to take a laughter at merry words which they hear among friends and familiars, who would not take it well, but be offended thereat, if the ſame were delivered before wife, father, or ſchool-maſter, unleſs it were ſome thing that agreed very well with their humour: as for example, if one ſhould mock a companion of his before a Philoſopher, for going bare-footed, or ſitting up at his book all night long, ſtudying and writting: or in the preſence of his father for being thrifty, and ſpending little; or in the hearing of his own wife, that he cannot skill of courting and loving other dames, but is altogether devoted and ſerviceable unto her alone: thus *Tigranes* in *Xenophon*, was mocked by *Cyrus*, in theſe tearms, What and if your wife, ſhould hear ſay that you made a page of your ſelfe, and carried your bedding and other ſtuffe upon your own neck? ſhe ſhall not (quoth he) hear it, but be an eye witneſs thereof, and ſee it in her preſence. Furthermore, when they who give out ſuch merry taunts as theſe, be partakers therein, and in ſome ſort do include themſelves withall: leſſe-blame worthy thy are, and nothing ſo much to be reproved; as for example: when a poor man glaunceth againſt poverty, or a new upſtart and gentleman of the firſt head, againſt mean parentage, or an amorous perſon girdeth at the wantonneſs of another lover; for it may ſeem thereby, that there was no meaning and intent to offend or offer wrong, but that all was merrily ſpoken, ſeeing they participate in the like defects, for otherwiſe it might nip very much, and go too neer to the quick. Thus one of the affranchiſed or freed men of the emperour, grown upon a ſudden to be exceeding rich, bare himſelfe very proud, and diſdainfull to divers Philoſophers, who ſat at the table and ſupped together with him, inſulting very inſolently over them, and in the end comming out with this fooliſh queſtion: How it came to paſs that the broth or pottage made of beanes, whether they were black or white, looked green alike? *Aridices* one of the Philoſophers there in place, asked him preſently again, what the reaſon was, that the wales or marks of ſtripes and laſhes, were all red indifferently, whether the whippes were made of white or black leather thongs? at which reply, the other was ſo daſhed, and diſquieted, that he aroſe from the table in a pelting chafe and would not tarry. But *Amphias* of *Tarſis* (ſuppoſed to be no beter than a gardiners ſonne) having by way of ſcorn ſcoffed at one of the familiar friends of the lord depute there, for his mean birth, taking himſelfe immediatly with the manner: but why ſay I ſo? for wee (quoth he) are come of no better ſeeds; made the party and all the company to laugh heartily. Semblably, there was a minſtrell, or profeſſed muſician, who kindly and with a grace, repreſſed the preſumptuous curioſitie and unskilfullneſs of king *Philip*, who forgat himſelfe ſo much that he would needs read a lecture as it were unto miniſtrell, how he ſhould finger and ſtrike; finding fault with him in certaine accords of muſick: Ah, God forbid, (quoth he) my good liege lord that it ſhould go ſo hard with your grace, as to be more skilfull in this art than my ſelfe; for thus whiles he ſeemed

to

to mock himſelfe, he told the king of his fault without offence: and this ſeemeth to be a device that comicall poets otherwhiles practiſe, to allay the bitter gall of their quibs and taunts, namely, to ſcoff at themſelves, as *Ariſtophanes* uſed to make ſport with his own bald pate: and *Cratinus* noted himſelfe, that he loved wine to well, in that comedie which he entituled *Pytine*, that is to ſay, a bottle or flaggon of wine: but above all, this regard and conſideration would be had, that all ſuch ſcoffs and merry jeſts, come from a man *ex tempore*, and readily, either by way of anſwer to a preſent demand, or occaſioned upon ſome other ſudden ſcoff, and in no wiſe to ſeem far ſetch'd, as a thing premeditate and ſtudied on before: for like as men beare and endure with more patience, the anger and debates among themſelves, ariſing now & then at the table, whiles they be in the midſt of their cups; but if another ſtranger ſhould come in place, and offer abuſe to any of the gueſts, and ſo trouble the company, he ſhould be reputed an enemie, and for very hatred they would thruſt him out of doors by head and ſhoulders; even ſo, we can finde in our hearts, eaſily to pardon a ſcoff, a frump or broad jeſt; if it proceed from ſome matter, at the preſent delivery, or ſeem to come naturally, unforced and without all art; but in caſe it be not occaſioned preſently, nor reſpective to the purpoſe, but drawn (as one would ſay) violently by the haire of the head from elſewhere: then it reſembleth ſome ambuſh fore-laied afar off, for to wrong and do injurie to one perſon or other; like to that, jeſt of *Timagenes*, which he diſcharged upon the husband of a woman, who was wont ordinarily to caſt up her gorge, in this manner:

With muſick had you do begin,
Thus' vomiting to bring her in.

* πλὼ δὲ μοῦσαν ἐσάγων, which founde h all one with πλὼ δ' ἐμοῦσαν ἐσάγων that have far different ſence read according to the former, it ſignifieth muſick: afterthe latter, it betoketh vomiting. This equivocation in Greek, cauſeth it grace whit it, which I can not ſo aptly expreſs in Engliſh.

As alſo the demand propoſed unto the philoſopher *Athenodorus*, wherein the love of parents to their children, be * muſicall. For ſurely, ſuch unſeaſonable curs and taunts as theſe, not accommodate to time and place, nor fitted to the preſent occaſion, do bewray a malicious minde, and a deliberate purpoſe, to offer wrong and abuſe: and therefore ſuch perſons as delight in theſe biting girds, many times for a word, which is the lighteſt thing in the world, as *Plato* ſaith, have paied a moſt heavy and grievous price; whereas contrariwiſe, they that know to place their words in due time, in meet place, and aptly to the purpoſe, do verifie the teſtimony of the ſame *Plato*, who ſaith: That it is an aſſured ſigne of a mans good bringing up, and the point of liberall nurture and inſtruction, to know how to jeſt with a decent grace, and without the offence of any perſon.

THE SECOND QUESTION.

Why men be more hungry, and eat better in Autumne, than in any other quarter of the year?

IN the borough *Eleuſine*, after the ceremonies of ſacred myſteries were performed, when as the ſolemnity (celebrated with ſo frequent concourſe of people,) was at the higheſt, we were feaſted by *Glauſias* the orator in his houſe; where when others had made an end of ſupper, *Xenocles* his brother, began after his manner, to cavill and ſcoff at my brother *Lamprias*, twitting him with his large feeding, and indeed hitting in his teeth and reproaching him with the voracity of the Bœotians, who are taken to be good trencher-men: whereupon, I (in the defence of my brother, and to be revenged of *Xenocles*) tooke occaſion out of the doctrine of *Epicurus*, and ſaid unto him: What (good ſir) all men do not define and determine the utmoſt point and perfection of pleaſure, to be indolence or the privation of paine, as your good maſter *Epicurus* doth: and beſides, my brother *Lamprias*, who honoureth and eſteemeth more the walking galleries of the Peripateticks, and the ſchool of the Stoicks, called *Lyceum*, than hedoth the garden of *Epicurus*, muſt of neceſſity and in effect, beare witneſſe to *Ariſtotle*, who affirmeth: That there is no man, but he eateth more in Autumne, than in any other ſeaſon of the year: and a reaſon he giveth thereof, although it be now out of my head. So much the better (quoth *Glaucias*) for we our ſelves will ſee if we can finde it out after ſupper is done. Now when the tables were taken away, *Glaucias* and *Xenocles* both, imputed the cauſe thereof to the ſundry fruits of that ſeaſon, and that after a divers ſort. For one ſaid, that new fruits do make the belly ſoluble, and ſo by evacuation of the body, engender always freſh appetites them to meat. The other, to wit, *Xenocles*, affirmed, that theſe fruits (for the moſt part) carry with them a certaine piercing and mordicant quality, yet pleaſant withall, whereby they provoke and quicken the ſtomack to appetite, more than any viands or ſauces whatſoever; inſomuch as thoſe who be ſickly, and have loſt their ſtomacks, recover the ſame many times, by eating ſome of thoſe fruits new gathered. But *Lamprias* alledged, that our familiar and naturall heat, by which we are nouriſhed in Summer time, is diſperſed, and becommeth more feeble and reſolved: but contrariwiſe, upon the entrance of Autumne, it gathereth to it ſelfe inwardly againe, and is fortified by the means of the cold ambient aire, which knitteth, conſtreineth, and cloſeth up the pores of the body. Then I (becauſe it ſhould not be thought that I would be one to participate in this conference without contributing ſomewhat of mine own, when my courſe came

ſome read φυσικὴ, that is to ſay, naturall. How ever it be, you muſt underſtand it of wanton love, which is neither naturall, nor harmonical. For this Athenodorus was noted for inceſt with one of his daughters.

came to ſpeak) declared, that, in Summer time, by reaſon of the exceſſive heat of the weather, we are more thirſty, and in regard of the ſame heat and drought, take in more moiſture and liquid nouriſhment: Now therefore nature (quoth I) by reaſon of the change of the aire and the ſeaſon, ſeeking (as her manner is) for the contrary, cauſeth us to be more hungry in Autumne, than at other times, and for the temperature of the body, rendereth unto it as much drie food, as it had taken moiſture in ſummer time: and yet a man cannot well ſay, that the cauſe of this effect dependeth nothing at all of the viands which we eat, conſiſting much of new and freſh fruits, not only thick gruels and portage, but alſo of pulſe, wheat-bread and fleſh, reared the ſame year, which being more lavory than thoſe of the years paſt, do by conſequence provoke thoſe that uſe to feed upon them, for to eat better.

THE THIRD QUESTION.

Whether was before, The hen or the egge?

THis long time I abſteined from eating eggs, by reaſon of a certeine dream which I had, being desirous to make that experience in an egge, which is made in ath heart, by occaſion of a vinon which hath evidently appeared unto me many times in my ſleepe. And thereupon, when I was one day at a feaſt which *Soſſius Senecio* made unto us, the company conceived an opinion or ſuſpicion of me, that there were entred into my head, the fantaſies and ſuperſtitions of *Orpheus* and *Pythagoras*: and that I abhorred to eat an egge, like as many do forbeare the heart and the braine of a living creature, for that I believed it to be the principle and fountain of generation: inſomuch as *Alexander* the Epicurean, by way of a jeſt, and to move laughter, alledged theſe verſes:

* κυάμους

I counſell all one, to make of beans, our meals,
As if the heads of parents we did eat.

As who would ſay, that the Epicureans by this word κυάμους, that is to ſay, beans, meant enigmatically and covertly, eggs; becauſe that the breeding of young, or conception, in Greeke, is called κύησις, as if there were no difference at all, but they thought it all one to eat eggs and the living creatures which lay them. Now if I had alledged my dream unto them, for my defence, as the very cauſe of mine abſtinence, certes, mine anſwer would have ſeemed more abſurd and ridiculous, than the dreame it ſelfe, eſpecially, unto this Epicurean, and therefore I ſtood not greatly upon excuſing of my ſelfe unto the ſaid *Alexander*, playing upon me ſo merrily, but ſuffered him to feed and maintaine that opinion conceived of me: for ſurely, a pleaſant man he was, honeſt, civill, and well learned. Howbeit, he tooke occaſion hereupon, to ſet on foot that doubtfull queſtion of the egge and the bird, which had buſied and amuzed the heads ſo much of great naturaliſts, and ſearchers into the cauſes of naturall works, and namely to know, whether of the twain was before: Whereat *Sylla* our familiar friend ſaid: That with this little queſtion of the hen and the egge, as with a ſmall lever, ſcrew, or ſuch like engine, we ſhaked the great frame and weighty fabricke of the generation of the whole world, and therfore willed him to ſurceaſe and proceed no farther, to ſpeak thereof. But when *Alexander* laughed at it, and made no more reckoning of it, than of a ridiculous queſtion of no importance, nor conſequence at all depending thereof: my ſonne in law *Firmus* began in this wiſe: I muſt here borrow (quoth he) the indiviſible elements of *Epicurus*, and make uſe of thoſe motes or atomy of his: for if it be true which he ſuppoſeth and laieth for a ground: That ſmall principles ſhould afford beginning to great bodies; it ſoundeth by all likelihood to great reaſon, that the egge was before the hen: for as far forth as by our ſenſes we are able to judge, it is more ſimple, whereas the hen is a body mixt and compounded; and to ſpeake in generality, the principle or element is ever firſt: the ſeed is a principle, and the egge full of ſeed, and leſs than the chick or living creature that is hatched of it: for like as the progreſs and proceeding unto vertue is of a middle nature, between the firſt diſpoſition and the finall habit and perfection thereof, even ſo it ſhould ſeem, that the egge is a certaine progreſs and advancement forward of nature, tending to make a living creature of the ſeed diſpoſed thereto: moreover, as in a beaſt or ſuch a living creature it is commonly ſaid and received, that the arteries and veines be formed firſt; ſemblably, good reaſon there is to hold that the egge was before the bird, as the continent before the thing conteined within: for ſo it is with very arts, which make the firſt draught of their works groſſly without forme and faſhion; but afterwards give diſtinct figure and ſhape to every part thereof, according to that which *Polycletus* the famous imager was wont to ſay: That their workemanſhip in poetry was then moſt difficult and hard, when the clay and the finger naile met together: that is to ſay, when the worke was at the point to be finiſhed: and therefore it ſtandeth well to good reaſon, that the matter yeelding and obeying but ſlowly unto nature at the beginning, when ſhe moveth and frameth by little and little, produceth at the firſt, rude lumps and maſſes, not as yet brought into ſhape and faſhion, ſuch as eggs be; but as the ſame grow to receive the impreſſion of ſome forme there is afterwards wrought out and framed a living creature within: for like as there is ingendered firſt a grub, which in time growing hard by reaſon of drineſs, cleaveth and openeth in the end, and putteth forth another little winged flie, which we call *Nympha*, before it is a perfect bee; after the ſame manner, the eggehere is the firſt ſubſiſtent matter of generation;

for

for neceſſary it is, that in every change and tranſmutation, that muſt precede and have a beginning firſt which is to be altered & turned into another: ſee you not how cankers & caterpillers are bred in trees, and wormes in wood, either by the putrefaction, or concoction of humidity? and will any man deny that the ſaid moiſture went before: and that by order of nature, that which ingendereth is more ancient than that which is ingendered? for as *Plato* ſaith: The matter in all things that breed, ſerveth in ſtead of mother or nurſe: and that is to be counted the matter, whereof the thing is compoſed and conſiſteth which is bred. And now for that which remaineth (quoth he, and therewith he laughed) I will ſing unto thoſe that be skilfull and of underſtanding, one holy and ſacred ſentence, taken out of the deepe ſecrets of *Orpheus*, which not only importeth thus much; that the egge was before the hen, but alſo attributeth and adjudgeth unto it, the right of elderſhip and priority of all things in the world: as for the reſt, let them remain unſpoken of in ſilence (as *Herodotus* ſaith) for that they be exceeding divine and myſticall; this only I will ſpeak by the way: That the world conteining as it doth, ſo many ſorts and ſundry kinds of living creatures, there is not in manner one I dare well ſay, exempt from being ingendered of an egge, for the egge bringeth forth birds and foules that flie; fiſhes an infinite number that ſwim; land creatures, as lizards; ſuch as live both on land and water, as crokodiles; thoſe that be two footed, as the bird; ſuch as are footleſs, as the ſerpent; and laſt of all, them which have many feet, as the unwinged locuſt. Now without great reaſon therefore is it conſecrated to the ſacred ceremonies and myſteries of *Bacchus*, as repreſenting that nature which produceth and comprehendeth in it ſelfe all things.

When *Firmus* had diſcourſed in this wiſe, *Senecio* oppoſed himſelfe and ſaid: That the laſt ſimilitude and compariſon which he brought, was that, which firſt and principally made againſt him: For you mark not, O *Firmus* (quoth he) how ere you were aware, you opened the world like a gate, as the proverb ſaith, even upon your ſelfe; for that the world was before all other things, as being moſt perfect, and reaſon would, that whatſoever is perfect, ſhould precede the unperfect; the entire and ſound go before that which is wanting and defective; and the whole before the part, for that there can be no parcell, but the whole thereof went before: for no man uſeth to ſpeak thus: The ſeeds-man, or the eggs hen; but contrariwiſe we ſay: The mans ſeed, and the hens egge, as if both generative ſeed and egge did ſucceed and follow them, taking their own generation in them firſt, and afterwards paying again (as it were a debt unto nature) a ſucceſſive generation from them: for need they have of that which is proper and familiar unto them, and thereupon are endued with a naturall deſire and inclination to produce ſuch another thing as that was from whence they came: and hereupon it is, that ſeed is thus defined, to be a geniture or thing bred, having need and deſire of new generation. Now there is nothing that either ſtandeth in need or hath an appetite to that which is not, or hath no being: and we may plainly ſee, that eggs have their totall eſſence and ſubſtance from that compact knot & compoſition which is gathered within the body of a living creature: & faileth herein only, that it hath not ſuch organs, inſtruments, and veſſels as they have: which is the reaſon that you ſhall never finde written in any hiſtory, that an egge was engendered immediatly of the earth; for even the poets themſelves do ſay: That the egge out of which ſprang *Caſtor* and *Pollux*, fell from heaven; whereas the earth even at this day produceth many compleat and perfect creatures: as for example, mice in *Aegypt*, and in many other places, ſerpents froggs, and graſſhoppers, by reaſon that the principle and puiſſance generative, is infuſed and inſerted into it from without. In *Sicily* during the time of the Servile war, much carnage there was & a great quantity of bloud ſhed and ſpilt upon the earth, many dead bodies corrupted and putrified above the ground, lying unburied; by occaſion whereof, an infinite number of locuſts were engendered, which being ſpred over the face of the whole iſland, ſpoiled and deſtroyed all the corne in the countrey: all theſe creatures therefore are bred and fed of the earth; and of their nouriſhment they yeeld a generall ſuperfluity, apt to ingender the ſame kind, and that is called, ſeed; and for to be diſtinguished thereof, by means of a certain mutuall pleaſure, the male and the female match and couple together: and ſo ſome according to their nature, breed and lay eggs; others bring forth young ones alive; whereby it is evidently ſeen, that the primitive generation came firſt and immediatly from the earth, but afterwards, by a certain conjunction of with another, in a ſecond ſort, they breed their young. In ſumme, to ſay that the egge was before the hen, is as much as if the matrice was before the woman; for looke what relation there is between the ſaid matrice and the egge, the ſemblable hath the egge unto the chicken that is ingendered and hatched within it. So that, to demand how birds were made when there were no eggs, is all one, as to aske how men and women were created, before the naturall parts and generall members of the one ſex and the other were made? And verily the members for the moſt part, have their ſubſiſtence and being together with the whole: but the powers and faculties come after thoſe members: the functions ſucceed the faculties, and conſequently, the effects or complements follow upon the ſaid functions and operation: now the accompliſhed work or prefection of that generative faculty in the naturall parts, is the ſeed or the egge: ſo that we muſt of neceſſity conſeſs, that they be, after the generation of the whole. Conſider moreover, that, as it is not poſſible that there ſhould be concoction of meats or any nouriſhment, before the living creatur be fully made and compleat, no more can there be any ſeed or egge; for that both the one and the other, is made by certain concoctions and alterations: neither is it ſeen, how before the full perfection of a living creature, there ſhould be any thing that hath the nature of the ſuperfluity or excrement of nutrition; and yet I muſt needs

needs ſay, that naturall ſeed otherwiſe, in ſome ſort, may go for the principle and beginning of life; whereas the egge in no proportion anſwereth to ſuch a principle, for that it hath not a ſubſiſtence firſt, nor any reaſon or nature of the whole, becauſe it is imperfect. And hereupon it is, that we never ſay, that a living creature had any being or ſubſiſtence, without an elementary beginning: but we affirm, that there was a principle of generation, to wit, the power or faculty generative, by which the matter was traanſmuted, and wherein there was imprinted a generall temperature; and that the egge afterwards, is as it were a certaine ſupergeneration, much like unto the bloud and milk of a living creature, after nouriſhment and concoction: for never ſhall you ſee an egge engendred of mud; for that an egge hath a generation and concretion within the body only of a living creature; whereas there be an innumerable ſort of creatures procreated and bred of mud and within mud. And to ſeeke no further for allegation of other examples to prove this, there be taken every day an infinite number of eeles, and yet never ſaw any man one eele, either milter or ſpawner, or that had any row in it. And more than that, if one let out all the water forth out of the poole, and cleanſe it from all mud and mire, yet after the water is returned thither again into the place, there will be eeles ſoone ingendred. And therefore we may conclude neceſſarily, that whatſoever in generation hath need of another, can not chuſe but be after it; and that which otherwiſe may be of it ſelfe, and without the other, muſt of neceſſity precede and go before in generation: for this is that priority whereof I ſpeak. To prove this, mark how birds do build and make their neſts before they lay eggs; women alſo provide cradles, clouts, beds, and ſwadling-cloths for their little babes, before they cry out, or be delivered; and yet you will not ſay (I trow) that either the neſt was before the egge, or the ſwadling-cloth before the infant. For (as *Plato* ſaith) the earth doth not imitate a woman, but a woman the earth; and conſequently, all other ſemals. And very like it is, that the firſt procreation out of the earth, was performed intire, and accompliſhed by the abſolute vertue and perfection of the Creator, without need of ſuch inſtruments, veſſels, or ſecondines, which nature deviſeth now and frameth in parents, by reaſon of their imbecillity and weakneſs.

THE FOURTH QUESTION.

Whether Wreſtling were of all the exerciſes and games of prize, moſt ancient or no?

WE made a feaſt in the honour of *Soficles* the Coronean, for joy of the victory which he obtained at the Pythick games, over all other Poets. And when the time drew neer at hand, wherein the Gymnick maſteries and feats of vanity, were to be performed; the greateſt talk was at the table, as touching the wreſtlers; for that many of them reſorted thither, and thoſe the moſt renowned champions of all *Greece*. In our company was *Lyſimachus*, one of the agents or procuratours of the high commiſſioners, called *Amphictyones*, who moved ſpeech, and ſaid; how not long before, he heard a Grammarian ſay: That wreſtling was the moſt ancient combat of all thoſe exerciſes that were named Gymnick, for that they were performed by men naked; and he added moreover, That the very name thereof in Greek, imported no leſs; for πάλη, alludeth neer unto πάλαι, which is as much as [of old] or [in times paſt.] And it may ſeem (quoth he) that ordinarily, the things that be moderne and newly deviſed, borrow the names impoſed upon thoſe that be of more antiquity: for ſo we ſay that αὐλήματα, that is to ſay, the ſluit or hautboies, is turned, borrowing the tearm of ναυλὴ, which is a ſaltery or ſtringed inſtrument: and we call even at this day, αὐλήματα, *i.e.* the playing upon the pipe or hautboies, by the name of κρούματα, that is to ſay ſtriking with the fingers, which no doubt is a tearme fetched from the harp or lute. And even ſo, the very place whre they do exerciſe, who performe all feats and activity naked is named πάλαιστρα of πάλη, that is to ſay, wreſtling; which (no doubt) was a denomination given to it at the firſt, and time out of mind, whoſoever it be retained ſtill, and extendeth to other exerciſes invented ſince, and taken up along after. Then began I, and ſaid: That this argument and teſtimony, was not ſufficient to conclude thereupon: For admit (quoth I) that *Palæſtra* was derived of πάλη, which ſignifieth wreſtling, yet it was not becauſe of all others it was moſt ancient, but for that it is the only exerciſe that requireth cley, called πηλὸς, duſt alſo and *ceroma*, which is a compoſition of oile and wax, wherewith wreſtlers be anointed. For ſurely, in theſe places, called *Palæſtræ*, there is practiſed neither running a race, nor fiſt-fight or combat with buffets, but only wreſtling, called πάλη, and *Pancration*, wherein they go to it with hand and foot, yea, and by the very teeth and all: for that in theſe two exerciſes, the champions lie along other-whiles, and wallow in the duſt and mire, named πηλὸς. And evident it is, that *Pancration* is a mixt exerciſe of wreſtling and fiſt-fight. Again: What likelyhood or reaſon is there (quoth I) that wreſtling, which of all combats is moſt witty and artificiall, ſhould likewiſe be of greateſt antiquity? for need and neceſſity produceth that firſt, which is ſimple, plaine, and without art; performed rather by fine force and maine violence, than by rule and method. When I had thus delivered my conceit, *Soficles* ſeconding my words: True it is (quoth he) that you ſay, and the better to confirme your opinion; it ſeemeth unto me, that πάλη is derived of the verbe παλεύειν, that is to ſay, to overthrow or lay one along by craft and deceit. Nay rather (quoth *Philinus*) it tooke the name of παλαιστὴς, that is to ſay, the flat palme of the hand, becauſe this part eſpecially of both the hands is moſt employed by them that wreſtle: like as thoſe, who go to buffets, uſe their two fiſts or hands clutched together; wherupon, that maner of fight is call'd πύγμη, that

that ſignifieth,a fiſt: and the other, πάλαμη of παλαιειν, that is to ſay,the broad palme of the hand. Howbeit, foraſmuch as the poets uſe this verbe παλλειν, for συμπαίειν, and παίειν that is, to ſtrew and ſprinckle duſt, which we ſee wreſtlers for to practiſe more than any other champions,it may be very well, that the word πάλη, was derived from παλλειν. Conſider yet moreover (quoth he) how the curriers or runners in a race, do all that lies in them, to leave their concurrents a great way behind, & be as far before them as poſſibly they can: thoſe alſo that fight at buffets,though other-whiles they be very deſirous to buckle and cloſe together, yet the wardens and judges of the games will not permit them once to catch hold: but we ſee that wreſtlers only do claſp about, and imbrace one another with their armes; and the moſt part of their ſtriving one againſt another, whether it be performed by taking hold either directly or indirectly, by tripping, by coping and tugging, do all bring them together, and enterlace them: ſo that it is not unlike, that by reaſon they approach ſo as they do, and be neereſt one to another, their wreſtling was firſt called πάλη, of πέλας, which ſignifieth neer at hand.

THE FIFTH QUESTION.

What is the reaſon that Homer *among the combats of prize, ſetteth alwayes in the firſt place The fight at buffets; in the ſecond, wreſtling; and laſt of all, running the race?*

WHen theſe words had paſſed to and fro, and after that we had commended *Philinus*, *Lyſimachus* began again,ſaying: And which of all the games of prize ſhould a man ſay was firſt performed? The race or carriere, as at the Olympique ſolemnities: for here at the Pythique games, the manner is to bring in certaine champions ate-very ſeverall game or play: firſt boies to wreſtle, and after them men-wreſtlers alſo; then thoſe that performe fiſt-fight,one after another;and likewiſe the champions called *Pancratiaſtæ*: but there, after that children have atchieved all their combats, the men grown were called in. Mary, this I would have you to conſider well(quoth he) whether *Homer* hath not done very expreſly,to ſhew the order which was obſerved in his time? for alwayes in his poems the fight with fiſt among all the Gymnick combats,ſtandeth firſt: wreſtling ſecond: and the running of a courſe laſt: Hereat *Crates* the Theſſalian, wondring (as if he had beene amazed) O *Hercules* (quoth he) what a number of things are we ignorant of! but I beſeech you, that if you have readily under your hand any of his veries, you would not think much to call them to our remembrance, and recite them: Why (quoth *Timon* then) it is well known in manner to all the world, and none there is but his ears reſound again with this:that in the honourable funerals of *Patroclus*,the ſame order of combats was preciſely obſerved:and the poet keeping the ſame order ſtill,and never miſſing it, hath brought in *Achilles* ſpeaking unto good *Neſtor* in this maner:

Here father old, I give to thee
This gift of meer gratuitee:
For now with fiſt thou maiſt not fight:
To wreſtle ſtill thou haſt no might:
Thou canſt no more the javelin launce,
Nor in the race thy ſelfe advance.

And anon he inferreth the aged grey-beard, anſwering with a long traine of words,as the manner is of theſe old folke, after this ſort:

The time was when at buffet fight,
the prize I won in field,
And with my fiſt made Clitomede
ſir Oenops *ſon, to yeeld:*
Ancæus *the Pleuronien*
in wreſtling gave me place,
And Iphiclus *by foot-manſhip,*
I over-ran in race.

Afterwards in another place he ſpeaketh of *Ulyſſes*,challenging the Phæocians to combat in this wiſe

At buffets dry with good hard clutched fiſt,
At wreſtling, or at running, if you liſt.

But of *Alcinous* making a kinde of excuſe, and in a ſort condemning himſelfe, in theſe words:

At buffets hard we fight not well,
Ne yet in wreſtling do excell:
But ſwift of foot, and light we are,
And run a courſe with you we dare.

Thus you may ſee his order, he changeth not upon any occaſion or occurrence preſented, neither raſhly, and as it came into his head, now in one ſort, and then in another; but following from point to point,as it were by a certeine rule and preſcript. what was the uſe in thoſe dayes,and what was done then: he keepeth himſelfe to the ſame method, according as they likewiſe obſerve ſtill in the ſaid ancient order. After that my brother had finiſhed his ſpeech, I ſaid: That in mine advice he had ſpoken very well and truly to the point; but yet for all that, I could not conceive the reaſon of the ſaid order: and ſome other were there preſent, who thought it unlikely, and were not perſwaded that in caſe of combat and atchieving feats of activity for victory, either fighting with fiſts, or wreſtling, ſhould go before running; and therefore they requeſted me to ſearch farther into the matter, and to fetch the reaſon thereof from the very original: whereupon I ſet in hand preſently, and *ex tempore*, ſpake to this effect: That I thought all theſe combats to be the very repreſentations and exerciſes of warfare; for proofe whereof, the cuſtome was and is at this day, after that theſe combats be performed, to bring into the place a foot man in compleat harneſs,and armed at all pieces, as it were to witneſſe, that this is the end whereunto tend all theſe exerciſes of the body, the contentions alſo and emulations, for to gain the prize, and the priviledges granted to the victors when they returned with triumph to thoſe Cities where they were born; namely, to make ſome breach in the walls, and to throw down ſome part thereof: the myſtery and meaning wher of is thus much:that the walls of a City ſerve in ſmal ſtead,if there be no men in it who are able to fight,& know how to win the victory. In *Lacedæmon* they that once had gained the prize at theſe ſacred and crowned games, by a ſpecial priviledge of honour, were allowed a certain place in the battel, to be ranged neer unto the Kings perſon, and there to fight: and of all living creatures,there is none but the horſe onely that can obtain the crown in ſuch games: for that he alone of all beaſts, is by nature framed, and by diſcipline trained to accompany men in battels, and with them to fight: now if this be true, and to the purpoſe: We obſerve moreover (quoth I) that the firſt and principal work of thoſe who fight in the field, is to ſtrike the enemy, and to ward his blows: the ſecond is, when they be come to cloſe and to grapple with hand-gripes, to thruſt and aſſay how to overturne and lay one another under foot: which by report was the vantage, that our countrey-men being well practiſed in the feat of wreſtling, had over the Spartans, at the battel of *Leuctres*, whereby they overthrew them,and bare them to the ground: this alſo was the cauſe that *Æſchylus* the Poet in one place, ſpeaking of a valiant warriour, nameth him:

A wreſtler ſtout, and tried in field,
To fight it out with ſword and ſhield.

And *Sophocles* in one of his Tragedies ſpeaking likewiſe of the Trojans, reporteth thus much of them in theſe tearms:

They love great horſes for to ſit,
as valiant men at arms:
Bows horned at both ends they bend,
and draw with ſtrength of arms:
They fight ſo cloſe, they catch ſuch hold,
and gripe faſt with hands twain,
That in their wreſtling, all their ſhields
reſound and ring again.

The third is this, when all is done, either to flie and run away apace, if they be vanquiſhed, or elſe to follow hard in chaſe, if they be conquerors. By good right therefore, the fight with fiſts goeth firſt: wreſtling followeth in the ſecond place: and running cometh in the laſt: for that buffetting repreſenteth the charging of the enemy, and the avoiding of his recharge: wreſtling may be compared with the violent buckling and conflict pell-mell in the medly; and by running they learn how to purſue, or to eſcape by good footmanſhip.

THE SIXTH QUESTION.

Why the Pine, Sapine, or Pitch tree, and ſuch other as yeeld Roſin, will not abide to be graffed in the ſcutchion, or by way of inoculation.

Soclarus feaſting us upon a time within his Orchards, which were well watered, and environed all about with the river *Cephiſus*, ſhewed unto us trees carrying arms and branches of ſundry ſorts, after a very ſtrange manner, and all by the means of a kind of graffing in the bud, called inoculation: for there ſaw we Olive boughs growing out of Lentiſk or Maſtick trees; Pomgranats out of Myrtles; Oakes there were which put forth fair Pirries or Pear trees; and Plane trees that admitted and adopted Apple trees; Fig trees alſo which were graffed with Mulberry, Imps, and Cions; other mixtures there were beſides of wild plants, ſo tamed and made gentle, that they bare fruit: whereupon ſome other of the gueſts began to jeſt and be merry with *Soclarus*, ſaying, That he nouriſhed certain kinds of beaſts, more monſtrous then the fabulous Sphinges or Chimæraes of the Poets. But *Craton* propoſed this queſtion: What the cauſe might be, that thoſe trees onely which bee Oylous and full of Roſin, admit not any ſuch mixtures and compoſitions? For never ſhall you ſee Pine tree that beareth the Nuts, Cypres tree, Pitch tree, or Sapine, to maintain or feed the graff of a tree different in kind. Then *Philo*, there is (quoth he) one maxime or principle held among the learned, and the ſame confirmed by the experience of husbandmen: That oyl is an enemy to all plants; and there is not a readier way to kill what tree ſoever a man will, then to rub or beſmeare it with oyl; like as Bees alſo by that means are ſoon deſtroyed: ſo it is therefore, that all thoſe trees which have been named, are of a fatty ſubſtance, and have a ſoft and unctious nature, inſomuch as there diſtilleth & droppeth from them Pitch and Roſin: and if a man make a gaſh or inciſion in any of them, they yeeld from within, a certain bloody liquor or gum, yea, and there iſſueth from the

torch ſtaves made of them, an oylous humor, which ſhineth again, becauſe they are ſo fatty and unguinous: This is the reaſon why they will not joyn and be concorporate with other trees, no more then oyl it ſelfe be mingled with other liquors. When *Philo* had done with his ſpeech, *Craco* added thus much moreover: That in his opinion, the nature of their rinde or bark, made ſome-what for the ſaid matter: for the ſame being thin and dry withal, yeeldeth neither aſure ſeat and ſocket as it were to the imps or buds with their eyes to reſt in, nor means to get ſap and nutriment for to incorporate them: like as alſo thoſe plants which have barks very tender, moiſt & ſoft, wherby the graffs may be claſped, united, and ſoddered with thoſe parts that be under the ſaid bark. Then *Soclarus* himſelfe ſaid: That whoſoever made theſe reaſons was in the right, and not deceived in his opinion: to think it neceſſary that the thing which is to receive another nature, ſhould be pliable and eaſie to follow every way: to the end, that ſuffering it ſelfe to be tamed and overcome, it might become of like nature, and turn the own proper nutriment, into that which is ſet and graffed in it. Thus you ſee, how before we ſow or plant, we eare and turn the earth, making it gentle, ſoft, and ſupple, that being in this manner wrought to our hand, and made tractable, it may be more willing to apply it ſelfe, for to embrace in her boſome whatſoever is either ſowen or planted: for contrariwiſe, a ground which is rough, ſtubborn, and tough, hardly will admit alteration: theſe trees therefore conſiſting of a light kind of wood, becauſe they are unapt to be changed and overcome, will admit no concorporation with others: and moreover (quoth he) evident it is, that the ſtock in reſpect of that which is ſet and graffed into it, ought to have the nature of a ground which is tilled; now it is well known, that the earth muſt be of a female conſtitution, apt to conceive and bear; which is the cauſe that we make choice of thoſe trees for our ſtocks to graff upon, which are moſt fruitful; like as we chuſe good milch women that have plenty of milk in their breſts, for to be nurſes for other children beſides their own, who we put unto them: but we ſee plainly, that the Cypreſs tree, the Sapine, and all ſuch like, be either barren altogether, or elſe bear very little fruit: and like as men and women both who are exceeding corpulent, groſſe and fat, are for the moſt part unable either to get or bear children; for ſpending all their nouriſhment as they do in feeding the body, they convert no ſuperfluity thereof into genital ſeed: even ſo, theſe trees imploying all the ſubſtance of their nurture to fatten, as it were, themſelves, grow indeed to be very thick and great; but either they bear no fruit at all, or if they do, the ſame is very ſmall, and long ere it come to maturity and perfection: no marvel therefore that a ſtranger will not breed or grow there, whereas the own natural iſſue thriveth but badly.

THE SEVENTH QUESTION.

Of the ſtay-ſhip-fiſh, Echeneis.

Charemonianus the Trallien, upon a time when divers and ſundry ſmall fiſhes of all ſorts were ſet before us, ſhewed unto us one with a long head, and the ſame ſharp pointed, and told us that it reſembled very much the ſtay-ſhip-fiſh, called thereupon in Greek *Echeneis*, and he reported moreover, that he had ſeen the ſaid fiſh, as he ſailed upon the Sicilian ſea, and marvelled not a little at the natural force and property that it had, ſo ſenſible in ſome ſort to ſtay and hinder the courſe of a ſhip under ſail, until ſuch time as the Marriner who had the government of the Prow or Foredeck, eſpied it ſticking cloſe to the outſide of the ſhip. Upon the relation of this ſtrange occurrent, ſome there were in place at that time, who laughed at *Charemonianus* for that this tale and fiction, deviſed for the nonce to make folk merry, and which was incredible, went currant with him, and was taken for good payment: again, others there were who ſpake very much in the defence of the hidden properties, and ſecret antipathies, or contrarieties in nature. There you ſhould have heard many other ſtrange paſſions and accidents; to wit, that an Elephant being enraged and ſtark mad, becommeth appeaſed immediately, upon the ſight of a Ram; alſo, that if a man hold a branch or twig of a Beech tree cloſe unto a Viper, and touch her therewith never ſo little, ſhe will preſently ſtay and ſtir no farther: likewiſe that a wild Bull, how wood and furious ſoever he be, will ſtand gently and be quiet, in caſe he be tied to a Fig tree; ſemblably, that Amber doth remove and draw unto it all things that be dry and light withal, ſave only the herb Baſil, and whatſoever is beſmeared with Oyl; *Item*, that the Magnet or Lode-ſtone, will no more draw Iron, when it is rubbed over with Garlick: the proof and experience of which effects, is well known, but the cauſes thereof difficult, if not impoſſible to be found out. But I for my part, ſaid: That this was rather a ſhift and evaſion, to avoid a direct anſwer unto the queſtion propounded, then the allegation of a true cauſe pertinent thereto; for we dayly ſee that there be many events and accidents concurring, reputed for cauſes, and yet be none; as for example, if one ſhould ſay or beleeve, that the blowming of the Withy called Chaſt-tree, cauſeth Grapes to ripen, becauſe there is a common word in every mans mouth,

Lo how the chaſte trees now do flower,
And grapes wax ripe even at one hour.

or that by reaſon of the fungous matter ſeen to gather about the candle-ſnuffs or lamp-weeks, the air is troubled, and the ſkie overcaſt; or that the hooking inwardly of the nailes upon the fingers, is

is the cauſe, and not an accident, of the ulcer of the Lungs or ſome noble part within, which breedeth a conſumption. Like as therefore, every one of theſe particulars alledged, is a conſequent of divers accidents, proceeding all from the ſame cauſes; even ſo I am of this mind (quoth I) that one and the ſame cauſe, ſtayeth the ſhip, and draweth the little fiſh *Echeneis* to ſtick unto the ſide thereof: for ſo long as the ſhip is dry, or not overcharged with moiſture ſoaking into it, it ſtands with great reaſon that the keele glideth more ſmoothly away, by reaſon of the lightneſſe thereof, and curreth merrily thorow the waves, which yeeld and give way willingly unto it, all the while it is clean and void of filth: but after once (by being long drenched and ſoaked in the water, it hath gotten about the keele a deal of moſſe, reits, kilpe, and tangle, wherewith it is overgrown and furred; then the wood of the ſaid keele or bottom, becometh more dull, and not able to cut the waves ſo eaſily: and the water beating upon the moſſe and filth there engendered, reſteth there ſtill, and paſſeth not ſo eaſily away. The marriners therefore, ſeeing this, uſe to cleanſe the ſides of the ſhip, and to ſcrape off this moſſe, reits, and ſuch like baggage, from the planks and ribs thereof, unto which it is like that the ſaid fiſh willingly cleaveth, as being a matter ſoft and tender: ſo that we may very well think, that by reaſon of it, as the principal cauſe the ſhip is ſtayed, and that it is not a conſequent or acceſſory of that which cauſeth the flowneſſe thereof.

THE EIGHTH QUESTION.

What is the cauſe that the horſes named Lycoſpades, be more courageous, and fuller of ſtomack then others?

SOme are of opinion, that theſe horſes Lycoſpades took their denomination of certain rough and hard bits, called in Greek, λύκοι, by means whereof, being ſo ſtomachful otherwiſe, and hard to be ruled, they were wont to be tamed and reſtrained: but my father, who was not a man ſo prompt and ready of ſpeech as others be, and given to ſpeak raſhly, and without adviſement, howbeit one who had not the leſt skill in horſemanſhip, and loved always to keep the beſt horſes that might be come by, ſaid: That thoſe horſes (which being but colts) were ſet upon and aſſaulted by Wolves, and yet reſcued, and eſcaped the danger of them, proved good mettle, and ſwift of pace; and thereupon were named Lycoſpades. And for that many approved this reaſon of his, and gave teſtimony with him that he ſpake a truth, occaſion was miniſtred thereby, to ſearch into the cauſe thereof; and namely, how and by what reaſon ſuch an accident as this might make horſes more generous and better ſpirited; and verily, the moſt part of the company there preſent, were of opinion, that the ſaid occurrent bred cowardiſe in horſes, rather then ſtomack and generoſity; and ſo, by reaſon that they became timorous thereby, and apt to be frighted upon every occaſion, therefore their motions were more quick and lively; like as other wild beaſts alſo, when they chance to be entangled within net and toile: but I my ſelfe inferred, and ſaid: That it would be well and thorowly conſidered, whether it were not clean contrary to that which appeared at the firſt ſight, and which they opined: for colts become not more ſwift and fleet of foot for avoiding the peril of being worried and devoured by wolves that ſet upon them, but rather, if they had not been nimble and full of courage before naturally, they could never have gotten away cleer, as they did, from the wolfe: no more then *Ulyſſes* proved a wiſe man, becauſe he avoided the danger of that Giant *Cyclops Polyphemus*: but for that he was by nature prudent and wile, he found means to ſave himſelfe.

THE NINTH QUESTION.

What is the cauſe that the fleſh of thoſe ſheep which have been wolfe-bitten, is tenderer, but their wooll more ſubject to breed lice and vermin, then others?

VPon the former diſcourſe of horſes, inferred there was a ſpeech alſo, concerning ſheep that had been bitten by the wolfe; for that it is a received opinion, that this biting of theirs maketh their fleſh more delicate in the eating, but their wool apt to engender lice. As for the reaſon that my ſon in Law *Patrocles* yeelded, as touching the ſweetneſſe of their fleſh, it ſeemed to be true: for thus he argued: That this beaſt by means of his biting, cauſed the fleſh to eat more ſhort and tender, for that his breath is ſo ardent and fiery hot, that it is able to reſolve and digeſt within his ſtomach, the hardeſt bones that be; which is the reaſon (quoth he) that ſuch fleſh as the wolf hath bitten, is ſooner mortified and doth putrifie more quickly then others: marry for the wooll we were not ſo well reſolved, as ſuppoſing that the ſame did not breed lice, but rather draw them forth; & let them out to be ſeen by a certain inciſive or abſterſive faculty that it hath: as alſo through the heat therof, wherby it openeth the pores of the skin; which property is infuſed into the wool of a ſheep, by means of the tooth and breath of the wolfe, which altereth not only the fleſh, but even the very wooll and ſhag-hair of the beaſt which he hath worried and killed. And this reaſon is confirmed by experience and example; for it is well known unto us all, that hunters, butchers, and cooks, ſometimes with one blow knock down their beaſts, and lay them along ſoon dead and breathleſſe in a moment: others again, hardly and with much ado are able to kill them, after many a ſtroak; and that which yet is more wonderful then ſo, ſome of them infuſe together with the ax or

knife of iron, wherewith the beaſt is ſlaine, ſuch a quality that the ſame putrifieth preſently, and will not laſt ſweet one day to an end: others again, though they be not longer about the killing of a beaſt then the other, yet the fleſh of beaſts ſo ſlain, doth not ſo ſoon corrupt, but continueth ſound and ſweet a good while after. And that true it is, that the variety and alteration occaſioned by the ſundry ſorts of death, and killing of beaſts, paſſeth and extendeth as far as to their very skin, their haire, nailes, hoofs, clees; *Homer* himſelfe doth teſtifie, who of their hides and skins is wont thus expreſly to write:

The hide it was of ſturdy Ox,
Sticked with knife, or brain'd by knocks.

For the skin of thoſe beaſts which die not for age, nor of long malady, but are killed violently, is more firm, faſt, and tough; and true it is, that of thoſe tame living creatures, which have been bitten by wild beaſts, the hoofs, clees, and nailes turn black, the hair ſhedderh, and the skins become riveled, ſoon tear and fall apieces.

THE TENTH QUESTION.

Whether our anceſtors did better, who when they were at ſupper, fed every man by himſelfe, and knew his own part, then we in theſe days who eat our victuals all together, and feed in common?

THat year wherein I was head Magiſtrate in my country, and bare that Provoſtſhip whereof the year took name, moſt of the ſuppers were private repaſts of ſacrifices, where every man had his part and portion ſet out; wherewith ſome were wonderfully well pleaſed; but others blamed the manner thereof, as uncivil, unſociable, and illiberal, ſaying: That ſo ſoon as the garland or coronet of the beaſt ſacrificed was taken off his head, and laid down, we ought to reduce our tables to the ancient order and old accuſtomed faſhion again: For it is not I ſuppoſe (quoth *Agias*) for to eat and drink ſimply, that we invite one another, but for to eat and drink together for company and good fellowſhip; whereas this parting and diviſion of fleſh and other viands into portions, doth aboliſh all communication and ſociety, making indeed many ſeveral ſuppers, and many men to ſit at ſupper apart, but not one ſupping with another; or fellow-gueſt in one meſſe; when every man takes as it were from the butchers ſtall his own joint of meat, or a piece of fleſh by juſt weight, or at a certain ſize, and ſo ſets his part before him. For is not all one I pray you, and what difference is there I would faine know, to allow each one of the gueſts at table his own cup by himſelfe, and to fill every man his Congious or Gallon of Wine, yea, and to allow him his table apart from others? like as by report the lineage of *Demophon* ſometime ſerved *Oreſtes*, and ſo to bid them drink without any regard or heed of others? what diverſity (I ſay) is in this, and the manner of theſe our days; namely, to ſet before every man his loaf of bread, and piece of fleſh, for to feed by himſelfe, as it were at his own manger? Surely all the odds is, that we have no commandment to keep ſilence and ſay never a word when we are at our meat, as thoſe had who entertained and feaſted *Oreſtes*, and verily even this haply ought to provoke and bring us that are met, to the communion and participation of all things at a feaſt or banquet; namely, that we talk there one to another, that we bee partakers together of one ſong of a minſtrel wenches muſick delighting us all, and one as well as another, with her playing upon a Pſaltery or pipe, and ſinging thereto. Moreover, that ſtanding cup of amity and good-fellowſhip, which is ſet in the very midſt of the company, for to drink out of it, one to another, and that without any limitation or reſtraint to certain bounds, ſtandeth as it were a ſource and lively fountain of love and good will, and hath no other ſtint and meaſure, but the thirſt and diſpoſition of every one, to drink at his pleaſure: not like to this moſt unjuſt diſtribution of bread and fleſh to every one, which maſketh it ſelfe with a falſe colour of equality among thoſe who are unequal: for even that, as even and equal as it ſeemeth and in manner all one, is too much for him that needs but a little, and too little for him, who hath need of much. Like as therefore (my good friend) he is a ridiculous and fooliſh leech, who to many and ſundry patients, ſick of divers and different diſeaſes, exhibiteth and giveth medicines juſt of one weight, and exactly of the ſame meaſure; even ſo were the maſter of a feaſt worthy to be laughed at, who having invited to his table ſundry perſons who are not hungry or thirſty alike, would entertain and ſerve them all indifferently after one order, meaſuring the equality of his diſtribution, by proportion arithmetical and not geometrical. True it is (I confeſs) that we go or ſend all of us to the tavern for to buy our wine, by one and the ſame meaſure juſt, which is allowed and ſet down by the publick State; but to the table every man brings his own ſtomach, the which is filled not with an equal quantity of meat or drink to all others, but with that which ſufficeth each one. As touching thoſe * banquets that *Homer* ſpeaketh of, wherein every man had his part cut out; to what purpoſe ſhould we bring them hither from military diſcipline, and the cuſtom of a camp, to the manner and faſhion of theſe days? but more reaſon it is, that we reſolve and propoſe unto our ſelves, for to imitate herein the humanity and courteſie of thoſe in old time, who highly honoured, not only thoſe who lodged ordinarily, and made their abode with them under one roof, but alſo ſuch as drunk of the ſame cup, eat of the ſame meat, and fed out of one diſh with them, inſomuch as they entertained and reverenced their ſociety in all things. Away therefore (I pray you) with thoſe ſhort meales and ſlender pittances of *Homer*: which

* δαῖτας.

which in my conceit are ſomewhat too ſcant and pinching, and as a man would ſay, over hungry and thirſtly, as having Kings and Princes for the maſters and makers of them, who be more ſparing of their purſes, and looking more neerly to their expences, then thoſe good hoaſts and keepers of ordinaries in *Italy*; as who being in arms and arranged in battel array, and ready to join in conflict with the enemy, could remember preciſely, how many times each one of their gueſts who dined or ſupped with them, took the cup and drank. Yet commend me to thoſe banquets and feaſts which *Pindarus* wrieth of, for ſurely they are much better; in which, as he ſaith:

Full oft a Prince, and perſon honourable,
Among them all, ſat at ſome ſtately table.

For why? ſuch feaſts had the communication of all things together: and verily this was the fellowſhip and knot indeed of true friends, whereas the other was a diſtraction and ſeparation of perſons, who made ſemblance to be the greateſt friends, and yet could not agree and communicate together, ſo much as in the feeding of one diſh of meat. *Agias* had good audience given him, and was well commended for the reaſons which he alledged: and then we ſet one of the company to come upon him in this manner, ſaying: That *Agias* thought it very ſtrange and was offended that he ſhould have an equal portion which others allowed him, carrying as he did before him ſuch a grand paunch; and in truth, a great eater he was, and given exceeding much to belly-cheer: For a common * fiſh (as *Democritus* was wont to ſay) hath no bone. And yet this is that (quoth I) which eſpecially and above all induceth us to the uſe of theſe portions, and not without good reaſon, conſidering that we acknowledge fatal neceſſity by the name of μοῖρα; for according as the old Lady *Jocaſta* ſaid in *Euripides*:

That which uniteth Cities and great States,
And knits in league confederates,

is nothing elſe but equality: and nothing in the world hath ſo much need thereof, as the ſociety and communion at the table: which is grounded upon nature, and law of neceſſity, nothing ſo much; the uſage whereof, is not newly taken up, nor drawn in, as needful by opinion of others, but right neceſſary in it ſelfe. For at an ordinary or common repaſt, where folk feed together of one diſh; if one eat more then his fellows, certes, he that cannot plie his teeth ſo faſt, and commeth ſhort of him, doth maligne and repine at him for it; like as that Gally which maketh way, and ſcudderh before others, but ſpighted by thoſe that come dragging behind. For mee thinks it is not an auſpicate beginning of a feaſt, nor agreeable to amity and good fellowſhip, to ſnatch or lurch one from another, to have many hands in a diſh at once, to croſſe one another with the elbow, and to bee with hand or arme in his fellows way, ſtriving a vie who ſhould be more nimble with his fingers; but ſurely, all theſe faſhions are abſurd, unſeemly, and (as I may ſay) dog-like, ending many times in marling, jarring, bitter taunts, revilings, and cholerick brawles, not only of the gueſts one with another, but alſo againſt thoſe that furniſhed the boord, and the maſters of the feaſt. But ſo long as theſe wiſe faeries, μοῖραι and κλῆσις, that is to ſay, portion and partition, had the ordering of ſuppers, dinners and great feaſts, diſpenſing and ſetting out an equality for to maintain the ſociety there, a man ſhould never ſee any illiberal or mechanical diſorder; for in thoſe dayes ſuppers were called δαῖτες; gueſts at the table δαιτυμόνες: the Carvers ſerving at the table, δαιτηταί: for that they divided, cut out, and gave to every one their due portions. And verily, the Lacedæmonians had among them certaine diſtributers of fleſh, whom they cal'ed κρεωδαῖται, and thoſe were no mean men of the vulgar ſort, but principal perſons of the State, inſomuch as *Liſander* himſelfe was by King *Ageſilaus* ordained and created κρεωδαίτης in *Aſia*, that is to ſay, an Officer for the diſtribution of fleſh-meat in the camp there: But down went theſe diſtributions and diviſions, when ſuperfluities and coſtly cates crept into feaſts, and were ſerved up to the table: for they could not then (as I ſuppoſe) ſo handſomely cut into even portions, their pie-meats, paſties, tarts, and marchpaines, and ſuch devices of paſtry: they might not ſo well divide their flawnes, cuſtards, egge-pies, florentines, and dainty puddings, going under the name of καυδιλαι, and καχρυλίαι; ne yet their blamangers, jellies, chawdres, and a number of exquiſite ſauces, and delicate junkets of all ſorts; ſent up and brought to the board: but being overcome with the pleaſure of ſuch lickorous viands, they took to them, an abandoning of all equal diſtribution of parts and portion. A good argument and ſufficient proof hereof, a man may gather by that which we ſee yet at this day: namely, that the feaſts at ſacrifices, and ſome publick banquets, are made after the antique manner, and ſerved up by even portions, to ſhew the ſimplicity and pure feeding that was in old time: ſo that I ſuppoſe, whoſoever would bring up again that diſtribution, ſhould withal revive the ancient frugality. But ſome man, haply, will ſay: That where private propriety is in place, publick community is turned out of doors. True indeed, in caſe that propriety retain not equality; for it is not the poſſeſſion of a mans own, and of a thing in proper; but the uſurping of another mans right, or the covetous encroaching upon the common, that hath brought injuſtice, debate and trouble into the world: which enormities, the laws do repreſſe by the bounds, limits and meaſure of that which a man holdeth as proper and his own, and thereupon they be called in Greek, νόμοι, of the power & authority which they have to part equally unto every one. that which was common among all. For otherwiſe if you admit this diſtribution. you have no more reaſon to allow that the maſter of the feaſt ſhould deale among his gueſts, to every one his Coronet or chaplet of flowers, nor his own place to ſit at the board. Nay, if any one peradventure, bring with him his ſhe-friend and ſweet heart, or a minſtrel wench to play and ſing, they muſt be common to him and his

* That is to ſay, if a fiſh be eaten in common, it is not known how much one hath eaten of it more then his fellows, by the bones lying upon his trencher.

his friends, that all our goods may be huddled pell-mell, and made ἓν, that is to say, one, according as *Anaxagoras* would have all. But if it be ſo, that the challenge in propriety of this or that, is no trouble nor hinderance of ſociety and communion, conſidering, that other matters of principal regard and greateſt importance, are allowed for to be common (I mean conference in talk, courteſies and kindneſſes of drinking one to another, and mutual invitings) let us ſurceaſe and give over, thus to deſpiſe, diſcredit and condemn this laudable manner of portions, and the lottery in partage, which (as *Epicurus* ſaith) is the daughter of * Fortune, which giveth not the prerogative and preeminence, either to riches, or credit and nobility: but going (as it hapneth) as well one way as another, cheereth up the heart of a poor and abject perſon, and depriveth no ſort and condition whatſoever, of liberty: but by acquainting the great, wealthy and mighty perſon with an equality, ſo as he repine not and grudge thereat, reclaiming him unto temperance and moderation.

* τυχὴς, ſome ψυχὴς, that is, the ſoul: others σιγὴς, that is, ſilence.

The Third Book.

Of Sympoſiaques, or Banquet-Queſtions.

The Contents, or Chapters thereof.

1. *Whether it be commendable to wear chaplets of flowers upon the head, at a table?*
2. *Of the Ivy, whether it be hot or cold by nature.*
3. *What the reaſon is, that women be hardly made drunk, but old men very ſoon?*
4. *Whether women by their natural conſtitution and complexion, be hotter or colder then men?*
5. *Whether Wine of the own nature and operation be cold?*
6. *Of the meet time and ſeaſon to company with a woman.*
7. *What is the cauſe that Muſt or new Wine, doth not eaſily overturn the braine, or make one drunk?*
8. *How it commeth to paſs, that thoſe who be thorow drunk indeed, are leſſe troubled in the brain, then ſuch as are but in the way unto it, and as it were halfe drunk?*
9. *What is the meaning of this old Proverb: Drink five or three, but never four?*
10. *Why fleſh-meats corrupt and putrifie ſooner in the Moon-ſhine, then in the Sun?*

The Third Book.

Of Sympoſiaques, or Banquet-Queſtions.

The Preamble, or Proëme.

Simonides the Poet, O *Soſſius Senecio*, ſeeing upon a time a ſtranger at the Table, ſitting ſtill and ſaying never a word, when others were merry, and drank liberally, ſaid unto him: my friend, if you be a fool, you do wiſely; but if you be a wiſe man, you do as fooliſhly: for it is a great deale better for a man (as *Heraclitus* was wont to ſay) to hide his own folly and ignorance, then to diſcover the ſame; and that I wis is a very hard matter to do; when we are ſet upon a merry pin, and drinking wine luſtily: for as the Poet *Homer* ſaid very well:

Wine makes a man, were he both wiſe and grave,
One while to ſing, and otherwhiles to rave:
To ſport, to play, and laugh full wantonly,
To leap, to dance, and foot it daintily:
Words to let fall, and ſecrets to reveale
Which better were to hold in and conceale.

In which verſes, the Poet if I be not deceived, doth covertly and by the way imply a difference between liberal drinking of wine, or being ſomewhat cup-ſhotten, and drunkenneſſe indeed: for to ſing, to laugh, and to dance, be ordinary matters, incident to thoſe who have taken their liquor well, and be heat with wine, but to prate like a foole, and * blurt out that, which better had been kept in, be the effects and acts of ſuch as have poured in too much, and be ſtark drunken; and therefore *Plato* ſaid: That the affections and conditions of the vulgar ſort of men, be diſcovered far better in drinking then otherwiſe. And when *Homer* ſaith:

They had not yet by wine and words,
Known one another at their bords,

it is evident that he wiſt well enough of what power and force wine was: namely, to engender and multiply many words: for ſurely, we come not to the knowledge of men and their manners by eating and drinking, in caſe they eat and drink and lay nothing; but for that drink induceth and draweth on folk to ſpeak much; and much ſpeech detecteth and layeth open many things, which otherwiſe would have lien hidden: therefore by good conſequence, drinking together giveth a great light and knowledge one of another: and therefore we may by good right reprove *Æſope* in this wiſe: What mean you good ſir, to ſeek for thoſe windows, through which one man might look into another, and ſee into his neighbours heart? for wine fetteth the doors wide enough open unto us, and

* ὑμεῖν δ' βλέπεσθον ἢ σιωπᾶν; not βλάπτεσθον δ' βλέπεσθον, ἢ σιωπᾶν: as the Latine Tranſlator ſeemeth to read.

and bewrayeth what we have within; not ſuffering us to be ſtill and ſilent, but taking from us the mask and viſour of all diſſimulation, and ſhewing what we are in our colours, as if we ſtood in no fear at all of law, but were a great way out of the ſight of our Tutors and School-maſters, that kept us in awe. Wine then is enough for *Æſope*, for *Plato*, and for all thoſe who ſearch after means to diſcover the ſecrets of mens hearts: but ſuch as deſire not in this wiſe to try and ſift one another; but rather be willing to converſe together with mirth and recreation, theſe men (I ſay) are wont to propoſe queſtions, and entertain ſuch diſcourſes when they meet: whereby the ill parts and imperfections of the ſoule, if they have any, may be concealed and hidden; but the beſt gifts thereof, and that which favoureth moſt of civility and erudition, may appear and gather more ſtrength, as being conducted and trained by the guidance of learning and good literature, to the fair meddows and pleaſant paſtures wherein ſhe taketh delight to walk and feed: in which regard, I have for your ſake compil'd this third Decade of Banquet-Queſtions and table diſcourſes: whereof the firſt concerneth chaplets of flowers.

THE FIRST QUESTION.

Whether it be commendable to wear upon the head, flower-garlands at the table?

THere was a ſolemn feaſt or banquet one day at *Athens*, which *Eraton* the profeſſor in muſick made, having ſacrificed before unto the Muſes: and to this feaſt he invited many: among that fair company, certain queſtions were moved, and much good talk paſſed as touching chaplets of flowers: for by occaſion that after ſupper was done, many ſuch Coronets of all ſorts went about, and were dealt round among the gueſts; *Ammonius* began to ſcoffe and laugh at us: who inſtead of laurel chaplets did ſet upon our heads roſe garlands: For that (quoth he) theſe chaplets of flowers be girliſh gaudes, and more meet indeed for playful maidens and young women, then the aſſemblies of Philoſophers and learned men: And I wonder much at this *Eraton*, that reproving and deteſting as he doth the flower-works, (as it were in ſong and muſick, and blaming fair *Agathon* who by report firſt brought up the Chromatick muſick: and when he ſet out the Tragedy of the Myſians, inſerted it within other plain muſick) ſhould himſelfe as you ſee, heap upon us at this feaſt a number of wreathes, garlands, and chaplets of flowers, filling the whole place with ſweet ſmells and pleaſant ſavours; and when he ſhutteth up the door of our ears, againſt the delights and pleaſures of muſick; ſhould in the mean while ſet open the windows of our eyes and noſtrils, giving entrance thus another way unto them, for to pierce unto the ſoul, making a coronet and garland to ſerve for pleaſure and looſeneſſe; which ſhould be a matter of religion and devotion: and yet I muſt needs ſay, that theſe oyles and perfumes yeeld a ſweeter ſavour, and more exquiſite pleaſant odour, then theſe chaplets of flowers, that fade and wither in the hands of the garland-makers: howbeit, for all that, they are allowed no place in Banquets and aſſemblies of Philoſophers; being an idle pleaſure, not accompanied with any profit whatſoever, nor ariſing from any ſource of natural neceſſity or appetite; for like as thoſe who come as ſhadows to a feaſt, being brought thither by ſome friends, who are themſelves bidden gueſts, according to the ordinary cuſtome of courteſie, find themſelves no leſſe welcome and well entreated then the reſt, as *Ariſtodemus* was, whom *Socrates* brought with him to a feaſt, which *Agathon* made; but if one go of himſelfe preſumptuouſly, not invited nor brought thither by a friend; he is well worthy to have the door ſhut upon him: even ſo the pleaſures of eating and drinking, which neceſſity hath invited, and do accompany the natural appetite, are admitted and have place among wiſe men: but as for others which come before they be bidden or ſent for, and preſs to get in without any reaſon, only upon a diſordinate luſt, are to be kept out and excluded.

At theſe words of *Ammonius*, certain young men who were not as yet acquainted with his faſhions, being diſmayed and abaſhed; began gently, and without more adoe to pluck off and pull in ſunder their Coronets. But I (who knew well enough that he moved this talk only by way of exerciſe, and becauſe he would draw us on to debate the matter) addreſſed my ſpeech unto *Tryphon* the Phyſician in this wiſe: Of all loves *Tryphon*, be ſo good as lay down as well as we, this goodly chaplet which you have upon your head, ſo fragrant and flagrant, both of moſt beautiful red roſes; or elſe declare preſently as you are wont to do many times among us, the profit and commodity that this flower garland doth confer unto our drinking of wine ſo freely. But here *Eraton* enterpoſing himſelfe: How is it ordained (quoth he) that we receive no pleaſure free, but it bringeth alwayes ſome ſalary or other with it; and ever as we ſolace our ſelves and be merry, we are diſpleaſed and diſcontented, in caſe we enjoy not our delights with ſome hire or reward to check the ſame: as for ſweet ſmells or coſtly oyles, and compound perfumes, there is ſome reaſon peradventure why wee ſhould be ſomewhat aſhamed of them: as alſo for the rich purple colours we may be abaſhed, in regard of the affected curioſity and ſuperfluous expence thereof: which we are to reject, as being odours deceitful, and fraudulent robes and colours; as ſometime ſaid that barbarous Scythian: but colours and odours ſuch as be natural, are ſimple, pure and ſincere not differing in that reſpect from the fruits of trees which nature bringeth forth. Were it not then meer folly to gather the juice and liquor of ſuch fruits, and in the mean time reject and condemn the fairer colours and ſweet ſavours, that the ſeaſons of the year do yeeld, only for the delightſome aſpect and pleaſure that floweth (as it were) out of them, if they afford not otherwiſe ſome vertue and property which is good and pro-

profitable? It ſeemeth rather yet, that we ſhould do the contrary; namely, if it be true as you Philoſophers ſay, that nature doth nothing in vain, and for no purpoſe, that ſhe hath created and produced theſe things, for the pleaſure only of man, as ſerving to no other purpoſe, but only for to cheer up our ſpirits and content our outward ſenſes. Mark this moreover and beſides, how unto trees and plants that proſper and grow, nature hath given leaves, to ſave and defend their fruits; as alſo that under their covert, themſelves (one while warmed and another while cooled and refreſhed) might be able the better to endure the injuries of the air, and change of ſeaſons. As for flowers, they yeeld no commodity at all, by their tarrying upon the plant, unleſſe it be this, that we have delight in ſmelling, and pleaſure in beholding them for a time, in that there exhale and breath from them, wonderful ſweet ſavours; and they diſcover unto us an infinite ſort of tinctures and colours, by no art of man imitable. And therefore, when we ſtrip trees of their leaves, they ſeem diſpleaſed and grieved thereat; they feel (as it were) the ſmart and pain of a wound; and there is left (by that means) a hurt and ſore like an ulcer; and being thus deſpoiled of their natural beauty and heart, they are ill favoured to ſee to, and deformed: ſo that we ought not only (as *Empedocles* ſaith)

The leaves of laurel wholly to forbear,
And to abſtain her branches for to tear.

but alſo we are to ſpare the leaves and boughs of all other trees, and not by their deformity to adorn our ſelves, robbing and ſpoiling them perforce and againſt nature; whereas, if we gather and crop their flowers, we do them no hurt nor wrong at all. For this manner of dealing with them, reſembleth vintage and gathering grapes from the vine: and if they be not plucked in due time, they ſhed of their own accord, all faded and withered. Like as therefore, they be barbarous people, who clad themſelves with the ſells and skins of ſheep, inſtead of making cloath of their wool, to apparel their bodies; even ſo me thinks, that they who twiſt and plait their chaplers, of leaves rather then flowers, do not uſe plants ſo well as they ought to do. Thus much I thought good to deliver unto you, in defence of thoſe that make and ſell flower garlands: for Grammarian I am not, nor much read in Poets, to alledge teſtimonie, out of their Poems: wherein it is to be found, that in old time, the victors who wan the prize of the ſacred games, were crowned all with chaplets of flowers: howbeit, thus much I will be bold to avouch out of them: That the roſe garland was peculiarly deſtined and appropriate to the Muſes: for ſo I remember, I have read in one place of *Sappho* the Poetreſſe, where ſpeaking of a great rich woman, yet altogether ignorant, unlettered, and a meer ſtranger to the Muſes, ſhe writeth thus:

All dead thou ſhalt intombed lie,
And leave no name nor memory:
For roſes none thou could'ſt come by,
That flower on mount ain Piery.

But now it is time to hear what teſtimony *Tryphon* will alledge out of his Phyſick. Then *Tryphon* taking in hand the matter in queſtion: Our ancients (quoth he) in older time, were not ignorant of all theſe points: neither forgat they to treat thereof, as having great uſe of plants in the practiſe of Phyſick. For proof whereof, there remain at this day, moſt evident arguments: for the Tyrians offer unto *Agenorides*, and the Magneſians unto *Chiron* (who were the firſt that profeſſed and practiſed Phyſick in thoſe parts) the primices and firſt gatherings of thoſe herbs and roots wherewith they were wont to cure and heale their patients: and Prince *Bacchus*, not only for the invention of wine (a moſt puiſſant medicine, I may ſay to you, and a pleaſant) was eſteemed a ſufficient Phyſician: but alſo for that he taught thoſe who were ſurpriſed and raviſhed with Bacchanal fury, to Crown their heads with Ivy, and brought that plant into honour and reputation by that means: for that it hath a property in nature repugnant and contrary to the quality of Wine, repreſſing and quenching the coldneſſe which it hath, the predominant heat thereof, that men might take leſſe harm thereby, and ſo withſtand drunkenneſſe. And verily, the names of certain plants, do plainly ſhew the great induſtry and careful diligence of our forefathers in this behalfe. For the Walnut tree they called in Greek * Καρύα, for that it ſendeth from it a certain heavy and ſomniferous vapour, which hurteth the head of thoſe who lie under the ſhade and boughs thereof, whereby it cauſeth them to be drouſie. The Daffodil likewiſe, ſeemeth to have taken the name * *Narciſſus*, becauſe it benummeth the ſinews, and ingendereth a heavy ſleepineſſe or ſtupefaction: which is the reaſon that *Sophocles* tearmed it the ancient Coronet of the great gods, meaning thereby the gods terreſtrial. Moreover, it is ſaid that the herb Rue had the denomination in Greek Πήγανον, of the vertue which it hath; by reaſon that with the drineſſe wherewith it is endued, and the ſame occaſioned by exceſſive heat, it is ſo aſtringent, that it * knitteth, binderth, and hardneth the natural ſeed of man, and is a great enemy to conception and women with child. As for the * Amethyſt, as well the herb as the ſtone of that name, they who think that both the one and the other is ſo called becauſe they withſtand * drunkenneſſe, miſcount themſelves, and are deceived: for in truth, both are named ſo of the colour: and as for the leaſe of the herb, it hath no freſh and lively hew, but reſembleth a * wineleſſe weak wine, as one mey ſay, that either drinketh flat and hath loſt the colour, or elſe is much delayed with water. Many other plants may be alledged to this purpoſe, whoſe properties and natural vertues have impoſed their names: but theſe examples may ſuffice to ſhew the ſtudious induſtry and great experience of our anceſtors: in regard whereof, they uſed to wear chaplers of leaves and flowers upon their heads, whiles they ſat drinking wine: for ſtrong wine, and pure of

* Of καρὰ the head, or κάρος, drouſineſs.
* νάρκη, benummedneſſe.
* κτίσμασι. * Ἀπὸ τὰ δ-τεητικὰ & μέθυ, Wine.
* μέθη.
* ἀοίνω. ἄοινα.

of it ſelf, having begun to aſſaile the head, and to enervate or enfeeble the whole body, by ſeizing upon the original fountain of the nerves and ſenſes, to wit, the brain, doth mightily trouble and diſquiet a man: for the remedy of which inconvenience, the ſcent and ſmell, breathing from flowers, ſerveth marvellous well, for that the ſame doth defend and fortifie as with a Rampart, the Caſtle and Citadel (as it were) of the head, againſt the aſſaults and impreſſions of drunkenneſſe. For theſe flowers if they be hot, gently unſtop and open the Pores, and in ſo doing, make way and give vent for the heady wine to evaporate and breath out all fumoſities; and contrariwiſe, if they be temperately cold, by cloſing gently the ſaid Pores, keep down and drive back the vapours ſteaming up into the brain. And of this vertue are the garlands of Violets and Roſes, which by their ſmell and comfortable ſcent, repreſſe and ſtay both ach and heavineſſe of head. As for the flower of * Privet, Saffron, and Baccaris, that is to ſay, our Ladies gloves, or Nard Ruſtick, bring them ſweetly to ſleep, who have drunk freely: for theſe ſend from them a mild aire, breathing after a ſmooth and uniform manner; the which doth ſoftly compoſe and lay even, the unequal diſtemperatures, the troubleſome acrimonies and diſorderly aſperities, ariſing in the bodies of thoſe who have overdrunk themſelves; whereupon there enſueth a calm, and thereby the ſtrength of the heady wine is either dulled, or elſe rebated. Other ſorts of flowers there be, the odours whereof being ſpread and diſperſed about the brain, purge mildly the Pores and paſſages of the ſenſes and their organs, ſubtiliat and diſcuſſe gently, without trouble and offence, with their moderate heat; the humours and all moiſt vapours, by way of rarefaction, and warm the brain comfortably, which by nature is of a cold temperature: and for this cauſe eſpecially thoſe petty Garlands or Poeſies of flowers which they hung in old time about their necks, they called Κανθυμίδας, as if one would ſay ſuffumigations, and they annointed all their breſt parts with the oyles that were expreſſed or extracted from them. *Alcyus* alſo teſtifieth as much, where he willeth to pour ſweet oyl upon his head that had ſuffered ſomuch pain, and upon his breſt all grey; for even ſo ſuch odours are directed up as far as to the brain, being drawn by the ſenſe of ſmelling. So it was not becauſe they thought that the ſoul, which the Greeks call Θυμὸν was ſeated and kept reſidence within the heart, that they called theſe wreaths and garlands about their necks Κανθυμίδας, as ſome would have it, for then more reaſon it had been to have tearmed them Κανθυμίδας, but it was as I ſaid before, of the exhalation or evaporation upward from the region of the breſt, againſt which they were worn pendant: neither are we to wonder, that the ſhadow of * Smilax eſpecially when it is in the flower, killeth them that lie aſleep under it: ſo from the Poppy there ariſeth a certain ſpirit, when the juice is drawn out of it, which they call *Opium*. and if they take no better heed, who draw the ſame, it cauſeth them to ſwoon and fall to the ground; there is an herb called Alyſſon, which whoſoever hold in their hands, or do but look upon it, ſhall preſently be rid of the yex or painful hickot; and they ſay, it is very good alſo for Sheep and Goats, to keep them from all diſeaſes, if the ſame be planted along their cotes and folds: the Roſe, alſo named in Greek Ῥόδον, was ſo called, for that it caſteth from it an * odoriferous ſmell, which is the reaſon that it quickly fadeth, and the beauty paſſeth ſoon away: ſold it is in operation, although it carry the colour of fire, and not without good cauſe; for that the little heat that it hath, flieth up to the ſuperficies of it, as being driven outwardly from within, by the native coldneſſe that it hath.

* κύπειρου, or κύπειρον as the French tranſlation.
* The Yew tree as I take it.
ῥοδμὰ δόδον.

THE SECOND QUESTION.

Whether Ivy of the own nature be cold or hot.

THis ſpeech of *Tryphon* we greatly praiſed: but *Ammonius* ſmiling: It were not meet (quoth he) to kick and ſpurn again, nor to overthrow ſo beautiful and gay a diſcourſe as this was, embelliſhed and adorned with as great variety as the garlands whereof it treated, and which he undertook to defend and maintain; but that I cannot tell how it is come to paſſe that the Ivy is enterlaced in the chaplet of flowers, and ſaid by the natural coldneſſe that it is to have a vertue and property to extinguiſh and quench the forcible heat of new wine: for contrariwiſe, it ſeemeth to be hot and ardent, and the fruit which it beareth being put into wine, and infuſed therein, giveth it power to inebriate and make drunk, yea, and to trouble and diſquiet the body by the inflammation that it cauſeth: by reaſon of which exceſſive heat, the very body thereof groweth naturally crooked, after the manner of wood that curbeth and warpeth with the fire; alſo the ſnow which oftentimes continueth and lieth many days upon other trees, flieth in great haſte from the Ivy tree; or to ſpeak more properly, is preſently gone, thaw'd and melted, if it chance to ſettle upon it, and that by reaſon of the heat: and that which more is (as *Theophraſtus* hath left in writing) *Harpalus* the Lieutenant General under *Alexander* the Great, in the province of *Babylon*, by expreſſe order and direction from the King his Maſter: endevoured and did what he might to ſet in the Kings Orchard there, certain trees and plants which came out of *Greece*, and ſuch eſpecially as yeelded a goodly ſhade, carried large leaves and were by nature cold: for that the country about *Babylon* is exceeding hot and ſcorched with the burning heat of the Sun: but the ground would never entertain nor abide the Ivy onely: notwithſtanding that *Harpalus* took great pains, and employed moſt careful diligence about it: for plant it as often as he would, it dried and died immediately; and why? hot it is of

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the own nature, and was planted (in a mold far hotter then it ſelfe, which hindered it for taking root; for this is a general and perpetual rule: that all exceſſive enormities, of any object, deſtroy the force and powers of the ſubject: in which regard, they deſire rather their contraries; in ſuch ſort, as that a plant of cold temperature requireth an hot place to grow in; and that which is hot demandeth likewiſe a cold ground; and this is the reaſon, that high mountain countries, windy, and covered with ſnow, bear ordinarily trees that yeeld torch-wood and pitch, as Pines, Cone trees, and ſuch like: And were it not ſo, my good friend *Tryphon*, yet this is certain, that trees, which by nature are chill and cold, ſhed their leaves every year: for that the ſmall heat which they have, for very penury retireth inwardly, and leaveth the outward parts naked and deſtitute: whereas contrariwiſe, heat and unctious fattineſſe, which appeareth in the Olive, Laurel and Cypreſſe trees, keep themſelves always green, and hold their leaves, like as the Ivy alſo doth for her part. And therefore good father *Bacchus* hath not brought into uſe and requeſt the Ivy, as a preſervative and preſent help againſt the encounter of drunkenneſſe, nor as an enemy to wine, who directly calleth Wine μέθυ, and ſurnameth himſelfe μεθυμναῖον thereupon: but in mine opinion, like as they who love Wine, if they cannot meet with the liquor of the grape, uſe a counterfeit wine, or barley broth, called Beer and Ale, or elſe a certain drink made of Apples, named Cydres, or elſe Date-Wines: even ſo, he that gladly would in winter ſeaſon wear a chaplet of vine-branches, ſeeing it altogether naked and bare of leaves, is glad of the Ivy that reſembleth it: for the body or wood thereof is likewiſe writhed and crooked, and never groweth upright, but ſhutteth out here and there, to and fro at a venture: the ſoft fatty leaves alſo after the ſame manner grow diſperſed about the branches, without all order: and beſides all this, the very berries of the Ivy growing thick and cluſtered together like unto green grapes, when they begin to turn, do repreſent the native form of the vine: and yet a beit the ſame yeeldeth ſome help and remedy againſt drunkenneſſe: we ſay, it is by occaſion of heat, in opening the pores and ſmall paſſages in the body, for to let out the fumes of Wine, and ſuffer them to evaporate and breath forth, or rather by her heat helpeth to concoct and digeſt it, that for your ſake (good *Tryphon*) *Bacchus* may ſtill continue a Phyſician. At theſe words, *Tryphon* ſtayed a while and made no anſwer, as thinking with himſelf, and ſtudying how to reply upon him. But *Eraton* calling earneſtly upon every one of us that were of the younger ſort, ſpurred us forward to aid and aſſiſt *Tryphon* our Advocate, and the Patron of our flower-chaplets, or elſe to pluck them from our heads, and wear them no longer. And *Ammonius* aſſured us (for his part) that if any one of us would take upon him to anſwer he would not recharge again, nor come upon him with a rejoinder. Then *Tryphon* himſelfe moved us to ſay ſomewhat to the queſtion. Whereupon I began to ſpeak and ſaid: That it belonged not to me, but rather unto *Tryphon*, for to prove that Ivy was cold, conſidering that he uſed it much in Phyſick to cool and binde, as being an aſtringent medicine: but as touching that which here-while was alledged: namely, that the Ivy berry doth inebriate, if it be ſteeped in Wine: it is not found to be true: and the accident which it worketh in thoſe who drink it in that manner, cannot well be called drunkenneſſe, but rather an alienation of the mind and trouble of the ſpirit: like to that effect which Henbane worketh, and many other plants, which mightily diſquiet the brain, and tranſport our ſenſes and underſtanding. As for the tortuoſity of the body and branches, it maketh nothing to the purpoſe and point in hand: for the works and effects againſt nature cannot proceed from faculties and powers natural: and pieces of wood do twine and bend crooked becauſe fire (being neer unto them) draweth and drieth up forcibly, all the native and kindly humour: whereas the inward and natural heat, would rather ferment, entertaine and augment it. But conſider better upon the matter and mark rather, whether this writhed-bunching form of the Ivy wood (as it groweth) and the baſeneſſe, bearing ſtil downward and tending to the ground, be not an argument rather of weakneſſe, and bewray the coldneſſe of the body, being glad (as it were) to make many reſts and ſtayes: like unto a Pilgrim, or wayfaring Traveller, who for wearineſs and faintneſſe ſitteth him down and repoſeth himſelfe many times in his way, and ever and anon riſeth again, and beginneth to ſet forward: in regard of which feebleneſſe, the Ivy hath always need of ſome prop or other to ſtay it ſelfe by, to take hold of, to claſp about and to cling unto, being not able of her own power to riſe, for want of natural heat, whoſe nature is to mount aloft. As touching Snow, that it thaweth and paſſeth away ſo ſoon, the cauſe is, the moiſture and ſoftneſſe of the Ivy leaf; for ſo we ſee that water diſpartcheth and diſſolveth preſently, the laxity and ſpongeous rarity thereof, being (as it is) nothing elſe but a gathering and heaping of a number of ſmall bubbles couched, and thruſt together: and hereof it cometh, that in over-moiſt places, ſobbed and ſoaked with water ſnow melteth as ſoon as in places expoſed to the ſun. Now for that it hath leaves always upon it, and the ſame (as *Empedocles* ſaith) firm and faſt, this proceedeth not of heat, no more then the fall and ſhedding of leaves every year, is occaſioned by cold. And this appeareth by the Myrtle tree and the herb *Adiantum*, that is to ſay, Maiden-hair, which being not hot plants, but cold, are alwayes leaved and green withall: and therefore ſome are of opinion, that the holding of the leaves, is to be aſcribed unto an equality of temperature: but *Empedocles* (over and beſides) attributeth it to a certain proportion of the pores, thorow which the ſap and nouriſhment doth paſſe and pierce equally into the leaves: in ſuch ſort, as it runneth ſufficiently for to maintain them: which not in ſo in thoſe trees which loſe their leaves, by reaſon of the laxity or largeneſſe of the ſaid pores and holes above, and the ſtraitneſſe of them beneath; whereby, as theſe do not ſend any nouriſhment at all, ſo the other can hold and retain none, but that little which they received, they let go all at once: like as

as we may obſerve in certain Canals or Trenches, deviſed for to water Gardens and Orchards, if they be not proportionable and equal; for where they be well watred and have continual nouriſhment, and the ſame in competent proportion, there the trees hold their own, and remain firm, always green, and never die. But the Ivy tree, planted in *Babylon*, would never grow, and refuſed there to live. Certes, it was well done of her, and ſhe ſhewed great generoſity, that being (as ſhe was) a devoted vaſſaile to the god of *Bacchus*, and living (as it were) at his table, ſhe would not go out of her own country, to dwell among thoſe Barbarians; ſhe followed not the ſteps of King *Alexander*, who entred alliance, and made his abode with thoſe ſtrange and forraign nations, but avoided their acquaintance all that ever ſhe could, and withſtood that tranſmigration from her native place: but the cauſe thereof, was not heat, but cold rather; becauſe ſhe could not endure the temperature of the air, ſo contrary to her own: for that which is ſemblable and familiar, never killeth any thing, but receiveth, nouriſheth and beareth it, like as dry ground the herb Thyme, how hot ſoever the ſoil be. Now for the Province about *Babylon*, they ſay, the air in all that tract is ſo ſoultry hot, ſo ſtuffing, ſo groſſe, and apt to ſtifle and ſtop the breath, that many inhabitants of the wealthier ſort, cauſe certain bits or bags of leather to be filled with water, upon which, as upon featherbeds, they lie to ſleep and cool their bodies.

THE THIRD QUESTION.

What the cauſe is, that women hardly are made drunk, but old men very ſoon?

FLorus one day ſeemed to marvel, that *Ariſtole* having in his Treatiſe of drunkenneſſe, ſet down this poſition: That old men are ſoon ſurprized and overſeen with Wine, but contrariwiſe, women, hardly and very ſeldom; rendered no reaſon thereof, conſidering that his manner otherwiſe, is not to propoſe any ſuch difficulties, but he doth decide and clear the ſame. And when hee had made this overture, he moved the company to enquire into the cauſe thereof, and a ſupper it was, where familiar friends were met together. Then *Sylla* ſaid: That the one was declared by the other: for if we comprehend the cauſe aright, as touching women, it were no hard matter to find out a reaſon for old men: conſidering that their natures and conſtitutions be moſt oppoſite and contrary, in regard of moiſture and drineſſe, roughneſſe and ſmoothneſſe, ſoftneſſe and hardneſſe: for firſt and formoſt, ſuppoſe this of women undoubtedly, that their natural temperature is very moiſt, which cauſeth their fleſh to be ſo tender, ſoft, ſmooth, ſlieke and ſhining: to ſay nothing of their natural purgations every month: when as therefore wine meeteth with ſo great humidity, being overcome by the predominancy thereof, it loſeth the edge and tincture (as it were) together with the force that it had, ſo as it becometh dull, every way diſcoloured and wateriſh. And verily to this purpoſe, ſomewhat may be gathered out of the words of *Ariſtotle*; for he ſaith: That thoſe who make no long draught when they take their wine, nor drink leaſurely, but pour it down at once (which manner of drinking they call ἀμυστίζειν) are not ſo ſubject to drunkenneſſe as others; for that the wine maketh no long ſtay within their bodies, but being forcibly thruſt forth, ſoon paſſeth through: and ordinarily we may obſerve, that women drink in this manner; and very probable it is, that their bodies by reaſon of continual attraction of humours downward, to the neither parts for their monthly terms, is full of many conduits and paſſages, as if they were divided into channels, pipes, and trenches, to draw forth the ſaid humours: into which the wine no ſooner falleth, but away it paſſeth apace, that it cannot ſettle nor reſt upon the noble and principal parts, which if they be once troubled and poſſeſſed, drunkenneſſe doth ſoon enſue. Contrariwiſe, that old men want natural humidity, their very name in Greek ſeemeth to imply ſufficiently, for called they are γέροντες, not becauſe they are ῥέοντες εἰς γῆν, that is to ſay, inclining and ſtooping downward to the earth, but becauſe they are already in their habitude of body γεώδεις and γηγενεῖς, that is to ſay, earthly; Moreover, their ſtiffeneſſe and unpliable diſpoſition, the roughneſſe alſo of their skin, argueth their dry nature and complexion: it ſtandeth therefore to good reaſon, that when they liberally take their wine, their bodies which are rare and ſpungious within, by occaſion of that drineſſe, quickly catcheth and ſucketh up the ſame, and then by long ſtaying there, it worketh up into the head, cauſeth the brain to beat, and breedeth heavineſſe there; and like as land floods gently glide over thoſe fields which be ſolid and hard, waſhing them only aloft, and making no mire and dirt; but if the ground be light and hollow they enter and ſoke farther in: even ſo wine being ſoon caught, and drawne by the drineſſe of old mens bodies, ſtayeth there the longer time: and were not this ſo, yet we may obſerve that the very nature of old men admitteth the ſame ſymptomes and accidents which drunkenneſſe maketh. Now theſe accidents occaſioned by drunkenneſſe, are very apparent, to wit, the trembling and ſhaking of their limbs, faltering in their tongue, and ſpeaking double, immoderate and laviſh ſpeech, pettiſhneſſe and aptneſſe to choler, forgetfulneſſe and alienation of the mind and underſtanding: the moſt part whereof being incident to old men, even when they are beſt in health & are moſt ſober, a little thing God wot will ſet them clean out, and any ſmall agitation whatſoever will do the deed: ſo that drunkenneſſe in an old man engendereth not new accidents, but ſetteth on foot and augmenteth thoſe which be already common and ordinary with them. To conclude, there is not a more evident argument to prove and confirm the ſame then this: that nothing in the world reſembleth an old man more, then a young man when he is drunk.

THE

THE FOURTH QUESTION.

Whether Women by their natura complexion be colder or hotter then men?

WHen *Sylla* had delivered his mind to that effect; *Apollonidas* an expert profeſſor and wel ſeen in ranging a battel in array, ſeemed by his words to approve well of that which had been alledged as touching old men: but he thought, that in the diſcourſe of women, the only cauſe was left out and overſlipt, to wit, the coldneſſe of their conſtitution, by means whereof, the hotteſt wine is quenched, and forgoeth that fiery flame which ſtieth up to the head, and troubleth the brains: and this was received as a very probable and ſufficient reaſon, by all the company therein place. But *Athryllatus* the Phyſician, a Thaſian born, interjected ſome ſtay of farther ſearching into this cauſe: For that (quoth he) ſome are of opinion that women are not cold, but hotter then men: yea, and others there be (and that is a greater matter) who hold, that wine is not hot at all but cold. *Florus* wondering, and amazed hereat: This diſcourſe and diſputation (quoth he) as touching wine I refer to him there: and with that pointed at me: for that not many days before we had diſputed together about that argument: But as for women (quoth *Athryllatus*) that they be rather hot then cold, they argue thus: Firſt and formoſt, they are ſmooth, and not hairy on their face and body, which teſtifieth their heat, which ſpendeth and conſumeth the excrement and ſuperfluity that engendereth hair. Secondly, they prove it by their abundance of blood, which ſeemeth to be the fountain of heat in the body: and of blood women have ſuch ſtore, that they are ready to be inflamed, yea, to frie and burn withal, if they have not many purgations, and thoſe quickly returning in their courſe to diſcharge and deliver them thereof. Thirdly, they bring in the experience obſerved at funerals, which ſheweth evidently, that womens bodies be far hotter then mens: for they that have the charge of burning and interring of dead corſes, do ordinarily put into the funeral fire one dead body of a woman to ten of men: For that one corps (ſay they) helpeth to burn and conſume the reſt: by reaſon that a womans fleſh containeth in it I wot not what unctuoſity or oylous matter, which quickly taketh fire, and will burn as light as a torch, ſo that it ſerveth in ſtead of dry ſticks to kindle the fire, and ſet all a burning. Moreover, if this be admitted for a truth, that whatſoever is more fruitful and apter for generation, is alſo more hot: certain it is, that young maidens be ripe betimes, readier for marriage, yea, and their fleſh pricketh ſooner to the act of generation, then boyes of their age; neither is this a ſmall and feeble argument of their heat, but for a greater and more pregnant proofe thereof, mark how they endure very well any chilling cold, and the injury of winter ſeaſon, for the moſt part of them leſſe quake for cold then men do, and generally need not ſo many cloaths to wear.

Hereat *Florus* began to argue againſt him and ſaid: In my conceit, theſe very arguments will ſerve well to confute the ſaid opinion; for to begin with the laſt firſt, the reaſon why they withſtand cold better then men, is becauſe every thing is leſſe offended with the like: beſides, their ſeed is not apt for generation, in regard of their coldneſſe, but ſerveth in ſtead of matter onely, and yeeldeth nouriſhment unto the natural ſeed of man. Moreover, women ſooner give over to conceive and ceaſe child-bearing, then men to beget children: and as for the burning of their dead bodies, they catch fire ſooner I confeſſe, but that is by reaſon that commonly they be fatter then men; and who knoweth not, that fat and greaſe is the coldeſt part of the body: which is the cauſe that young men, and thoſe that uſe much bodily exerciſe, are leaſt fat of all others; neither is their monthly ſickneſſe and violence of blood, a ſign of the great quantity and abundance, but rather of the corrupt quality and badneſſe thereof: for the crude and unconcocted part of their blood being ſuperfluous, and finding no place to ſettle and reſt, nor to gather conſiſtence within the body by reaſon of weakneſſe, paſſeth away, as being heavy and troubled, altogether for default and imbecillity of heat to overcome it: and this appeareth manifeſtly by this, that ordinarily when their monthly ſickneſſe is upon them, they are very chill, and ſhake for cold, for that the blood which then is ſtirred and in motion, ready to be diſcharged out of the body, is ſo raw and cold. To come now unto the ſmoothneſſe of their ſkin, and that is not hairy; who would ever ſay that this were an effect of heat? conſidering that we ſee the hotteſt parts of mans body to be covered with hair? for ſurely all ſuperfluities and excrements are ſent out by heat, which alſo maketh way, boaring, as it were, holes through the ſkin, and opening the paſſages in the ſuperficies thereof. But contrariwiſe wee may reaſon, that the ſlickneſſe of womens ſkin is occaſioned by coldneſſe, which doth conſtipate and cloſe the pores thereof. Now that womens skin is more faſt and cloſe then mens; you may learn and underſtand by them (friend *Athryllatus*) who uſe to lie in bed with women, that annoint their bodies with ſweet oyls, or odoriferous compoſitions; for even with ſleeping in the ſame bed with them, although they came not ſo neer as to touch the women, they find themſelves all perfumed, by reaſon that their own bodies which be hot, rare, and open, do draw the ſaid oyntments or oyls in them; Well, by this means (quoth he) this queſtion as touching women hath been debated *pro & contra*, by oppoſite arguments right manfully.

THE

THE FIFTH QUESTION.

Whether wine be naturally cold of operation?

BUt I would now gladly know, (quoth *Florus* ſtill) whereupon your conjecture and ſuſpicion ſhould ariſe, that wine is cold of nature? why? And do you thinke (quoth I) that this is an opinion of mine? Whoſe then (quoth the other?) I remember (quoth I) that not of late, but long ago, I light upon a diſcourſe of *Ariſtotle* as touching this Probleme: and *Epicurus* himſelfe in his *Sympoſium* or banquet hath diſcuſſed the queſtion at large; the ſum of which diſputation (as I take it) is thus much: For he ſaith that wine is not ſimply of it ſelfe hot, but that it containeth in it certaine atomes or indiviſible motes cauſing heat, and others likewiſe that engender cold; of which ſome it caſteth off and loſeth when it is entred into the body, others it taketh unto it, from the very body it ſelfe wherein it is; according as the ſame petty bodies be of nature and temperature, fitted and agreeable unto us; in ſuch ſort, as ſome when they be drunke with wine are well heat; others againe contrariwiſe be as cold. Theſe reaſons (replied *Florus*) directly bring us by *Protagoras* into the campe of *Pyrrho*, where we ſhall meet with nothing but incertitude, and be ſtill to ſeeke, and as wiſe as we were before: for plaine it is, that in ſpeaking of oyle, milke, honey, and likewiſe of all other things, we ſhall never grow to any particular reſolution of them, what nature they be of, but ſtill have ſome evaſion or other, ſaying, That they become ſuch and ſuch, according as each of them is mixed and tempered one with another: But what be the arguments that your ſelfe alledge, to prove that wine is cold? Thus I ſee well (quoth I) that there be two of you at once, who preſſe and urge me to deliver my mind *extempore*, and of a ſudden: the firſt reaſon then that commeth into my head is this, which I ſee ordinarily practiſed by Phyſicians upon thoſe who have weake ſtomacks; for when they are to corroborate and fortifie that part, they preſcribe not any thing that is hot; but if they give them wine they have preſent eaſe and help thereby; ſemblably, they repreſſe fluxes of the belly, yea, and when the body runneth all to diaphoreticall ſweats, which they effect by the meanes of wine, no leſſe, nay, much more than by applying ſnow, confirming and ſtrengthning thereby the habit of the body, which otherwiſe was ready to melt away and reſolve: now if it had a nature and faculty to heat, it were all one to apply meere wine unto the region of the heart, as fire unto ſnow: furthermore, moſt Phyſicians do hold, that ſleep is procured by cooling; and the moſt part of ſoporiferous medicines which provoke ſleep be cold; as for example, Mandragoras and poppy Juyce: but theſe I muſt needs confeſſe, with great force and violence do compreſſe, and (as it were) congeale the braine to worke that effect; whereas wine cooling the ſame gently, with eaſe and pleaſure repreſſeth and ſtaieth the motion thereof; ſo that the difference only between it and the other, is but in degree, according to more and leſſe. Over and beſides, whatſoever is hot is alſo generative and apt to ingender ſeed; for howſoever humidity giveth it an aptitude to run and flow, it is ſpirit, by the means of heat, that endueth it with vigour and ſtrength, yea, and an appetite to generation: now they that drinke much wine, eſpecially, if it be pure of it ſelfe, and not delaied, are more dull and ſlow to the act of generation, and the ſeed which they ſow, is not effectuall, nor of any force and vigour to ingender; their medling alſo and conjunction with women is vaine, and doth no good at all, by reaſon that their ſeed is cold and feeble: furthermore, all the accidents and paſſions which cold worketh do befall unto thoſe that be drunke; for they tremble and ſhake, they are heavy and dull of motion, and look pale; the ſpirit in their joynts and members is unquiet, and moveth diſorderly; their tongues falter, ſtut, and be double; laſt of all, their ſinews in the extremities of the body, are drawn up in manner of a crampe, and benummed; yea, and in many, drunkeneſſe endeth in a dead palſie or generall reſolution of all parts; namely, after that the wine hath utterly extinguiſhed and mortified their naturall heat. Phyſicians alſo are wont to cure theſe ſymptomes and inconveniences procured by exceſſive drinke and ſurfet, by laying the patients preſently in bed, and covering them well with cloaths, for to bring them to an heat; the next morrow they put them into the baine or hot-houſe, and rub them well with oyle; they nouriſh them with meats which do not trouble the maſſe of the body: and thus by this cheriſhing, they gently ſerch againe and recover the heat which wine had diſſipated and driven out of the body. And forasmuch as (quoth I) in things apparent and evident to the eye, we ſearch for the like faculties which lie hidden and ſecret, how can we doubt what drunkenneſſe is, and with what it may be compared? for according as I have before ſaid, drunken folke reſemble (for all the world) old men: and therefore it is, that great drunkards ſoone waxe old, many of them become bald before their time, and grow to be grey and hoary ere they be aged; all which accidents ſeeme to ſurprize a man for defect of heat.

Moreover, vineger (in ſome ſort) reſembleth the nature and property of wine: now of all things that are powerfull to quench, there is none ſo repugnant and contrary to fire as vineger is; and nothing ſo much as it, by the exceſſive coldneſſe that it hath, overcommeth and repreſſeth a flame. Againe, we ſee how Phyſicians uſe thoſe fruits to coole withall, which of all others be moſt vinous, or repreſent the liquor of wine; as for example, pomgranates and other orchard apples. As for honey, do they not mixe the ſubſtance thereof with raine-water and ſnow, for to make thereof a kind of wine, by reaſon that the cold doth convert the ſweetneſſe for the affinity that is between them,

into auſterity, when it is predominant and more puiſſant? what ſhould I ſay more? have not our ancients in old time, among ſerpents, dedicated the dragon? and of all plants, conſecrated Ivy to *Bacchus*, for this cauſe, that they be both of a certaine cold and congealing nature? Now if any do object for proofe that wine is hot; how for them that have drunke the juyce of hemlock, the ſoveraigne remedy and counterpoiſon of all other is to take a great draught of ſtrong wine upon it; I will reply to the contrary, and turn the ſame argument upon them; namely, that wine and the juyce of hemlock mingled together is a poiſon incurable, and preſently killeth thoſe who drinke it, remedileſſe. So that there is no more reaſon to prove it hot, for reſiſting hemlock, than cold, for helping the operation of it; or elſe we muſt ſay, that it is not coldneſſe whereby hemlock killeth thoſe that drinke it ſo preſently, but rather ſome other hidden quality and property that it hath.

THE SIXTH QUESTION.

Of the convenient time for a man to know his wife carnally.

CErtaine young men, who were new ſtudents, and had lately taſted of the learning contained in ancient books, were ready to teare *Epicurus* in pieces, and inveighed mightily againſt him as an impudent perſon, for propoſing and moving ſpeech which was neither ſeemly nor neceſſary, in his *Sympoſium* or banquet, as touching the time of medling with a woman: for that an ancient man, well ſtept in yeares as he was, ſhould make mention and begin talke of venereous matters, and namely, at a banquet, where many young men were in place to particularize and make queſtion in this ſort: Whether it were better for a man to have the uſe of his wife, before ſupper or after; ſeemed to proceed from a laſcivious mind, and incontinent in the higheſt degree. Againſt which ſome there were, who alledged the example of * *Xenophon*, who after his ſupper or banquet brought his gueſts (not on foot, but on horſe-back, riding a gallop away home) to lie with their wives. But *Zopyrus* the phyſician, who was very well ſeen and converſant in the books of *Epicurus*, ſaid, That they had not read diligently and with adviſement, his book called *Sympoſium*, that is to ſay, The banquet: For he took not this queſtion (quoth he) to treat of at the beginning, as a theame or ſubject matter expreſly choſen and of purpoſe, whereto all their talke ſhould be directed, and in nothing elſe to be determined and ended: but having cauſed thoſe young men to riſe from the table for to walk after ſupper, he entred into a diſcourſe, for to induce them to continence and temperance, and to withdraw them from diſſolute luſt of the fleſh, as being at all times, a thing dangerous, and ready to plunge a man into miſchiefe, but yet more hurtfull unto thoſe who uſe it upon a full ſtomacke, after they have eat and drunke well, and made good cheere at ſome great feaſt. And if (quoth *Zopyrus*) he had taken for the principall ſubject, the diſcourſe of this point, is it pertinent and beſeeming a Philoſopher, not to treat and conſider at all of the time and houre proper and meet for men to embrace their eſpouſed wives? or much better ſo to do in due ſeaſon and with diſcretion? and is it (I pray you) not diſcommendable to diſpute thereof elſewhere and at other times? and altogether diſhoneſt to handle that queſtion at the table, or at a feaſt? for mine own part, I thinke cleane contrary; namely, that we may with good reaſon reprove and blame a Philoſopher, who openly in the day time ſhould diſpute in publike ſchooles, of this matter, before all commers, and in the hearing of all ſorts of people; but at the table where there is a ſtanding cup ſet before familiars and friends, and where otherwhiles it is expedient to vary and change our talk, which otherwiſe would be but lukewarme or ſtarke cold for all the wine, how can it be unſeemly or diſhoneſt, either to ſpeake or heare ought that is wholſome and good for men, as touching the lawfull company with their wives in the ſecret of marriage? for mine own part, I proteſt unto you, I could wiſh with all my heart, that thoſe Partitions of *Zeno*, had been couched in ſome book entituled, *A banquet or pleaſant Treatiſe*, rather than beſtowed (as they are) in a compoſition ſo grave and ſerious, as are the books of policy and government of State. The young men at theſe words were cut over the thumbs; and being abaſhed, held their tongues, and ſate them down quietly. Now when others of the company requeſted *Zopirus* to rehearſe the words and reaſons of *Epicurus*, as touching this point, I am not able (quoth he) in particular, to decipher, and preciſely to ſet them down as he delivered them; but I ſuppoſe the Philoſopher feared thoſe violent concuſſions and motions, which are felt in the time of that conjunction; for that our bodies by that meanes be wonderfully ſtirred and diſquieted, in regard eſpecially of the wine, which being of it ſelfe ſtirring and cauſing much turbulent agitation, it fetteth the body ordinarily out of quiet repoſe: if then the full maſſe thereof, being in ſuch an agitation, meet not with a ſetled calme and reſt by ſleep, but runneth on ſtill headlong to other troubleſome motions, cauſed by the ſports of *Venus*, ſo that the cords and ligaments, which are wont to hold our bodies entire, and maintain them firme and ſtrong, be ſlacked and looſed, great danger there is, that the foundation being thus ſhaken the whole edifice will fall to the ground: for ſurely at ſuch a time, the very genitall ſeed is not ſo apt and ready to paſſe away with eaſe, being ſo pent and conſtipate (as it is) by reaſon of repletion; ſo that it muſt be fetched away perforce, all trombled and confuſed. In which regard (quoth *Epicurus*) a man is to go about this buſineſſe, when the body is at quiet and well ſetled; namely, after that the concoction and digeſtion both of our food is perfectly finiſhed, which all that time runneth to and fro, and willingly avoideth all ſuch diſquietneſſe; untill (I ſay) the body have need of new nouriſhment. And for

* See *Xenophon* in the end of his *Sympoſium* or banquet.

for to confirme this opinion of *Epicurus*, a man may adjoyne a reaſon out of Phyſick, namely, That the opportunity of the morrow-morning, when the concoction is thorowly performed is moſt ſafe and ſure; whereas to ſtruggle and meddle with a woman immediately after ſupper is never without danger: for who can tell (before the meat be well concocted) whether after the panting agitation by the act of *Venus*, there will not enſue another crudity and indigeſtion, ſo as a double inconvenience and ſurfet upon ſurfet may follow thereupon? Then *Olympicus* taking his turne to ſpeake and opine: As for me, I am (quoth he) infinitely well pleaſed with that ſentence of *Climus* the Pythagorean; who being demanded the queſtion, when the time was beſt to embrace a woman? Mary (quoth he) when thou art minded to do thy ſelfe moſt harme: For, that is ancient, which *Zopyrus* ſaid even now of the fit time, and carrieth ſome reaſon with it: and as for the other, it hath (I ſee well) many and ſundry difficulties and inconveniences, and is altogether unſeaſonable for this purpoſe. Like as therefore, *Thales* the wiſe, being importuned by his mother (who preſſed hard upon him) to marry; prettily put her off, ſhifting and avoiding her cunningly with words: for at the firſt time, when ſhe was in hand with him, he ſaid unto her: Mother, it is too ſoon, and it is not yet time: afterwards, when he had paſſed the flower of his age, and that ſhe ſet upon him the ſecond time, and was very inſtant: Alas mother, it is now too late, and the time is paſt; even ſo, it were good for every man to carry and governe himſelfe in theſe amatorious games of *Venus*, that when he goes to bed at night, he ſay to himſelfe: it is not yet time: and when he riſeth in the morning, Now there is no time left. Hereupon *Soclarus*: Theſe be indeed (quoth he) *Olympicus*, the parts of champions, and require ſuch as would enter combate for to win a prize at the ſacred games: theſe matters (I ſay) altogether, are for thoſe to performe who can drinke wine freely, and make a game of it, yea, and eate fleſh as luſtily: but ſurely, this ſpeech of yours little befitteth this time and place; for here are a ſort of freſh and luſty young men newly married,

By whom, wot well the works, in ſome degree,
Of love and Venus, *muſt performed be.*

Neither is dame *Venus* as yet retired and fled altogether from us, for we ſtill in chanting hymnes unto the gods, pray devoutly otherwhiles unto her, in this wiſe:

O Venus, *lady deere and goddeſſe faire,*
Hold back old age, keep from us hoary haire.

But let us conſider now (if you thinke it good) whether *Epicurus* hath done well and decently, as he ought to do, in taking away *Venus* from the night ſeaſon; or whether he hath not rather offended againſt all right and reaſon in ſo doing; conſidering that *Menander*, a man well ſeen in love-matters, ſaith, That ſhe is acquainted with her above all other gods and goddeſſes: for in mine opinion, well ordained was this vaile and ſhade of darkeneſſe to cover thoſe that are minded to performe theſe acts, and in ſome ſort to hide the pleaſure from them, and not to come unto this game by day-light, thereby to chaſe from out of their eye-ſight all ſhame, and to give meanes unto laſcivious wantonneſſe, for to be bold and confident: and finally, to imprint the memory of the act ſo lively, that it may remaine long after in the mind for to kindle and revive ſtill new luſts and fleſhly deſires: For the eye-ſight (as *Plato* ſaith) paſſeth moſt ſwiftly thorow the fleſhly affections of the body into us, that is to ſay, into our ſoule, and evermore awakeneth and raiſeth freſh and new concupiſcence, repreſenting with great force and vehemency, the images of pleaſure and putting us in mind to purſue the ſame; whereas contrariwiſe, the night taking away the greateſt part of ſuch acts as be moſt furious, lulleth nature aſleep, and bringeth her (as it were) to be, in ſuch ſort, as it doth not exorbitate or breake forth by meanes of the ſight into laſcivious looſeneſſe. But over and beſides all this, what reaſon or ſenſe is there in this, that a married man, returning all jolly, freſh and merry, from a feſtivall ſupper, and peradventure with a gay chaplet of flowers upon his head, yea, and perfumed with ſweet and odoriferous oyles, ſhould come home, go to bed, turne his back unto his wife, pull the cloaths about him round, and ſo lie to ſleep all night; and the morrow after, in broad day-light, and in the midſt of houſhold occaſions and other affaires, ſend for his wife out of the nurſery or womens roome, for to come unto him about ſuch a matter; or in the morning turne unto her and imbrace her in his armes at ſuch a time as the cock treads his hens? for the even-ride (my good friend *Olympicus*) is the end and repoſe of all our day-labours paſt, and the morning is the beginning of new travels. Of the evening god *Bacchus* is the ſuperintendent and preſident, who is ſurnamed *Lyſius* or *Liber*, for that he freeth us from all paines-taking; and accompanied he is in this preſidency of his with the Muſes, to wit, faire *Terpſichore*, who loveth dances, and pleaſant *Thalia*, who delighteth in feaſts and banquets; whereas the morning riſeth betimes by the breake of day to do ſervice unto *Minerva*, ſurnamed *Ergane*, the work-miſtris or patroneſſe of artizans; to *Mercury* likewiſe, the maſter of Merchants and occupiers: and therefore upon the evening attend ſongs, muſick, minſtrelſie, plaies, dances, weddings,

Maſques, mummeries, feaſts, and banquets,
Noiſe of hautboies, flutes, and corners.

In the morning a man ſhall heare nothing but the thumping ſounds of the ſmiths hammer and ſledges, beating and knocking upon the anvill; the graſhing noiſe of ſawes; the morrow-watch of Publicans, Cuſtomers, and Toll-gatherers, crying after thoſe that come in or go forth; the ajournments of ſerjeants and criers, calling for apparance in the court before the judges; publications of edicts and proclamations; ſummons to attend and be ready to make court, and to do duty unto ſome

Prince, great Lord or Governour of State; at which time all pleaſures be gone and out of the way.

Of Venus *then there is no talke,*
The ſlaves of Bacchus *do not walke*
With Ivy dight: the gameſome ſport
Of gallant youths is all-a-mort:
For why? as day grows on apace,
Cares and troubles come in place.

Moreover, you ſhall never read, that the Poet *Homer* reporteth of any worthy Prince and demi-god, that in the day-time he lay either with wife or concubine; only he ſaith, that *Paris*, when he fled out of the battell, went and couched himſelfe in the boſome and lap of his *Helena*; giving us thereby to underſtand, that it is not the part of an honeſt minded husband, but the act of a furious and wanton-given adulterer, to follow ſuch pleaſures in the day-time. Neither doth it follow (as *Epicurus* ſaith) that the body takes more harme by performing this duty of marriage after ſupper than in the morning, unleſſe a man be ſo drunke or over-charged with meats, that his belly is ready to crack; for certainly, in ſuch a caſe it were very hurtfull and dangerous indeed: but if one have taken his meate and drinke ſufficiently, be well in health, and in ſome meaſure cheerefull; if his body be apt and able, his mind well diſpoſed thereto; if he interpoſe ſome reaſonable time between, and then fall to clip and embrace his wife; he ſhall not thereby incur any great agitation that night, nor feare the heavy load and repletion of meat; neither will this action worke any damage or coole him too much, ne yet diſquiet and remove out of their place the atomies (as *Epicurus* ſaith,) but if he compoſe himſelfe afterwards to ſleep and repoſe, he ſhall ſoone ſupply againe that which was voided, and repleniſh the veſſels with a new afflux of ſpirits, which were emptied by the laid evacuation. But of all things, eſpeciall heed would be taken not to play at this game of *Venus* in the day time; for feare leſt the body and mind both, being troubled already with the cares and travels of ſundry affaires, be by this meanes more exaſperate and inflamed, conſidering that nature hath not a ſufficient and competent time between to repoſe and refreſh her ſelfe: for all men (my good friend) have not that great leaſure which *Epicurus* had, neither are they provided for their whole life-time, of that reſt and tranquillity, which he ſaid, that he got by good letters and the ſtudy of Philoſophy: nay, there is not one in manner, but every day he finds himſelfe amuſed and employed about many affaires and buſineſſes of this life which hold him occupied; to which it were neither good nor expedient for a man to expoſe his body ſo reſolved, enfeebled, and weakened with the furious exploit of concupiſcence. Leaving him therefore to his fooliſh opinion of the gods, that being immortall and happy, they have no care of our affaires, nor buſie themſelves therewith, let us obey the laws, manners, and cuſtomes of our own countrey, as every honeſt man ought to do; namely, to be ſure in the morning to go into the temple, and to lay our hands upon the ſacrifice, if haply a little before we have done ſuch a deed. For in truth, well it were, that interpoſing the night and our ſleep between, after a ſufficient time and competent ſpace, we ſhould come to preſent our ſelves pure and cleane, as if we were riſen new men with the new day, and purpoſing to lead a new life, as *Democritus* was wont to ſay.

THE SEVENTH QUESTION.

What is the cauſe that Muſt or new wine doth not inebriate or make folke drunke?

THe manner was in *Athens* to give the aſſay, and to taſte new wines the eleventh day of the month [February] which day they named *Pithœgia*: and verily in old time they obſerved this ceremony, to powre out the firſt drawing thereof unto the gods before they dranke of it, making their prayers devoutly, that the uſe of this medicinable drinke might be wholſome and healthfull, not noiſome nor hurtfull unto them. But in our Country this month is called *Hecatombeus*, the ſixth day of which month the manner was to pierce their veſſell firſt, and taſte new wines after they had ſacrificed to good *Fortune*, and good *Demon*, and that the weſterne wind Zephyrus had done blowing; for of all winds this is it that moſt troubleth, diſquieteth, and turneth wine: and looke what wine may eſcape this ſeaſon, great hope there is that it will hold and continue good all the yeare after: according to which cuſtome my father upon a time ſacrificed as his manner was; and after ſupper finding that his wine was good and commendable, he propoſed this queſtion unto certaine young men that were ſtudents with me in Philoſophy: How it came to paſſe that new wine would not make a man drunke: the thing ſeemed at the firſt unto many a very ſtrange and incredible paradox: But *Agias* ſaid, That this new ſweet wine was every way offenſive unto the ſtomacke, and quickly guſted it; by reaſon whereof a man could hardly drinke ſo much of Muſt as were ſufficient to overturne his braines: for that the appetite is quickly dulled and wearied for the ſmall pleaſure that it taketh, ſo ſoon as it feeleth no more thirſt. Now that there is a difference between ſweet and pleaſant, the Poet *Homer* knew well enough, and gave us ſo much to underſtand, when he ſaid:

With cheeſe and honey that is ſweet:
With pleaſant wine, a drinke moſt meet.

For in truth wine at the firſt is ſo be counted ſweet, but in the end it becommeth pleaſant, namely, after

after it hath age, and by the meanes of working, ebullition and concoction, paſſed to a certaine harſhneſſe and auſterity. But *Ariſtenatus* of *Nicæa* ſaid, That he well remembred how he had read in a certaine place in ſome books: That Muſt mingled with wine ſtaieth and repreſſeth drunkenneſſe; he added moreover, and ſaid, That there were Phyſicians who ordained for them that had overdrunke themſelves, to take when they went to bed a piece of bread dipped in honey, and to eate it; If then it be ſo, that ſweet things do mitigate and dull the force of wine: good reaſon it is, that new wine ſhould not inebriate, untill the ſweetneſſe thereof be turned into pleaſantneſſe. We approved greatly the diſcourſe of theſe two young men, for that they fell not upon triviall and common reaſon, but had deviſed new: for theſe be they that are alledged by every man, and ready at hand, to wit, the heavineſſe of Muſt or new wine, as *Ariſtotle* ſaith, which maketh the belly ſoluble, and ſo it breaketh thorow the quantity of flatulent and muddy ſpirits that abide therein, together with the watery ſubſtance, of which the ventoſities directly get forth, as expelled by force; but the aquoſity by the own nature enfeebleth the ſtrength of the wine: like as contrariwiſe age augmenteth the power thereof, for that the watry ſubſtance is now gone; by reaſon whereof, as the quantity of wine is diminiſhed, ſo the quality and vertue is encreaſed.

THE EIGHTH QUESTION.

What the reaſon is, that they who be throughly drunke are leſſe brain-ſick than thoſe who are but in the way of drunkenneſſe.

SEeing then (quoth my father) that we have begun already to diſquiet the ghoſt of *Ariſtotle*, it ſhall not be amiſſe to try what we can ſay of our ſelves, as touching thoſe whom we call ἀκρατοδόξους, that is to ſay, who are well heat with wine, but not yet ſtarke drunke; for howſoever *Ariſtotle* was ordinarily very quick and ſubtile in reſolving ſuch queſtions, yet in mine opinion he hath not ſufficiently and exactly delivered the reaſon thereof; for as far as I can gather out of his words (he ſaith) That the diſcourſe of reaſon in a man which is ſober, judgeth aright and according to the truth of things as they be: contrariwiſe, his ſenſe and underſtanding who is cleane gone, and as they ſay dead drunke, is done and oppreſſed altogether: as for the apprehenſion and imagination of him who hath taken his wine well, and is but halfe drunk, is yet ſound, nay his reaſon and judgement is troubled already and crackt: and therefore ſuch judge indeed but they judge amiſſe, for that they follow their phantaſies only: but what thinke you of this? For mine own part (quoth I) when I conſider with my ſelfe his reaſon, it ſeemeth ſufficiently to have rendred a cauſe of this effect; but if you would have us to ſearch farther into the thing, and deviſe ſome ſpeciall new matter: Marke firſt, whether this difference which he maketh between them, ought not to be referred to the body: for in theſe that have well drunke there is nothing but the diſcourſe of reaſon only troubled; becauſe the body being not yet thorowly drenched and drowned in wine is able to do ſervice unto the will and appetite, but if it be once off the hooks, (as they ſay) or utterly oppreſſed, it forſaketh and betraieth the appetites, and breaketh day with the affections, being ſo far ſhaken and out of joynt, that it can ſerve no more, nor execute the will: whereas the other having the body ſtill at command and ready to exorbitate together with the will, and to ſin with it for company, are more ſeen and diſcovered, not for that they be more fooliſh, and have leſſe uſe of reaſon, but becauſe they have greater meanes to ſhew their folly. But if we ſhould reaſon from another principle, and go another way to worke (quoth I) he that will conſider well the force of wine ſhall find no let, but that in regard of the quantity, it altereth and becommeth divers, much like unto the fire, which if it be moderate, hardeneth and baketh the tile or pot of clay; but in caſe it be very ſtrong, and the heat exceſſive, it melteth and diſſolveth the ſame: and on the other ſide, the ſpring or ſummer ſeaſon at the beginning breadeth ſeavers, and ſetteth them on fire, which in the progreſſe and midſt thereof being growne to their heights decline and ceaſe altogether. What ſhould hinder then, but the mind and underſtadding which naturally is diſquieted and troubled with wine, after it is once off the wheeles, and cleane overturned by the exceſſive quantity thereof ſhould come into the order *againe, and be ſetled as it was before? Much like therefore as Ellebore beginneth his operation to purge, by over-turning the ſtomack, and diſquieting the whole maſſe of the body; and if it be given in a leſſe doſſe or quantity than it ſhould be; well it may trouble, but purge it will not: alſo as we ſee ſome, who take medicines for to provoke ſleep, under the juſt and full quantity which is preſcribed, inſtead of ſleep and repoſe find themſelves more vexed and tormented than before; and others againe, if they take more, ſleep ſoundly: even ſo it ſtandeth to good reaſon, that the brain-ſickneſſe of him who is halfe drunke, after it is grown once to the higheſt ſtrength and vigour, doth diminiſh and decay; to which purpoſe, new wine ſerveth very well, and helpeth much: for being powred into the body with great abundance, it burneth and conſumeth that ſpice of madneſſe which troubleth the mind and uſe of reaſon; much after the manner of that doleſull ſong, together with the heavy ſound of hautboies in the funerals of dead folke, which at the firſt moveth compaſſion, and ſetteth the eyes a weeping, but after it hath drawn the ſoule ſo to pitty and compaſſion, it proceedeth farther, and by little and little it ſpendeth and riddeth away all ſenſe of dolour and ſorrow; ſemblably a man ſhall obſerve, that after the wine hath mightily troubled, diſquieted the vigorous and couragious part of the ſoule, men quickly come to

* Hereupon haply may riſe a proverb, That a man may drinke himſelfe ſober.

themſelves, and their minds be ſetled in ſuch ſort as they become quiet, and take their repoſe when wine and drunkenneſſe hath paſſed as far as it can.

THE NINTH QUESTION.

What is the meaning of the common proverbe: Drinke either five, or three, but not foure?

VVHen I had thus ſaid, *Ariſton* crying out aloud, as his manner was: I ſee well now (quoth he) that there is opened a re-entrance, and returne againe of meaſures into feaſts and banquets, by vertue of the moſt juſt and popular decree: which meaſures by means of (I wot not what) ſober ſeaſon, as by a tyrant have been this long time baniſhed from thence: for like as they who profeſſe a canonicall harmony in ſounding of the harpe do hold and ſay, That the proportion Hemiolios or Seſquialterall, produceth the ſymphony or muſicall accord Diapenta, of the duple proportion ariſeth that Diapaſon: but as for the muſick or accord called Diateſſaron, which of all others is moſt obſcure and dull, it conſiſteth in the proportion Epitritos; even ſo, they that make profeſſion of skill in the harmonies of *Bacchus* have obſerved, that three ſymphonies or accords there are between wine and water, namely, Diapenta, Diatrion, and Diateſſaron, ſinging and ſaying after this manner: Drinke five, or three, but not foure; for the fifth ſtandeth upon the proportion Hemiolios, or Seſquialterall, to wit, when three parts or meaſures of water be mingled with two of wine; and the third containe the duple proportion; namely, when two parts of water be put to one of wine; but the fourth anſwered to the proportion of three parts of water powred into one of wine; and verily this meaſure or proportion Epitritos may fit ſome grave and wiſe Senatours ſitting in Parliament; or the *Archontes* in the Councill Chamber *Prytaneum* for to diſpatch weighty affaires of great conſequence: and it may beſeeme well enough ſome Logicians that pull up their brows when they are buſie in reducing, unfolding, and altering their Syllogiſmes; for ſurely it is a mixture or temperature ſober and weak enough: as for the other twain, that medly which carrieth the proportion of two for one bringeth in that turbulent tone of the Acrothoraces before-ſaid; to wit, of ſuch as are ſomewhat cup-ſhotten and halfe drunke:

Which ſtirs the ſtrings and cords of ſecret heart,
That moved ſhould not be, but reſt apart.

For it neither ſuffereth a man to be fully ſober, nor yet to drench himſelfe ſo deep in wine, that he be altogether witleſſe and paſt his ſence: but the other ſtanding upon the proportion of two to three, is of all other the moſt muſicall accord, cauſing a man to ſleep peaceably, and to forget all cares reſembling that good and fertile corne-field which *Heſiodus* ſpeaketh of,

That doth from man all cares and curſes drive,
And children cauſe to reſt, to feed, and thrive.

It appeaſeth and ſtilleth all proud, violent, and diſordered paſſions ariſing within our heart, inducing in the ſtead of them a peaceable calme and tranquility. Theſe ſpeeches of *Ariſton* no man there would croſſe or contradict; for that it was well known he ſpake merrily: but I willed him to take the cup in hand, and as if he held the harpe or lute, to tune and ſet the ſame to that accord and conſonance which he ſo highly praiſed, and thought ſo good. Then came a boy cloſe unto him, and powred out ſtrong wine; which he refuſed, ſaying, (and that with a laughter) That his muſick conſiſted in reaſon and ſpeculation, and not in the practice of the inſtrument. But my father added thus much moreover to that which had been ſaid: That as he thought, the ancient Poets alſo had to great reaſon feigned; that whereas *Jupiter* had two nurſes nurſes, to wit, *Ida* and *Adraſtia*; *Juno*, one, namely, *Euboea*; *Apollo* likewiſe twaine, that is to ſay, *Alethia* and *Corythalia*; *Bacchus* had many more; for he was ſuckled and nurſed by many nymphs, becauſe this god forſooth had need of more meaſures of water, ſignified by the nymphs to make him more tame, gentle, witty, and wiſe.

THE TENTH QUESTION.

What is the reaſon that any killed fleſh will be naught and corrupt ſooner under the raies of the moone, than in the ſun?

ENibydemus of *Suninm*, feaſteſt us upon a time at his houſe, and ſet before us a wild bore, of ſuch bigneſſe that all we at the table wondred thereat; but he told us that there was another brought vnto him far greater; mary naught it was, and corrupted in the cartiage by the beams of the moonſhine: whereof he made great doubt and queſtion how it ſhould come to paſſe; for that he could not conceive, nor ſee any reaſon, but that the ſun ſhould rather corrupt fleſh, being as it were far hotter than the moone. Then *Satyrus*: This is not the thing (quoth he) whereat a man ſhould marvell much in this caſe; but rather at that which hunters practice; for when they have ſtrucken down either a wild bore, or a ſtag, and are to ſend it far into the City, they uſe to drive a ſpike or great naile of braſſe into the body, as a preſervative againſt putrefaction. Now when ſupper was done, *Enthydemus*, calling to mind his former queſtion, was in hand withall againe, and ſet it now on foot: And then *Moſchion* the phyſician ſhewed unto them, that the putrifaction of fleſh was a kind of eliquation and running all to moiſture; for that corruption bringeth it unto a certaine humidity

midity, ſo as whatſoever is ſappy or corrupted, becommeth more moiſt than it was before: Now it is well known (quoth he) that all heat which is mild and gentle, doth ſtir, dilate, and ſpread the humours in the fleſh: but contrariwiſe, if the ſame be ardent, fiery, and burning, it doth attenuate and reſtraine them: by which appeareth evidently the cauſe of that which is in queſtion; for the moone gently warming bodies, doth by conſequence moiſten the ſame; whereas the ſun by his extreame heat catcheth up and conſumeth rather that humidity which was in them: unto which *Archilochus* the Poet alludeth like a naturall Philoſopher when he ſaid:

I hope, the dog ſtar Sirius,
In fiery heat ſo furious
With raies moſt ardent will them ſmite,
And numbers of them dry up quite.

And *Homer* more plainly ſpake of *Hector*, over whoſe body lying along dead: *Apollo* (quoth he) diſplaied and ſpred a darke and ſhadowy cloud:

For feare leſt that the ſcorching beames,
Of ſun aloft in skie,
Should on his corps have power, th' fleſh
And nerves to parch and dry.

Contrariwiſe, that the moon caſteth weaker and more feebler raies; the Poet *Ion* ſheweth, ſaying:

The grapes do find no help by thee,
To ripen on the vine,
And never change their colour black,
That they might make good wine.

Theſe words thus paſſed: And then all the reſt (quoth I) is very well ſaid, and I approve thereof; but that all the matter ſhould lie in the quantity of heat, more or leſſe considering the ſeaſon, I ſee not how it ſhould ſtand; for this we find, that the ſun doth heat leſſe in winter, and corrupteth more in ſummer: whereas we ſhould ſee contrary effects, if putrefactions were occaſioned by the imbecillity of heat: but now it is far otherwiſe, for the more that the ſuns heat is augmented, the ſooner doth it putriſie and corrupt any fleſh killed; and therefore we may well inter, that it is not for default of heat, nor by any imbecillity thereof; that the moon cauſeth dead bodies to putriſie, but we are to refer that effect to ſome ſecret property of the influence proceeding from her: for that all kinds of heat have but one quality, and the ſame differing only in degree, according to more or leſſe: that the very fire alſo hath many divers faculties, and thoſe not reſembling one another, appeareth by daily and ordinary experiences: for gold-ſmiths melt and worke their gold with the flame of lighe ſtraw and chaffe: Phyſicians do gently warme (as it were) in *Calneo* thoſe drugs, and medicines which they are to boile together moſt all with a fire made of vine-cuttings; for the melting, working, blowing, and forming of glaſſe, it ſeemeth that a fire made of Tamorix is more meet than of any other matter whatſoever: the heat cauſed by olive-tree wood ſerveth well in dry ſtoves or hot-houſes, and diſpoſeth mens bodies to ſweat; but the ſame is moſt hurtfull to baines and baths; for if it be burned under a furnace, it hurteth the boord-floores and ſeelings; it marreth alſo the very foundations and ground-works: whereupon it commeth, that Ædiles for the State, ſuch as have any skill and underſtanding, when they let to ferme the publike baines unto Publicans and Farmegs, except ordinarily olive-tree wood, forbidding expreſſly, thoſe that rent them at their hands, not to uſe the ſame; as alſo not to caſt into the furnace or fire with which they give an heat unto them the ſeed of Darnell; for that the ſmoaks and fumes which ariſeth from ſuch matters, ingender head-ach and heavineſſe of the braine, together with a dizzineſſe and ſwimming in the head, in as many as waſh or bath in them. And therefore, no marvell it is, that there ſhould be ſuch a difference between the heat of the ſun and of the moone, conſidering that the one by his influence doth drie, and the other by her power diſſolveth humours, and in ſome bodies (by that meanes) cauſeth rheumes: and therefore diſcreet and carefull nurſes take great heed how they expoſe their ſucking babes againſt the raies of the moone, for that ſuch infants (being full of moiſture, like to ſappy green wood) will (as it were) warpe, twine, and caſt at one ſide by that meanes. And an ordinary thing it is to be ſeen, that whoſoever ſleep in the moon-ſhine, be hardly awakened, as if their ſenſes were ſtupefied, benummed and aſtonied: for ſurely, the humours (being diſſolved and dilated by the influence of the moone) do make bodies heavy. Moreover, it is ſaid, that the * full-moone (by relaxing and reſolving humours in this wiſe) helpeth women in travell of child-bearing, to eaſie deliverance. Whereupon, in my judgement, *Diana*, which is nothing elſe but the very moone, is called *Eochia* or *Ilithyia*, as having a ſpeciall hand in the birth of children; which *Timotheus* directly teſtifieth in theſe verſes:

Thorow azure skie, with ſtars beſet,
By moon that gweth ſpeed
Of child-birth, and doth eaſe the paine
Of women, in their need.

* *Pyxomēnos*, or halfe-moon, as ſome interpret it.

Moreover, the moone ſheweth her power moſt evidently even in thoſe bodies, which have neither ſenſe nor lively breath; for carpenters reject the timber of trees fallen in the full moone, as being looſe and tender, ſubject alſo to the worme and putrifaction, and that quickly, by reaſon of exceſſive moiſture; husbandmen likewiſe, make haſte to gather up their wheat and other graine from the threſhing

threshing-floore, in the wane of the moone, and toward the end of the month, that being hardned thus with drineſſe, the heap in the garner may keep the better from being ſuſty, and continue the longer; whereas corn which is inned and laid up at the full of the moone, by reaſon of the ſoftneſſe and over-much moiſture, of all other, doth moſt crack and burſt. It is commonly ſaid alſo, that if a leaven be laid in the full-moone, the paſte will riſe and take leaven better; for although it have but a little leaven, and leſſe in quantity than ordinary, yet it faileth not by the ſharpneſſe thereof (by means of rarefaction) to make the whole maſſe and lumpe of dow to ſwell and be leavened.

To returne now unto fleſh that is caught, and beginneth to putrifie, it is occaſioned by nothing elſe but this, that the ſpirit which maintaineth and knitteth the ſame faſt, turneth into moiſture, and ſo by that meanes it becommeth over-tender, looſe, and apt to run to water: an accident, which we may obſerve in the very aire, which reſolveth more in the full of the moone, than at any other time, yea, and yeeldeth greater ſtore of dews: which the Poet *Alcman* ſignifieth ænigmatically and covertly unto us, when he ſaith in one place, that dew is the daughter of the aire and the moone; for theſe be his words:

What things on earth, the dew as nurſe doth feed,
Whom Jupiter *and moone betwixt them breed.*

Thus evident teſtimonies we have from all parts, that the light of the moone is wateriſh, and hath a certaine property to liquifie, and by conſequence, to corrupt and putrifie.

As for the brazen ſpike or naile above mentioned, if it be true (as ſome hold & ſay) that being driven into the body, it preſerveth the fleſh for a time from rottenhead and putrifaction: it ſeemeth to work this effect by a certaine aſtrictive quality and vertue that it hath; for the flower of braſſe called *Verde-griſe*, Phyſicians do uſe in their aſtringent medicines: and by report, thoſe that frequent mines, out of which braſſe-ore is digged, find much help thereby for bleared and rheumatick eyes; yea, and ſome thereby have recovered the haire of their eye-lids, after they were ſhed and fallen off: for the ſmall ſcales or fine powder in manner of flowre, which commeth and falleth from the braſſe-ſtone *Chalcitis*, getting cloſely into the eye-lids, ſtayeth the rheume, and repreſſeth the flux of weeping and watery eyes: and thereupon it is ſaid that the Poet *Homer* hath given theſe attributes and epithites unto braſſe, calling it ἐυκνήμα and ῥιγόεντα. Beſides, *Ariſtotle* ſaith, that the wounds inflicted by ſpeares and lances with brazen heads, by ſwords alſo made of braſſe, are leſſe pain'full, and be ſooner healed, than thoſe which are given by the ſame weapons of iron and ſteele; for that braſſe hath a kind of medicinable vertue in it, which the ſaid weapons do leave behind them immediately in the wounds. Moreover, that aſtringent things be contrary unto thoſe that putrifie; and that preſervatives or healing matters, have an oppoſite faculty to ſuch as cauſe corruption, it is very plaine and evident; ſo that the reaſon is manifeſt of the ſaid operation: unleſſe haply ſome one will alledge, that the brazen ſpike or naile in piercing thorow the fleſh, draweth unto it the humours thereof, conſidering that there is evermore a flux in that part which is hurt and wronged. Over and beſides, it is ſaid, that there appeareth alwaies ſome marke or ſpot, black and blew, about that very place of the fleſh, bewraying (as it were) ſome mortification; a probable argument, that all the reſt remaineth ſound and entire, when the corruption runneth and floweth thither as it doth.

* I ſuppoſe Homer uſed the words in a far other ſenſe, by Moſchion leave be it ſpoken, who was a better Phyſician, than a Grammarian, as it ſhould ſeeme.

The Fourth Book

Of Sympoſiaques, or Banquet-Queſtions.

The Contents, or Chapters thereof.

1. Whether the food conſiſting of many and ſundry viands is eaſier of digeſtion than the ſimple?
2. Why it is thought that Muſhromes are ingendred by thunder; wherein alſo the queſtion is made, wherefore it is a received opinion, that thoſe who lie aſleep are not ſmitten with lightning?
3. What is the reaſon that to a wedding ſupper many gueſts were invited?
4. Whether the viands which the ſea affordeth be more delicate than thoſe of the land?
5. Whether the Jews in a religious reverence that they have of ſwine, or upon an abomination and abhorring of them forbeare to eate their fleſh?
6. What god the Jews worſhip?
7. Why the daies of the week bearing the names of the ſeven planets, are not diſpoſed and reckoned according to the order of the ſaid planets, but rather cleane contrary; where, by the way, there is a diſcourſe as touching the order of nailes?
8. What is the cauſe that rings and ſignets were worne eſpecially upon the fourth finger, or that next from the middle?
9. Whether we ought to carry in our ſcale-rings, the images of the gods engraven, or of wiſe perſonages?
10. What is the reaſon that women never eate the middle part of a Lettuce?

THE

The Fourth Book

Of Sympoſiaques or Banquet-queſtions.

The Proem.

Olybius in times paſt (O *Soſſius Senecio*) gave unto *Scipio Africanus* this good adverteſſement: Never to depart out of the market or common place, where Citizens daily aſſembled about their affaires, untill he had gotten one new friend or other, more than he had before. Where you muſt underſtand this name of friend, not preciſely as the Stoicks do, nor after the ſubtile acceptation of the word, according to curious Sophiſters; namely, for him that continueth firme, faſt for ever, and immutable; but after a civill and vulgar manner for a well-willer, as *Dicæarchus* meant, when he ſaid, That we ought to make all men our well-willers, but honeſt men only our friends: for ſurely, this true friendſhip and amity cannot be gotten and purchaſed, but in long time, and by vertue; whereas that good-will of civill perſons may be gained by affaires and dealings one with another, by conference and converſing, and otherwhiles, by playing and gaming together: namely, when opportunity of time and place meeteth therewith, which helpeth not a little to the winning of humane affection and favour among men. But conſider now, whether that leſſon and precept of *Polybius* may be fitted, not only to the market and common place aforeſaid, but alſo to a feaſt or banquet; namely. That a man ought never to riſe from the table, nor to depart from the company met at a feaſt before he know that he hath acquired the love and good affection of ſome one of thoſe there aſſembled; and to much the rather, becauſe men repaire ordinary to the publike place of the City about other negotiations and buſineſſe; but to a feaſt wiſe and diſcreet perſons come as much to get new friends, as to do pleaſure unto thoſe whom they have already: and therefore, as it were, a baſe, abiurd, and illiberall part to ſeeme to carry away from a feaſt or banquet any thing whatſoever; ſo to go from thence with more friends than he brought thither at his entrance, is a delectable, honeſt and honourable thing: like as on the contrary ſide, he that is negligent and careleſſe in this behalfe, maketh that meeting and fellowſhip unpleaſant and unprofitable unto himſelfe, and ſo he goes his way as one that had ſupped with his belly, and not with his mind and ſpirit: for he that commeth as a gueſt to ſupper among others, commeth not only to take his part with them, of bread, wine, meats, and junkets, but to communicate alſo in their diſcourſes in their learning, yea, and their pleaſant curteſie, tending all in the end to good will and amity. For wreſtlers to catch and take faſt hold one of another, had need of duſt ſtrewed upon their hands; but wine at the table, eſpecially when it is accompanied with good talke, is that which giveth meanes to lay hold upon friends, and to knit them together. For ſpeech doth tranſfuſe and derive by diſcourſe and communication, as it were, by conduits and pipes, curteſie and humanity, from the body to the mind; for otherwiſe diſperſed it is, and wandreth all over the body, and doth no other good at all, but only fill and ſatisfie the ſame. And like as marble taketh from iron red-hot the fluxible moiſture by cooling it, and maketh that ſofneſſe to become hard and ſtiffe, whereby it is more apt to receive the impreſſion of any forme received; even ſo honeſt diſcourſe and talke at the table, ſuffereth not the gueſts that are eating and drinking together, to run endlong ſtill, and be carried away with the ſtrength of wine; but ſtayeth them, and cauſeth their mirth and jollity (proceeding from their liberall drinking) to be well tempered, lovely, well beſeeming, yea, and apt to be ſealed (as it were) with the ſignet of amity and friendſhip, if a man know with dexterity, how to handle and manage men, when they are thus made ſoft and tender, yea, and capable of any impreſſion, through kind heat, by the meanes of wine and good cheere.

* λογὸς, rather οἶνος, wine.

THE FIRST QUESTION.

Whether the food conſiſting of ſundry ſorts of viands be eaſier of digeſtion than the ſimple?

THe firſt queſtion then of this fourth Decade of Table-diſcourſes, ſhall be concerning diverſity of meats: for by occaſion of the ſolemne feaſt * *Elaphebolia*, for the celebration whereof we went to the City *Hyampolis*. *Philon* the Phyſician invited us, who (as it ſhould ſeem) had made great preparation of good cheere to entertaine us magnificently; and ſeeing with *Philinus* a young lad his ſon feeding heartily upon dry bread without calling for any other meat to it, tooke occaſion to breake out into this admiration: O *Hercules*, now ſurely here is the common Proverbe verified indeed!

* That is to ſay, The Stag killing.

They fought in place all full of ſtone,
But from the earth could lift up none.

And therewith he leapt forth and ran into the kitchin to ſerch ſome good victuals for them: and after he had ſtaied a pretty while away, he came againe and brought nothing with him but a few dry figs and ſome cheeſe; which when I ſaw, This is (quoth I) the ordinary faſhion of thoſe, who having made proviſion of rare and exquiſite things, which alſo be coſtly and ſumptuous, do neglect thoſe which

which be good and neceſſary, whereof afterwards, they find a miſſe and want. I never remembred
* Or Zoroaſtres. (quoth *Philon*) that our *Philinus* here ſeemeth to feed after the manner of * *Soſtratus*, who never (by report) did eate or drinke any thing, all his life time, but only milke: but as for him, very like it is, that upon ſome change of mind he began this manner of diet, and that he had not alwaies lived ſo, but this *Philinus* here, like another *Chirón*, feedeth his ſon (like as *Achilles* was brought up from his very infancy) with ſuch meats as have no bloud in them, that is to ſay, of the fruits of the earth. And think you not, that by this certaine demonſtration, he verifieth that which is written of the graſhoppers; namely, that they live of the aire and dew? I never thought upon a ſupper (quoth *Philinus*) or a feaſt of an hundred beaſts killed for ſacrifice, as they were when *Ariſtomenes* feaſted his friends; for otherwiſe, I would have come from home well provided before-hand of ſimple viands, which be wholſome and healthfull, as preſervatives hanging about our necks, againſt theſe ſumptuous, ſurfetous and feaverous feaſts; for that I have heard many times Phyſicians ſay, That ſimple viands are eaſier of digeſtion than variety of meats, like as they be alſo readier at hand, and ſooner provided. Then *Marcion* directing his ſpeech unto *Philo*: This *Philinus* here (quoth he) mars all your proviſion of good cheere, frighting as he doth your gueſts, and (what lies in him) withdrawing them from eating thereof: but if you willl requeſt me, I ſhall anſwer in your behalfe, I will pawn my ſelfe alſo and be their warrant, yea, and prove unto them afterwards, that the diverſity of meats is more eaſie to be concocted and digeſted than their ſimplicity and uniformity, to the end that they may in the meane time be the bolder and better aſſured to fall unto their victuals, and make merry with that plentifull fare that you have ordained for us: Then *Philo* entreated *Marcion* ſo to do.

Now after that we had ſupped, we called upon *Philinus* to ſet in hand with the accuſation of this multiplicity of ſundry and divers viands: Why (quoth he againe) I am not the author of this poſition; neither is it I that have ſaid ſo; but this good hoſt of ours *Philo* here, who evermore telleth us: Firſt and formoſt, that thoſe beaſts which feed upon a ſimple kind of meat, and the ſame alwaies one, live more healthy than men; whereas they that be kept up and crammed in coupes, cages, mews, and bartons, or otherwiſe ſtank-fed and fatted, are in greater danger to fall into diſeaſes, and more ſubject to crudities, for that their meat is ſet before them mingled, compounded, and in ſome ſort delicately condited. Secondly, there was never yet any Phyſician ſo bold and venturous in making new experiments, who durſt offer unto his patient ſick of an ague any meat or nouriſhment ſo compounded of divers ſorts; but ordained there is for them alwaies the ſimpleſt that can be had, and leaſt ſmelling of the kitchin and cooks crafts; as that which is moſt eaſie to be concocted in the ſtomack: for in truth our meats ſhould ſuffer alteration, and be wrought by the naturall faculties within us: and like as the colours which are moſt ſimple do ſtrike the deepeſt die, and give the beſt tincture; and among oyles that which hath no ſent at all taketh beſt the aromaticall drugs and odors of the perfumes, and ſooner turneth or changeth than any other; even ſo the ſimpleſt nouriſhment is that which moſt eaſily is altered and concocted by the vertue digeſtive: whereas if there be many and ſundry qualities, and thoſe of a contrary operation, they corrupt ſooneſt, for that they fight and run one againſt the other, and ſo hinder concoction; much like as in a City, the confuſed multitude of many nations huddled together from all parts hardly will ever grow to any agreement, and conſiſtence well united and accordant; for that each party leaneth to their own rites, ſtriveth to draw all to their own commodity, and followeth their private affections againſt others, hardly or never agreeing and framing well with ſtrangers. Moreover, we may have a moſt evident and infallible argument of this by the familiar example of wine, for nothing there is that ſo doth inebriate, as variety and change of wines; and it ſeemeth that drunkenneſſe is nothing elſe but the indigeſtion of wine: and therefore our great profeſſed drinkers avoid all that ever they can, mixt and brewed wines; yea, and they that are the brewers and minglers thereof, do it as ſecretly as it is poſſible; like to thoſe that lie in ambuſh: for ſurely every change brings with it inequality, and a kind of extaſie, putting all out of frame; which is the cauſe likewiſe that Muſicians are very wary how they ſtir or ſtrike many ſtrings together, and yet there is no other harme at all to be ſuſpected but the mixture and variety. This I dare be bold to affirme, that a man will ſooner beleeve and conſent to a thing where contrary reaſons be alledged, than make good concoction, and digeſtion of divers and ſundry faculties; but becauſe I would not be thought to ſpeake in jeſt, leaving theſe prooſes, I will come to the reaſons of *Philo*: for we have heard him oftentimes ſay, That it is the quality of the meat that cauſeth difficulty of digeſtion; and that the mixture of many things is pernicious, and engendreth ſtrange accidents: and therefore we ought to take knowledge by experience, what is friendly and agreeable to nature, that we may uſe the ſame, and reſt contented therein; and if peradventure there be nothing of the own nature hard to be concocted, but that it is the quantity alone that troubleth and hurteth our ſtomack, and there corrupteth, ſo much the rather, in mine advice, we ought to forbeare divers ſorts of viands, wherewith *Philoes* cooke exerciſing his art cleane contrary to his maſters, hath even now empoyſoned and bewitched us, by diverſifying our appetite, and by novelties and change, not ſuffering it to be weary, and to refuſe any thing, feeding it ſtill with one thing after another, and cauſing it by this variety to paſſe the bonds of contentment in reaſon; much like unto the foſter-father of Lady *Hypſipile*:

Who being ſet in meadow gay,
Flower after flower did crop away:

And

And yet his mind ſo childiſh was,
And in deſire ſo far did paſſe,
That booty none would him content,
Untill the flowers moſt part off went.

In this caſe therefore it were good withall to remember the wiſe inſtruction of *Socrates*, who giveth us counſell to take heed and beware of thoſe viands which draw men on to eate, when they are not hungry, wherein his meaning was this and none other; that we ſhould avoid and feare the diverſity and plurality of meats: for this is it that cauſeth us to exceed the bounds of ſuffiſance, farther than needfull is, and retaineth our pleaſure in things that content the eye and the eare, in vereneous matters, in plaies, games, and all kinds of ſport, being continually refreſhed and renewed ſtill with a ſingularity and ſuperfluity that hath many heads: whereas in ſimple and uniforme pleaſures the attractive delight never exceedeth the neceſſity of nature. To be ſhort, of this mind I am: That a man would better endure a Muſician, who commended a confuſion of many ſtrings diſcordant; or a maſter of wreſtlers who praiſed the annointing of bodies for exerciſe with ſweet oyles and perfumed oyntments; than a Phyſician who recommended this multiplicity and variety of viands; for ſurely ſuch alterations and changes from one diſh to another, muſt needs force and drive us out of the right way to health.

After that *Philinus* had thus ſaid: I am of this mind (quoth *Marcion*) that not only they who disjoyne and ſever profit from honeſty, incur the malediction of *Socrates*, but alſo thoſe who diſtinguiſh pleaſure and health aſunder, as if pleaſure (forſooth) were repugnant, or an enemy unto it, and not rather a friend and companion thereof: for ſeldome and even againſt our wils (quoth he) do we make any uſe of paine, as being an inſtrument too boiſterous and violent, whereas no man, would he never ſo faine, can chaſe pleaſures away, and baniſh them, but they will preſent themſelves alwaies in our feeding, in ſleeping, in waſhing, bathing, ſweating, and annointing our bodies; they entertaine, foſter, and cheriſh him that is over-travelled and weary, putting away quite by a certaine familiar property, agreeable unto nature, whatſoever is ſtrange and offenſive: for what manner of paine, what want, what poiſon is there, how ſtrong ſoever it be, that riddeth or diſpatcheth a malady ſo ſoon or ſo preſently as the bath in due time; or wine given to thoſe that have need, and when their heart doth faint? Our meat going down into the ſtomack merrily, and with pleaſure diſſolveth incontinently all wambles, reducing and reſtoring nature again into her own eſtate; as if faire weather and a calme ſeaſon were come againe; whereas on the contrary ſide, the ſuccours and remedies which are procured by dolorous and painfull meanes, by little and little, hardly and with much ado are brought about and effected, even with wrong and injury offered unto nature: let not *Philinus* therefore ſet himſelfe in oppoſition againſt us, in caſe we do not hoiſe up and ſpread all our ſailes, to flie away from pleaſures: but endeavour and ſtudy we rather to draw delight and health together, for to make a marriage between them, for which we have more reaſon than ſome Philoſophers, to match pleaſure with honeſty. For firſt and formoſt (*Philinus*) me thinks in the very entrance of your diſcourſe, that you are greatly deceived; ſetting down this ſuppoſall for a ground: That brute beaſts feed more ſimply than men, and in that regard live more healthfully; for neither the one nor the other is true: and as for the former, diſproved plainly it is by the teſtimony of the goats, of whom the Poet *Eupolis* writeth, who highly commend and praiſe their paſture, as being mingled, and conſiſting of the variety of all plants and herbs: who ſing and ſay in this manner:

We feed in plenty every where
Upon the plants which earth doth beare;
The ſtately Firre we barke and brouſe
The Holme likewiſe with mighty boughs;
The tender crops of Arbute tree
Which beares a fruit like Strawbery,
Do yeeld us food, and many moe
Which both on hills and dales do grow;
As namely, ſweet tree Trifoly
On which we love to eate daily;
The Juniper with fragrant ſmell,
The Teugh ay-green and leav'd as well;
Wild Olives and fruitfull Lentiſk,
Which yeelds the wholſome gum Maſtick,
Aſh, Fig-tree, Oakes that high do grow,
Ivy, Lings which creep as low;
Whins, Tamarix, Gorſe and Broome,
Chaſte-tree, Brambles, all and ſome,
Mollein, Longwort, Aſphodell,
Ladan ſhrub that ſweet doth ſmell:
Beech-trees, with triangled Maſt,
Thyme and Savory, be our repaſt.

For even theſe trees, ſhrubs, and herbs, here reckoned up, have no doubt infinite differences in taſte,

taſte, juyce, ſavour, ſent, and vertue; and yet there be a number more beſides theſe left out unnamed. And as for the ſecond point, *Homer* refuteth it by an evident experience, ſhewing that murrens and peſtilent contagions ſeized firſt upon brute beaſts: beſides, their ſhort life witneſſeth ſufficiently how diſeaſed they be, and ſubject to many accidents and infirmities; for there is not one of them to ſpeake of, that liveth long, unleſſe haply ſome man will give inſtance of the raven and the crow, which we know and ſee to eate much, and to feed of all ſorts of victuals. Moreover, me thinks that reaſoning from the diet of ſick-perſons, you have not gone by a right rule to diſcerne the meats which be of eaſie or heavy digeſtion; for labour and exerciſe, yea, and to cut and chew the meat well ſerve much for concoction; but for all that they agree not to thoſe who are in a feaver: furthermore, I ſuppoſe, that you feare without juſt occaſion the repugnance and contrariety of divers and ſundry meats: for ſet the caſe that either nature doth out of different and diſlike meats, chuſe and take that which is agreeable unto it; the divers nouriſhment tranſmitting many and ſundry qualities into the maſſe and bulke of the body, diſtributeth unto every part that which is meet and fit for it: ſo as that commeth to paſſe which *Empedocles* delivered in theſe verſes:

Sweet will to ſweet, and therewith loves to joyne;
The bitter runs to that which bitter is;
Look what is ſharp with ſharp doth well combine,
With ſaltiſh parts ſalt ſorteth not amiſs.

This goeth one way, and that another, each one to that which is ſutable thereto, after that the mixture by the heat which is ſeated in the ſpirits is dilated and ſpread abroad, the like alwaies follow their own kind: for a body mingled and compounded of ſo many things aſſembled together as ours is, by all reaſon doth contract, entertain, and accompliſh the temperature thereof by variety of matter, rather than by a ſimple uniformity thereof; or if it were not ſo, but that the concoction ſo called, be it which hath force to alter and change our viands; yet the ſame will both ſooner and alſo better be performed in ſundry and divers meats, than in that which is one and ſimple: for never will the like receive any paſſion or alteration by the like; but contrariety and repugnancy is that which ſooner turneth and changeth the qualities being enfeebled by the mixture of their contrary: and if you reſolve once (*O Philinus*) to condemne all that which is mixed and compounded; do not reprove and revile this *Philo* here, for entertaining only his friends at the table with ſo coſtly fare and variety of dainty diſhes? but alſo, yea, and ſo much the rather, whenſoever he compoundeth and mixeth thoſe royall confections, and thoſe cordiall electuaries that be counter-poiſons, which *Eraſiſtratus* was wont to call: The very hands of the gods; condemne them (I ſay) of vanity, curioſity, and abſurdity, who confound and mixe together minerals, herbs, theriacall trochiſts, made of the parts of venemous ſerpents, for the compoſition of their treacles; yea, and in one word, whatſoever land or ſea affordeth: for by your advice good it were for to abandon all theſe mixtures, and reduce all phyſick to plaine piſans, thin barley water, cucumber ſeeds, all ſimple, or at the moſt to oyle and water mingled together: yea, but this plurality and diverſity of viands, doth by your ſaying raviſh, tranſport and enchant our appetite, as it were, beſides it ſelfe, inſomuch as it hath no more maſtery of it ſelfe: I anſwer my good friend: That the ſame draweth after it purity and neatneſſe; it maketh a good ſtomack; it cauſeth a ſweet breath; and in one word, procureth cheerefulneſſe in us, and a diſpoſition both to eate more, and to drinke better: for otherwiſe why take we not courſe bran inſtead of the fine flower of meale to thicken our pots? or why dreſſe we not and prepare *cives and golden thiſtles, as well as we do the tender crops and heads of garden ſperage? why reject we not this odoriferous, fragrant, and delicate wine of ours, to drinke ſome ſavage and hedge drinke; as cyder made of apples, even out of the tub which reſounds with the conſort and muſick of gnats and flies round about? for you will ſay (I am ſure) that an healthfull diet is not the flying and avoiding of pleaſure altogether; but rather a moderation and temperature of pleaſures, making uſe of that appetite which is obedient to profit: for like as Pilots and Maſters of ſhips have many devices and meanes to eſcape a bluſterous and violent wind when it is aloft, but when the ſame is allaied and down, there is no man able to raiſe and ſet it up againe; even ſo to withſtand the appetite, and to repreſſe the ſame when it doth exceed, is not ſo hard and difficult a matter; but to ſtir up, to provoke, and corroborate the ſame when it is loſt, and decayed before due time; or to give an edge unto it, being dull, and faint, is a maſtery indeed, and a piece of work (my friend, I may ſay unto you) not ſo eaſily done: whereby it appeares, that the nurture of divers viands is better than the ſimple food, and that which by reaſon is alwaies of one ſort, doth ſoone ſatiſfie and give one enough, by how much more eaſie it is to ſtay nature, when ſhe is too ſpeedy and haſty, than to ſet her forward, being weary and drawing behind: and whereas ſome haply there be, who ſay, that repletion and fulneſſe is more to be feared and avoided than inanition and emptineſſe, that is not true; but rather the contrary: indeed, if repletion and ſurfet grow to corruption, or to ſome malady, it is hurtfull; but emptineſſe (if it bring and breed none other harme elſe) is of it ſelfe adverſe and contrary to nature. Let theſe reaſons therefore be oppoſed, as it were, diſſonant and ſounding of a contrary ſtring, againſt thoſe which you (*Philinus*) have philoſophically diſcourſed: as for others of you here, that for ſaving money, and to ſpare coſt, ſtick to ſalt and *cummin; you are ignorant for want of experience, that variety is more pleaſant, and the more delectable that a thing is the more agreeable it is to the appetite, (provided alwaies that you ſhun exceſſe and gormandiſe) for ſurely it cleaveth quickly to the body which is

* ὑδίαν.

* κύμινον, ſome read κύαμον, that is to ſay beanes.

is deſirous of it, going, as one would ſay before, and ready to meet it halfe way for to receive it, having the eye-ſight to prepare the way: whereas contrariwiſe, that which is lothſome or not pleaſing to the appetite, floateth and wandereth up and down in the body, and findeth no entertainment in ſuch ſort, as either nature rejecteth it quite, or if ſhe receive it, the ſame goes againſt her heart, and ſhe doth it for pure need, and want of other ſuſtenance: now when I ſpeak of diverſity & variety of viands, note thus much and remember, that I mean not theſe curious works of paſtry: theſe exquiſite ſawces, tarts, and cakes, which go under the name of *Aburiaca*, *Canduli*, and *Caryce*; which are but ſuperfluous toyes and vanities; for otherwiſe *Plato* himſelfe allowed variety of meats at the table, to theſe generous and noble Gentlemen his Citizens, whom he deſcribeth in his Commonwealth, when he ſetteth before them, bulbs, ſcalions, olives, ſalade herbs, cheeſe, and all manner of dainties that worth would afford; and over and above all theſe, he would not defraud nor cut ſeals ſhort of their junckets and banqueting diſhes at the end of all.

THE SECOND QUESTION.

What is the reaſon of this opinion ſo generally received, that Muſhromes be engendered of thunder? and that thoſe who lie aſleep are not thought to be ſmitten with lightning?

At certain ſupper, where we were in the City *Elis*, *Agemachus* ſet before us Muſhromes of an exceeding bigneſſe: whereat when the company ſeemed to wonder, one who was there preſent, ſmiled and ſaid: Certes, theſe may beſeem well the great thunders that we have lately had within theſe few dayes: by which words he ſeemed pleaſantly to ſcoff at this vulgar opinion: That Muſhromes ſhould breed of thunder. Now ſome were there, who ſaid: That thunder cauſed the earth to chink and open, uſing the meanes of the air, as it were a wedge to cleave it, and withal, that they who ſeek for Muſhromes, by thoſe crevices gueſſe where they are to be found: whereupon aroſe this common opinion: That they were engendered of thunder, and not ſhewed thereby; as if a man ſhould imagine that a ſhowre of rain breedeth ſnailes, and not rather cauſe them to creep forth and be ſeen abroad. But *Agemachus* ſeemed then in good earneſt to confirm the ſaid received opinion, by experience, praying the company, not to conclude by and by that a thing was incredible, becauſe it was ſtrange and wonderful: For (quoth he) there be many other effects of thunder, lightning, and other meteors, or celeſtial impreſſions right admirable; whereof it were very hard, if not altogether impoſſible, to comprehend the cauſes and the reaſons. For this ridiculous round root called the Bulb, which maketh us ſo good ſport, and is grown into a by-word, little though it be, eſcapeth not by that means from thunder, but becauſe it hath a property clean contrary unto it; like as the fig tree alſo, and the skin of the Seale, or Sea-calfe, and of the beaſt *Hyæna*, with whoſe skinnes, mariners and ſailers are wont to cloath the ends of their croſſe-ſaile-yards, whereupon they hang their ſailes: gardeners alſo and good husbandmen, call thoſe ſhowers that fall with thunder, ὑδρόφθα, that is to ſay, good to water their grounds, and ſo they think them to be. In ſumme, it were great ſimplicity and meer folly to wonder hereat, conſidering that we doe ſee before our eyes, things more admirable then this, and indeed of all other, moſt incredible; namely, out of moiſt clouds, fire to flaſh, and from the ſame (ſoft as they be) ſo great cracks and horrible claps of thunder: Well, I am (quoth he) in theſe matters ſomewhat talkative and full of words, becauſe I would ſollicite and move you to be more willing to ſearch into the cauſe, for that I mean not to deale hardly otherwiſe with you, and ſeem to preſſe you every one to lay down your part toward the payment for theſe my great Muſhromes. Why (quoth I) *Agemachus* himſelfe ſeemeth in ſome ſort to have pointed with his very finger to the reaſon hereof: for I aſſure you, at this preſent I cannot think of any one, more probable then this: namely, that together with the thunder, there falleth down many times a certain genital water, apt to ingender: and the cauſe thereof, is heat mingled among: for, that pure, light, and piercing ſubſtance of the fire, being now converted into lightning, is gone and paſſed away: but the more weighty, groſſe, and flatulent part remaining behind, enwrapped within the cloud, altereth and taketh quite the coldneſſe away, and drinketh up the moiſture, making it more flatuous and windy, in ſuch ſort, as by this means eſpecially, theſe rains gently and mildly enter and pierce into plants, trees, and herbs, upon which they fall, cauſing them within a while to thrive in bigneſs, and infuſing within them a particular temperature and a peculiar difference of juice. As we may obſerve otherwiſe, that the dew maketh the graſſe to be better ſeaſoned (as it were) and fitter to content the appetite of ſheep and other cattel: yea, and thoſe clouds upon which that reflexion is made, which wee call the rain-bow, fill thoſe trees and wood upon which they fall, with a paſſing ſweet and pleaſant odour: whereof the Prieſts of our country be not ignorant, but acknowledge as much, calling the ſame *Iriſiſcepta*, as if the rain-bow did reſt or ſettle upon them. Much more probable it is, that when theſe waters and rains together with their ventoſities and heats, occaſioned by thunders and lightnings, come to pierce deep into the earth, it turneth and rolleth round, and by that means are ingendered therein ſuch like nodoſities and knobs, ſoft and apt to crumble, which we call Muſhromes: like as in our bodies there breed and ariſe certaine flatuous tumors, named Kirnels or Glandules, formed by occaſion of I wot not what bloody humors and heats with-in: for a Muſhrome ſeemeth not to be a plant, neither without rain & moiſture doth it breed, having no root at all, nor any ſprout ſpringing from it: it is wholly entire of it ſelf round

about, and holding upon nothing, as having the conſiſtance onely of the earth which hath been a little altered and changed. And if you think this reaſon to be but ſlender, I ſay unto you more, that the moſt part of thoſe accidents which follow upon thunder and lightning, are of the like ſort; and therefore it is eſpecially, that in theſe effects there is thought to be a certain divinity. Then *Diogenes* the Orator who was in the company: Truth it is (quoth he) that you ſay, for not only the vulgar ſort of ſimple and ignorant people are of that opinion, but ſome alſo of the Philoſophers: and for mine own part I know as much by experience, that the lightning which of late fell upon our houſe, wrought many ſtrange and wonderful things; for it emptied our ſellers of wine, and never did hurt unto the earthen veſſels wherein it was; and whereas there lay a man aſleep, it flew over him, yea, and flaſhed upon him, without any harm at all to his perſon, or ſienging ſo much as his cloaths, but having a belt or pouch, wherein were certain pieces of braſſe money, it melted and defaced them all ſo confuſedly, that a man could not know by the form or impreſſion, one from another. the man went thereupon to a certain Pythagorian Philoſopher, who as hap was ſojourned there, and demanded of him what the reaſon might be thereof, and what it did preſage? But the Philoſopher, when he had cleared and aſſoiled his mind of ſcrupulous fear and religion, willed him to ponder and conſider of the matter apart by himſelfe, and to pray unto the gods. I hear ſay alſo, that not long ſince there was a ſouldier at *Rome*, who keeping the Centinel upon one of the Temples of the City, chanced to have a flaſh of lightning to fall very neer unto him, which did him no hurt in the world in his body, but only burnt the latchets of his ſhoes: and whereas there were certaine ſmall boxes and cruets of ſilver within wooden caſes, the ſilver within was found all melted into a maſſe in the bottom, and the wood had no injury at all, but continued ſtill entire and ſound. But theſe things a man may chuſe whether he will beleeve or no. Howbeit, this paſſeth all other miracles, which we all (I ſuppoſe) do know very well: namely, that the dead bodies of thoſe who have been killed by lightning, continue above ground and putrifie not: for many there be who will neither burn nor enterre ſuch corſes, but caſt a trench or bank about, and ſo let them lie as within a rampart; ſo as ſuch dead bodies are to be ſeen always above ground uncorrupt: convincing *Glymene* in *Euripides*, of untruth, who ſpeaking of *Phaethon* ſaid thus:

Beloved mine, behold where dead he lies,
In vale below, and wherewith putrifies.

And hereupon it is (as I take it) that brimſtone taketh the name in Greek *Θεῖον*, for the reſemblance of that ſmell which thoſe things yeeld that have been ſmitten with lightning: which no doubt have a fierry and piercing ſcent: and this may be the reaſon likewiſe in my conceit, that dogs and fowles of the aire forbear to touch any dead bodies, which in this ſort are ſtricken from Heaven. Thus far forth have I laid the firſt ſtone for a ground-work of this cauſe, as alſo of the Bay-tree: Now let us entreat him here to finiſh and make out the reſt, for that he is well acquainted with Muſhromes, leſt haply that befal unto us which ſometimes to the Painter *Androcydes* did; for when hee painted the Gulfe *Scylla*, he portrayed more naturally and to the life, the fiſhes all about, then any thing elſe beſides: whereby men judged that he ſhewed more affection therein, then cunning of his art, for that naturally he loved to feed upon good fiſhes: and even ſo ſome one might ſay: that we have diſcourſed ſo much of Muſhromes, the breeding and generation whereof is ſo doubtful, as you ſee for the pleaſure and delight that we take in eating of them. Conſidering now that in theſe points our diſcourſe ſeemed to carry ſome probability, and that every man was perſwaded well enough that the cauſe and reaſon thereof was clear: and with al my ſelfe began to ſpeak and adviſe, that it was now time as the manner was in Comedies, to ſet up thoſe engins deviſed for to counterfeit thunder ſo to inferre a diſputation at the table of lightning; to which motion all the company condeſcended, but paſſing over all other points, very deſirous and earneſt they were to hear a diſcourſe as touching this one: What the reaſon might be that men aſleep be never ſmitten or blaſted with lightning. Now albeit, I ſaw well enough, that I ſhould gaine no great praiſe, in touching a cauſe, whereof the reaſon was common, yet I began to ſet to it and ſaid: That the fire of lightning was fine and ſubtile, as that which took the original and beginning from a moſt pure, liquid, and ſacred ſubſtance, which if there had been in it any moiſture, or terreſtriall groſſeneſſe mingled among, the Celerity of motion is ſuch, that it would have purged and caſt it forth: Nothing is ſmitten with lightning (quoth *Democritus*) that cannot reſiſt the fire from Heaven: and therefore ſolide bodies, as iron, braſſe, ſilver, and gold, be corrupted and melted therewith, by reaſon that they hold out, and withſtand it: contrariwiſe, ſuch as bee rare, full of holes, ſpungious, ſoft, and laxe, lightning quickly pierceth through, and doth them no harm; as for example, cloathes, or garments, and drie wood; for ſuch as is greene will burne, becauſe the moiſture within maketh reſiſtance, and ſo catcheth fire withal. If then it be true, that thoſe who lie aſleep be never ſtricken dead with thunder and lightning, ſurely wee muſt ſearch here for the cauſe, and never go farther; for the bodies of men awake, are ſtronger, more firme and compact, yea, and able to make more reſiſtance, as having all their parts full of ſpirits, by which ruling, turning, and welding the natural ſenſes and holding them together, as it were, with an engine, the living creature becommeth ſtrong, faſt, knit, and uniforme: whereas in ſleep it is ſlack, looſe, rare, unequal, ſoft, and as it were all reſolved, by reaſon that the pores be open, for that the ſpirit hath forſaken and abandoned them; which is the cauſe likewiſe that voices, odours, and ſavours, paſſe through them, unheard, and un ſmelled: for why? that which ſhould reſiſt, and in reſiſtance ſuffer

ſuffer and take impreſſion, meeteth not with thoſe objects, that are preſented unto it, and leaſt of all, when they pierce with ſuch ſwiftneſſe and ſubtility, as the fire of lightning doth; for that which of it ſelfe is leſſe firm and ſtrong for to reſiſt offenſive things, nature doth defend, fortifie, and furniſh with remedies againſt that which offendeth, by putting before them hard and ſolid munitions; but look what things be of incomparable force, and invincible, they leis offend and hurt that which yeeldeth, then that which maketh head and reſiſtance: add moreover hereunto, that they who lie aſleep are leſſe afraid, affrighted, or aſtonied, by occaſion whereof and of nothing elſe, many have died; only (I ſay) for fear of death, without any harm at all done unto them: and this is the very cauſe that ſhepherds teach their ſheep to run and gather round together, into a troop when it thundreth, for that they which are diſperſed and ſcattered aſunder, for very fear take harm, and caſt their young ones in time of thunder: yea, and an infinite number have been known to lie dead on the ground, by reaſon of thunder, without any mark or ſtroak, wound, ſcorch, or burn ſeen upon them, whoſe life and ſoul for very fear hath flown out of their bodies, like a bird out of a cage: for according as *Euripides* ſaith:

The very blaſt of ſome great thunder-clap,
Hath many a one ſtruck ſtone dead with a flap.

And foraſmuch as otherwiſe the ſenſe of hearing, is of all others moſt ſubject to ſuffer violent paſſions, and the fearful frights occaſioned by ſounds and noiſes, work greateſt troubles in the mind: againſt it, the privation of ſenſe is a ſure bulwark and rampart to a man that lieth aſleep; whereas they who are awake, be many times killed with fear of the thing before it commeth: for a fright (to ſay a truth) knitting, cloſing, and compreſſing the body faſt, giveth more ſtrength a great deale to the ſtroak when it comes, for that it findeth more reſiſtance.

THE THIRD QUESTION.

Why at a wedding or bride-ſupper, men uſe to invite more gueſts, then at other times?

At the wedding of my ſon *Autobulus* (O *Seſſius Senecio*) one who came from *Charonea*, was with us to ſolemnize the feaſt; and a great number there were beſides of other honorable perſonages; which gave unto him occaſion for to demand this queſtion: What the cauſe might be, that ordinarily we invite more gueſts to ſuch a marriage ſupper then to any other feaſt? conſidering that even thoſe Law-givers who impugned moſt, the ſuperfluity and riot of feaſts, have preciſely and expreſly ſet down the number of thoſe perſons, whom they would have to be bidden gueſts to a wedding: For of the ancient Philoſophers (quoth he) the man that treated of this argument and the cauſe thereof, to wit, *Hecataeus* of *Abdera* hath written nothing in my judgement worth ought, nor to the purpoſe; for thus he ſaith: That they who marry wives, bid many perſons to their wedding, to the end that many may take knowledge and bear witneſſe, that being free born, and of free condition, they take wives likewiſe of free birth and condition. For the Comical Poets, clean contrary, mock and laugh at thoſe, who make proud & ſumptuous feaſts at their mariage, ſetting out the ſame with great pomp and magnificence, as if that were no ſure bond nor link to be truſted unto, wherewith they would ſeem to knit wedlock; like as *Menander* ſaid to one, who willed the bridegroom to make a ſtrong rampart all about, of Pots, Pans, and Platters:

When that is done on every ſide,
What is all this to your new bride?

But leſt we might not ſeem to finde fault with others at our pleaſure, for that we have nothing of our own to ſay, which is the eaſieſt matter in the world; I ſhewed firſt and formoſt, that there was no occaſion of feaſting, ſo publick nor ſo much divulged and celebrated, as marriage: for ſay that we ſacrifice unto the gods, or feaſt a friend for his farewel when he is to go a long voyage, or entertain a traveller and ſtranger that paſſeth by our houſe, or commeth of purpoſe to viſit us, we may do all without the privity of kinſfolk and friends: but a nuptial feaſt (where the wedding-ſong and carol of *Hymeneus* is chanted aloud: where the torches are to be ſeen light burning: where the haut-boyes and pipes play merrily and reſound: where (as *Homer* ſaith) the very women and maidens ſtand wondering at their doors, to ſee and hear) is notoriouſly known and proclamed to the whole world: in regard whereof, becauſe there is none ignorant of theſe eſpouſals and feſtival ſolemnities, men being aſhamed to leave out any, invite generally, all their kinſfolk, familiar friends and acquaintance, as whom in ſome ſort it doth concern, and who have an intereſt in the thing. When we all had approved this, *Theon* taking in hand the queſtion: Surely all this (quoth he) may go for currant, for it carrieth great probability therewith: but you may add moreover (if you pleaſe) thus much: That theſe marriage feaſts are not only for friends, but alſo for kinſfolk and allies: for that a whole kindred, race and generation, come to have another new alliance to be incorporated into them: and that which more is, when two houſes in this wiſe be joined together: both he who received the woman, thinketh that he ought to entertain and feaſt the kindred and friends of him that giveth her: and he who giveth her, likewiſe taketh himſelfe bound to do as much reciprocally, by the kinſfolk and friends of the receiver: whereby the feaſt and number of them who are bidden, groweth double. Now foraſmuch as many marriage complements, and (to ſay a truth) the moſt part in manner all, are performed at weddings by women, ſurely where the good wives be, great reaſon there is, that of neceſſity their husbands alſo ſhould be welcome for their ſakes, and ſo thereby the company ſtill doth encreaſe.

THE FOURTH QUESTION.

Whether the viands which the Sea affordeth, be more delicate then thoſe of the Land?

Alepſus a town in *Eubœa*, where there be baths naturally of hot waters, is a proper ſeat and place fitted by nature, for ſundry honeſt pleaſures, beautified with many fair houſes and lodgings, in ſuch ſort, as it is reputed the publick Hoſtelry of all *Greece*: and albeit there be great game there, of hunting and hawking, and wonderful plenty as well of fowle as other venilon, yet is the market no leſſe ſerved from the ſea, nor their tables leſſe furniſhed with dainty fiſh; for that indeed along the coaſt the ſea is very deep, and the water fair, nouriſhing an infinite number of excellent fiſhes. This town flouriſheth more in the midſt of Spring, then at any other ſeaſon of the year; for much concourſe there is thither at that time, who converſe familiarly one with another, feaſting mutually, and taking the benefit of that great affluence of victuals, and abundance of all good things: where having nothing elſe to do of great importance, they paſſe the moſt part of the time in deviſing and diſcourſing together of good letters and matters of learning: but whenſoever *Calliſtratus* the profeſſor of Rhetorick is at home, hardly may a man ſup any where elſe but at his houſe; for, a man ſo full of courteſie he is and hoſpitality, that there is no ſaying of him nay. Now for that willingly he uſed to bring thoſe together who were learned and profeſſed Scholars, his company was ſo much more pleaſant and delectable: for many times he would ſeem among other ancient perſons of old time, to imitate *Cimon*, making his whole and only pleaſure, to feaſt many in his houſe, and thoſe from all parts: but moſt of all, and in manner continually, he followed the example and ſteps of *Celeus*, of whom it is written, that he was the firſt who daily aſſembled to his houſe a number of honourable perſons, and of good mark, which aſſembly he called *Prytaneum*. The ſpeeches ordinarily at theſe meetings in *Calliſtratus* his houſe, was ſorting well and ſuitable to ſuch company: but one day above the reſt, when the table ſtood furniſhed with all manner of diſhes that a mans heart could wiſh for, it miniſtred matter and occaſion to enquire as touching viands, whether were better, thoſe of the Land, or thoſe of the Sea; And when all others in manner with one accord and voice, commended them which the Land did yeeld, as being of ſo divers and ſundry ſorts, yea, and thoſe innumerable; *Polycrates* calling *Symmachus* by name; You ſir, (quoth he) who are (as one would ſay) a water-Animal, bred and fed within ſo many ſeas, environing round about your ſacred City *Nicopolis*, wil not you maintain and defend your tutelar god *Neptune*? Yes that I will (quoth *Symmachus*) I heartily pray and beſeech you to join with me in this cauſe, whom I take for mine adjoint and aſſiſtant; conſidering that you enjoy the benefit of the ſweeteſt and moſt pleaſant coaſt of all the ſea. Begin we then (quoth *Polycrates*) our diſcourſe with our uſuall cuſtome and manner of ſpeech: For like as among ſo many Poets as there be, we give but one by way of excellency, ſimply the name of Poet; to wit, *Homer*, for that of all others he is the principall: ſo there being in the world many dainty cates, and exquiſite viands, yet uſe of ſpeech hath carried it ſo, that fiſh alone, or eſpecially is named ὄψον, that is to ſay, meat, for that indeed it is the chiefe and very beſt: hereupon it comes, that we call thoſe gluttons that love belly-cheer ſo well, ὀψοφάγους, and φιλόψους, not for that they love Beefe ſo well as *Hercules* did: who as the Poet ſaith:

When that he had fed well of fleſh,
D.d eat green new figs gathered freſh.

Neither do we name ſuch an one φιλόψυχον, that is to ſay, a lover of figs, as *Plato* was, or φιλοβάλανον, that is to ſay, one that loveth grapes as well, like as *Arceſilaus* did: but ſuch as haunt ordinarily the fiſh ſtalls, and have a quick ear, to hear the market bell, or liſten to the clock, that giveth warning when the fiſh-market is open: And *Demoſthenes* when he objected unto *Philocrates*: That with the money that he received for betraying his country, he bought Whores, and Fiſhes; reproached the man no doubt for his leachery and gluttony; and it is pretily ſaid of *Cteſiphon*, when as one of theſe gluttons and belly-gods, in the court or counſel houſe cried out: That he ſhould crack and burſt in the midſt: Do not ſo (quoth he) my good friend in any caſe, make us not a bait here, for to be devoured of fiſhes: and he that made theſe little verſes:

Thou liv'ſt of capers as thy meat,
When as of a Sturgeon thou maiſt eat.

* ἀνθίας, it is not a Sturgeon, it was ſome delicate fiſh.

What was his meaning think you? or what meaneth this common word of the people, when they ſpeak one to another, for to be merry and make good cheer: Come, ſhall we to the ſtrond or ſhore to day? Is it not as much as if they meant; that to ſup by the water ſide had no fellow for pleaſure and delight, as in truth it hath not; for ſurely their purpoſe is not to go unto the ſhore for becauſe they would eat ſome good peaſe pottage there, or make their meales with capers? no forſooth; for who goes thither for that purpoſe? but it is becauſe they that dwell along the bank by the water ſide are provided always of ſondon and ſtore of good fiſh: and the ſame freſh and ſweet. Moreover, ſea fiſh carrieth an higher price beyond all reaſon, then other meat that commeth to the market: inſomuch as *Cato* declaming and inveighing openly before the people againſt the ſuperfluity and exceſſe in *Rome* City, brake out into this ſpeech not hyperbolically and over-reaching the truth, but as it was indeed: That a fiſh at *Rome* was deerer ſold then a fat Ox; for they ſell a little barrel of fiſh at ſuch an high price, as an hundred Oxen would not coſt ſo much, at a ſolemne ſacrifice, where they go before Boares, Goats, and other beaſts, yea, and the ſtrewing of ſacred Meale, Cernes, the beſt judge of the vertue and ſtrength of medicinable drugs and ſpices, is the moſt expert Phyſician: likewiſe no man is able ſo well to judg of ſong and harmonical meaſures, as the beſt and moſt experienced Muſician: and conſequently we may infer, that the meeteſt judg as touching the goodneſſe and daintineſſe of meats, is he who loveth them beſt: for we muſt not take to arbitrate and determin ſuch a controverſie and queſtion as this, *Pythagoras* or *Xenocrates*; but rather *Antagoras* the Poet, *Philoxenus* the ſon of *Eryxis*, and *Androcydes* the Painter, who being to make a Picture for to repreſent the Gulfe *Scylla*, drew even the fiſhes about it moſt emphatically with a kind of affectionate mind unto them; and in one word, more lively and naturally then all the reſt, becauſe he loved fiſh ſo well, and fed upon them with ſuch contentment. *Antagoras* the Poet was upon a time in the camp of King *Antigonus*, who finding him very buſie all untied and unbuttoned, in ſeething of Congers in a pan, came cloſe unto him, and rounding him in the ear: Sirra (quoth he) thinkeſt thou that *Homer* thy Maſter, when he deſcribed the noble acts of *Agamèmnon*, was buſie about boiling of Congers: unto whom *Antagoras* turned again, and replying in this wiſe preſently: And think you Sir (quoth he) that when *Agamemnon* exploited thoſe brave feats of Armes, hee went up and downe in his camp ſpying, peeping, and prying into every corner ſo buſily as you doe, for to ſee if he could finde one ſeething a Conger? Thus much *Polycrates*: and to conclude and knit up his ſpeech: For mine owne part (quoth he) this I thought good to ſay in the behalfe of fiſhes, induced thereto as well by the proofe of teſtimonies as cuſtome and uſuall ſpeech.

But I (quoth *Symmachus*) will handle this matter ſoberly, and in good earneſt, going more ſubtilly and liker a logician to work, in this manner: For it that be counted dainty and delicate which ſeaſoneth meat, and giveth it the moſt pleaſant taſte; we muſt needs confeſſe, that ſimply to be the beſt, which maintaineth the appetite, and giveth an edge to the ſtomach that continueth longeſt: like as therefore thoſe Philoſophers ſurnamed Elpiſtiques affirme: That there was nothing that maintained life, and held body and ſoul longer together then Hope, for that without hope which doth mitigate and allay all travels, it is impoſſible to live; even ſo we muſt needs grant and yeeld, that to keep and preſerve appetite beſt, without which all other viands be lothſome and odious: but nothing ſhall you find of that property and effect, comming out of the earth; but ſuch a thing the ſea affordeth, and that is Salt, without which nothing to ſpeak of is ſavory, nothing toothſome, nor to be eaten: for even our very bread is not pleaſing to our taſte, if there be no ſalt within it: which is the reaſon that *Neptune* and *Ceres* be always worſhipped together in one Temple: In ſumme, ſalt is, as it were, the ſauce of ſauces, and that which ſeaſoneth all the dainties whatſoever. And hereupon it was that thoſe Worthies and Demi-god Princes, who encamped before *Troy*, and made profeſſion of ſpary and ſimple diet, as religious votaries, and who cut off all curious ſuperfluity and exceſſe, over and above neceſſary food, inſomuch as they did not eat once of fiſh; notwithſtanding they had a ſtanding Legier, hard upon the ſtraights of *Helleſpont*, could not endure to be ſerved at the table without ſalt: witneſſing thereby, that it is the onely viand which cannot be rejected or left out: for like as colours of neceſſity require light: even ſo all thoſe ſapours and juices within meats, have need of ſalt, to ſtir up the ſenſe of taſte, and to provoke appetite, otherwiſe they are but flat, unpleaſant to the tongue, and lothſome: for dead carrions (as *Heraclitus* ſaith) would be caſt forth, rather then dung and ordure: and what is the fleſh that wee eat, but a dead thing, and part of a dead carcaſſe? but when the ſtrength of ſalt is put thereto, it is inſtead of life, to give a grace and commendable taſte unto it: and this is the reaſon, that before other food, we take thoſe things that be ſharp and ſaltiſh, and in one word, whatſoever do ſtand moſt of ſalt; for ſuch be alleCtives of the appetite, which being drawn on, and entiſed as with a bait, by the means of theſe vantcurriers and preparatives, it commeth more freſh, and with a better edge, ready to ſet upon other meats, whereas, if we ſhould begin with them firſt, our ſtomach would quickly be done and gone. I will yet ſay more then ſo: namely, that all the kinds of ſalt, ſerve not onely to give a good reliſh to our meats, but alſo draw on our drinks, and cauſe us to make a quarrel unto the cup. As for that Onion which *Homer* talketh of, and praiſeth for a ſpecial dainty to commend drink, it was more meet indeed for marriners, and rowers at the Oare, then Kings and Princes: but in truth, thoſe meats that be powdred or corned a little with ſalt, for that they be ſavory in the mouth, give all wines a pleaſant verdure to pleaſe the taſte, and to go down the throat merrily: the ſame make any water potable and delightſome, having beſides, no ſuch rank and ſtrong ſcent, as the Onion leaves behind it. That which more is, ſuch meats do rarifie other viands, and prepare them for concoction and digeſtion, in ſuch ſort, as ſalt being eaten, imparteth unto the body the delight of a dainty viand, and the might of an wholſome medicine.

To come now unto other meats, wherewith we are furniſhed from the ſea: beſides, that they are paſſing ſweet, they be alſo of all others moſt harmleſſe; for albeit they be of a fleſhly ſubſtance, yet they lie not heavy upon the ſtomach, they be eaſily concocted and ſoon paſſe downward: witneſſe hereof our *Zeno* here, yea, and beleeve me *Crato*, who ſo ſoon as men be ſick, or ill at eaſe, before all other directions, betake them to fiſh diet. Furthermore, it foundeth to good reaſon, that the ſea breedeth and feedeth for us, living creatures more wholſome then any others, by how much they be more exerciſed, conſidering that the very air which it doth breath & ſend forth, for the

purity and ſimplicity thereof is moſt agreeable unto us. Well ſaid of you (quoth *Lamprias*) and fully to the point; howbeit, ſomewhat I will add more out of my Philoſophical learning: My Grandfather (I remember) was wont ordinarily to ſay of the Jews by way of mockery, that they abſtained from the eating of that fleſh, which of all others deſerved moſt juſtly to be eaten: even ſo may we ſay, that man hath not ſo great right and reaſon to feed upon any viands whatſoever, as thoſe that come out of the ſea: for, ſay that there were no other communion and fellowſhip between us and theſe land-creatures: yet at leaſtwiſe, thus much there is, that many of them eat of the ſame food with us, draw in the ſame aire, waſh and drink as we do, yea, and otherwhiles we are abaſhed, and take pity of them, when we kill them for our food, making a lamentable cry as they do: and for that we have made ſome of them familiar unto us, inſomuch as they can do many things anſwerable to the education which they had; whereas the fiſhes in the ſea and rivers, are altogether ſtrangers unto us, as being bred, nouriſhed and living in another world: no voice of theirs, no aſpect of countenance, nor ſervice at all which either they have done or can do for us, can exempt them or crave mercy at our hands, for to have their lives ſaved. For what uſe ſhould we make of thoſe creatures which we cannot keep alive with us? or what charitable affection can we bear toward them, the place where we live, is to them no leſſe then hell: for no ſooner come they into it, but dead they are immediately.

THE FIFTH QUESTION.

Whether it is upon any reverent or religious opinion of Swine, that the Jews abſtain from their fleſh, or becauſe they deteſt and abhor them?

After theſe ſpeeches thus paſſed, ſome there were, who prepared and addreſſed themſelves to diſpute in oppoſition againſt that which had been ſaid: but *Calliſtratus* breaking off and putting by all further diſputation of this argument: What think you (quoth he) of that by-ſpeech, diſcharged againſt the Jews by *Lamprias*; namely, that they forbear to eat of that fleſh which deſerveth moſt juſtly of all others to be eaten? For my part (quoth *Polycrates*) I think it paſſing well ſpoken: but this more and beſides, troubleth my head, and maketh me doubt, whether this nation, upon any honour or reverent regard of Swine, or for meer abomination and hatred of the beaſt, doth abſtain from their fleſh? as for that which themſelves alledge, it reſembleth Fables and deviſed tales: unleſſe haply they have ſome other ſerious and ſecret reaſons, which they are loth to deliver before the face of the world. To ſay what I think (quoth *Calliſtratus*) I am verily perſwaded, that the Swine is in ſome honour among them: for admit that it be a foul and illfavoured beaſt, what then? that it be filthy beſides, what of that? I cannot ſee that it is more ugly in ſhape to ſee to, or more untoward of nature to be endured, then the Bettil, the Crocodile, or the Cat: which notwithſtanding, the Egyptian Prieſts do honour and reverence as moſt holy creatures, ſome in one place and ſome in others: and as for the Hog, it is ſaid, they regard and honour it by way of thankſgiving, as grateful perſons, acknowledging a benefit received from that beaſt, in that it ſheweth them the manner how to till and ear the ground, breaking up the earth, digging and rooting (as he doth) into it with his ſnout: and withal, what ſay you to this, that he hath ſhewed the making of a plow-ſhare, which ſome think, thereupon took the name ὑὸς, as derived of the word ὑῦς, that is to ſay, a Swine And verily, the Egyptians at this day, ſuch as inhabit the low-countrey and the flats along the river *Nilus*, have no need of other plow then the Swines ſnout: for when the river is returned again within his bank, after he hath watered the plains and champion field ſufficiently, the peaſants of the country do more but follow preſently with their ſeed, and put in all their Hogs after it, who partly trampling with their feet, and in part turning up the ſoft earth with their noſes, cover the ſeeds which the husbandmen have caſt upon the ground. No marvel therefore, if there be ſome nations, who in this reſpect forbear to ear Swines fleſh, conſidering there be other beaſts, who for as ſmall matters as theſe, yea, and ſome that be meer ridiculous and to be laughed at, have had right great honours done unto them, by barbarous nations: for it is ſaid, that the Egyptians make a god of the ſilly blind Mouſe Mygale: and why ſo? becauſe darkneſſe was before light, and is of greater antiquity: alſo they have an opinion, that this creature is ingendered of Mice in the fifth generation, or at the fifth time that they breed, and that in the very change of the Moon; alſo, that the Liver of it doth decreaſe, as the Moon is in the wane, and doth decay with her light.

Moreover, they conſecrate the Lyon unto the Sun, for that it is the only four-footed beaſt having crooked claws, which bringeth forth whelps that can ſee: alſo, for that the Lion is very wakeful, and ſleepeth paſſing little, and whiles he ſleepeth, his eyes do ſhine again. Moreover, they ſet Lions heads gaping for the ſpouts of their fountains, becauſe (forſooth) the river *Nilus* bringeth new waters into their fields, and corn grounds, when the Sun paſſeth thorow the ſign *Leo* in the Zodiack: and as for the black Stork *Ibis*, which they likewiſe honour, they ſay, that when it is firſt hatched, ſhe weigheth two drams, that is to ſay, juſt as much as the heart of a young infant newly born doth poiſe: alſo that of the two legs and the bill ſtretched forth one from the other, and reſting upon the ground, is made the true proportion of triangle with three equal ſides: And why ſhould the Egyptians be blamed and condemned for ſo great folly and abſurdity, ſeeing that by report, the very Pythagoreans themſelves adored and worſhipped a white Cock; and among other ſea fiſhes they abſtained from the Barble and the nettle fiſh; conſidering alſo that the Magicians, who

who were of the ſect of *Zoroaſtres*, honored above all living creatures upon the earth the Urchin or Hedghock, but hated water-Mice; ſaying: That he ſhould do beſt ſervice, and moſt acceptable to the gods, yea, and be right bleſſed and happy himſelfe, who could kill the greateſt number of them.

This giveth me occaſion to think, that if the Jews had held Swine hateful, and abominable creatures, they would have killed them, like as the Magicians did the ſaid Mice; whereas contrariwiſe they are as well forbidden to kill them, as to eat them: and peradventure there is good reaſon, that as they honour the Aſſe, for that ſometime in a great drought he ſhewed them a place wherein was a fountain of water: even ſo they reverence the Swine, for teaching them how to ſow and till the ground. And verily ſome man haply might ſay, that this people abſtaineth likewiſe frum eating the Hare, hating and abhorring the ſame, as an impure and un-lean beaſt: It is not without ſome cauſe (quoth *Lamprias*, taking the word out of his mouth) that they forbeat eating of the Hare, for the reſemblance that it hath to the Aſſe, whoin they myſtically do worſhip; for the colour of them both is all one: the ears be long and big withal; their eyes great and ſhining: in which reſpects there is a marvellous ſimilitude between them, in ſuch ſort, that of a great and ſmall beaſt, there is not to be found ſuch a reſemblance again in any other: unleſſe peradventure among other ſimilitudes, they imitate herein the Egyptians, who eſteem the ſwiftneſſe of the beaſt divine, yea, and the exquiſite perfection of ſome natural ſenſes, admirable: for the eyes of Hares be ſo vigorous and indefatigable, that they will ſleep open eyed, and their hearing ſo quick, that the Egyptians having them in ſuch admiration therefore, when they would ſignifie in their Hieroglyphick Characters perfect hearing, do paint and pourtray Hares: as for Swines fleſh, the Jews have in great abomination, for that barbarous nations do of all other diſeaſes abhor Saint *Magnus* evil, or the white leproſie moſt, as well for that they ſuppoſe, that theſe maladies may be engendered, by feeding upon their fleſh, as alſo becauſe, look what perſon they do aſſail, them they do eat and conſume in the end; and this we do ſee ordinarily, that a Swine under his belly is full of a kind of leaproſie, and covered all over with a white ſcurf, called *Pſoras*; which infection ſeemeth to proceed from ſome evil habit, and inward corruption within the body, bewraying it ſelfe in the outſide of the skin; to ſay nothing of the filthineſſe of this beaſt, both in feeding and otherwiſe, which muſt needs impart ſome evil quality to the fleſh; for there is not another beaſt again, that taketh ſuch pleaſure in durt and ordure, loving to wallow and welter in the moſt miry and ſtinking places that be, as it doth; unleſſe they be ſuch as breed and be nouriſhed in thoſe places: furthermore, it is ſaid, that the ſight of their eyes is ſo bent and fixed downward that they can ſee nothing on high, no, nor once ſo much as look up to the skie, unleſſe they be caſt on their backs with their feet upward: ſo that the balls of their eyes by this means be turned quite contrary to the courſe of nature: and verily this beaſt howſoever otherwiſe ordinarily it be given to cry and grunt exceeding much, yet if the feet be turned upward (as is before ſaid) it will be ſilent and ſtill: ſo much aſtonied and amazed it is to ſee the face of Heaven, which it is not wont to do, and ſo for fear of ſome greater harm, it is thought that it giveth over crying: Now if we may come in with Poetical fables to make up our diſcourſe, it is ſaid, that fair *Adonis* was killed by a wild bore: and *Adonis* is thought to be no other then *Bacchus* himſelfe: which opinion may be confirmed by many ceremonial rites, in ſacrificing both to the one and the other, which are the very ſame: although ſome hold that *Adonis* was the minion whom *Bacchus* loved, as appeareth by *Phanocles* the Poet, a man well ſeen in love-matters, in theſe verſes:

Bacchus *who took ſo great delight*
The hills and forreſts for to range:
Of fair Adonis *had once a ſight,*
And him to raviſh made it not ſtrange.

Symmachus marvelling at this laſt ſpeech of his above the reſt: How now (quoth he) will you *Lamprias* indeed inſert and tranſcribe the tutelar god of your country:

Bacchus *I mean ſurnamed* Evius,
Who women doth to rage incite:
And in ſuch ſervice furious,
And frantick worſhip takes delight.

among the ſecret ceremonies of the Hebrews? Or do you not think there is ſome reaſon that hee is the very ſame god whom they love. Then *Meragenes*: Let *Lamprias* alone (quoth he) as for my ſelfe who am an Athenian. I anſwer and ſay unto you aſſuredly, that he and *Bacchus* are both one: but the moſt part of the arguments and conjectures which prove it, may not be uttered and taught, but unto thoſe who are profeſſed in the abſolute religion and confraternity trieterical, of *Bacchus* in our country: howbeit, that which we are not forbidden to ſpeak among friends, and namely at the Table amid our cups, and when we take pleaſure in the gifts and benefits of this god (if it pleaſeth the company) ready I am to deliver: and when they all willed and requeſted him ſo to doe: * First and formoſt (quoth he) the ſeaſon and whole manner of their principal and greateſt feaſt, is altogether proper and convenient unto *Bacchus*; for that which they call their faſt, they celebrate in the very midſt and heat of vintage, at what time as they bring tables abroad, and furniſh them with all kinds of fruit: they ſit under tents or booths, which are made principally of vine branches and ivy, wrought twiſted, and interlaced one within another; and the even or day before it, they call the feaſt of Tabernacles or Pavilions: within a few days after, they celebrate another feaſt, and the ſame

* See the blind locks and vanity of theſe pagans: who for want of the true light out of holy Scriptures run on ſtill in darkneſſe, carried with the wings only of humane wit and learning.

ſame is not under a figure, and covertly, but openly and directly in the name of *Bacchus*: there is a third ſolemnity yet among them, named *Cradeploria*, of carrying vine branches, and *Thyrſophoria*, of bearing javelins dight with ivy, and in that manner enter they into their Temple, but what they do within we know not: howbeit very probable it is, that they perform there certain Bacchanales or Rites in the honour of *Bacchus*; for they uſe little Trumpets to invocate upon their god, ſuch as the Argives have in their Bacchanale ſolemnity; then come others playing upon Harps and Lutes, whom they call in their langnage *Levites*, a denomination derived of *Lycius*, the ſurname of *Bacchus*, or rather of *Evius*: It ſeemeth alſo to me, that their feaſts of Sabbaths is not altogether diſagreeable with *Bacchus*; for there be many places yet in *Greece* even at this day, where they call the Prieſts *Bacchi*, by the name of *Sabbi*: who in their Bacchanales and ceremonial ſports, eſtſoons reiterate theſe voices, *Evoi* and *Sabboi*, as appeareth in the Oration of the Crown which *Demoſthenes* made againſt *Æſchines*; as alſo in the Poet *Menander*. And this name, Sabbat, if a man ſhould ſay, it was impoſed upon this feaſt of ἀσύβησις, that is to ſay, of the inordinate motion and turbulent agitation of the Prieſts of *Bacchus*, it were not altogether abſurd and without reaſon: for even they themſelves teſtifie no leſſe: for they ſolemnize and honor the Sabbat with mutual feaſting and inviting one another to drink wine, until they be overſeen therewith, unleſſe ſome great occaſion doe occur that hindereth them; and even then, they think yet that they muſt needs taſte ſtrong wine. Howbeit, ſome man may haply ſay, that theſe arguments be but bare conjectures and preſumptions, that carry with them ſome little probability: but verily, that which is done among them, is a forcible and neceſſary proof. Firſt and formoſt, their high Prieſt ſhewing himſelfe abroad, and going before with a Mitre upon his head, at theſe feaſts, argueth no leſſe: who alſo is clad in a veſture of Stags skin, wrought richly with Gold: arrayed beſide in a long robe, down to his feet, and wearing buskins: beſides, there be many little bells pendant round about the border and skirt of his robe, which gingle and ring as he goeth, like as alſo among us: this manner of reſounding they uſe ſtill in their ſacrifices, and they ſurname the Nurſes of their god, *Cholcodryte*: and beſides, there is a *Thyrſe* or *Javelot* with tabours to be ſeen expreſſly printed aloft, againſt the walls of their temple: all which ceremonies certainly can agree to no other god, but unto *Bacchus*.

Moreover, in none of all their oblations do they offer honey, for that they think it marreth and corrupteth wine when it is mingled with it: and yet this was the liquor which they uſed in old time, to ſerve God withal in their libaments: and whereof they drank until they were drunk, before that the Vine tree was known: and even at this day, thoſe barbarous nations, who drink no wine, uſe a certain drink made of Honey, correcting the exceeding ſweetneſſe thereof with certain tart and auſtere roots reſembling (in ſome ſort) the verdure of wine: theſe oblations the Greeks preſent unto their gods, and thoſe they call *Nephalia* and *Meleſponda*, as one would ſay, Sober and conſected with honey: for that Honey hath a natural property adverſe and contrary unto Wine. To conclude, that this is the ſame God which they worſhip, a man may collect by this one argument, which is of no ſmall force: namely, that among many puniſhments which they have, this is the moſt ſhameful and ignominious, when they are forbidden to drink wine: who are puniſhed even ſo long as it pleaſeth him to ſet down, who is the judge, and hath power to impoſe the penalty: and thoſe who are thus puniſhed, * * * * *

The end of this diſcourſe is wanting, as alſo the diſcuſſing and deciding of the other five queſtions propoſed in the forefront of this fourth book.

The Fifth Book

Of Sympoſiaques, or Table-Queſtions.

The Contents, or Summary.

1. WHerefore we willingly hear and ſee them who counterfeit thoſe that be either angry or ſorrowfull; but ſuch as be wroth or heavy indeed, we love not either to hear or ſee?
2. That there was an ancient game of prize, performed in Poetry.
3. Why the * Pitch tree is conſecrated to Neptune and Bacchus; alſo that in the beginning, men uſed to crown with branches of the ſaid tree, thoſe who won the prize at Iſthmick ſolemnity of ſacred games: afterwards, with a garland of * Smallach: and now again, they begin to take up the crowning of them with Pitch tree.
4. What is the meaning of theſe words in Homer, Σωσήτεον ἠδὲ κέκευσε.
5. Of thoſe that invite many to ſupper.
6. What is the cauſe of ſitting pent and with ſtraight room at the beginning of ſupper, but at large afterward, toward the end.
7. Of thoſe who are ſaid to eye-bite, or to bewitch?
8. What is the reaſon that the Poet called an Apple tree, ἀγλαόκαρπον: and why Empedocles named Apples, ἀκίδφλοια.
9. What

* πίτυς.

* σελίνῳ, ſome take it for Parſley.

9. What is the reaſon, that a Fig tree being it ſelfe in taſte moſt ſharp and biting, bringeth forth a fruit exceeding ſweet.
10. Who are they that are ſaid in the common proverb to be ἀεὶ ἄλλα ἢ κύμινον.

The Fifth Book

Of Sympoſiaques, or Table-Queſtions.

The Proëme.

WHat your opinion is at this preſent (O *Soſſius Sinecio*) as touching the pleaſures of the ſoul and body, I wot not;

For that now many a mountain high,
And ſhady forreſt ſtand between;
The roaring ſeas likewiſe do lie,
So as to part us, bars they been.

for you ſeemed not greatly, long agoe, to approve and allow their ſentence, who hold: That there is nothing properly and particularly delightſome, nothing at all that it deſireth, or joyeth in, of it ſelfe, but that it liveth only according to the life of the body, laughing (as it were) and ſporting with it in the pleaſant affections thereof; and contrariwiſe, mourning at the heavy paſſions afflicting it: as if the ſoule were no other thing, but a very matter apt to take the impreſſion of ſundry forms, or a mirror to receive the images and reſemblances of thoſe objects which are pre ented unto the fleſh and body: for as by many reaſons, a man may eaſily refute the blind and illiberal falſity of this opinion; ſo by this eſpecially, that after the table is taken away, and ſupper done, men of learning and knowledge incontinently fall into diſcourſe and deviſe together (as it were) at a banquet, delighting and ſolacing one another with pleaſant talk, wherein the body hath no part at all, unleſſe it be very little and afar of: which experience beareth witneſſe, that this is the proviſion of dainty cates, and delicate pleaſures laid up peculiarly for the ſoul; and that theſe be the only delights indeed of the minde, wherers thoſe other be but baſtards and ſtrangers infected with the ſociety of the body: like as therefore nurſes whiles they give paps and panades unto their little babes, have ſome ſmall pleaſure in feeding them, by taſting the ſame in their own mouths before; but after they have filled their infants bellies, and brought them aſleep, ſo as they cry no more, then they go themſelves to their own refection, meet for them, they eat and drink and make good cheer; even ſo the ſoul doth participate with the deſires and appetites of the body, in manner of a nurſe attending upon it, ſerving it, and framing her ſelfe in ſome ſort to do it pleaſure, and ſatisfie the neceſſities thereof: but after that the body is ſufficiently ſerved, layed at reſt and repoſe, then being delivered of her obſequious ſervice and buſineſſe about the body, ſhe betaketh her ſelfe from thenceforward unto her own pleaſures and delights: making her repaſt, and taking her ſolace in diſcourſes of learning in good letters, in ſciences and hiſtories, and in ſeeking to hear ſomewhat, and know more ſtill of that which is ſingular. What ſhould a man ſay any more of this? conſidering and ſeeing as he doth, that even baſe mechanical and unlettered fellows, after ſupper, ordinarily withdraw their minds, and employ the ſame upon other pleaſures and recreations, far removed from the body, propoſing dark riddles, enigmatical queſtions, and intricate propoſitions of names compriſed under notes of certaine numbers, hardly to be aſſoiled or gueſſed at? and after all this, come in banquets, which make way unto players, jeſters, counterfeit pleaſants, giving room to *Menander*, and the actors of his Comedies: all which ſports and paſtimes are not deviſed for to eaſe and take away any pain of the body, no, yet to procure ſome gentle motion and kind contentment in the fleſh; but only for that the ſpeculative and ſtudious part of the mind, which naturally is in every one of us, doth demand and call for ſome particular pleaſure and recreation of her own, when we are once diſcharged of the buſineſſe and offices whereabout we are employed for the body.

THE FIRST QUESTION.

What is the cauſe that willingly we hear and ſee thoſe who counterfeit them that be angry, or ſorrowful; but love not to hear or ſee the parties themſelves in thoſe paſſions?

OF ſuch matters there paſſed many diſcourſes, when you were preſent with us at *Athens*, at what time as the comedian Actor *Strato* flouriſhed; for he was then in ſo great name and reputation, that there was no talk but of him. But one time above the reſt, we were invited and feaſted by *Boëthus* the Epicurean, and with us there ſupped many more of that ſect: now after ſupper the freſh remembrance of the Comedy which we had ſeen acted, gave occaſion unto us, being ſtudents and lovers of learning, to fall into a diſcourſe and queſtion about the cauſe, why we cannot abide but are greatly diſcontented, to hear the voices of thoſe who are angry, ſorrowful, timorous, or affrighted? and contrariwiſe, what the reaſon is, that they who counterfeit theſe paſſions, and repreſent their words, their geſtures and behaviour, do much delight and pleaſe us? And verily, all in

manner

manner there in place, opened the ſame, and were in one ſong; for they gave this reaſon and ſaid: Inaſmuch as he who counterfeiteth thoſe paſtimes, is better then he who ſuſſereth them indeed: and in regard that he who is not affected himſelfe, excelleth the other: we knowing ſo much, take pleaſure and are delighted: but I, albeit, that I ſet foot (as men ſay) in the dance of another, ſaid thus much: That we being naturally framed for to diſcourſe by reaſon, and to love things that ſavour of wit, and be artificially done, affect and eſteem thoſe who have a dexterity therein, if a thing ſucceed accordingly: for like as the Bee delighting in ſweetneſſe, flyeth from flower to flower, ſeeking buſily where ſhe may find any matter that will afford ſubſtance for honey: even ſo a man by nature ingenious, ſtudious alſo of arts, and elegancy, is wont to cheriſh, love, and embrace every action, and work, where he knoweth there was wit and underſtanding employed in the finiſhing of it: if then one come and preſent unto a young child, a little loaf of bread indeed, and withal tender unto him a pretty puppy or bulkin, or heighfer made of paſte or dough; you ſhall ſee that he will run rather to theſe counterfeit devices, then to the other: and even ſo it is alſo in other things: for if one offer him a piece of ſilver in the maſſe unwrought; and another tender unto him a little beaſt, or a cup made of ſilver, he will much ſooner make choice of that which he ſeeth to have ſome artificial workmanſhip joined with it, and to ſavour of wit and cunning: and therefore it is, that children at this age take more delight, both to hear ſuch covert ſpeeches as ſhew one thing and mean another: as alſo thoſe playes and paſtimes which have ſome witty matters contrived, or ambiguous difficulties interlaced therein: for that which is ſmoothly poliſhed and curiouſly wrought, draweth and allureth unto it mans nature of the own accord, as being proper unto it, and familiar, although it bee not taught to embrace it. Forasmuch as therefore, he who is angry or grieved in good earneſt, ſheweth nothing elſe but common and ordinary paſſions: but in repreſenting and counterfeiting of the ſame, there is a certain dexterity and ſubtilty of wit to be ſeen, eſpecially if it ſpeed well and take effect: therefore we delight to behold the one, and are diſpleaſed to ſee the other. For the proof hereof, mark how we are affected, ſemblably in other objects, ſhews, and ſights, preſented unto us: for with griefe and ſorrow of heart we look upon thoſe who are either dying or lie grievouſly ſick: contrariwiſe, with joy we behold, yea, and admire either *Philoctetes* painted in a table: or Queen *Jocaſta* portrayed in braſſe: upon whoſe viſage it is ſaid, that the workman tempered a little ſilver with the braſſe, to the end that this mixture of mettals together, might repreſent naturally, and to the life indeed, the face and colour of one ready to faint, and yeeld up the ghoſt: And this (quoth I) my maſters, (to you I ſpeak who are Epicureans) is an evident argument on the Cyrenaiques ſide againſt you: to prove that in paſtimes and ſports, preſented to the eye and the eare, the pleaſure conſiſteth not in ſeeing or hearing, but in the underſtanding: for an odious and unpleaſant thing it is, to hear a a Hen keep a creaking or cackling, and a Crow untowardly and untunably crying, and yet he that can well and naturally counterfeit either the cackling of an Hen, or the crying of the Crow, pleaſeth and contenteth us wonderſull well: ſemblably, to look upon thoſe who are in Ptiſick or Conſumption, is but a loveleſſe ſight: and yet we joy and take delight to ſee the pictures or images of ſuch perſons: for that our underſtanding is pleaſed and contented with the imitation and reſemblance of them, as a thing proper and peculiar unto it: for otherwiſe, what joy and contentment have men, or what outward occaſion have they ſo much to admire and wonder at *Parmenons* Sow? inſomuch as it is grown to be a common by-word: This *Parmenon* was by report, one that counterfeited paſſing well, the grunting of an Hog: for which his ſingular grace and gift therein, his concurrents upon an envious humour, would needs aſſay to doe as much in deſpight of him: but men being already foreſtalled with a prejudicate opinion of him, would ſay thus: Well done; but nothing to *Parmenons* Hog: and therefore, one of them having gotten a little Porket indeed under his arm, made it for to ſqueak and cry; but the people hearing the noiſe of a ſwine indeed: All this (ſay they) is nothing to *Parmenons* Hog; whereupon the party let the ſaid live hog run among them all, for to convince them of their corrupt judgement, carried away with an opinion, and not grounded upon truth and reaſon. Whereby it appeareth evidently, that one and the ſame motion of the ſenſe, doth not affect the mind alike, when there is not an opinion, that the action was performed wittily and with artificial dexterity.

THE SECOND QUESTION.

That there was in old time a game of prize for Poets.

At the ſolemnity of the Pythick games, there was ſome queſtion and talk upon a time, about the cutting off, and putting down of certain playes and paſtimes, foiſted in, to the others that were ancient and of the firſt inſtitution: for whereas at the firſt, there were but three only that played their prizes; to wit, the Pythian player of flute or pipe, the harper, and the ſinger to the harp: after they had once admitted the actor of the tragedies, no ſooner was this gate (as one would ſay) ſet open, but they were not able to reſiſt and keep out an infinite number of other playes and ſports, that ruſhed and thruſt themſelves in after him: by occaſion whereof, there was much variety and a frequent concourſe at this ſolemnity, which I muſt needs ſay, was no unpleaſant ſight to behold: but ſurely it retained not the ancient gravity and dignity beſeeming the Muſes indeed: for by this means

means, the Judges and Umpires were much troubled; beſides there grew many quarrels and enmities, which could not otherwiſe be: for where there are ſo many contending for the prize, there cannot chuſe but be a number of male-contents, that miſſed the garland. But among all others, it was thought good by the judges, to remove and baniſh from the ſolemnity, a number of thoſe who penned Orations, and all the ſort of Poets that came thither to verſifie for the beſt game; which they did not (I aſſure you) for any hatred unto learning and good letters, but for that they who preſent themſelves to theſe learned combats, be ordinarily the moſt notable perſons of all others: the judges beforeſaid, reverenced them, and in ſome ſort, pitied their caſe, eſteeming them all worthy men, and well deſerving of good letters, howbeit, not able all to gain the victory. Wherefore, being at this council, laboured to dehort thoſe who went about to change and alter ſetled cuſtomes, and who blamed in any of theſe ſacred games, multiplicity and variety, as if they found fault with many ſtrings in an inſtrument, or a conſort of voices in vocal muſick. Now, in ſupper time when we were in *Petræus* his houſe, who was the preſident and governour of the ſaid ſolemnity, and courteouſly had invited us, the queſtion was revived and ſet on foot a freſh: and we took upon us to defend the cauſe of the Muſes, ſhewing that Poetry was no modern proviſion, nor entred but lately among the combats of ſacred games, but that of ancient time it had won the victory, and gained the Crown. There were in the company, ſome who thought by theſe words of mine, that I meant to alledge old teſtimonies, and to cite ſtale and trivial examples for proofe of the cauſe: to wit, the funerals of *Oenomaus* the Theſſalian, and of *Amphidamas* the Chalcidian, at which, *Homer* and *Heſiodus* made verſes one againſt another for the victory, as ſtories make mention: but caſting by and rejecting all theſe evidences ſo much toſſed and divulged already by Grammarians; and namely, the funeral obſequies and honours done to *Patroclus* in *Homer*, where they read not ἀγωνας, that is to ſay, Lancers of Darts, but ἀγωνας, that is to ſay, makers of Orations and eloquent Orators, as it *Achilles* had propoſed rewards and prizes for Orations; leaving (I ſay) theſe matters, I affirmed: That when *Acaſtus* celebrated the funerals for his Father *Pelias*, he exhibited a combat of Poets for the beſt game, wherein *Sibylla* went away with the victory. Hereat many ſtood up, and oppoſed themſelves againſt me, demanding a real cauſion at my hands for to make good that which I had averred, for that it ſeemed unto them a very ſtrange narration and incredible: but as good hap was, I called to remembrance, that I had read ſo much in the Chronicle of *Lybia*, compiled by *Aceſander*, where the ſtory is put down: And this book (quoth I) is not in every mans hand to read: howbeit, I think verily, that the moſt of you have been careful to peruſe thoſe records which *Polemon* the Athenian, a diligent writer and a learned Antiquary, who hath not been idle and ſleepy in ſeeking out the antiquities and ſingularities of *Greece*, hath ſet down in writing, as concerning the treaſures of the City *Delphos*: for there you ſhall find written, that in the treaſury of the Sicyonians, there was a golden book: given and dedicated by *Ariſtomache* the Poetreſſe of *Erythræa*, after ſhe had obtained the victory, and gotten the garland at the ſolemnity of the Iſthmick games: Neither have you any reaſon (quoth I) to eſteem *Olympia*, and the games thereof, with ſuch admiration above the reſt, as if it were another fatal deſtiny immutable, and which cannot be changed nor admit alteration in the playes there exhibited: as for the Pythian ſolemnity, three or four extraordinary games it had, reſpective unto good letters and the Muſes, adjoined and admitted to the reſt: the Gymnick exerciſes and combats performed by men naked, as they were at firſt ordained, ſo they continued for the moſt part ſtill, and hold on at this day: but at the Olympian games, all ſave only running in the race, were taken up afterwards, and counted as aſſeſſories: likewiſe, there have been many of them which at firſt were inſtituted, ſince put down and aboliſhed; namely, πάλην, that is to ſay, an exerciſe and feat of activity, when the concurrent mounted on horſeback, in the midſt of his courſe leapeth down to the ground, taketh his horſe by the bridle, and runneth on foot with him a full gallop: as alſo another, called ἅρμα, which was a courſe with a chariot drawn by two mules: moreover, there is taken away now, the Coronet ordained for children that atchieved the victory in *Pentathlus*, that is to ſay, five ſeveral feats: to be ſhort, much innovation, change and altering there hath been in this feſtival ſolemnity, from the firſt inſtitution: but I fear me, that you will call upon me again for new pledges and cautions, to prove and juſtifie my words, if I ſhould ſay, that in old time at *Piſa*, there were combats of ſivord-fencers, fighting at the ſharp to the utterance, man to man, where they that were vanquiſhed or yeelded themſelves died for it; and if my memory failed me that I could not bring out mine author, and name him unto you: I doubt, you would laugh and make a game of mee, as if I had overdrunk my ſelfe, and taken one cup to many.

THE THIRD QUESTION.

What is the cauſe that the Pitch tree is held conſecrated unto Neptune *and* Bacchus: *and that in the beginning the victors at the Iſthmian games were crowned with a garland of Pine tree branches, but afterwards with a chaplet of ſmallage or parſley, and now of late, with the foreſaid Pitch tree?*

There was a queſtion propounded upon a time: Why the manner was to crowne thoſe with Pine or Pitch tree branches, who gained the prize at the Iſthmick games? For ſo it was, that during the ſaid feſtival ſolemnity, *Lucanius* the High Prieſt made a ſupper at *Corinth*, at his own houſe,

* πίτυς, Some take it for the pine: and in truth the word πίτυς agreeth to both: neither marreth it, if all this be underſtood of the pine.

houſe, and feaſted us: where *Praxiteles* the Geometrician, a great diſcourſer, told us a Poetical tale, and namely; that the body of *Melicerta* was found caſt up, and driven upon the body of a Pine tree, by the ſea at a full tide; for that there was a place not far from *Megara*, named *Cales Dromos*, that is to ſay, the race of the fair Lady; whereas the Megarians do report, that Dame *Ino* carrying her young babe within her arms, ran and caſt her ſelfe headlong into the ſea: But it is a common received opinion (quoth he) that the Pine is appropriate for the making of Coronets, in the honour of *Neptune*: whereupon when as *Lucanius* the High Prieſt added moreover and ſaid; That the ſaid tree being conſecrated unto *Bacchus*, it was no marvel nor abſurdity if it were dedicated alſo to the honour of *Melicerta*. Occaſion was taken to ſearch into the cauſe; wherefore the ancients in old time held the ſaid tree ſacred unto *Bacchus* and *Neptune* both? For mine own part, I ſaw no incongruity therein; for that theſe two gods be the Lords and Rulers over one general principle, or element, to wit, humidity or moiſture, conſidering alſo that they generally in manner all, ſacrifice unto *Neptune*, under the ſurname φυτάλμιος, as one would ſay, Protector of Plants; and unto *Bacchus*, likewiſe, by the name or addition ἀνθήριος, that is to ſay, the preſident over trees, and yet it may be ſaid, that the Pine more particularly appertaineth unto *Neptune*: not as *Apollodorus* is of opinion, becauſe it is a tree that loveth to grow by the ſea-ſide, or for that it delighteth in the windes as the ſea doth: (for ſome there be of this mind) but eſpecially in this regard, that it affordeth good timber, and other ſtuff for building of ſhips; for both it, and alſo other trees, which for their affinity may go for her ſiſters, to wit, Pitch trees, Larick trees, and Cone trees, furniſh us with their wood, moſt proper to float upon the Sea, and with their Roſin alſo and Pitch, to calk and caſtret; without which compoſition, be the joints never ſo good and cloſe, they are to no purpoſe in the ſea: as for *Bacchus* they conſecrated the Pitch tree unto him, for that Pitch doth give a pleaſant ſeaſoning unto wine: for look where theſe trees do naturally grow, the Vine there by report yeeldeth pleaſant wine; which *Theophraſtus* imputeth to the heat of the ſoile; for commonly the Pitch tree groweth in places of Marle, or white Clay, which by nature is hot, and ſo by conſequence helpeth the concoction of wine: like as ſuch kind of clay yeeldeth water, of all others moſt light and ſweet: beſides, if the ſame be blended with wheat, it maketh the greater heap, for that the heat thereof doth cauſe it to ſwell, and become more full and tender: moreover the Vine receiveth many commodities and pleaſures more from the Pitch tree, for that it, with thoſe things which be, is good and neceſſary, both to commend and alſo to preſerve wines; for it is an ordinary thing with all men, to Pitch thoſe veſſels into which they put up their wines, yea, and ſome there be who put Roſin even into the wine: as for example, thoſe of *Eubœa* in *Greece*, and *Italy*, the inhabitants by the *Poſide*; and that which more is, from out of *Gaule* by *Vienna*, there is brought a certain Pitch-wine, called *Piſſites*, which the Romans ſet much ſtore by, becauſe it giveth it not only a delectable ſcent, but alſo a better ſtrength, taking from it a ſmall time the newneſſe and the watery ſubſtance thereof, by the means of a milde and kind heat. This being ſaid, there was an Orator there, a man of great reading, a ſingular ſcholar, and an excellent humanitian, who cryed out in this manner: And is it ſo indeed? as who would ſay, it were not very lately, and but the other day, that the Pine tree yeelded garlands and chaplets at the Iſthmian games? for heretofore the victors there, were crowned with wreaths and coronets made of Smallach leaves: and this appeareth by that which wee may hear out of a certain Comedy, a covetous Miſer ſpeak in this wiſe:

Theſe Iſthmick games I gladly would part fro,
For price that Smallach wreaths in market go.

And *Timæus* the Hiſtoriographer writeth, that when the Corinthians, marched in battel array under the conduct of *Timoleon* againſt the Carthaginians, for the defence of *Sicily*, they encountred in the way certain ſolk, who carried bunches of Smallach: now when many of the ſouldiers took this occurrence for an ill preſage (becauſe Smallach is taken to be an unluchy herb inſomuch as when we ſee one lie extream ſick, and in danger of death, we ſay: That he hath need of nothing elſe but Smallach) *Timoleon* willed them to be of good cheer, and put them in minde of the victorious chaplets of Smallach at the Iſthmian games, wherewith the Corinthians crowned the winners: Moreover, the admiral Gally of King *Antigonus* was called *Iſthmia*, for that without any ſowing or ſetting, there grew Smallach of it ſelfe about the poup thereof: and this obſcure and enigmatical Epigram under dark and covert words, ſignifieth plainly, earthen veſſels ſtuffed and ſtopped with Smallach: and in this manner it goeth:

This Argive earth which ere while was full ſoft,
Now baked hard with fire, the blood deep-red
Of Bacchus *hides within, but loe aloft,*
It Iſthmick branches bears in mouth and head.

Certes, they have not read thus much, who vaunt ſo greatly of the Pitch tree chaplet, as if it were not a modern ſtranger and new commer, but the ancient, proper, and natural garland, belonging to the Iſthmian games. Which words of his, moved the younger ſort not a little, as being delivered by a man who had ſeen and read much: and *Lucanius* the High Prieſt himſelfe, caſting his eye upon me, and ſmiling withal: Now by *Neptune* (quoth he) I ſwear, what a deal of learning is here! howbeit, others there were, who bearing themſelves (as it ſhould ſeem) upon mine ignorance and want of reading, were perſwaded of the contrary, and avouched, that the Pitch tree branches were the ancient garlands in the Iſthmick ſolemnity, as natural unto that country; and on the other ſide, the

the coronet of Smallach was a meer ſtranger, brought from *Nemea* thither upon an emulation, in regard of *Hercules*, whereby it had indeed the name, for a time: inſomuch as it ſupplanted the other, and won the credit from it, as being counted a ſacred herb, and ordained for this purpoſe: but afterwards, the Pine garland flouriſhed again and recovered the ancient reputation, ſo at this day it is in as great honour, as ever it was. Hereupon I ſuffered my ſelfe to be perſwaded, and gave ſo good ear, that many teſtimonies for confirmation of this opinion I learned, yea, and ſome of them I bare away and remembred: and namely, that out of them, *Euphorion* the Poet, who ſpake of *Melicerta*, much after this manner:

The young man dead, they did bewaile,
and then his corps they laid
Upon green branches of Pine tree,
whereof the crowns were ſaid
To have been made, thoſe to adorne
with honour glorious,
Who at the ſacred Iſthmick games
were deem'd victorious:
For why? as yet the murdering hand,
ſir Charon *had not ſlain*
The ſon of Neme, *woful dame,*
whereas with ſtreams amain
Aſopus *runs: ſince when, began*
the wreath of Smallach green,
To bind the head of champions,
all bravely to be ſeen.

Alſo out of *Callimachus*, who hath expreſſed this matter more plainly, where he bringeth *Hercules* in, ſpeaking after this manner:

And it, though much inferiour,
and more terreſtrial,
Employ theyſhal in Iſmick games,
when in memorial
Of god Ægæon they with crowns
the victors brave do deck,
According to Nemæan rites,
and there by give the check
To chaplets made of Pine tree fair,
wherewith the champion
For victory, ſome time was dight
at games Corinthian.

Over and beſides, if I be not deceived, I have light upon a certain commentary of *Procles* writing of the Iſthmian ſolemnity: namely, that at the very firſt inſtitution thereof, ordained it was: That the victorious coronet ſhould be made of Pitch tree branches: but afterwards, when theſe games were accounted ſacred, they tranſlated thither from the Nemæan ſolemnities, the chaplet of Smallach: now this *Procles* was one of the Scholars in the Academy, what time as *Xenocrates* taught and flouriſhed.

THE FOURTH QUESTION.

What is the meaning of theſe words in Homer: Σωρήξεον δ' ἠκέοντε?

SOme of the company where I ſupped upon a time, thought *Achilles* ridiculous, in that hee willed his friend *Patroclus* * to fill out purer wine, and leſſe delayed, giving a reaſon withall, ſaying:

For now are come to viſit me for love,
My deereſt friends, and whom I beſt approve.

* For ſo he interpreteth Σωρήξεον

But *Niceratus* the Macedonian, a familiar friend of ours, oppoſed himſelfe directly, and ſaid: That Σωρήξεον, in this place of *Homer*, ſignifieth not meer Wine of it ſelf, without water, but hot Wine, as if the primitive word ζωρὸν, were derived ἀπὸ τῆς ζέσεως καὶ τῆς ζέσεως, that is to ſay, vital heat & ebullition: and therefore meet it was (quoth he) that (ſeeing his good friends were in place) there ſhould be filled out for them, a cup of freſh Wine, new drawn, and full of life and ſparkling ſpirits: like as we our ſelves uſe to do, when as we pour out and offer unto the gods, our ſacred libations: but *Sophocles* the Poet, calling to mind, and alledging a ſentence of *Empedocles*, whoſe words be theſe, ſpeaking of the general mutation of the univerſal world,

What thing before moſt ſimple was and pure,
Becaume now * *mixt by compound temp'rature,*

* ζωρὸν.

ſaid: That the Philoſopher meant by the word ζωρὸν, as much as κεκραμένον, that is to ſay, well tempered: Neither ſee I (quoth he) any thing to the contrary, but that *Achilles* might bid *Patroclus* to

prepare and dreſſe a cup of wine, ſo tempered as it ſhould be drunk: neither muſt you think it a ſtrange phraſe or manner of ſpeech, if he ſaid, ζωρότερον for ζωρὸν; for we are wont likewiſe, to put σωφρονέστερον in ſtead of σῶφρον; as alſo δεξιώτερον for δεξιόν: for received now it is, by ordinary cuſtome, to uſe the comparatives of ſome words for the poſitives. Then *Antipater*, a friend of ours there preſent, ſaid: That in old time they were wont to call the year by the name of οἶνος, and [ζωὸς] in compoſition with other words, ſignifieth as much as the greatneſſe of a thing, ſo that old wine, that had lien many years in this place, *Achilles* called ζωρότερον. As for my ſelf, I inferred thus much, and put them in mind: That ſome think ζωρότερον ſignifieth [hotter] and by hotter they mean quicker, ſooner, or with more ſpeed; for in that ſenſe otherwiles we bid our ſervants to beſtir themſelves more hotly about their work, meaning they ſhould make more haſte, and diſpatch their buſineſſe. But in the end, I declared unto them, that their diſputation and arguing about this point, was but childiſh, in caſe they were afraid to confeſſe, that ζωρότερον betokeneth that which was more pure and of it ſelfe, without tempering or delaying; as if (forſooth) *Achilles* had committed here, ſome incongruity or abſurdity, as *Zoilus* the Amphipolitane would ſeem to tax him; who conſidered not firſt and formoſt: that *Achilles* ſaw *Phœnix* and *Ulyſſes*, two ancient perſonages, who took no great pleaſure to have much water in their wine, no more then all other old men, who love to drink it meer and pure; in regard of whoſe age, he gave commandment to delay it leſſe for them: again, having been (as he was) the ſcholar of *Chiron*, and learned of him, the regiment of health, as one not ignorant what diet was meet for mens bodies, he thought thus with himſelf, that thoſe bodies which are at repoſe and eaſe, having before time been uſed to travel, required a more remiſſe, ſoft and tender temperature, as that which is fitter and meeter for them; for ſo he cauſed among other forrage and formoſt: that *Achilles* ſaw *Phœnix* and *Ulyſſes*, two ancient perſonages, who took no great pleaſure to have much water in their wine, no more then all other old men, who love to drink it meer and pure; in regard of whoſe age, he gave commandment to delay it leſſe for them: again, having been (as he was) the ſcholar of *Chiron*, and learned of him, the regiment of health, as one not ignorant what diet was meet for mens bodies, he thought thus with himſelf, that thoſe bodies which are at repoſe and eaſe, having before time been uſed to travel, required a more remiſſe, ſoft and tender temperature, as that which is fitter and meeter for them; for ſo he cauſed among other forrage and provender, his horſes to be ſerved with Smallach; for that Steeds ſtanding idle in the ſtable, and doing nothing, will be troubled with the pains in their feet; for which infirmity this Smallach is a ſoveraign remedy: neither ſhould ye finde (and read the *Ilias* throughout) that Smallach or any ſuch kind of fodder was given to other Horſes then to thoſe who ſtood ſtill, and laboured not. *Achilles* therefore being well ſeen in Phyſick, was both careful about his horſes to provide for them, as the time required, and alſo conſiderate and reſpective to his own body, for to ordain the lighteſt diet, (as moſt wholſome) for himſelfe who took his eaſe, and was not employed in bodily exerciſe; whereas he did not in that manner entertain thoſe perſonages, who all the day had been in the field, and performed martial exploits, and warlike ſervice, but gave order to pour out for them, ſtronger wine and leſſe delayed. Now that *Achilles* otherwiſe of himſelfe greatly loved not wine, for that he was by nature ſowre and implacable, appeareth by theſe verſes of the ſame Poet;

For gentle nature he had none,
he was not ſoon appeas'd,
But ireful, fierce, and violent,
and once mov'd, hardly pleas'd.

And in one place, ſpeaking liberally of himſelf, he ſaid:

That many nights he ſlept no wink,
Of ſundry matters he did ſo think.

Now who knoweth not, that ſhort ſleeps agree not to thoſe that drink meer wine, neither will they ſerve their turn: alſo when as he conteſted with *Agamemnon*, and reviled him at the firſt word he gave him the term οἰνοβαρές, Wine-bibber, or Drunkard; as if drunkenneſſe and wine-bibbing were the vice which his heart abhorred moſt: And therefore to conclude, conſidering all theſe circumſtances, great reaſon he had, that ſeeing right honourable perſonages were come unto him, and thoſe of good years, he ſhould be well adviſed to take order, not to temper wine for them, as his manner was for himſelfe; becauſe the ſame had been too ſmall, and not agreeable for their perſons.

THE FIFTH QUESTION.

Of thoſe who invite many gueſts to ſupper.

VPon my return from *Alexandria*, all my friends one after another feaſted me, for my welcome home: and to bear me company, they invited with me, as many as they thought, in regard of kindred or friendſhip, were any way toward me; in ſuch ſort, as by reaſon of the multitude of gueſts, our meetings were ordinarily more tumultuous, and ſooner diſſolved then they had wont to be: the diſorder therefore of ſitting at ſuch feaſts, gave us occaſion to diſcourſe much of that matter. But *Oneſicrates* the Phyſician when he feaſted me in his turn, as others did; bade not very many, but thoſe only whom he knew to be my ſpecial friends, and moſt familiar with me: whereupon I called to minde a ſentence written by *Plato*, as touching a City, and thought with my ſelfe, that it might very well be applied unto a feaſt: for like as a City which ſtill groweth and augmenteth, in the end becomes no more a City; for that there is a certain bigneſſe prefixed and limited unto it, which it muſt not out-grow: even ſo there is a juſt proportion in the greatneſſe of a feaſt, within the which it is ſtill a feaſt: but if it paſſe and exceed the ſame (I mean) in the number and multitude of gueſts, ſo as they cannot ſalute and ſpeak one to another conveniently, they have no meanes to cheere up and drink one to another reciprocally, nor exerciſe their mutual knowledge kindly: ſurely it is no

no more to be called a feaſt: for there ſhould not be at a feaſt, as in a camp, meſſengers and curriers between; nor after the manner of a great gally, ſpecial ſervitors, going from one to another, to cheer them up, and bid them be merry; but the gueſts ought to ſpeak and talk one with another; for that a feaſt muſt be diſpoſed after the manner of a dance, ſo as he who ſits loweſt may hear him that is higheſt. After I had thus much ſaid, my grandfather *Lamprias* began to ſpeak, and that with ſo loud a voice and ſo ſtrong, that all the company might hear him: There is then (quoth he) a kinde of mean and moderation, whereof he had need, not only in eating and drinking at a feaſt, but alſo in the bidding and inviting of gueſts; for ſurely there may be an exceſſe in unmeaſurable courteſie and humanity, when it cannot omit nor leave out any of thoſe with whom a man heretofore hath feaſted or made merry, but draweth all of them, as if the caſe were to go for to ſee a play, behold ſolemn ſights, or to hear muſick: and for mine own part, I think that the good man of the houſe, or maſter of a feaſt, is not ſo much worthy to be blamed or laughed at, for being at a fault of bread or drink for his gueſts; as when he hath not room enough to place them: of which he ought to make proviſion with the largeſt, not only for thoſe who are formally invited, but alſo for comers in, and ſuch as bid themſelves: for ſtrangers alſo that paſs by: moreover, if there chance to be ſome want of bread or wine, the fault may be laid upon the ſervants, as if they had made it away, or played the theeves: but if there be no room left, it cannot chuſe but be imputed to the negligence and indiſcretion of him who invited the gueſts: *Heſiodus* is wonderfully much commended for writing thus:

At firſt no doubt it was ſo caſt,
That there might be a Chaos *vaſt.*

For in the beginning of the world, requiſite it was that there ſhouldbe a void place for to receive and comprehend all thoſe things that were to be created: Not (quoth he) as my ſon yeſterday made a ſupper, according to that which *Anaxagoras* ſaid: All things were hudled and jumbled together pell-mell, confuſedly: and admit that there be place and room enough, yea, and proviſion of meat ſufficient, yet nevertheleſſe, a multitude would be avoided, as a thing that bringeth confuſion, and which maketh a ſociety unſociable, and a meeting unmeet and not affable: Certes, leſſe harm it were, and more tolerable a great deal, to take from them who are bidden to our table, their Wine, then their Communication and fellowſhip of talk; and therefore *Theophraſtus* called (merrily) Barbars ſhops, dry banquets without wine; for the good talk that is between a number of perſons ſitting there one by another: but they who bring a ſort together into one place, thrumbling them one upon another, deprive them of all conference, and diſcourſing reciprocally, or rather indeed they bring it ſo to paſſe, that but very few can commune and converſe together; for by that means they ſort themſelves apart, two by two, or three by three, for to have ſome talk: as for thoſe who are ſet farther off, hardly they cannot diſcern, no nor know them, being diſtant and removed aſunder, as a man would ſay, the length of an horſe race:

Some, where Achilles *tents are pight*
cloſe for to make their ſtay:
And ſome, where Ajax *quarter is,*
as far an other way.

Thus you ſhall ſee how ſome rich men hereby, otherwhile ſhew their fooliſh magnificence to no purpoſe, in building halls, and dining chambers, containing thirty tables a piece in them, yea, and ſome of greater capacity then ſo: and verily this manner of preparation for to make ſuppers and dinners, is for folk that have no amity nor ſociety one with another, when there is more need of ſome provoſt of a field to marſhal them, then an Uſher of an hall to ſee good order among them: but theſe men may in ſome ſort well be pardoned for doing ſo; becauſe they think their riches no riches, but that it is blind, deaf, lame alſo, or ſhut up, that it cannot get forth, unleſſe it have a number of witneſſes, like as a Tragedy, many ſpectators: but as for us, this remedy we have of not aſſembling ſo many at once together; namely to bid often, and to make divers ſuppers, to invite (I ſay) our friends and well-willers at ſundry times, by few at once, and ſo by this means we may make amends for all, and bring both ends together: for they that feaſt but ſeldome, and as they ſay ἐφ' ἅμαξαν, that is to ſay, by the cart loads, are forced to put in the roll all thoſe that any way belong unto them, either by kindred, friendſhip or acquaintance whatſoever: whereas they who ordinarily pick out three or four at a time, and do ſo oft, make their feaſts, as it were, little barks, to diſcharge their great hulks, and the ſame to go light and nimble: moreover, when a man conſidereth continually with himſelfe the cauſe why he inviteth his friends: it maketh him to obſerve a difference and choice in that great multitude of them: for like as for every occaſion and buſineſſe that we have, we aſſemble not all ſorts of people, but ſuch only as be meet for each purpoſe; for if we ſhould have need of good counſel, we call for thoſe who be wiſe: if we would have a matter pleaded, we ſend for eloquent Orators: if a voyage, or journey performed, we ſeek for ſuch as will take up with ſhort meales, and who have little elſe to do, and be beſt at leaſure; even ſo in our invitations and feaſts, we muſt have regard ever and anon to chuſe thoſe who are meet, and will ſort well together: meet men I call theſe for example ſake: if he be a Prince or great Potentate whom we invite to ſupper, the fitteſt perſons to bear him company, be the head Officers, the Magiſtrates and principal men of the City, eſpecially if they be friends, or already acquainted: if we make a marriage ſupper, or a feaſt for the birth of a child, thoſe would be bidden who are of kindred

dred and affinity; and in one word, as many as are linked together by the bond of *Jupiter Homagimos*, that is to ſay, the protector of conſanguinity: and in all theſe feaſts and ſolemnities, we ought evermore to have a careful eye to bring them together who are friends or well willers one to another: for when we ſacrifice unto ſome one god, we make not our prayers to all others, although they be worſhipped in the ſame Temples, and upon the ſame Altars; but if there be three cups or bowles brought full unto us, we pour libations out of the firſt to ſome, the ſecond we offer to others, and the laſt we beſtow likewiſe upon a third ſort: for there is no envy abideth in the quire or dance of the gods: ſemblably, the dance and quire of friends is divine, in ſome ſort, if ſo be a man know how to diſtribute and deal his courteſie and kindneſſe decently among them, and as it were to go round about with them all.

THE SIXTH QUESTION.

What is the cauſe that gueſts at the beginning of a ſupper ſit cloſe together at the table, but afterwards more at liberty?

THeſe words thus paſſed, and then immediately a new queſtion was moved; namely, What the cauſe might be, that men commonly at the beginning of dinner or ſupper, ſit at the table very ſtraight and cloſe, but toward the end more at large; whereas it ſhould ſeem by all reaſon, that they ſhould do clean contrary, for that then their bellies be full? Some of the company attributed this unto the form and poſiture of their bodies, as they ſit; for that ordinary men ſit to their meat, directly at their full breadth, groveling forward, and put their right hands ſtraight forth upon the table; but after they have well ſupped, they turn themſelves more to a ſide, and ſit edge-wiſe, taking up no place now, according to the ſuperficies of the body, not ſitting (as a man would ſay) by the ſquare, but rather by the line and the plumb: like as therefore the cockal-bones occupie leſſe roome when they fall upon one of their ſides, then if they be couched flat; even ſo every one of us at the firſt ſitteth bending forward, and fronteth the table with his mouth and eyes directly upon it; but afterwards he changeth that form, from front to flank, and turneth ſidelong to the board. Many there were who aſcribed the reaſon of this, to the yeelding of the couch or bed, whereon men ſit at their meat; for being preſſed down with ſitting, is ſtretched broader and wider, like as our ſhoes with wearing and going in them, grow more ſlack and eaſie for us by little and little, until in the end they be ſo large, that we may turn our feet in them. Then the good old man ſpake merrily and ſaid: That one and the ſame feaſt had always two Preſidents and Governors different one from another: at the beginning hunger, which cannot skill of keeping any good order; toward the end, *Bacchus*, and him all men know very well, and confeſſe to have been a very ſufficient captain, and an excellent leader of an Army: like as therefore *Epaminondas* (when as other Captains by their ignorance and unskilfulneſſe had brought the Army of the Thebans into a place ſo narrow that all was thruſt together, and the ranks and files came one upon another, and cruſhed themſelves) took upon him the place of a commander, and not onely delivered it out of thoſe ſtraights, but alſo reduced it into good order of battel; even ſo god *Bacchus* ſurnamed *Lyæus*, and *Choreus*, that is to ſay, a deliverer, and maſter of dances, finding us at the beginning of ſupper thruſting one another, and having no elbow room, by reaſon of hunger that thrumbleth us together like a ſort of dogs, bringeth us again into a decent order, whereby we ſit at eaſe and liberty enough like good fellowes.

THE SEVENTH QUESTION.

Of thoſe who are ſaid to bewitch with their eye:

THere grew ſome queſtion upon a time, at the table, as touching thoſe who are reported to be eye-biters, or to bewitch with their eyes; and when others (in manner all) paſſed it over with laughing, as a frivolous and ridiculous thing: *Metrius Florus*, who had invited us to his houſe, took the matter in hand, and ſaid: That the effects or events rather, which dayly we do obſerve, do make marvellous much to the brute and voice that goeth of the thing; but for want of yeelding a good reaſon thereof, and ſetting down the true cauſe, the report many times of ſuch matters wanteth credit: But unjuſtly (quoth he) and wrongfully in mine opinion; for an infinite number there be of other matters, that have a real eſſence, and are notoriouſly known to be ſo, although we are ignorant of their cauſe; and in one word, whoſoever ſeeketh in each thing for a probable reaſon, overthroweth miracles and wonders in all; for where we faile to give reaſon of a cauſe, there begin we to doubt, and make queſtion, and that is as much to ſay, as to play the Philoſophers: ſo as we may inſer conſequently: They that diſcredit things admirable, do in ſome ſort, take away and aboliſh all Philoſophy: but we ought (quoth he) in ſuch things as theſe, to ſearch * Why they are ſo, by reaſon: and learn * That they are ſo, by hiſtory and relation: for hiſtories do report unto us many narrations of like examples; Thus we know, that there be men, who by looking wiſtly and with fixed eyes upon little infants, do hurt them moſt of all, for that the habit and temperature of their bodies which is moiſt, tender, and weak, ſoon receiveth alteration by them, and changeth to the worſe: whereas

* Διὰ τὶ. * ὅτι.

whereas leſſe ſubject they be to ſuch accidents, when their bodies are better knit, moſt ſtrong and compact. And yet *Philarchus* writeth in his Hiſtory of a certain nation and people inhabiting the Realm of *Pontus* in times paſt, called Thybiens, who were by that means peſtiferous and deadly, not only to young babes, but alſo to men grown: for look how many either their eye, their breath or their ſpeech could reach unto, they were ſure to fall ſick, and pine away: and this harm was felt and perceived (as it ſhould ſeem) by Merchants, who reſorted into thoſe parts, and brought from thence, ſlaves to be ſold. But as for theſe, the example peradventure is not ſo ſtrange and wonderful, becauſe the touching, contagion, and familiar converſing together, may yeeld a manifeſt reaſon and cauſe of ſuch accidents; and like as the wings of other fowles, if they be laid together with thoſe of the Eagle, periſh, conſume, and come to nothing, for that the plume and down of the feathers fall off and putrifie: even ſo, there is no reaſon to the contrary, but that the touching of a man ſhould be partly good and profitable, and in part hurtful and prejudicial: marry, that folk ſhould take harm by being ſeen only, and looked on, is an accident which (as I ſaid before) we know to be; but for that the cauſe thereof is ſo difficult and hard to be hunted out, the report of it is incredible: Howbeit (quoth I then) you winde the cauſe already; you have met (in ſome ſort I ſay) with the tracts and footing thereof; and are in the very way of finding it out, being come already to thoſe defluxions that paſſe from the bodies; for the ſcent, the voice, the ſpeech and breath, be certain defluxions and ſtreams (as it were) flowing from the bodies of living creatures, yea, and certain parcels thereof, which move and affect the ſenſes, when as they ſuffer by the ſame, lightning and falling upon them: and much more probable it is, that ſuch defluxions proceed from the bodies of living creatures, by the means of heat and motion; namely, when they be enchafed and ſtirred; as alſo that the vital ſpirits then do beat ſtrongly, and the pulſes work apace, whereby the body being ſhaken, caſteth from it continually, certain defluxions, as is beforeſaid and great likelihood there is alſo, that the ſame ſhould paſſe from the eys, more then from any other conduit of the body: for the ſight being a ſenſe very ſwift, active and nimble, doth ſend forth and diſperſe from it, a wonderful fiery puiſſance, together with a ſpirit that carrieth and directeth it; in ſuch ſort, that a man by the means of this eye-ſight, both ſuſtereth and doth many notable effects, yea, and receiveth by the objects which he ſeeth, no ſmall pleaſures or diſpleaſures; for love (one of the greateſt and moſt vehement paſſions of the mind) hath the ſource and original beginning at the * Eye; inſomuch, as he or ſhe that is ſurpriſed therewith, doth even reſolve and melt with beholding the beauty of thoſe perſons whom they love, as if they would run and enter into them: and therefore, a man may very well marvel at thoſe, who confeſſing that we ſuffer and receive hurt by the eye, think it a ſtrange matter to do harm by the ſame; for the very aſpect and regard of ſuch perſons as are in the flower of their beauty, and that which paſſeth from their eyes, whether it be light or flowing off of the ſpirits, doth liquifie and conſume thoſe who be enamoured on them, with a certain pleaſure mingled with pain, which they themſelves call Bitter-ſweete: for nothing ſo much are they wounded or affected, either by hearing or feeling, as by ſeeing and being ſeen ſo deep is the penetration, and ſo ſtrong the inflammation by the eye: which maketh me otherwhiles to think, that no experience and proof they have ever had what love is, who wonder at the Median *Naphtha* neer to *Babylon*, that it ſhould burn and catch a flame, being a great way off from the fire: for even ſo, the eyes of fair and beautiful creatures, kindle fire within the very hearts and ſoules of poor Lovers, yea, though they look not upon them but afar off: but we know full well, and have often ſeen the remedy of thoſe who are troubled with the Jaundice; namely, that if they can have a ſight of the bird * *Charadrios*, they are preſently cured: for this bird hath ſuch a nature and temperature, that it draweth to it ſelfe, and receiveth the malady paſſing from the patient, as it were a fluxion, and that by the conduit of the eyes; which is the reaſon that theſe birds are never willing to ſee a perſon who hath the Jaundice, neither can they endure ſo to do, but turn aſide and avoid it all that ever they can, by cloſing their eyes together, not envying (as ſome think) the cure of that diſeaſe by them, but fearing to be hurt and wounded themſelves: and of all other maladies, it is well known, that they who converſe with them whoſe eyes be inflamed and bleered, are ſooneſt and moſt of all infected therewith, ſo quick a power and ſo ready, hath the ſight to ſet upon another, and inflict the contagion of that infirmity. Then *Patrocleas*: True it is that you ſay (quoth he) in bodily paſſions and diſeaſes; but as for thoſe which be more ſpiritual, and concerne the ſoul, among which I reckon this kind of witching, how can it be, and how is it poſſible, that the only caſt and regard of the eye ſhould tranſmit any noiſance or hurt into the body of another? Why? know you not (quoth I) that the ſoul (according as it is diſpoſed) doth likewiſe affect and alter the body? the very cogitation of *Venus*, cauſeth the fleſh to riſe: the ardent heat in couragious maſtiffs and band-dogs, which are put upon wild beaſts for to encounter them when they are baited, dimmeth their eye-ſight, and oftentimes makes them ſtark blind: ſorrow, avarice, and jealouſie, alter the colour and complexion of the face, drie up the habit and conſtitution of the body; and envy no leſſe ſubtile then the reſt, and piercing directly to the very ſoul, filleth the body alſo with an untoward and bad diſpoſition, which painters lively do repreſent in thoſe tables which contain the picture of envies face: when as therefore they who be infected with envy, do caſt their eyes upon others, which becauſe they are ſeated neer unto the ſoul, do catch and draw unto them very eaſily this vice, and ſo ſhoot their venemous rates, like unto poiſoned darts upon them: if ſuch chance to be wounded and hurt thereby, whom they look upon, and wiſtly behold: I ſee no ſtrange thing, not

* ἐκ τῆς ὄψεως τὸ ἐρᾶν.

* Some take it for the Larior.

nor a matter incredible: for verily the biting of dogs is much more hurtful and dangerous when they be angry then otherwiſe; and the ſperme or natural ſeed of men doth ſooner take effect, and is more apt for generation, when they meddle with women whome they love; and generally the paſſions and affections of the ſoul, do fortifie and corrobarate the powers, and faculties of the body: and hereupon it is, that thoſe preſervatives againſt witchcraft called φυλακτηρια, are then thought to do good againſt envy, when the eye-ſight of the envious perſon is withdrawn and turned away by ſome filthy and abſurd object, that it cannot make ſo ſtrong an impreſſion upon the patient whom he would hurt: Lo ſeigniour *Florus* (quoth I) here is mine eſcot for our good cheer at this meeting, in ready coin paid down upon the nail head: Well done (quoth *Soclarus*) but firſt before you go, we muſt allow the money for good and currant; for I aſſure you, there be ſome pieces that ſeem counterfeit; for if we ſuppoſe that to be a truth, which is commonly reported, as touching thoſe who are thus bewitched and eye-bitten; it is not I am ſure unknown to you, that many are of opinion, that there be of their friends and kinſfolk, y ea, and ſome of their fathers alſo, who carry about them witching eyes; in ſuch ſort as their very wives will not ſo much as ſhew unto them their own babes, nor ſuffer ſuch to look upon them any while together: how then ſhould this effect of witchery proceed from envy? Nay, what will you ſay to thoſe (I pray you) who are named for to eye-bite and bewitch their own ſelves? You have heard I am ſure thus much; or at leaſt wiſe yo u have read this Epigram:

Fair w as ſometime Eutelidas,
His face and hair full lovely was;
But ſee, one day when needs he would
(Unhappy man) himſelfe behold
In river ſtream that ſoftly ran,
His beauty, then he ſoon began
So to admire, that forenoy
Bewitch'd he was by his own eye;
And fell anon by malady,
To pine away and ſo to dy.

For it is reported of this *Eutelidas*, that looking upon himſelfe in the river water, he was ſo far in love with his own beauty, and ſo deeply affected with the ſight thereof, that he fell ſick, and ſo both beauty and the good plight of his body went away at once: but ſee now what ſhift you can make to ſalve theſe abſurdities? or what anſwer you will deviſe to avoid them? As for that (quoth he) I ſhall do it at ſome other time ſufficiently: but now drinking thus as you ſee me, out of ſo great and large a boüle, I dare be bold to averre, and that confidently, that all perturbations and paſſions of the mind, if they ſettle and continue long in the ſoul, do ingenerate therein evil habitudes, and theſe, after they have in proceſſe of time gotten the ſtrength and become another nature, upon every ſmall occaſion, are ſtirred, and oftentimes drive men perforce, and even againſt their wills to thoſe familiar and accuſtomed paſſions: for do but mark timorous and fearful cowards, how they be affrighted even with ſuch things as be ſafe, and do preſerve them: cholerick perſons are angry many times, and fall out with their beſt friends: laſcivious wantons cannot contain, but in the end they will offer abuſe and villany to the moſt holy and ſacred bodies that be: for cuſtome hath a wonderful power to conduct and carry the habit unto that vice which is familiar unto it; and look who is apt to take a fall, will ſtumble at every ſmall hob that lies in the way: and therefore it is not a matter to make a wonder of, if they who have gotten in themſelves habit of envy, and bewitching, be incited and moved according to the particular property of their paſſion, even againſt thoſe who are moſt dear unto them; and being once moved and ſtirred, they do not that which they will themſelves, but that whereunto they are ſo inclined and diſpoſed: for like as a round bowle or ball runneth like it ſelfe: and ſemblably a roller or cylender, moveth as a roller or cylender, both of them after the different figure thereof: even ſo, whoſoever they be that have thus contracted an habitude of this eye-biting envy, their diſpoſition moveth and driveth them enviouſly upon all things: howbeit it carrieth a great likelihood that they ſhould hurt them, who are moſt familiar unto them, and beſt beloved then any other: and therefore that good *Eutelidas* and all other ſuch as he, who are ſaid to charm and bewitch themſelves, incurre this hard extremity, not without great appearance of reaſon: for as *Hippocrates* ſaith in his Aphoriſms: The good habit or plight when it is at the height is dangerous: and bodies when they are come to the higheſt point, they cannot hold and ſtand ſo, but preſently muſt incline and bend to the contrary: when as men therefore are grown ſuddenly all at once, and ſee themſelves in a better ſtate then they hoped for; inſomuch as they wonder and behold themſelves with admiration, then be ſure the body is neer unto ſome change, and then being carried according to their habitude to the worſe, they bewitch themſelves: and this is wrought the rather, by means of thoſe fluxions which reſt upon waters, looking-glaſſes, or any ſuch mirrors by way of repercuſſion: for that they rebound back, and breath as it were againe upon thoſe who look in them, ſo, that the hurt and dammage which they have done to others, lighteth upon themſelves: this haply befalling many times to little children, doth impute (though falſly and unjuſtly) the cauſe to theſe that look upon them. When I had finiſhed my ſpeech, *Caius* the ſon in law of *Florus*, began to ſpeak in this wiſe: Why then belike the images that *Democritus* ſpeaketh of are of no reckoning nor account, no more then the Idols of *Ægina* and *Megara*, as the proverb

proverb goes: for this Philoſopher ſaith; That there go forth certain images out of the eyes of envious perſons, and thoſe not altogether without a kinde of ſenſe and inclination, but rather full of their malice and envious witchery who ſend them forth: with which, when the ſaid images come, to ſettle, remain, and reſt upon thoſe who are envied, they trouble and offend the body, ſoul, and underſtanding: for this I take to be the meaning of that great Philoſopher, and that he hath delivered his opinion to this effect, under thoſe divine and magnificent words: So he doth no doubt (quoth I) but I marvel much, how you perceived not that I have taken nothing from thoſe defluxions, but only life and will; which I did, for fear leſt if now (being far within night, and very late) I had talked of ſpirits, idols, and apparitions, having ſenſe and underſtanding, I ſhould have put you into ſome fright, and ſcared you with them: and therefore, if you think it ſo good, let us refer and put off the conſideration of theſe things until to morrow morning.

THE EIGHTH QUESTION.

What is the reaſon that the Poet Homer *called the Apple tree,* ἀγλαόκαρπον, *that is to ſay, bearing fruit: and* Empedocles *named Apples,* ὠχέφλοια, *that is to ſay, flouriſhing.*

AS we were merry together at a feaſt one day, in our City *Charonea*, we were ſerved with all ſorts of fruits in great abundance; by occaſion whereof, it took one of the company in his head to pronounce theſe verſes out of *Homer*:

σῦκαι τε γλυκερὴ καὶ μηλέαι ἀγλαόκαρποι,
——Καὶ ἐλαῖαι τηλεθόωσαι.

That is to ſay:

The ſweet Fig trees and Apple trees, that bear a fruit ſo fair,
The Olive trees likewiſe all green——

whereupon aroſe ſome queſtion, why the Poet gave unto Apple trees the attribute *of bearing faire fruit?* and *Tryphon* verily the Phyſician, anſwered; That it might be ſpoken of the ſaid tree, by way of compariſon; which being but ſmall to ſpeak of, and making as little ſhew, bringeth forth ſo fair, ſo great, and ſo goodly fruit. Another ſaid: That compounding (as he did) beauty or goodneſſe, of all parts in and every reſpect, he could not ſee the ſame in any other fruits covered with a rinde, but only in this: for to touch and feele, it is as ſmooth and neat as the Violet, ſo as it doth not ſtain or ſoil the ſkin, filling with a ſweet ſcent, him that handleth it; in taſte, it is pleaſant; to ſmell unto, moſt delectable; and to the eye, as lovely; ſo as contenting thus as it doth, all the ſenſes in a manner, by good right it is ſo praiſed and commended. We liked well of this diſcourſe, and ſaid, it was ſufficient to ſolve the queſtion. But whereas *Empedocles* hath written thus;

ὕψικεν δ᾽ λιγονοίτε σίδαι ᾗ ὠχέφλοια μῆλα.
Why Pomgranates ſo late do grow,
And Apples bear a lovely ſhow?

I underſtand well (ſaid I) this Epithet λιγονοις, given unto σίδαι that is to ſay, Pomgranates, becauſe the fruit commeth not to maturity or ripeneſſe, until it be about the end of Autumn, when as now the extream heats be decayed and gone; for their moiſture, ſo thin, feeble and wateriſh as it is, the ſun will not ſuffer it to thicken, or grow to any conſiſtence, unleſſe the air begin to change and incline unto coldneſſe; and therefore *Theophraſtus* ſaith, that it is the only tree that doth ripen and concoct her fruit, beſt and ſooneſt, in the ſhade. But I doubt in what ſenſe this wiſe Philoſophicall Poet giveth this addition of ὠχέφλοια unto apples? conſidering that the man is not wont to imbeliſh and adorn the matters and things whereof he treateth, with the gayeſt and moſt glorious adjectives, as with freſh and lively colours, to enrich and beautifie his ſtile, or to ſet out his verſes; for there is not an Epither that he uſeth, but ſerves for to repreſent and expreſs either the ſubſtance, or elſe ſome faculty and vertue of the thing. Thus he calleth our body environing the ſoul, χθόνα ἀμφιβεβηκυῖαν, that is to ſay, earth circummortal: the air he tearmeth, περιπλομένην αἰθέρα τε, that is to ſay, gathering clouds: as alſo, the liver, πολυαίματον, that is to ſay, full of blood. When I had thus put this doubt to queſtion, there were certain Grammarians in place, who ſaid: That *Empedocles* called Apples, ὠχέφλοια, in regard of their vigor: for Poets by this Verb φλοιεῖν, underſtand thus much: namely, to be grown apace to the vigor, flower, and full ſtrength. And the Poet *Antimachus* in this ſenſe, tearmed the City of the Cadmeans, ἐλοῦσαν ὀπάονας, that is to ſay, flouriſhing with ſtore of fruits. Semblably, *Aratus* ſpeaking of the Canicular-ſtar, *Sirius* in this wiſe:

καὶ τὰ μὲν ἔβρωσεν. ἀτὰρ ὃ φλόον ὅλεσε πάντα.

That is to ſay:

In ſome he did confirm their vigour,
And marr'd in others all their verdeur,

In which place, he calleth the viridity or greenneſſe, and the very flower or beauty of fruits, φλόον. They added moreover, and ſaid: that among the Greeks, ſome there were, who ſacrifice to *Bacchus*, ſurnamed φλοῖος. Foraſmuch as therefore, the Apple maintaineth it ſelfe longeſt in viridity and vigor, of all other fruits, therefore the Philoſopher named it, ὠχέφλοιον. But *Lamprias* my Grandfather ſaid: That this adjection or prepoſition ὠχέ, ſignifieth not only, much, and greatly

greatly, but alſo, above, or with-out-forth: for in this acception, the head or lintel of a door, wee name ὑπέρθυρον, that is to ſay, above the door: and likewiſe, an upper room, chamber, or loft, ὑπερῷον: and *Homer* the Poet, meaneth the outward fleſh of a beaſt ſacrificed, by the word ὑπερφίαλα: like as the inward, by the vocable ἔγκατα. Conſider then (quoth he) whether *Empedocles* had not a reſpect hereunto, by attributing this ſaid Epithet unto an apple; that whereas other fruits are incloſed and covered within a certain bark as it were, which in Greek is called φλοιός, and have without-forth, thoſe that we tearm λεπύχαινα, κελύφη, ὑμένας καὶ λοβούς, that is to ſay, ſhells, rindes, cods and pannicles to cover them, that bark or ſhell (if I may ſo ſay) which the apple hath, lieth within; namely, a glutinous and ſmooth tunicle or coat, which we call the core or the corque, wherein the pepins or ſeeds lie contained; but the fleſhy part or meat thereof for to be eaten, is all without the ſaid core, in which reſpect, it may by good right be named ὑπόφλοιον.

THE NINTH QUESTION.

What is the cauſe that the Fig tree, being of all other trees moſt bitter and ſharp in taſte, yeeldeth a fruit moſt ſweet?

AFter this, demanded it was, why the fig, ſo fat and ſweet a fruit as it is, groweth upon a tree moſt bitter? for the very leaf of a fig tree by the reaſon of the aſperity and roughneſſe that it hath, is called *Thrion*, and the word is full of juice; ſo that when it burneth, you ſhall ſee it caſt up a moſt eager and bitter ſmoak, and when it is burnt, the aſhes make a Leie very ſtrong, and marvellous deterſive, becauſe of the acrimony and ſharpneſſe thereof: yea, and (that which is moſt admirable) whereas all other trees and plants clad with leaves and bearing fruit, put forth a flower before, only the fig tree never ſhewed bloſſom: and if it be true which is moreover ſaid; that it is never blaſted, or ſmitten with lightning, a man may attribute and aſcribe it to the bitterneſſe and evil habitude of the ſtock; for it ſhould ſeem that lightning and thunder never touch any ſuch things, no more then the ſkin of a ſea-calfe, or of the beaſt *Hyæna*. Here the good old man (our grandſire) taking occaſion to ſpeak, ſaid: No marvel then, if all the ſweetneſſe be found in the fruit, the reſt of the tree be harſh and bitter: for like as when the cholerick humour is caſt into the bag or bladder of the gall, the proper ſubſtance of the liver it ſelfe remaineth very ſweet, even ſo the fig tree having ſent all the ſweetneſſe and farneſſe it had into the fruit, remaineth it ſelfe diſfurniſhed of it; for that within the trunk of the ſaid tree there is otherwiſe ſome ſweetneſſe and good juice, though it be but a little; I make an argument from the herb Rue: which they ſay, If it grow under or neer a figge tree, becometh more pleaſant in ſmell, and in taſte more mild, by receiving and enjoying ſome ſmall ſweetneſſe from it; whereby that exceſſive, ſtrong and odious quality of Rue is abated and extinct: unleſſe peradventure a man will reaſon clean contrary, and ſay, that the fig tree drawing ſomewhat from Rue, for the own nurture, taketh from that herb ſome part of the bitterneſſe and acrimony thereof.

THE TENTH QUESTION.

Who be they who according to the common proverb, are ſaid, πρὸς ἅλα καὶ κύμινον, that is to ſay, about the ſalt and cumin? and ſo by the way, why the Poet Homer *named ſalt divine.*

Florus asked us one day when we were at ſupper in his houſe, who they were whom we teamed by an uſual by-word, to be about the ſalt and cumin: *Apollophanes* the Grammarian, one of our company, ſolved the queſtion readily in this manner: They (quoth he) who are ſuch friends and ſo familiar that they ſup together, with ſalt and cumin, are meant by this common ſpeech, But then we moved a new queſtion, namely: How it came to paſſe, that ſalt was ſo highly honoured? for that *Homer* directly ſaith:

And then anon when this was done,
He ſtrewed ſalt divine upon.

And *Plato* affirmeth, that the body and ſubſtance of ſalt by mans laws, is moſt ſacred and holy: The difficulty of this queſtion he enforced ſtill, and augmented the more: for that the Egyptian Prieſts who live chaſte, abſtaine altogether from ſalt, inſomuch as their very bread which they eat is not ſeaſoned with ſalt: And if it were (quoth he) ſo divine and holy, why have they it in ſo great deteſtation? Then *Florus* willed us to let the Egyptians goe with their ſuperſtitious faſhions; and to alledge ſomewhat of the Greeks as touching this ſubject argument: Whereupon I began and ſaid: That the Egyptians themſelves were not herein contrary to the Greeks: for the ſanctimony and profeſſion of chaſtity, forbiddeth procreation of children, laughing, wine, and ſuch like things; which otherwiſe be good, and not bee rejected: and as for ſalt, haply thoſe who have vowed to live a chaſte and pure life, do forbear it, for that by the heat which it hath, (as ſome think) it provoketh thoſe who uſe it, unto lechery: and probable it is beſides, that ſuch votaries do refuſe ſalt, becauſe of all other meats, it is moſt delicate; and a man may well ſay: That it is the viand of viands, and the ſauce as it were to ſeaſon all others: and therefore ſome there be who attribute unto theſe ſalts, the very tearm of Charites or the Graces; for that they make that which is

is neceſſary for our food, to be pleaſant and acceptable unto us: Shall we ſay then (quoth *Florus*) that ſalt was called Divine in this reſpect? And if we did ſo (quoth I) we have no ſlender reaſon to induce us thereunto: for men are wont to attribute a kind of divinity unto things which are paſſing common, and the commodity whereof reacheth far (as for example) to water, light, and the ſeaſons of the year: as for the earth, her above the reſt, they repute not only divine, but alſo to be a goddeſſe: and there is none of all theſe things rehearſed, that ſalt giveth place unto, one jot, in regard of uſe and profit: being, as it is, a fortification to our meats within the body, and that which commendeth them unto our appetite: but yet conſider moreover, if this be not a divine property that it hath, namely, to preſerve and keep dead bodies free from putrifaction a long while, and by that means to reſiſt death in ſome ſort, for that it ſuffereth not a mortal body wholly to periſh, and come to nothing: but like as the ſoul being the moſt divine part of us, is that which maintaineth all the reſt alive, and ſuffereth not the maſſe and ſubſtance of the body to be diſſolved, and ſuffer colliquation: even ſo, the nature of ſalt, taking hold of dead bodies, and imitating herein the action of the ſoule, preſerveth the ſame, holding and ſtaying them that they run not headlong to corruption, giving unto all the parts an amity, accord and agreement one with the other: and therefore it was elegantly ſaid by ſome of the Stoicks: That the fleſh of an hog was even from the beginning no better then a dead carrion, but that life being diffuſed within it, as if ſalt were ſtrewed throughout, kept it ſweet, and ſo preſerved it for to laſt long. Moreover you ſee, that we eſteem lightning, or the fire that commeth by thunder, celeſtial and divine, for that thoſe bodies which have been ſmitten therewith, are obſerved by us to continue a great while unputrified and without corruption: What marvel is it then if our ancients have eſteemed ſalt divine, having the ſame vertue and nature, that this divine and celeſtial fire hath? Here I ſtayed my ſpeech and kept ſilence. With that, *Philinus* followed on and purſued the ſame argument: And what think you (quoth he) is not that to be held divine, which is generative, and hath power to ingender, conſidering that God is thought to be the original author, creator, and father of all things? I avowed no leſſe, and ſaid it was ſo: And it is (quoth he) an opinion generally received, that ſalt availeth not a little in the matter of generation, as you your ſelfe touched ere-while, ſpeaking of Egyptian Prieſts: they alſo, who keep and nouriſh dogs for the race, when they ſee them dull to perform that act, and to do their kind, do excite and awaken their luſt and vertue generative, that lieth (as it were) aſleep, by giving them as well as other hot meats, ſalt fleſh, and fiſh both, that hath lien in brine and pickle: alſo thoſe ſhips and veſſels at ſea, which ordinarily are fraight with ſalt, breed commonly an infinite number of Mice and Rats; for that (as ſome hold) the Females, or Does of that kind, by licking of ſalt only, will conceive and be bagged without the company of the Males or Bucks: but more probable it is, that ſaltneſſe doth procure a certain itching in the natural parts of living creatures, and by that means provoketh Males and Females both, to couple together: and peradventure this may be the reaſon that the beauty of a Woman which is not dull and unlovely, but full of favour, attractive, and able to move concupiſcence, men uſe to name ἁλμυρὸν καὶ δεινὸν, that is to ſay, ſaltiſh, or well ſeaſoned: And I ſuppoſe that the Poets have fained *Venus* to have been engendered of the ſea, not without ſome reaſon; and that this tale, that ſhe ſhould come of ſalt, was deviſed for the nonce, to ſignifie and make known under thoſe covert terms, that there is in ſalt a generative power: Certes, this is an ordinary and general thing among thoſe Poets, to make all the ſea-gods, fathers of many children, and very full of iſſue. To conclude, you ſhall not find any land creature, or flying fowle, for fruitfulneſſe, comparable to any kind of fiſhes bred in the ſea; which no doubt this verſe of *Empedocles* had reſpect unto:

Leading a troop, which ſenſeleſſe were and rude,
Even of Sea-fiſh, a breeding multitude.

The Sixth Book

Of Sympoſiaques, or Banquet-Queſtions.

The Summary.

1. WHat is the reaſon, that men faſting, be more athirſt then hungry?
2. Whether it be want of food that cauſeth hunger and thirſt, or the tranſformation and change of the pores and conduits of the body, be the cauſe thereof?
3. How cometh it, that they who be hungry, if they drink, are eaſed of their hunger; but contrariwiſe, thoſe who are thirſty, if they eat be more thirſty?
4. What is the reaſon that pit-water, when it is drawn, if it be left all night within the ſame air of the pit, becometh more cold?
5. What is the cauſe that little ſtones, and plates or pellets of lead, if they be caſt into water, cauſe it to be the colder?
6. Why ſnow is preſerved, by covering it with ſtraw, chaff, or garments?
7. Whether wine is to run thorow a ſtrainer?
8. What is the cauſe of extraordinary hunger or appetites to meat?

9. Why

9. *Why the Poet* Homer, *when he ſpeaketh of other liquors, vſeth proper Epithets, only oyle he calleth moiſt.*
10. *What is the cauſe that the fleſh of beaſts ſlain for ſacrifice, if they be hanged upon a fig tree, quickly become tender.*

The Sixth Book

Of Sympoſiaques, or Banquet-Queſtions.

The Preëme.

PLato being minded to draw *Timotheus* the ſon of *Conon* (O *Soſſius Sinecio*) from ſumptuous feaſts and ſuperfluous banquets, which great Captains commonly make, invited him one day to a ſupper in the Academy, which was Philoſophical indeed and frugal, where the table was not furniſhed with thoſe viands which might diſtemper the body with feverous heats and inflammations, as *Ion* the Poet was wont to ſay: but ſuch a ſupper, I ſay, upon which ordinarily there follow kind and quiet ſleeps, ſuch fancies alſo, and imaginations as ingender few dreams, and thoſe ſhort; and in one word, where the ſleeps do teſtifie a great calmneſſe and tranquillity of the body. The morrow after, *Timotheus* perceiving the difference between theſe ſuppers and the other, ſaid: That they who ſupped with *Plato* over night, found the pleaſure and comfort thereof the next day: and to ſay a truth, a great help and ready means to a pleaſant and bleſſed life, is the good temperature of the body, not drenched in wine, nor loaden with viands, but light, nimble, and ready, without any fear or diſtruſt to perform all actions and functions of the day time. But there was another commodity no leſſe then this, which they had who ſupped with *Plato*, namely, the diſcuſſing and handling of good and learned queſtions, which were held at the table in ſupper time: for the remembrance of the pleaſures in eating and drinking, is illiberal and unbeſeeming men of worth, tranſitory beſides, and ſoon at an end: like unto the odour of a perfume and ſweet oyntment, of the ſmell of roaſt in a Kitchin a day after: whereas diſcourſes Philoſophical, and diſputations of learning, when they be remembred afterwards, yeeld always new pleaſure and freſh delight unto thoſe that were at them, yea, and cauſe them who were abſent and left out, in hearing the relation thereof, to have no leſs part of learning and erudition, then they who were preſent: for thus we ſee, that even at this day, ſtudents and profeſſors of learning, have the fruition, and enjoy the benefit of *Socrates* his banquets, no leſſe then they themſelves who were perſonally preſent, and had their real part of them at the time: and verily, if corporal matter, as dainty diſhes and exquiſite fare, had ſo greatly affected and delighted their minds with pleaſure: *Plato* and *Xenophon* ſhould have put down in writing, and left unto us the memorial, not of the diſcourſes there held, nor of the talk which then paſſed, but rather of the furniture of the table, and have made a note of the delicate viands, paſtry works, comfitures and junckets ſerved up in *Callias* or *Agathus* houſes: whereas now of all ſuch matters there is no mention at all, as if they were of no account, nor worth the naming, notwithſtanding very like it is, there was no want of proviſion, no ſpare of coſt, nor defect of diligence in that behalfe: but on the other ſide penned they have moſt exactly, and with great diligence the diſcourſes of good letters and Philoſophy, which then and there paſſed merrily: and thoſe they have commended unto poſterities, to give us example, that we ought not only to deviſe and reaſon together when we are at the board, but alſo to cal to mind afterwards, what good talk had paſſed, and to keep the ſame in memory.

THE FIRST QUESTION.

What is the reaſon, that thoſe who be faſting are more thirſty then hungry.

NOw ſend I unto you *Soſſius Senecio*, this ſixth book of Banquet diſcourſes; whereof the firſt queſtion is: Why thoſe who be long faſting, are more thirſty then hungry? for it may ſeem contrary unto all reaſon; that thirſt rather then hunger ſhould enſue much faſting; for that the want of dry food, would ſeem by courſe of nature to require a ſupply of nutriment by the like. Then began I in this manner to argue, before the company there in place: That of all things within us, and whereof we conſiſt, our natural heat either alone or principally, had need of nurture and maintenance: for thus verily we do obſerve in outward elements, that neither aire, water, nor earth, deſire nutriment; neither do they conſume whatſoever is neer unto them; but it is fire only that requireth the one, and doth the other; which is the reaſon that all young folk doe eat more then elder perſons; for that they be hotter; yea, and old men and women can endure to faſt better, becauſe their natural heat is already decayed and feeble in them; like as it is in thoſe living creatures which have but little blood: for ſmall need have they of nurture, for default of natural heat. Moreover, thus much we may obſerve in every one of our ſelves, that our bodily exerciſes, our loud outcries and ſuch like matters, as by motion do augment heat, make us to take more pleaſure in our meat, and to have a better appetite to eat: now the principal, moſt familiar and natural food of heat in mine opinion, is moiſture, as we may ſee by daily experience, that burning flames of fire encreaſe by pouring oyl thereto; and of all things in the world, aſhes are the drieſt, becauſe the whole humidity is burn up and conſumed: but the terreſtrial ſubſtance deſtitute of all liquor, remaineth alone: ſemblably, the nature of fire is to ſeparate and divide bodies, by taking away the moiſture which held them ſodered and bound together; when as therefore wee faſt long, our natural heat draweth forcibly unto it: firſt, all the humours out of the reliques of our nouriſhment: which done, the inflammation thereof paſſeth farther, and ſetteth upon the very radical humour within our fleſh, ſearching every corner for moiſture to feed and nouriſh it: there being cauſed therefore a wonderful drineſſe in our body, like as in earth or clay that is parched with heat; our fleſh by conſequence commeth to ſtand more in need of drink then of meat, until ſuch time as wee have taken a good draught; by means whereof our heat being well refreſhed and fortified, worketh and procureth appetite to ſolid and dry nouriſhment.

THE SECOND QUESTION.

Whether it be want of food that cauſeth hunger and thirſt, or rather the tranſformation and change of the conduits and paſſages within our bodies?

THis diſcourſe being thus ended, *Philo* the Phyſician went about to impugne and overthrow the firſt poſition; maintaining, that thirſt proceeded not from default of any nouriſhment, but was to be imputed unto the change of the form in certain paſſages of the body: and for demonſtration hereof, he alledged of the one ſide this experience: That they who be athirſt in the night, if they ſleep upon it, loſe their thirſtineſſe, although they drink never a drop: on the other ſide, that they who have the Ague, if their fit decline, or be off them, or in caſe the Feaver be cleane paſt and gone, preſently they are eaſed of their drought: likewiſe there be many, who after they have been bathed, yea, and be eeve me, others when they have vomitted, are rid of thirſtineſſe: and yet they get moiſture neither by the one nor the other; but they are the pores and petty conduits of the body that ſuffer mutation, becauſe they be altered and transformed into another ſtate and diſpoſition; and this appeareth more evidently in hunger; for many ſick folk there be, who at one time have need of nouriſhment, and yet want appetite to their meat; ſome there are again, who let them eat and fill themſelves never ſo much, have never the leſs appetite to meat, nay, their greedy hunger encreaſeth the more: ſemblably, you ſhall have many of thoſe who loathed their meat, to recover their ſtomach and appetite quickly, by taſting a few Olives or Capers, condite with ſalt pickle: whereby it appeareth plainly; that hunger is not occaſioned by default of nouriſhment, but through the ſaid alteration or paſſion of the pores and conduits of the body: for ſurely ſuch meats as thoſe, although they diminiſh the want of nouriſhment, by addition of more food, yet nevertheleſſe cauſe hunger; and even ſo the poinant acrimony of theſe ſalt viands, contenting the taſte and pleaſant to the mouth, by knitting, binding, and ſtrengthning the ſtomach; or contrariwiſe, by relaxing, or opening the ſame, do procure unto it, and breed therein a certain gnawing, and a diſpoſition to the liking of their meat, which we call appetite. The reaſon of theſe arguments ſeemed unto me very wittily deviſed, and framed prettily, for to carry a good ſhew of probability; howbeit, to be contrary unto the principal end of nature, to which the appetite doth lead and conduct every living creature, deſirous to ſupply that which is wanting, to fill that which is empty, and purſuing alwayes that which is meet for it and familiar, but yet defectuous: for to ſay, that the thing wherein principally a living creature differeth from a liveleſſe body, was not given unto us for the tuition, maintenance and preſervation of our health and ſafety, even as it were of our eyes that be ſo proper and familiar to the body, and to fear ſuch occurrents as be adverſe thereto; but to think that the ſame is onely a paſſion, change, and alteration of the pores occaſioned according as the ſame be made either bigger or ſmaller; is (to ſpeak plainly) the faſhion and part of thoſe who make no reckoning at all of nature. Moreover, to confeſſe, that to quake for cold, hapneth unto our body for want of heat familiar and natural unto it, and with one breath to deny, that hunger and thirſt proceed not from defect of moiſture and nouriſhment, is very abſurd: and yet, more unreaſonable and monſtrous it were to affirm, that nature deſireth evacuation, when ſhee feeleth her ſelfe charged with fulneſſe, and withal, hath a deſire to repletion: not becauſe ſhe findeth her ſelfe over-empty, but upon ſome other paſſion comming I know not how, nor which way. Certes, theſe needs and repletions in the bodies of living creatures, reſemble properly the accidents that fall out in agriculture and husbandry: for the earth ſuffereth many ſuch defects, and requireth as many helps and remedies: againſt drought, we ſeek to moiſten by watering: for burning with heat, to coole moderately: when things are frozen, to heat them again, and keep them warm, by laying (as it were) many coverings over: and look what is not in our power to doe, we pray unto the gods for to help and furniſh us therewith: namely, ſweet and mild dews, pleaſant and comfortable windes: ſo that nature always ſeeketh ſupply of that which is defective, for to preſerve her ſtate and temperature. And in my conceit, this word τροφὴ, which ſignifieth nouriſhment, ſeemeth to import as much as τηροῦν τὸν φύσιν, that is to ſay, preſerving nature: and preſerved it is in plants verily, and trees inſenſibly (as *Empedocles* ſaid) by the air about them, when they are refreſhed and watered thereby in convenient manner, as need requireth: but as for us, our appetite cauſeth us to ſeek and procure that, for default wherof, we have not our kind temperature. But let us conſider better, each one of thoſe reaſons by it ſelf, which have been delivered, and how untrue they be: for firſt and formoſt, thoſe viands which have a quick, ſharp, and pleaſing taſte, by reaſon of their acrimony, procure no appetite at all in thoſe parts, which be capable of nurture, but only a certain biting or gnawing in them, much like unto that itching, when ſomething is applyed unto the skin, that doth pluck and fret it: and ſay that this paſſion or affection (whatſoever it is) procureth appetite, it ſtandeth to great reaſon, that by ſuch ſharp and quick viands, thoſe matters which cauſeth fulneſs, conſti-

commting to be attenuated and made more ſubtile; are diſcuſſed, diſſolved, and ſo diſſipated as they ought to be: by which means, conſequently there followeth a want and defect: not for that the Poets and paſſages be altered or changed into another form, but rather, becauſe they be now voided, cleaſt, and purged: conſidering that thoſe juices which be ſharp, eager, quick, piercing and ſaltiſh, by attenuating and making tender the matter that they meet with and work upon, do diſcuſſe, diſgregate and ſcatter the ſame, in ſuch ſort, as they ingender and procure a new appetite. To come now unto thoſe who ſleep upon their thirſtineſſe, they be not the Pores which by their tranſformation allay thirſt, but by reaſon that they receive humidity from the fleſhy parts, and are filled with a vaporous moiſture from thence: and as for vomits, in caſting up one thing which is adverſe to nature, they give her means to enjoy another which is friendly and familiar thereto: for thirſt is not a deſire ſo much of an exceeding great quantity of moiſture, as of that which is kind and familiar; and therefore, although a man have within him great abundance of that moiſture which is unnatural, yet neverthleſſe, he wanteth ſtill: for that his thirſt giveth place to no other humidity, but unto that which is proper and natural, and whereof it is deſirous: neither commeth mans body into a good temper again, before ſuch time as that humidity be removed and gone, which was enemy to nature: and then the ways and paſſages receive willingly that moiſture which is friendly and familiar unto her: as to the Ague beforelaid, it driveth indeed the moiſture inwardly into the center (as it were) of the body; for when the middle thereof is all on a fire, thither runneth and retireth all the humidity, where it is thruſt together and retained; and by reaſon that there is ſuch ſtore thereof, preſſed and pent in, it falleth out often-times, that many being ſick of the Ague, do caſt and vomit it up, for to be diſcharged thereof, and being exceeding thirſty with all, for want of moiſture, and for the dryneſſe that is in other parts of the body, which call for humidity: when as then the fever either declineth or hath intermiſſion, ſo as the ardent heat within is gone from thoſe interiour parts in the center and middle of the body, the moiſture returneth again into the outward habit, it ſpreadeth (I ſay) and is diſperſed thorowout, according to the natural courſe thereof; ſo as at once it bringeth eaſe to the parts within, and withal cauſeth the fleſh and skin without, to be ſmooth, ſoft and moiſt, whereas before it was rough, hard and dry; yea, and many times it moveth ſweats; whereby it commeth to paſſe, that the want which before cauſed thirſt, now ceaſeth and is gone, while the moiſture is returned from the place wherein before it was ſtraightly preſſed and kept in, unto that which is deſirous and hath need of it, and where it is at large and more at liberty: for like as in an orchard or garden, although there be a pit containing plenty of water, unleſſe a man draw ſome out of it, and therewith water the ground, it cannot chuſe but the herbs, plants and trees will be as one would ſay, athirſt, and at a faulr for nouriſhment: even ſo it fareth in our bodies, if all the moiſture be gotten to one place, no marvel if the reſt do want & become exceeding drie, until ſuch time as it run again, and that there be a new diffuſion thereof; like as it falleth out with thoſe who are ſick of an Ague, when the fit is paſt, or the feaver hath left them, and to thoſe who ſleep upon thirſt: for in theſe, ſleep bringeth back the moiſture from the center and middle of the body, diſtributing it to all the members and parts thereof, and ſo maketh an equal diſtribution and ſupply thorowout.

But this transformation and change of the Pores from which it is ſaid that hunger and thirſt doth proceed: what kind of thing is it I would gladly know? For mine own part, none other differences ſee I, but of more and leſſe, and according as they be either ſtopped or opened: when they be obſtructed or ſtopped, receive they cannot either drink or meat: when they be opened and untopped, they make a void and free place; and ſurely that is nothing elſe but the want of that which is proper and natural: For the reaſon (my good friend *Philo*) why cloaths which are to be dyed, be dipped firſt in Allom water, is becauſe that ſuch water hath a piercing, ſcouring, and abſterſive vertue, by means wereof, when all the ſuperfluous filth in them is conſumed and rid away, the pores being opened, retain more ſurely the tincture which is given unto the cloaths, onely becauſe they receive the ſame better, by reaſon of the emptineſſe occaſioned by want.

THE THIRD QUESTION.

What is the cauſe that when men be hungry, if they drink, are delivered from their hunger: but contrariwiſe, when they be athirſt, if they eat, are more thirſty then before?

WHen thoſe diſcourſes were thus paſſed: he who invited us to ſupper, began in this wiſe: It ſeemeth unto me (my maſters) that this reaſon as touching the voidance and repletion of pores, carrieth with it a great appearance of truth, and namely, in the ſolution of another queſtion beſides, to wit: Why in them who be hungry, if they drink, their hunger ceaſeth immediately? and contrariwiſe, they who are athirſt, if they eat, are ſtill more thirſty? I am of opinion (quoth hee) that thoſe who alledge and urge theſe pores and their effects, doe render the reaſon and cauſe of this accident, very eaſily, and with exceeding great probability: however in many points, they enforce the ſame not ſo much as probably: for whereas all bodies have pores, ſome of one meaſure, and ſymmetry, others of another: thoſe which be larger then the reſt, receive food ſolid as well as liquid both together: ſuch as bee narrower and more ſtraight admit drink: the avoidance and evacuation of which, cauſeth thirſt, like as of the other, hunger: and therefore if they who be athirſt

athirſt do eat, they find no ſuccour and benefit thereby, becauſe the pores by reaſon of their ſtreightneſſe, are not able to receive dry and ſolid nutriment, but continue ſtill indigent and deſtitute of that which is their due, and fit for them: whereas they who be hungry, in caſe they drink, find comfort thereby, for that the liquid nouriture entring into thoſe large pores, and filling thoſe concavities of theirs, do ſlake and diminiſh mightily the force of their hunger.

As touching the event and effect (quoth I) true it is (as I thinke) but I cannot accord and give my conſent to the ſuppoſition of the cauſe pretended: For if (quoth I) a man ſhould hold, that with theſe pores and conduits (upon which ſome ſtand ſo much, ſo greatly embrace and maintaine ſo ſtoutly) the fleſh is pierced, and by meanes thereof full of holes; ſurely he would make it very looſe, quavering, flaggy, and ſo rotten, that it would not hang together: moreover, to ſay that the ſame parts of the body do not receive meat and drinke together, but that they do paſſe and run (as it were) thorough a ſtrainer or canvaſe bolter, ſome one way, and ſome another; methinks is a very ſtrange poſition, and a meere deviſed fiction: for this very mixture of humidity, tempering and making tender the meats received, together with the co-operative help of the inward naturall heat, and the ſpirits, doth cut, ſubtiliate, and mince the food with all manner of inciſions, ſhreddings, and diviſions, no tooles, no knives, nor inſtruments in the world ſo fine and ſmall; inſomuch as every part and parcell of the ſaid nouriſhment is familiar, meet and convenient for each part and member of the body; not applied and fitted as it were to certaine veſſels and holes to be filled thereby; but united and perfectly concorporate to the whole, and every part thereof; but if this were not ſo, yet the maine point of the queſtion is not aſſoiled for all that; for they who eat, unleſſe they alſo drinke to it, are ſo far off from allaying their thirſt, that contrariwiſe they encreaſe the ſame; and to this point there is not yet a word ſaid. Conſider now (ſaid I) whether the poſitions and reaſons which we ſet down, are not probable and apparent? Firſt we ſuppoſe, that moiſture being conſumed by drineſſe is cleane periſhed and gone; and that drineſſe being tempered and ſuſtained by moiſture hath certaine diffuſions and exhalations; ſecondly we hold, that neither hunger is a generall and univerſall want of dry food, nor thirſt, of moiſture, but a certaine ſcantneſſe and defect of the one and the other, when there is not enough and ſufficient; for thoſe who altogether do want the ſame, be neither hungry nor thirſty, but die preſently: Let theſe ſuppoſals be laid for grounds, it will not be from henceforth hard, to know the cauſe of that which is in queſtion: for thirſt increaſeth upon them that eate, becauſe meats by their drineſſe do gather together, ſuck and drinke up the humidity diſperſed, and which is left but ſmall and feeble, in all the body, cauſing the ſame to evaporate away; like as we may obſerve without our bodies, how dry earth and duſt do quickly ſnatch, diſpatch, and conſume quite the liquor or moiſture that is mingled therewith: contrariwiſe, drinke neceſſarily ſlacketh hunger; for by reaſon that moiſture drenching and ſoaking that little meat which it findeth dry and hard, raiſeth from it certaine vapours and moiſt exhalations, and thoſe it doth elevate and carry up into all the body, applying the ſame to the parts that ſtand in need: and therefore *Eraſiſtratus* not unproperly tearmed moiſture, the wagon of the viands: for being mixed and tempered with ſuch things as otherwiſe of themſelves by reaſon of their drineſſe or other evill diſpoſition, be idle, and heavy, it raiſeth and lifteth up: and hereupon it commeth, that many men who have been exceeding hungry, only by bathing or waſhing themſelves, without any drinke at all, have wonderfully aſſwaged and allaied their hunger: for the moiſture from without, entring into the body, cauſeth them to be more ſucculent and in better plight; for that it doth enlarge the parts within, ſo that it doth mitigate the fell mood, and appeaſe the cruell rage of hunger. To conclude, this is the reaſon that they who are determined to pine themſelves to death by utter abſtinence from all ſolid meats, live and continue a long time if they receive but water only, even untill the time that all be quite evaporate, ſpent and dried up, which might nouriſh and be united unto the body.

THE FOURTH QUESTION.

What is the cauſe that pit or well-water being drawn, if it be left all night within the aire of the pit, becommeth colder than it was?

WE had a certaine gueſt who lived delicately and loved to drinke cold water; for to pleaſe and content whoſe appetite, our ſervants drew up a bucket of water out of the pit or well, and ſo let it hang within the ſame (ſo that it touched not the top of the water) all the night long; wherewith he was ſerved the morrow after at his ſupper, & he found it to be much colder than that which was newly drawn: now this ſtranger, being a profeſſed ſcholar and indifferently well learned, told us, that he had found this in *Ariſtotle* among other points, grounded upon good reaſon, which he delivered unto us in this wiſe: All water (quoth he) which is firſt heat, becommeth afterwards more cold than it was before; like to that which is provided and prepared for Kings: firſt, they ſet it on the fire until it boile again: which done, they bury the pan or veſſell wherein it is within ſnow; and by this device it proves exceeding cold: no otherwiſe than our bodies, after that we have been in the ſtouph or baines, be cooled much more by that meanes: for relaxation occaſioned by heat, maketh the body more rare, and cauſeth the pores to open, and ſo by conſequence it receiveth more aire from without, which environeth the body, and bringeth a more ſudden and violent change;

when as therefore water is firſt chafed (as it were) and ſet in an heat by agitation and ſtirring within the bucket whiles it was in drawing, it groweth to be the colder by the aire which invironeth the ſaid veſſell round about. This ſtranger and gueſt of ours we commended for his confident reſolution and perfect memory; but as touching the reaſon that he alledged, we made ſome doubt: for if the aire in which the veſſell hangeth be cold, how doth it inchaſe the water? and if it be hot, how cooleth it afterwards? for beſide all reaſon it is, that a thing ſhould be affected or ſuffer contrarily from one and the ſame cauſe, unleſſe ſome difference come between. And when the other held his peace a good ſpace, and ſtood muſing what to ſay againe: Why (quoth I) there is no doubt to be made of the aire; for our very ſenſes teach us, that cold it is, and eſpecially that which is in the bottome of pits; and therefore impoſſible it is, that water ſhould be heat by the cold aire: but the truth is this rather, although this cold aire cannot alter all the water of the ſpring in the bottome of the well, yet if a man draw the ſame in a little quantity, it will do the deed, and be ſo much predominant as to coole it exceedingly.

THE FIFTH QUESTION.

What is the reaſon that little ſtones and ſmall plates or pellets of lead, being caſt into water, make it colder?

YOu remember I am ſure (do you not? ſaid I) what *Ariſtotle* hath written, as touching pibble ſtones and flints, which if they be caſt into water cauſe the ſame to be much colder and more aſtringent: And you remember (quoth he) as well, that the Philoſopher in his Problemes hath only ſaid it is ſo: but let us aſſay to find out the cauſe, for it ſeemeth very difficult to be conceived and imagined: you ſay true indeed (quoth I;) and a marvell it were if we could hit upon it: howbeit, marke and conſider what I will ſay unto it: Firſt to begin withall, do you not thinke that water is ſooner made cold by the aire without, if the ſame may come to enter into it? alſo, that the aire is of more force and efficacy, when it beateth againſt hard flints, pibbles, or whetſtones? for they will not ſuffer it to paſſe thorow, as veſſels either of braſſe or earth: but by their compact ſolidity, reſiſting and ſtanding out againſt it, they put it by from themſelves, and turn it upon the water; whereby the coldneſſe may be the ſtronger, and the water thorowout be fully affected therewith: and this is the reaſon, that in Winter-time running rivers be much colder than the ſea; for that the cold aire hath greater power upon them, as being driven back againe from the bottome of the water; whereas in the ſea it is diſſolved, and paſſeth away, by reaſon of the great depth thereof encountring there nothing at all, upon which it may ſtrike and beat: but it ſeemeth there is another reaſon, that waters, the thinner and clearer they be, ſuffer the more from the cold aire; for ſooner they be changed and overcome, ſo weake and feeble they are: now hard whetſtones and little pibbles do ſubtiliate and make the water more thin in drawing to the bottome where they be, all the groſſe and terreſtriall ſubſtance that trouble it; in ſuch ſort, as the water by that meanes, being more fine, and conſequently weaker, ſooner is vanquiſhed and ſurmounted by the refrigeration of the aire. To come now unto lead: cold of nature it is, and if it be ſoaked in vineger, and wrought with it, maketh ceruſe of all deadly poiſons the coldeſt. As for the ſtones aforeſaid, by reaſon of their ſolidity, they have an inward coldneſſe conceived deeply within them; for as every ſtone is a peece of earth gathered together and congealed (as it were) by exceeding cold, ſo the more compact and maſſie that it is, the harder is it congealed, and conſequently, ſo much the colder: no marvell therefore it is, if both plummets of lead and theſe little hard pibbles aforeſaid, by repercuſſion from themſelves, inforce the coldneſſe of the water.

THE SIXTH QUESTION.

What is the reaſon: hat men uſe to keep ſnow within chaffe, light ſtraw, and cloaths.

VPon theſe words, that ſtranger and gueſt of ours, after he had pauſed a while: Lovers (quoth he) above all things, are deſirous to talke with their paramours; or if they cannot ſo do, yet at leaſtwiſe they will be talking of them; and even ſo it fareth at this time between me and ſnow; for, becauſe there is none here in place, nor to be had, I will ſpeake of it; and namely, I would gladly know the reaſon why it is wont to be kept in ſuch things as be very hot; for we uſe to cover and ſwaddle it (as it were) with ſtraw and chaffe, yea, and to lap it within ſoft cloaths, unſhorne rugs, and ſhaggy frize, and ſo preſerve it a long time in the own kind, without running to water: A wonderfull matter, that the hotteſt things ſhould preſerve thoſe which are extreame cold! And ſo will I ſay too (quoth I) if that were true: but it is far otherwiſe, and we greatly deceive our ſelves in taking that by and by to be hot it ſelfe which doth heat another; and namely, conſidering that we our ſelves uſe to ſay, that one and the ſelfe-ſame garment in Winter keeps us warme, and in Summer cooleth us; like as that nurſe in the tragedy, which gave ſuck unto *Niobes* children:

With mantles courſe, and little blanquets worne
She warms and cools her pretty babes, new borne.

The

The Almaigns verily put on garments only for to defend their bodies againſt the rigour of cold: the Æthiopians weare them not, but to ſave themſelves from ſultry heat: we in *Greece* uſe them for the one purpoſe and the other; and therefore why ſhould we count them to be hot, becauſe they warme us, rather than cold, for that they coole us? yet of the twaine, if we would be judged by the outward ſenſe, we might repute them rather cold than hot: for when we put on our ſhirts or inner garments firſt, our naked skin finds them cold; and ſo when we go into our beds, we feele the ſheets and other cloaths of themſelves as cold; but afterwards they help to heat us; but how? being themſelves full of heat, which commeth from us, they hold in our heat, and withall keep off the cold aire from our bodies. Thus you ſee how they that be ſick of the ague, or otherwiſe, burne with heat, change continually their linnens and other cloaths about them, becauſe ever as any freſh thing is laid upon them they feele it cold and take comfort therein; no ſooner is it caſt over them, and lien a while but it becommeth hot, by reaſon of the ardent heat of their bodies: like as therefore a garment being warmed once by us doth warme us againe; even ſo, if it be made cold by ſnow it keepeth it cold reciprocally; but made cold it is by ſnow, for that there ariſeth from it a ſubtile ſpirit, or vapour which doth it; and the ſame ſo long as it abideth within, holdeth it together concrete and ſolid in the own nature; contrariwiſe, when it is gone, ſnow melteth and turneth to water; then that white freſh colour vaniſheth away, which came by the mixture of the ſaid ſpirit and humidity together, cauſing a kind of froth: when as ſnow therefore is lapped within cloaths, both the cold is held in thereby, and the outward aire kept out, that it cannot enter in to thaw and melt the ſubſtance of the ſnow thus gathered and congealed together: now to this purpoſe they uſe ſuch cloaths as have not yet come under the fullers hand, nor been dreſſed, burled, ſhorne, and preſſed; and that for the length and drineſſe of the ſhag haire and flocks, which will not ſuffer the cloath to lie heavy and preſſe down the ſnow, and cruſh it being ſo ſpungious and light as it is: and even ſo the ſtraw and chaffe, lying lightly upon it, and ſoftly touching it, breaketh not the congealed ſubſtance thereof; and otherwiſe beſides, the ſame lieth cloſe and faſt together, whereby it is a cauſe that neither the coldneſſe of the ſnow within can breath forth nor the heat of the aire without enter in. To conclude, that the excretion and iſſuing out of that ſpirit, is the thing that cauſeth the ſnow to fore-give, to fret, and to melt in the end, is apparant to our outward ſenſes, for that the ſnow when it thaweth engendreth wind.

THE SEVENTH QUESTION.

Whether wine is to runne thorough a ſtrainer before it be drunke?

NIger, one of our Citizens, left the ſchooles, having converſed but a ſmall while with a moſt excellent and renowned Philoſopher; yet ſo long as in that time he had not learned any good thing at his hands, but ſtollen from him, ere he was aware, that, whereby he was offenſive and odious unto others; and namely, this bad cuſtome he had gotten of his Maſter, boldly to reprove and correct in all things thoſe who were in his company: when as therefore we were upon a time with *Ariſton* in his houſe at ſupper together, he found fault generally with all the proviſion, as being too ſumptuous, curious, and ſuperfluous; and among other things, he flatly denied, That wine ought to paſſe through a ſtrainer before it be powred forth and filled to the table; but he ſaid, It ſhould be drunke as it came out of the tun, as *Heſiodus* ſaid, whiles it hath the ſtrength and naturall force, and as nature hath given it unto us; for this manner of depuration and clarifying of it by a ſtrainer, firſt doth enervate and cut as it were the ſinews of the vigour and vertue, yea, and quench the native heat that it hath; for it cannot chuſe but the ſame will exhale, evaporate, and flie away with the ſpirit and life thereof, being ſo often filled and powred out of one veſſell into another: Againe (quoth he) it bewrayeth a certaine curioſity, delicacy, and waſtefull wantonneſſe thus to conſume and ſpend the good and profitable for that which is pleaſant only and delectable: for like as to cut cocks for to make them capons, or to geld ſowes and make them gualts, that their fleſh may be tender dainty, and (againſt the nature of it) effeminate, was never ſurely the invention of men, found in judgement, and of honeſt behaviour, but of waſtfull gluttons, and ſuchas were given over to belly cheere; even ſo verily they that thus ſtraine wine, do geld it, they cut the ſpurs and pare the nailes thereof; if I may be allowed ſo to ſpeake by way of Metaphor, yea, and do effeminate the ſame; whiles they are not able either to beare it by reaſon of their infirmity and weakneſſe, nor drinke it in meaſure, as they ſhould becauſe of their intemperance: but ſurely this is a ſophiſticall device of theirs, and an artificiall trick to help them for to drinke more, and excuſe them for powring it down ſo merrily; for by this meanes the force of wine they take away, leaving nothing but bare wine; much like unto thoſe who give water boyled unto ſick and weake folke, who cannot endure to drinke it cold, and yet beyond meaſure deſire it; for the very edge of wine they take off, and looke what ſtrength and vertue was in it, the ſame they rid away and expell quite: that in ſo doing they marre it for ever: this may be a ſufficient argument, that wine thus miſuſed will not laſt nor continue long in the own nature, but turne quickly to be very dregs: it ioſeth (I ſay) the verdure thereof preſently, as if it were cut by the root from the owne mother, which are the lees thereof. Certes, in old time they were wont directly to call wine it ſelfe τρύγα, that is to ſay, Lees: like as we uſe to tearme a man by a diminutive ſpeech, a ſoute or an head, giving unto him

the denomination of thoſe principall parts only; and even at this day we expreſſe the gathering of vine fruit, by the verbe τρυγᾶν: Alſo in one place *Homer* called wine Διατρυγίον, and as for wine it ſelfe, it was an ordinary thing with him, to call it αἴθοπα καὶ ἐρυθρὸν, that is to ſay, blackiſh and red, not pale and wan, by often ſtraining and cleanſing, ſuch as *Ariſton* here ſerveth us with: hereat *Ariſton* laughing at the matter: Not ſo my good friend (quoth he) not pale, bloudleſſe, and diſcoloured: but that which at the very firſt ſight ſheweth it ſelfe pleaſant, mild, and lovely, whereas you would have us to ingurgitate and drench our ſelves with a wine as black as the night, thick, groſſe, and duskiſh, like a darke cloud: the clarifying and purification thereof you condemn, which in truth is nothing elſe but the caſting up as it were by vomit of all the choler that it had, and the diſcharging it of that which is heavy, heady, in it, able to make men ſick and drunken, to the end that being more light, cheerefull, and leſſe cholerick, it might go into our bodies for to be intermingled with us, even ſuch as *Homer* ſaith, thoſe worthies and demi-gods, at the war of *Troy*, uſed to drinke: for *Homer* when he named wine αἶθοπα, meant not blackiſh and thick, but tranſparent, neat, and bright; for having before attributed unto braſſe theſe epithites, ἀυπνὸν, and ἀῆτον, that is to ſay, meet for men, and reſplendent, he would not have called it αἶθοπ afterwards, if he had meant black and duskiſh by that attribute. Like as therefore the ſage *Anacharſis*, when he reproved ſome other faſhions among the Greeks, commended yet their char-coales, for that leaving the ſmoake without doores, they brought the fire into the houſe; even ſo you my maſters, that are wiſe men and great ſcholars, may haply blame us in other reſpects, if you liſt: but in caſe when we have rejected and diſpatched away that which was turbulent, cholerick, and furious in wine, we make it then looke cleare, and taſte pleaſant of it ſelfe, without anyſophiſtication; if we do not (I ſay) turne or take off the edge quite, and grind out all the ſteele (as it were) but rather ſcouring away ruſt and canker, furbuſh and glaze it, and ſo preſent it unto you for to drinke; what hainous fault (I pray you) have we committed? But you will ſay (forſooth) it hath more ſtrength in it when it is not thus clarified with ſtraining: and ſo (by your leave, good ſir) hath a trantick, lunatick, and mad man, when he is in his fits; but after that he is well purged with Ellebor, or by good regiment in diet, brought to be ſtaied, and reduced into his right mind and ſenſes againe, that violent and extraordinary force is gone, but the true naturall ſtrength of his own, and his ſetled temperature remaine ſtill in his body, together with his right wits; even ſo this cleanſing and clarifying of wine, by ridding away that headineſſe which troubleth the braine, and cauſeth rage, bringeth it to a mild habite and wholſome conſtitution. Certes, for mine own part, I hold there is a great difference between affected curioſity, and ſimple neatneſſe or elegancy: for thoſe women that paint themſelves, perfume and beſmeere their bodies with coſtly odours, and balmes, or otherwiſe glitter in their ornaments of gold, and go in their rich purple robes, are by good right thought to be curious, coſtly, and wanton dames; but if a woman uſe the bath, waſh her skin, annoint her ſelfe with ordinary oyle, yea, and weare the treſſes of her own haire, diſpoſed and laid in order decently, no man will find fault with her for it. This diſtinction in womens dreſſing and attire, the Poet *Homer* hath elegantly and properly expreſſed in the perſon of *Juno*, when ſhe dreſſed and trimmed her ſelfe, in this wiſe:

With pure Ambroſia firſt, her corps
Immortall from all ſoile
And filth ſhe cleans'd, then it ſhe did
Annoint with glibber oile.

Thus far forth, there is nothing to be ſeen in her, but carefull diligence and matron-like cleanlineſſe; mary when ſhe comes to carquans, chaines, borders, and buttons of gold, when ſhe hangs on her pendant eare rings moſt curiouſly and artificially wrought, and not ſtaying there, proceeds in the end to take in her hand that enchanting tiſſue and girdle of *Venus*; beleeve me, here was ſuperfluous ſumptuoſity, here was vanity and wantonneſſe indeed, not beſeeming a wife or dame of honour; ſemblably, they that colour their wine with the ſweet wood of aloe or cinamon, and otherwiſe give it a tincture and pleaſant aromatization with ſaffron, do even as much as thoſe who curiouſly trick up and ſet out a woman, for to bring her to a banquet, and to proſtitute her as a curtizan; whereas they that do no more but purge out of it the groſſe filthineſſe, and that which is good for nothing, make it by that meanes pure, wholſome, and medicinable: for otherwiſe, if you admit not this, you may as well ſay, that all things that you ſee here is nothing but needleſſe ſuperfluity, and affected curioſity, beginning even at the very houſe and the furniture thereof: for why is it (will you ſay) thus pargetted and laid over with a coat of plaiſter? why is it open and built with windows on that ſide eſpecially where it may receive the pureſt aire and freſheſt winds, or where it may enjoy the light of the ſun tending Weſtward toward his ſetting? why are theſe pots and drinking cups every one of them rubbed and ſcoured on every ſide, ſo neat and cleane that they glitter and ſhine againe, ſo as a man may ſee himſelfe in them? And ought (good ſir) theſe boules and goblets to be kept cleane without all filth, or ſweet vvithout evill ſent; and muſt the wine vvhich vve drinke out of them be full of filthy dregs, or otherwiſe ſtained vvith any ordure and corruption? but vvhat need I run thorovv all the reſt? the very vvorkmanſhip and painfull labour about the vvheat vvhereof our bread here is made, vvhat is it elſe (I beſeech you) but cleanſing and purging? ſee you not vvhat a do there is about it before it be brought to this paſſe? for there muſt be not only threſhing, fanning, vvinnovving, riddling, grinding, ſifting, ſerſing, and boulting out the bran from the

the flowre, while it is in the nature of corn and meale; but alſo it requireth to be knead and wrought, that no roughneſſe remaine behind in the dough; ſo that being thus united and concorporate into a lumpe of paſte, it may be made bread fit for our eating: what abſurdity then is there in this, if straining and cleanſing of wine ridderh it from that feculent & dreggy matter, as if it were courſe brans, or groſſe grounds, eſpecially ſeeing the doing of it, is not any wiſe chargeable nor laborious?

THE EIGHTH QUESTION.

What is the cauſe of that extraordinary hunger, called βουλιμία?

THere is a ſolemne ſacrifice uſed among us, received by tradition from our anceſtors, which the provoſt or chiefe governour of the City for the time being, performeth at the publike altar, but other private Citizens beſides in their own houſes: and this ſolemnity is called, The baniſhment of *Bulimos*, that is to ſay, of hunger or famine: and the manner is at ſuch a time, for every Maſter of an houſe to take one of his ſlaves, and when he hath ſwinged him well with twigs of the withy called Chaſt-tree, to thruſt him out of the doores by the head and ſhoulders, ſaying withall: Out with * *Bulimos*, but come in wealth and health. Now that yeare wherein I was provoſt, many there were at my ſacrifice, invited to the feaſt; and after we had performed all ceremonies and complements thereto belonging, and were ſet at the table, ſome queſtion there was moved, firſt, as touching the vocable it ſelfe βουλιμία, what it ſhould ſignifie, and afterwards of the words uttered unto the ſlave when he is driven out; but moſt of all, of that malady ſo called, and of the accidents and circumſtances thereof. As for the tearme *Bulimos*, every man in manner was of opinion, that it betokened a great and publike famine, but eſpecially we Greeks of *Æolia*, who in our dialect uſe the letter * π for β, for we commonly do not ſay, *Bulimos*, but *Pulimos*, as if it were *Polylimos* or *Polilimos*, that is to ſay, a great famine, or a generall famine thorow out the City: and it ſeemed unto us, that *Bubroſtis* was another thing different from it; and namely, by a ſound argument which we had from the Chronicles penned by *Metrodorus*, as touching the acts of *Ionia*, wherein thus much he writeth: That the Smyrneans who in old time were Æolians, uſe to ſacrifice unto *Bubroſtis*, a black bull, as an holocauſt or burnt offering, which they cut into peeces with the hide, and ſo burne it all together. But forasmuch as all manner of hunger reſembleth a maladie (and principally, this called βουλιμία) which commeth upon a man when his body is affected with ſome unkind and unnaturall indiſpoſition, it ſeemeth that by great reaſon, as they oppoſe wealth to poverty, ſo they ſet health againſt ſickneſſe: and like as the heaving and overturning of the ſtomack, a diſeaſe when as men are ſaid Ναυτιᾶν, took that name firſt upon occaſion of thoſe who are in a ſhip, and when they ſaile or row, fall to be ſtomack ſick, and are apt to caſt: but afterwards by cuſtome of ſpeech, whoſoever feele the like paſſion of the ſtomack, and a diſpoſition to vomit, are ſaid ναυτιᾶν, that is to ſay, to be ſea-ſick; even ſo the verbe βέλιμιάω, and the noune βουλιμία, taking the beginning as is beforeſaid, there, is come unto us, and ſignifieth a dogs-appetite or extraordinary hunger. And to this purpoſe we all ſpake, and made a contribution as it were of all our reaſons, to make out a common ſupper or collation: but when we came to touch the cauſe of this diſeaſe; the firſt doubt that aroſe among us was this, that they ſhould moſt be ſurprized with this malady who travell in great ſnows: like as *Brutus* did of late daies; who when he marched with his army from *Dyrrhachium* to *Apollonia*, was in danger of his life, by occaſion of this infirmity: it was a time when the ſnow lay very deep; in which march he went ſuch a pace, that none of thoſe who had the carriage of victuals overtook him, or came neer unto him: now when as he fainted ſo for feebleneſſe of ſtomack, that he now ſwooned, and was ready to give up the ghoſt; the ſouldiers were forced to run in haſte unto the walls of the City, and to call for a loafe of bread unto their very enemies, warding and keeping the watch upon the walls, which when they had preſently gotten, therewith they recovered *Brutus*; whereupon afterwards, when he was maſter of the Town, he grievouſly intreated all the inhabitants for the curteſie which he had received from thence. This diſeaſe hapneth likewiſe to horſes and aſſes, eſpecially when they have either figs or apples a load: but that which of all the reſt is moſt wonderfull, there is no manner of food or ſuſtenance in the world, that in ſuch a caſe ſo ſoon recovereth the ſtrength, not of men only, but of labouring beaſts alſo, as to give them bread. ſo that if they eate a morſell thereof, be it never ſo little, they will preſently find their feet, and be able to walke.

Hereupon enſued ſilence for a while; and then I (knowing well enough how much the arguments of ancient writers are able to content and ſatisfie ſuch as are but dull and ſlow of conceit; buccontrariwiſe unto thoſe that be ſtudious, ripe of wit, and diligent, the ſame make an overture and give courage and heart to ſearch and inquire further into the truth) called to mind and delivered before them all a ſentence out of *Ariſtotle*, who affirmeth, That the ſtronger the cold is without, the more is the heat within our bodies, and ſo conſequently cauſeth the greater colliquation of the humours in the interiour parts. Now if theſe humours thus reſolved take a courſe unto the legs, they cauſe laſſitudes and heavineſſe; if the rheume fall upon the principall fountaines and organs of motion and reſpiration, it bringeth faintings and feebleneſſe. I had no ſooner ſaid, but as it is wont in ſuch caſes to fall out, ſome tooke in hand to oppugne theſe reaſons, and others againe to defend and maintaine the ſame: and *Soclarus*, for his part: The words (quoth he) in the beginning of your

* That is to ſay, hunger and famine; it ſeemeth by that which followeth, that they put poverty alſo, before Bulimos, in oppoſition to health.

* p, for b.

ſpeech were very well placed, and the ground ſurely laid; for in truth the bodies of thoſe who walke in ſnow are evidently cold without, and exceedingly cloſed faſt and knit together; but that the inward heat occaſioned thereby, ſhould make ſuch a colliquation of humours, and that the ſame ſhould poſſeſſe and ſeize upon the principall parts and inſtruments of reſpiration is a bold and raſh conceit, and I cannot ſee how it ſhould ſtand: Yet rather would I thinke that the heat being thus kept in, and united together, and ſo by that meanes fortified, conſumeth all the nouriſhment; which being ſpent, it cannot chuſe but the ſaid heat alſo muſt needs languiſh even as a fire without fewell; and hereupon it is, that ſuch have an exceeding hunger upon them, and when they have eaten never ſo little, they come preſently to themſelves againe; for that food is the maintenance of naturall heat: Then *Cleomenes* the Phyſician: This word λιμὸς, that is to ſay, hunger (quoth he) in the compound βωλιμος, ſignifieth nothing elſe, but is crept into the compoſition of it I know not how, without any reaſon at all; like as in the verbe χϱίνειν, which betokeneth to devour, or ſwallow downe ſolid meat, πίνειν, that is to ſay, to drinke, hath no ſenſe or congruity at all; no more than κινεῖν, that is to ſay, to bend downward, or fall groveling, hath any thing to do in the verbe ἀνακινεῖν, that ſignifieth to riſe aloft, or to hold up the head as birds do in drinking; for ſurely βωλιμος or βωλιμια, ſeemeth not unto me to be any hunger, as many have taken it; but it is a paſſion of the ſtomack, which concurring indeed with hunger, engendereth a fainting of the heart, and an apteneſſe to ſwoon; and even as odours and ſmels do fetch againe and help thoſe that be in a ſwoone; ſo bread doth remedy and recover thoſe who are feeble and faint, by this *Bulimie*, not for that ſuch have need of ſuſtenance; (for let it be never ſo little that they take, they are revived and refreſhed thereby) but becauſe it fetcheth the ſpirits againe, and recalleth the power and ſtrength of nature that was going away. Now that this *Bulimos* or *Bulimia*, is a faintneſſe of the heart, and no hunger at all, appeareth evidently by an accident that we obſerve in thoſe draught-beaſts, whereof we ſpake before, ſubject to this infirmity; for the ſmell of figs and apples worketh not in them any defect or want of nouriſhment; but cauſeth rather a gnawing in the mouth of the maw, a plucking (I ſay) and contortion in the brim of the ſtomack. As for me, on the other ſide, although I thought theſe reaſons indifferently well alledged; yet I was of opinion, that if I went another way to worke, and argued from a contrary principle, I could maintaine a probability, and uphold, that all this might proceed rather by way of condenſation, than rarefaction: for the ſpirit or breath that paſſeth from the ſnow in manner of ſubtile aire, is the moſt cutting edge, and fineſt deciſion or ſcale, comming from the concretion of that meteor or congealed ſubſtance, which I wot not how, is of ſo keen and piercing a nature, that it will ſtrike thorough, not fleſh only, but veſſels alſo of ſilver and braſſe: for we ſee that they are not able to containe and hold ſnow in them, but when it commeth to melt, it conſumeth away, and covereth the outſide of ſuch veſſels, glazed over with a moſt ſubtile moiſture, as cleere as yce, which no doubt the ſaid ſpirit, breath, aire, or edge, (call it what you will) left behind it, when it paſſed through thoſe inſenſible pores of the ſaid veſſels; this ſpirit then thus penetrative and quick as a flame, when it ſmiteth upon their bodies who go in ſnow, ſeemeth to ſcorch and ſinge the ſuperficiall outſide of the ſkin, in cutting and making way thorough into the fleſh in manner of fire; whereupon enſueth a great rarefaction of the body, by meanes whereof, the inward heat flying forth, meeteth with the cold ſpirit or aire without in the ſuperficies which doth extinguiſh and quench it quite, and thereby yeeldeth a kind of ſmall ſweat or dew, ſtanding with drops upon the outſide, and ſo the naturall ſtrength of the body is reſolved and conſumed: now if a man at ſuch a time ſtir not, but reſt ſtill, there is not much naturall heat of the body that paſſeth thus away; but when motion by walking, or otherwiſe, doth quickly turne the nutriment of the body into heat, and withall the ſaid heat flieth outward thorough the ſkin thus rarified; how can it otherwiſe be, but all at once there ſhould enſue a great ecclipſe (as it were) and generall defect of the naturall powers? And that true it is, that the ſame doth not alwaies cloſe, knit and bind together the body, yet otherwiſe melt and rarifie the ſame, it appeareth manifeſtly by this experience: that in ſharpe and nipping wvinters, many times plates or plummets of lead are knowvn to ſweat and melt: this obſervation alſo, that many do fall into this infirmity called *Bulimia*, vvho are not hungry, doth argue rather a deffluxion and dilatation, than a conſtipation of the body; which no doubt in Winter is rarified by that ſubtilty of the ſpirit, vvhereof I ſpake, and eſpecially, vvhen travell and ſtirring doth ſharpen and ſubtiliate the heat vvithin the body: for being thus made thin, and vvearied beſides, it flieth forth in great abundance, and ſo is diſperſed thorovvout the body. As for thoſe figs and apples, it is like that they do exhale and evaporate ſuch a ſpirit, and doth ſubtiliate and diſſipate the naturall heat of labouring beaſts that carry them: for it ſtandeth by good reaſon in nature, that as ſome be revived and refreſhed vvith one thing, and ſome vvith another; ſo contrarivviſe, ſome things do diſſipate the ſpirits in one, and others in another.

THE NINTH QUESTION.

Why the Poet Homer *to other liquors giveth proper epithites and attributes, and oyle only he calleth moiſt?*

THere vvas a great queſtion alſo another time: What might the reaſon be, that there being ſo many liquors as there are, the Poet *Homer* is wont to adorne every one of them vvith their ſeve-

ſverall and proper epithits, and namely, to call milke, white; honey, yellow; and wine, red; but oyle alone he ordinarily noteth by an accident common unto them all, and tearmeth it moiſt? to which this anſwer was made: That as a thing is named, Moſt ſweet, which is altogether ſweet; and moſt white, which is altogether white; (now you muſt underſtand, that a thing is ſaid to be ſuch and ſuch altogether, when there is nothing mixed with it of a contrary nature:) even ſo we are to call that moiſt, which hath not one jot of drineſſe mingled among; and ſuch a quality doth properly agree unto oyle: for firſt and formoſt, the poliſhed ſmoothneſſe that it hath, doth ſhew that the parts thereof be all uniforme and even throughout; and ſell it whereſoever you will, you ſhall find it equall in every reſpect, and one part accordeth with another ſo, as the whole agreeth to withſtand both mixture and cold: beſides, to the eye-ſight it yeeldeth a moſt pure and cleere mirror to behold the face in; for why? there is no roughneſſe nor ruggednеſſe in it, to diſſipate the reflexion of the light; but by reaſon of the humidity or moiſture thereof all the light (how little ſoever it be) doth rebound and returne againe upon the ſight: whereas contrariwiſe, milke alone, of all other liquors, ſendeth back none of theſe images and reſemblances, like as a mirror or looking-glaſſe doth, for that it hath a great deale of terreſtriall ſubſtance in it: moreover, of all liquid matters oyle only maketh the leaſt noiſe when it is ſtirred or ſhaken, for that it is ſo moiſt throughout; whereas in other liquors, the parts which be hard and earthy in running, flowing, and moving, do encounter, ſmite and hit one another, and ſo conſequently make a noiſe, by reaſon of their weight and ſolidity: and that which more is, it remaineth ſimple of it ſelfe, without admitting any mixture or compoſition with any other liquor whatſoever, for that it is ſo firme, compact, or faſt; and good reaſon, for it hath no wandring holes here and there, betweene terrence and hard parts, which might receive any other ſubſtance within: moreover, all the parts of oile, for that they be ſo like one unto the other in a continued union, do joyne paſſing well together, however they will not ſort with other liquors; and by reaſon of this tenuity and continuity, when oyle doth ſtroath or ſome, it ſuffereth no wind or ſpirit to enter in: furthermore, this humidity of oyle is the cauſe that it feedeth and nouriſheth fire, for maintained it is with nothing that is not moiſt, and this is the only liquor that may be burned, as we may ſee evidently in the wood which we daily burne; namely, that the airy ſubſtance therein, flieth up in ſmoake; that which is terreſtriall, turneth into aſhes; and there is nothing but that, which is moiſt or liquid, that flameth out, burneth light, and is conſumed cleane: for why? fire hath no other ſuſtenance to feed upon; and therefore, water, wine, and other liquors, ſtand much upon a feculent, muddy and earthly matter, which is the cauſe that if a man do caſt them upon a fire or flame, by their alperity, they diſgregate, and by their weight, choake and quench it; but oyle, (for that moſt properly and ſincerely it is moiſt, and by reaſon alſo that it is ſo ſubtile) ſoone receiveth alteration, and being overcome by the fire, is quickly inflamed: but the greateſt argument to prove the moiſture of oile, is this, that a little thereof will ſpread and go a great way; for neither honey, nor water, nor any other liquid thing whatſoever, in ſo ſmall a quantity can be dilated and drawn ſo far as oile, but for the moſt part they are ſpent and gone by occaſion of their ſiccity: and verily, oyle being ſo pliable and ready to be drawn every way, ſoft alſo and glib, is apt to run all over the body, when it is anpointed, it floweth and ſpreadeth a great way, by meanes of the humidity of all parts which are ſo movable, in ſuch ſort, as it commeth a long time, and hardly will be rid away, it ſticketh and cleaveth ſo faſt: for a garment, if it be dipped and drenched all over in water, will ſoon be dry againe; but the ſpots and ſtaines with oile require no ſmall ado to be ſcoured out and cleanſed, for that it taketh ſo deep an impreſſion; and all becauſe it is ſo fine, ſubtile, and exceeding moiſt: and *Ariſtotle* himſelfe ſaith, that even wine alſo being delaied with water, if it be gotten into a cloath, is ſtardly fetched out, for that now it is more ſubtile than before, and pierceth farther within the pores thereof.

THE TENTH QUESTION.

Whi t is the cauſe that the fleſh of beaſts killed for ſacrifice, if it be hung upon a fig-tree, becommeth more tender within a while?

ARiſton had a cook commended highly by thoſe who uſed to ſup with his Maſter, for ſingular ſkill in his art; and namely, for that amongſt all other viands which he handled and dreſſed paſſing well, he ſerved up a cock unto the table before us, newly killed and ſacrificed unto *Hercules*, the fleſh whereof did eate as ſhort and tender as if he had hung by the heeles a day or two before: and when *Ariſton* ſaid that it was an eaſie matter ſo to do; and that there needed no more but preſently when his throat vvas cut to hang him upon a fig-tree, vve took occaſion thereby to ſearch into the cauſe of this effect: Certes, that there paſſeth from the fig-tree a ſharp aire and ſtrong ſpirit, our very eye-ſight vvill teſtifie; as alſo the common ſpeech that goeth of a bull, who if he be tied to a fig-tree, hovv vvild, ſavage, and fell ſoever he vvas before, vvill ſoon be meek and quiet, abide to be handled, and in one vvord, lay dovvn his furious rage, as if it vvere cleane daunted: But the principall cauſe hereof vvas attributed to the acrimony and ſharpe quality of the vvood, for the tree is more ſucculent than any other; inſomuch as the very fig it ſelfe, the vvood alſo and the leafe, be all full of juyce; alſo vvhiles it burneth in the fire, there ariſeth from it a bitter biting ſmoake, very hurtfull to the eyes; and vvhen it is burnt, there is made of the aſhes a ſtrong lee, very deterſive and ſcouring, vvhich

which be all ſignes of heat: and moreover, whereas the milky jiyce of the fig-tree will cauſe milke to turne and curdle, (ſome ſay) it is not by the inequality of the figures of milke, which are comprehended and glewed as it were therewith, namely, when the united and round parts thereof are caſt up to the ſuperficies, but for that the foreſaid juyce by meanes of heat, doth reſolve the watery ſubſtance of the liquor, which is not apt to gather conſiſtence and be thickned: moreover, this is another ſigne thereof, that notwithſtanding the juyce be in ſome ſort ſweet, yet it is good for nothing, and maketh the worſt and moſt unpleaſant drinke in the world; for it is not the inequality thereof, that cauſeth the ſmooth parts to gather a curd, but the heat which maketh the cold and cruddy parts to coagulate. A good proofe of this we have from ſalt, which ſerveth to this purpoſe, becauſe it is hot; but it impeacheth this interlacing and glutinous binding pretended, for that by nature it doth rather diſſolve and unbind. To come againe therefore unto the queſtion in hand: the fig-tree ſendeth from it a ſharpe piercing and inciſive ſpirit: and this is it that doth make tender, and as it were concoct the fleſh of the ſaid foule: and as great an effect ſhould one ſee, if he had put him in a heap of wheat or ſuch corne, or covered him all over with ſalt nitre; and all by reaſon of heat: and that this is true that wheat is hot, may be gathered by the veſſels full of wine, which are hidden within a heap of wheat; for a man ſhall ſoon find that the wine will be all gone.

The Seventh Book

Of Sympoſiaques, or Banquet-Diſcourſes.

The Summary.

1. *Gainſt thoſe who reprove* Plato *for ſaying, that our drinke paſſeth through the Lungs.*
2. *What is that which* Plato *calleth* Κεφαλὴν? *and why thoſe ſeeds which fall upon beefes horns become hard in concoction?*
3. *Why the middle part in wine, the higheſt in oyle, and the bottome of honey is beſt?*
4. *Wherefore the Romans in old time obſerved this cuſtome; never in any caſe to take away the table cleane, nor to ſuffer a lampe or candle to go out?*
5. *That we ought to take great heed of thoſe pleaſures which naughty muſick, yeeldeth, and how we ſhould beware of it?*
6. *Of thoſe gueſts who are called ſhadows, and whether a man may go to a feaſt unbidden, if he be brought thither by thoſe who were invited? when? and unto whom?*
7. *Whether it be lawfull and honeſt to admit ſhe-minſtrels at a feaſt or banquet?*
8. *What matters eſpecially it is good to heare diſcourſed upon at the table?*
9. *That to ſit in counſell or conſult at a table, was in old time the cuſtome of Greeks, as well as of Perſians;*
10. *Whether they did well that ſo conſulted at their meat?*

The Seventh Book

Of Sympoſiaques, or Banquet-Diſcourſes.

The Proem:

THe Romans have commonly in their mouths, O *Soſſius Senecio*, the ſpeech of a pleaſant conceited man and a curteous, whoſoever he was, who when he had ſupped alone at any time, was wont thus to ſay: Eaten I have this day, but not ſupped; ſhewing thereby, that meales would never be without mirth and good company, to ſeaſon the ſame, and to give a pleaſant taſte unto the viands. *Euenus* verily uſed to ſay. That fire was the beſt ſauce in the world: and as for ſalt, *Homer* calleth it divine; and moſt men gave it the name of the Graces; for that being mingled or otherwiſe taken with moſt of our meats, it gives a kind of grace, and commendeth them as pleaſant and agreeable to the ſtomack. But to ſay a truth, the moſt divine ſauce of a table or a ſupper is the preſence of a friend, a familiar, and one whom a man knoweth well; not ſo much for that he eateth and drinketh with us, but rather becauſe as he is partaker of our ſpeeches, ſo he doth participate his own unto us, eſpecially if in ſuch reciprocall talke there be any good diſcourſes, and thoſe which be profitable, fit, and pertinent to the purpoſe: for much babling indeed and laviſh ſpeech that many men uſe at the board, and in their cups, bewrayeth their vaine folly, driving them oftentimes into inconſiderate and paſſionate fits, and to perverſe lewdneſſe; and therefore no leſſe requiſite it is, and needfull, to make choice of ſpeeches, than of friends to be admitted to our table: and in this caſe we ought both to thinke, and alſo to ſay, contrary unto the ancient Lacedæmonians; who when they received any young man or ſtranger into their guild-halls, called *Phiditia*, where they uſed to dine and ſup in publike together, would ſhew unto them the doores of the place, and ſay: Out at theſe there never goeth word: but we acquainting our ſelves with good words, and pertinent ſpeeches at the table in our diſcourſes, are willing and content that the ſame ſhould go forth all, and be ſet abroad to all perſons whatſoever; for that the matters and arguments of our talk are void of laſcivious wantonneſſe, without backbiting, ſlandering, malice, and illiberall ſcurrility, not beſeeming men of good education: as a man may well judge by theſe examples following in the Decade of this ſeventh book.

THE FIRST QUESTION.

Againſt thoſe who reprove Plato, *for ſaying: That our drinke paſſeth by the lungs.*

IT hapned one day in ſummer time, that one of the company where I was at ſupper came out with this verſe of *Alcæus*, which every man hath readily in his mouth, and pronounced it with a loud voice:

τὴν πλεύμονας ὄινῳ, τὸ γὰς ἄστρον πεφιτέλλεται.

That is to ſay:

Now drinke and wet thy lungs with wine,
For why? the hot Dog-ſtar doth ſhine.

No marvell (quoth *Nicias*) then (a Phyſician of the City *Nicopolis*:) if a Poet as *Alcæus* was, were ignorant in that which *Plato* a great Philoſopher knew not: and yet *Alcæus* in ſome ſort may be borne out in ſaying ſo, and relieved in this wiſe; namely that the lungs being ſo neere as they are unto the ſtomack, enjoy the benefit of the liquid drinke, and therefore it was not improperly ſaid, That they be wet and ſoaked therewith: but this famous Philoſopher by expreſſe words hath left in writing, that our drinke directly paſſeth for the moſt part thorow the lungs: ſo that he hath given us no meanes of any probability in the world, to excuſe and defend him, would we never ſo faine, ſo groſſe is his errour, and ignorance ſo palpable: for in the firſt place, (conſidering it is neceſſary, that the dry nouriſhment ſhould be mingled with the liquid) plaine it is, that there ought to be one common veſſell wherein the ſtomack, for to receive them both together; to the end, that it might tranſmit and ſend into the belly and panch beneath the meat well ſoaked and made ſoft: beſides, ſeeing that the lungs be ſmooth and every way compact and ſolid, how is it poſſible, that if a man drink a ſupping or grewell, wherein there is a little meale or flower, it ſhould get thorow, and not ſtay there? for this is the doubt that *Eraſiſtratus* objected very well againſt *Plato*. Moreover, this Philoſopher having conſidered moſt parts of the body, and ſearched by reaſon, wherefore they were made; and being deſirous to know (as became a man of his profeſſion) for what uſe nature had framed every one, he might have thought thus much: That the wezill of the throat, otherwiſe called Epiglottis, was not made for nothing, and to no purpoſe; but ordained for this, that when we ſwallow any food it might keep down and cloſe the conduit of the wind-pipe, for feare that nothing might fall that way upon the lights; which part, no doubt, is wonderfully troubled, tormented and torne (as it were) with the cough, when any little thing is gotten thither, where the breath doth paſſe to and fro: Now this wezill aboveſaid, being placed juſt in the midſt, and indifferent to ſerve both paſſages when we ſpeake, doth ſhut the mouth of that conduit or wezand that leadeth to the ſtomack; and as we either eate or drinke, falleth likewiſe upon the wind-pipe that goeth to the lungs keeping that paſſage pure and cleare, for the wind and breath to go and come at eaſe, by way of reſpiration. Furthermore, thus much we know by experience: That thoſe who take their drinke leiſurely, letting it go down by little and little have moiſter bellies than thoſe who powre their liquor down at once; for by this meanes the drinke is carried directly into the bladder, paſſing away apace and with violence, making no ſtay; whereas otherwiſe, it reſteth longer with the meat, which it ſoaketh gently, and is better mingled and incorporate into it: but we ſhould never ſee the one or the other, if at the firſt, our drinke and meat went apart, and had their ſeverall waies by themſelves when we ſwallow them down; for we conjoyne our meat and drinke together, ſending them both one after another, to the end that the liquor might ſerve inſtead of a wagon, according as *Eraſiſtratus* was wont to ſay, for to carry and convey the meat and the nouriſhment into all parts.

After that *Nicias* had made this diſcourſe, *Protogenes* the Grammarian added moreover, and ſeconded him in this wiſe, ſaying That the Poet *Homer*, firſt of all others, ſaw well enough, and obſerved, that the ſtomack was the proper receptacle and veſſel to receive our food, as the wind-pipe, which they called in old time ἀορτὴν to admit the wind and the breath: and hereupon it came, that they uſed to call thoſe who had big and loud voices, εὐεισφάρυγας, that is to ſay, wide-throated, the wind pipe and not the gullet, wezand, or gorge: and therefore when he had ſaid of *Achilles*, charging *Hector* with his launce:

He ran him through his * *gorge at firſt,* * λαυκανίᾳ.
A ſpeeding wound and deadly thruſt.

A little after he added, and ſaid:

His * *wind-pipe yet he went beſide,* * ἀορτὴν.
And did not it in twaine divide.

He meaneth by ἀορτὴν the proper inſtrument of the voice and conduit of the breath, which he cut not quite in ſunder as he did the other, named λαυκανίην or λαυκανίδα, that is to ſay, the wezand or gullet.

Upon

Upon theſe words all was huſht for a time, untill *Florus* took upon him to ſpeake in the behalfe of *Plato*: And ſhall we thus indeed ſuffer this Philoſopher (quoth he) to be condemned when he is not here in place to anſwer for himſelfe? No (ſaid I) that we will not; but we will joyne unto *Plato*, the Poet *Homer* alſo, and put them both together; who is ſo far off from averting and turning away the liquor from the wind-pipe, that he ſendeth both drinke and meat together out of it; for theſe be his words to that effect?

* φάρυγ-γα.

*There guſh't out of his * wind-pipe wine good ſtore,*
And gobs of mans fleſh, eaten new before.

Unleſſe peradventure ſome one will dare to ſay, that this *Cyclops Polyphemus*, as he had but one eye in his head, ſo likewiſe he had no more but one conduit for his meat, drinke, and voice: or elſe maintaine that in this place the Poet, by φαρυγξ, meaneth the ſtomack, and not the wind-pipe or wezill pipe, which hath been named ſo, by all men generally, as well ancient as moderne writers: and this cite I not for want of teſtimonies, but as induced thereto for the truths ſake: for there be witneſſes enough to depoſe on *Plato's* ſide, and thoſe of good credit and authority: for let *Eupolis* the comicall Poet go by, if you pleaſe, who in his comedy named *Colaces*, that is to ſay, Flatterers or Paraſites, thus ſaith:

For why? this rule and precept ſtreightly gave
Protagoras: *To drinke; that men might have*
Their lungs well wet and drenche with liquor cleare,
Ere that in skie the Dog-ſtar doth appeare.

And paſſe by, if you will, that elegant and ſweet conceited Poet *Eratoſthenes*, whoſe words be theſe:

With good neere-wine do not forget
The bottome of thy lungs to wet.

Euripides verily, who in expreſs tearms writeth thus in one tragedy,

The wine ſought all the conduits round about,
And ſo did paſſe the lung-pipes cleane throughout.

ſheweth evidently, that he was quicker ſighted than *Eriſtratus*, and ſaw further into the thing than he did; for well he knew that the lungs have many pipes in them, and be as it were boared thorow with many holes, by which the liquor paſſeth: for our wind or breath had no need of ſuch conduits and ſmall pipes to ſend it out; but the lungs were made ſpungeous and full of cavernoſities or holes, in manner of a colander or ſtrainer for liquors, yea, and other matters that go down together with the liquors: neither is it more unmeeet (my good *Nicias*) for the lungs to tranſmit and give paſſage unto meale, or any good thick grewell, than for the ſtomack; for our ſtomack or gullet is not, as ſome thinke, ſmooth and ſlippery, but hath a kind of roughneſſe and certaine rugged wrinkles, of which by all likelihood ſome ſmall crumbs and parcels of our meat do take hold, and ſticking thereto, are not at once ſwallowed down, and carried away: but a man is not able indeed to affirme Categorically, either the one or the other; for nature is ſo witty and induſtrious in all her operations, that no eloquence will ſerve to expreſſe the ſame; neither is it poſſible to explicate and declare ſufficiently the exquiſite workmanſhip and perfection of thoſe principall inſtruments which ſhe uſeth, I meane thoſe that ſerve for the ſpirit, or breath, and the heat: howbeit, in the favour of *Plato* I am willing to cite more witneſſes, to wit, *Philiſtion* the Locrien, a very ancient writer, and renowned for his excellency in your art of Phyſick; and *Hippocrates* of *Cos*: for theſe men have allowed no other way nor paſſage for our drinke than *Plato* hath: and as for the wezill that you ſtand ſo much upon, and have in ſuch reputation, *Dioxippus* was not ignorant of it: but he ſaith, that about it the humidity or liquor in ſwallowing is divided and ſevered, and ſo glideth or ſlippeth into the wind-pipe; but the meat rolleth into the ſtomack, and within the ſaid wind-pipe there falleth no part of the meat; howbeit the ſtomack receiveth together with the dry food ſome part alſo of the drinke or liquor mingled among; and this ſeemeth to ſtand well with reaſon: for the wezill is ſet before the wind-pipe as a fence or lid, to the end that by little and little the drinke might gently run as by a ſtrainer into it, not ſuddenly and at once with a violence, for feare that if it were in that manner powred in, it would either ſtop or elſe ſore trouble and impeach the breath: which is the reaſon that birds have no ſuch flap or wezill, and nature hath ordained none for them, for they neither draw in by gulpes, nor lap their drinke, but dipping their bils let it down ſoftly, and ſo wet their throat: And thus much may ſerve for witneſſes in the behalfe of *Plato*. To come now unto reaſon: Firſt and foremoſt our very ſenſe doth confirme the ſame that he hath ſaid: for let the ſaid wezill-pipe be wounded, no liquor will go down, but as if a conduit-pipe were cut in ſunder, we may ſee all of it to breake forth and run out at the wound, notwithſtanding the weazand or ſtomack be ſound and whole: moreover we all knowy by experience, that upon the malady called *Peripneumonia*, that is to ſay, the inflammation of the lungs, there followveth a moſt ardent thirſt, by occaſion of drought or heat, or elſe ſome other cauſe, vvhich vvith the ſaid inflammation engendreth alſo an appetite to drinke: furthermore, there is another argument, ſtronger and more evident than this, namely, that thoſe creatures vvhich have either no lights, or very ſmall, haveno need of drinke, nor deſire it; for every part of the body hath a certaine naturall appetite to do that vvorke or function unto vvhich it is ordained; and looke vvhat creatures ſoever have no ſuch parts, neither have they uſe for them, nor any deſire to that operation vvhich is performed by them: In ſum, if it vvere not ſo, as *Plato* ſaith, it may ſeeme that the bladder vvas made in vaine;

for

for if the ſtomack receive drinke as well as meat, and ſend it down into the belly, what needed the ſuperfluity or excrement of the liquid food, that is to ſay drinke, any peculiar receptacle or paſſage by it ſelfe; for ſufficient it had been to have had one common, as well for the one as the other, to diſcharge the excrements of both, by one ſpout as it were into the ſame draught: but now it is otherwiſe: the bladder is by it ſelfe, and the guts apart by themſelves; for that the one nutriment goeth from the lungs; the other from the ſtomack, parting immediately, and taking their ſeverall waies at the very ſwallowing. And hereupon it is that in the liquid ſuperfluitie which is wine, there appeareth nothing of the dry, reſembling it either in colour or ſent; and yet naturall reaſon would, that if it were mixed and tempered with it in the belly and the guts, it ſhould be filled with the qualities thereof, and could not poſſibly be excluded out of the body ſo pure and void of ordure.

* Untrue.

* Againe, it was never known, that a ſtone hath been ingendred in the paunch or guts; and yet good reaſon it were, that moiſture there ſhould congeale or gather to a ſtone as it doth within the bladder; if true it were that all our drinke deſcended into the belly and the guts, by paſſing thorough the ſtomack only: but it ſeemeth that the ſtomack incontinently when we begin to drinke, ſucketh and draweth out of that liquor which paſſeth along by it in the wezill pipe, as much only as is needfull and requiſite for it, to mollifie and to convert into a nutritive pap or juyce the ſolid meat; and ſo it leaveth no liquid excrement at all: whereas the lungs, ſo ſoon as they have diſtributed both ſpirit and liquor from thence, unto thoſe parts that have need thereof, expell and ſend out the reſt into the bladder: Well, to conclude, more likelihood there is of truth by far, in this, than in the other: and yet peradventure the truth indeed of theſe matters lieth hidden ſtill and incomprehenſible; in regard whereof, it is not meet to proceed ſo raſhly and inſolently to pronounce ſentence againſt a man, who as well for his own ſufficiency, as the ſingular opinion of the world, is reputed the Prince and chiefe of all Philoſophers, eſpecially in ſo uncertaine a thing as this, and in defence whereof there may be ſo many reaſons collected out of the readings and writings of *Plato*.

THE SECOND QUESTION.

What is meant in Plato *by this word* κεραβόλος, *and why thoſe ſeeds which in ſowing light upon oxe hornes, become hard and not eaſie to be concocted.*

THere hath been alwaies much queſtion and controverſie about κεραβόλος, and ἀτρεμίων, not who or what is ſo called (for certain it is, that ſeeds falling upon oxe hornes, according to the common opinion, yeeld fruit, hard and not eaſily concocted; whereupon by way of Metaphor, a ſtubborn and ſtiffe-necked perſon men uſe to tearme κεραβόλον, and ἀτρεμοῦντα) but as touching the cauſe why ſuch graine or ſeeds hitting againſt the hornes of an oxe ſhould come to be ſo untoward: And many times refuſed I have, yea, and denied my friends to ſearch into the thing; the rather for that *Theophraſtus* hath rendred ſo darke and obſcure a reaſon, ranging it among many other examples which he hath gathered and put down in writing of ſtrange and wonderfull effects, whereof the cauſe is hard to be found; namely, That an hen after that ſhe hath laid an egge, turneth round about, and with a feſture or ſtraw ſeemeth to purifie and hallow her ſelfe, and the egge alſo; that the ſea-calfe or ſeale * conſumeth the pine, and yet ſwalloweth it not down; ſemblably, that ſtags hide their hornes within the ground and bury them; likewiſe, that if one goat hold the herb *Eryngium*, that is to ſay, ſea-holly, in his mouth, all the reſt of the flock will ſtand ſtill: Among theſe miraculous effects, *Theophraſtus* (I ſay) hath put down the ſeeds falling upon the hornes of an oxe; a thing known for certaine to be ſo, but whereof, the cauſe is moſt difficult, if not impoſſible to be delivered. But at a Supper in the City *Delphi*, as I ſate one day, certaine of my familiar friends came upon me in this manner, that ſeeing not only, according to the common ſaying:

* μήτε καταπίνασα τὼν ὄφιν.

From belly full beſt counſell doth ariſe,
And ſureſt plots men in that caſe deviſe.

but alſo we are more ready with our queſtions, and leſſe to ſeek for anſwers, when as wine is in our heads, cauſing us to be forward in the one, and reſolute in the other; they would requeſt me thereforе to ſay ſomewhat unto the foreſaid matter in queſtion: howbeit, I held off ſtill, as being well backed with no bad advocates, who took my part, and were ready to defend my cauſe; and by name, *Euthydemus* my colleague or companion with me in the ſacerdotall dignity, and *Patrocleas* my ſon in law, who brought forth and alledged many ſuch things, obſerved as well in agriculture, as by hunters; of which ſort is that which is practiſed by thoſe who take upon them ſkill in the foreſight and prevention of haile; namely, that it may be averted and turned aſide, by the bloud of a mould-warpe, or linnen rags, ſtained with the monthly purgations of women: Item, that if a man take the figs of a wild fig-tree, and tie them to a tame fig-tree of the orchard, it is a meanes that the fruit of the ſaid fig-tree ſhall not fall, but tarry on, and ripen kindly: alſo that ſtags weep ſalt teares, but wild bores ſhed ſweet drops from their eyes when they be taken: For if you will ſet in hand to ſeek out the cauſe hereof (quoth *Euthydemus*) then preſently you muſt render a reaſon alſo of ſmallach and cummin; of which, the former, if it be trodden under foot and trampled on in the comming up, men have an opinion it will grow and proſper the better; and as for the other, they ſow it with curſes and all the fowleſt words that can be deviſed, and ſo it will ſpring and thrive beſt. Tuſh (quoth *Flo-*

rus)

* μήτε καταπίνασα τὼν ὄφιν. Some tranſlate this place thus: Swalloweth down her rennet when ſhe is taken: reading the Greeke as it ſhould ſeem, καταπίνασα τὼν ὀναλοκοβήν. I ſuppoſe neither of them both ſound, but the originall to be corrupt: And whereas others interpret it after this manner, [eateth up her rennet when ſhe is taken] then is it not ſo greate a matter well; neither will καταπίνασα carry it.

rus) theſe be but toies and ridiculous mockeries to make ſport with: but as touching the cauſe of the other matters above ſpecified, I would not have you to reject the inquiſition therof, as if it were incomprehenſible. Well (quoth I) now I have found a medicine and remedy, which if you do uſe, you ſhall bring this man with reaſon to our opinion, that you alſo your ſelfe may ſolve ſome of theſe queſtions propounded: It ſeemeth unto me therefore that it is cold that cauſeth this rebellious hardneſſe as well in wheat and other corne, as alſo in pulſe; namely, by preſſing and driving in their ſolid ſubſtance untill it be hard againe; for heat maketh things ſoft and eaſie to be diſſolved: and therefore they do not well and truly in alledging againſt *Homer* this verſicle:

Τῷ δ' ἐρέτ' ὀχὶ ἄρουρα.
The yeare, not field,
Doth beare and yeeld.

For ſurely thoſe fields and grounds which are by nature hot, if the aire withall afford a kind and ſeaſonable temperature of the weather, bring forth more tender fruits: and therefore ſuch corne or ſeed which preſently and directly from the husbandmans hands, lighteth upon the ground, entring into it, and there covered, find the benefit both of the heat and moiſture of the ſoile, whereby they ſoone ſpurt and come up; whereas thoſe which as they be caſt do hit upon the horns of the beaſts, they meet not with that direct poſiture or rectitude called εὐθυμόρωσις, which *Heſiodus* commendeth for the beſt, but falling down (I wot not how) and miſſing of their right place, ſeem rather to have been flung at a venture, than orderly ſown; and therefore the cold comming upon them, either marreth and killeth them outright, or elſe lighting upon their naked husks, cauſeth them to bring fruit that proveth hard and churliſh, as drie as chips, and ſuch as will not be made tender and ſidow, without they be ſteeped in ſome liquor, as having not been covered but with their own bare coats: for this you may obſerve ordinarily in ſtones, that thoſe parts and ſides which lie covered deeper within the ground, as if they were of the nature of plants, be more ſrim and tender, as being preſerved by heat, than thoſe outward faces which lie ebbe or above the earth; and therefore skilfull maſons dig deeper into the ground for ſtones which they meane to ſquare, work, and cut, as being mellowed by the heat of the earth; whereas thoſe which lie bare aloft and expoſed to the aire, by reaſon of the cold prove hard and not eaſie to be wrought or put to any uſe in building: ſemblably, even corne, if it continue long in the open aire, and cocked upon the ſtacks or threſhing floores, is more hard and rebellious, than that which is ſoone taken away and laid up in garners; yea, and oftentimes the very wind which bloweth whiles it is fanned or winnowed, maketh it more tough and ſtubborne, and all by reaſon of cold: whereof the experience, by report, is to be ſeen about *Philippi* a City in *Macedonie*, where the remedy is to let corne lie in the chaffe: and therefore you muſt not thinke it ſtrange, if you heare husbandmen report, that of two lands or ridges, running directly one by the ſide of another, the one ſhould yeeld corne tough and hard; the other ſoft and tender: and that which more is, beanes lying in one cod, ſome be of one ſort, and ſome of another, according as they have felt (more or leſſe) either of cold or of wind.

THE THIRD QUESTION.

What is the cauſe, that the midſt of wine, the top of oile, and the bottome of honey, is beſt?

MY wives father *Alexion*, one day laughed at *Heſiodus*, for giving counſell to drinke wine luſtily, when the veſſell is either newly pierced or runneth low; but to forbeare when it is half drawn: his words are theſe:

When tierce is full, or when it draweth low,
Drinke hard; but ſpare, to midſt when it doth grow.

For that the wine there is moſt excellent: For who knoweth not (quoth he) that wine is beſt in the middle, oyle in the top, and honey in the bottome of the veſſell? but *Heſiodus* (forſooth) adviſeth us to let the midſt alone, and to ſtay untill it change to the worſe and be ſowre; namely, when it runneth low and little is left in the veſſel. Which words being paſſed, the company there preſent bad *Heſiodus* farewell, and betook themſelves into ſearching out the cauſe of this difference and diverſity in theſe liquors. And firſt, as touching the reaſon of honey, we were not very much troubled about it, becauſe there is none in manner but knoweth that a thing the more rare or hollow the ſubſtance of it is, the lighter it is ſaid to be; as alſo, that ſolid, maſſie, and compact things, by reaſon of their weight, do ſettle downward; in ſuch ſort, that although you turne a veſſell up-ſide-down; yet within a while after, each part returneth into the own place againe: the heavy ſinks down, the light floats above; and even ſo, there wanted no arguments to yeeld a ſound reaſon for the wine alſo; for firſt and formoſt, the vertue and ſtrength of wine, which is the heat thereof, by good right gathereth about the midſt of the veſſell, and keepeth that part of all others beſt; then the bottome for the vicinity unto the lees is naught: laſtly, the upper region, for that it is next to the aire, is likewiſe corrupt; for this we all know, that the wind or the aire is moſt dangerous unto wine, for that it altereth the nature thereof: and therefore we uſe to ſet wine-veſſels within the ground, yea, and to ſtop and cover them with all care and diligence, that the leaſt aire in the world come not to the wine; and that which more is, wine will nothing ſo ſoone corrupt when the veſſels be full as when it hath been much drawn and groweth low, for the aire entreth in apace proportionably to the

the place that is void; the wine taketh wind thereby and ſomuch the ſooner changeth; whereas if the veſſels be full, the wine is able to maintain it ſelfe, not admitting from without much of that which is adverſe unto it, or can hurt it greatly.

But the conſideration of oile put us not to a little debate in arguing: One of the company ſaid: That the bottom of oile was the worſt, becauſe it was troubled and muddy with the lees or mother thereof: and as for that which is above, he ſaid: It was nothing better than the reſt, but ſeemed only ſo, becauſe it was fartheſt removed from that which might hurt it: Others attributed the cauſe unto the ſoliditie thereof, in which regard, it will not well be mingled or incorporate with any other liquor, unleſs it be broken or divided by force and violence; for ſo compact it is, that it will not admit the very aire to enter in it, or to be mingled with it, but keepeth it ſelfe apart, and rejecteth it by reaſon of the fine ſmoothneſs, and continuity of all the parts, ſo that leſs altered it is by the aire, as being not predominant over it: nevertheleſs, it ſeemeth that *Ariſtotle* doth contradict and gainſay this reaſon, who had obſerved (as he ſaith himſelfe) that the oile is ſweeter, more odoriferous, and in all reſpects better, which is kept in veſſels not filled up to the brim; and afterwards aſcribeth the cauſe of this melioritie or betterneſs unto the aire: For that (ſaith he) there entereth more aire into a veſſell that is half empty: and hath the more power: Then I wot not well (ſaid I) but what and if in regard of one and the ſame faculty and power, the aire bettereth oile, and impaireth the goodneſs of wine? for we know that age is hurtfull to oile, and good for wine: which age the aire taketh from oile, becauſe that which is cooled continueth ſtill young and freſh; contrariwiſe that which is pent in and ſtuffed up, as having no aire, ſoon ageth and waxeth old: great apparence there is therefore of truth, that the aire approaching neer unto oile, and touching the ſuperficies thereof, keepeth it freſh and young ſtill: And this is the reaſon, that of wine the upmoſt part is worſt, but of oile the beſt, becauſe that age worketh in that, a very good diſpoſition, but in this, as bad.

THE FOURTH QUESTION.

What was the reaſon that the ancient Romans were very preciſe; not to ſuffer the table to be clean voided and all taken away; or the lamp and candle to be put out?

FLorus a great lover of antiquity, would never abide, that a table ſhould be taken away empty, but alwayes left ſome meat or other ſtanding upon it: And I know full well (quoth he) that both my father and my grandfather before him, not only obſerved this moſt carefully, but alſo would not in any caſe permit the lamp after ſupper to be put out, becauſe for ſparing of oile, and that thereby none ſhould be waſted vainly. But *Enſtrophus* the Athenian being upon a time at ſupper with us, hearing *Florus* making this relation: And what good got they by this (quoth he) unleſs they had learned the cunning caſt of *Epicharmus* our fellow-citizen; who as he ſaid himſelfe, having ſtudied a long time how he might keep his boies and ſervants about him, from filching and ſtealing away his oile, hardly, and with much adoe at the laſt, found this means: for preſently after that the lamps were put out, he filled them full again with oile: and then the next morning, he would come and ſee whether they were ſtill full. This ſpeech made *Florus* to laugh: But ſeeing (quoth he) this queſtion is ſo well ſolved, let us ſearch I pray you into the reaſon: Why in old time, as it ſhould ſeem, our * ancients were ſo religious and preciſe, as touching their tables and lamps: firſt therefore they began with lamps and lights: And *Caſernius* his ſon in law ſaid: That thoſe ancients as he thought, took it to be an ominous matter, and a very abomination indeed; that any fire whatſoever ſhould be put out, for the likeneſs and kinred that it had with that ſacred fire which is alwayes kept inextinguible: for two ways there be (as I take it) whereby fire (like as we men) may die; the one violent, when it is quenched and put out by force, the other naturall when it goeth out and dieth of it ſelfe: as for that ſacred fire, they remedied both the one and the other, in maintaining and looking to it continually with great care and diligence; the other which is common, they neglected and ſuffered it to go out of it ſelf, without any more adoe; for ſo they themſelves quenched it not perforce, nor cauſed it to die, grudging and envying that it ſhould live, as a beaſt that doth no good, they paſſed for it no more, nor made any further reckoning. Then *Lucius* the ſon of *Florus* ſaid: That he liked well of all the reſt that was ſaid; but as concerning the ſacred fire, he ſuppoſed, that our anceſtors choſe it not to reverence and adore, becauſe they thought it more holy or better than other: but like as among the Aegyptians, ſome worſhipped the whole kind of dogs, others, wolves likewiſe or crocodiles; but they nouriſhed (with any eſpeciall reſpect) but one of every kinde; to wit, ſome, one dog; others one wolfe, and others again, one crocodile; for that impoſſible it was to keep them all; even ſo here in this caſe, the vigilant care and devotion which they employed in ſaving and keeping the ſacred fire, was a ſigne and ſolemne teſtimoniall of the religious obſervance which they carried reſpectively to the whole element of fire; the reaſon was, becauſe there is nothing in the world that more reſembleth a living creature, conſidering that it moveth, ſtirreth, and feedeth it ſelfe; yea, and by the ſhining it light that giveth, (in manner of the ſoul) layeth all things open, and maketh them to be ſeen; but moſt of all it ſheweth and proveth the power that it hath, not to be without ſome vitall ſeed, or principle, in the extinguiſhing and violent death thereof;

* Romans.

for when it is either quenched,ſuffocated, or killed by force, it ſeemeth to give a cry or ſchriek, ſtrugling as it were with death, like unto a living creature when the life is taken away by violence. And in uttering theſe words, caſting his eyes upon me: What ſay you (quoth he) unto me, can you alledge any thing better of your own? I cannot (ſaid I) find any fault with you, in all that you have delivered: but I would willingly adde thus much moreover; that this faſhion and cuſtome of maintaining fire is a very exerciſe and diſcipline training us to great humanity: for ſurely I hold it not lawfull to ſpoil our meats and viands after we have eaten thereof ſufficintly, no more than I do for to ſtop or choake up a ſpring or fountain after we have drunk our fill of the pure water thereof, or to take down and demoliſh the marks that guide men in navigation, or wayfaring, upon the land, when we have once ſerved our own turn with them: but theſe and ſuch like things we ought to leave behind us unto poſterity, as means to do them good that ſhall come after us, and have need of them when we are gone: & therefore I hold it neither ſeemly nor honeſt, to put out a lamp for mechanicall miſery, ſo ſoon as a man himſelfe hath done withall; but he ought to maintain and keep it burning ſtill, that what need ſoever there ſhould be of fire, it may be found there ready, and ſhining light out; for a bleſſed thing it were in us, if poſſibly we ſo could, to impart the uſe of our own eyeſight, our hearing, yea, and our wiſdome, ſtrength and valour unto others for a while, when we are to ſleep or otherwiſe to take our repoſe: conſider moreover, whether our forefathers have not permitted exceſſive ceremonies and obſervations in theſe caſes; even for an exerciſe and ſtudious meditations of thankfulneſs, as namely: when they reverenced ſo highly the oakes bearing acorns as they did. Certes, the Athenians had one fig-tree which they honored by the name of the holy & ſacred Fig-tree: & expreſly forbad to cut down the *mulberry tree: for theſe ceremonies I aſſure you, do not make men inclined to ſuperſtition as ſome think, but frame and train us to gratitude and ſociable humanity one toward another, when as we are thus reverently affected to ſuch things as theſe, that have no ſoul nor ſenſe. And therefore *Heſiodus* did very well, when he would not permit any fleſh or meats to be taken out of the pots or cauldrons for to be ſet upon the table, unleſs ſomething before had gone out of them, for an aſſay to the gods; but gave order that ſome portion thereof ſhould be offered as firſt fruits unto the fire: as it were a reward and ſatisfaction for the miniſtry and good ſervice that it had done: The Romans alſo did as well, who would not when they had done with their lamps take from them that nouriſhment which they had once allowed, but ſuffered them to enjoy the ſame, ſtill burning & living, by the means thereof. After I had thus ſaid: Now I aſſure you (quoth *Euſtrophus*) hath not this ſpeech of yours made the overture and given way to paſs forward to a diſcourſe of the table? for that our ancients thought there ſhould be always ſomewhat left ſtanding upon it after dinner and ſupper, for their houſhold ſervants and children; for ſurely glad they be, not ſo much to get wherewith to eat, and to have it in this order communicated from us and our table unto them: and therefore the Perſian kings by report, were wont alwayes to ſend from their owne table certain diſhes, as a liuraiſon not only to their friends and minions, to their great captaines and lieutenants under them, to their chief penſioners alſo and ſquires of the body; but they would have their ſlaves, yea and their hounds and dogs to be ſerved daily, and have their ordinary allowance ſet even upon their table: verily their will & meaning was, that whoſoever did them any ſervice, and were imployed in their miniſtry, ſhould, if it were poſſible be partakers of their table and fire alſo: for ſurely the moſt fell and ſavage beaſts that be, are made tame by ſuch communication and fellowſhip in their feeding. Hereat I could not chuſe but laugh: And why then do you not (quoth he) my good friend, put in practiſe the old order, and bring abroad the fiſh laid up in ſtore, according to the common proverb, as alſo the Chenix or meaſure that *Pythagoras* ſo much talketh of, and upon which he forebiddeth a man to ſit? giving us thereby a leſſon, that we ſhould learn to leave ſomewhat for the next day, and on the even to remember, and think upon the morrow. We Bœotians have this by-word amongſt us, common in every mans mouth: Leave ſomewhat for the Medes: ſince time that the Medes overran and forraged the whole province of *Phocis*, and waſted the frontiers and marches of *Bœotia*: but ſurely we ſhould have evermore ready at hand this ſaying: Save ſomething alwayes for ſtrangers and gueſts, that may come in unlooked for: And to ſpeak what I think; for mine own part, I miſlike utterly that hungry table that *Achilles* kept, which evermore was found bare and void: For when as *Ajax* and *Ulyſſes* came upon embaſſage unto him, they found no meat at all ſtirring, whereupon he was forced even then to kill ſomewhat, and to dreſs the ſame out of hand for their ſuppers: Another time alſo being minded to entertain king *Priamus* friendly, when he came unto his pavilion:

He then beſtir'd himſelfe, and caught up ſoon,
A good white ſheep, whoſe throat he cut anon;

but about cutting it up, quartering, jointing, ſeething and roſting, he ſpent a great part of the night: whereas *Eumæus* a wiſe ſcholer of a wiſe maſter, was nothing at all troubled at the ſudden and unexpected comming of *Telemachus*, but preſently willed him to ſit down, made him good cheer, ſetting before him platters full

Of good fleſh meats, which were of former ſtore
All ready roſt, and left the night before.

But if you think that to be but a ſmall matter, and lightly to be regarded, yet I am ſure confeſſe you will; that this is not a thing of little importance; namely to refrain and contain the appetite, when as there is enough yet before a man, to provoke and ſatisfie it; for thoſe who are wont to abſtain from

* μορέαν, unleſs hanly it ſhould be ἔλαιαν, that is to ſay, the Olive tree, as the French interpreter ſeemeth to read it.

from that which is preſent, have leſs deſire to that which is abſent: Then *Lucius* added thus much, that he remembred how he had heard his grandmother ſay: That the table was a ſacred thing: Which if it be ſo (quoth he) there ought no thing that holy is, to be empty; and for mine own part, I am of this minde: That the table is a repreſentation and figure of the earth; for beſides that it feedeth us, round it is, and ſtandeth firme and ſure; in which regard, ſome have called it properly, *Veſta*: and like as we would have the earth to bear and bring forth alwayes ſome thing or other for our profit; ſo we think, that we ſhall never ſee the table void, nor left without ſome viands upon it.

THE FIFTH QUESTION.

That we ought eſpecially to beware of thoſe pleaſures which we take in naughty muſick; and how we ſhould take heed thereof.

At the ſolemnity of the Pythick games, *Celliſtratus* the ſuperintendent, deputed by the high commiſſion and councell of State, named *Amphyctiones*, for to overſee and keep good order, put back a certain minſtrell, who plaied upon the flute, though he were a countrey man of his and a friend, becauſe he came not in time to preſent himſelfe for to be enrolled among thoſe that were to contend for the prize, which he did according to the ſtatutes and lawes of thoſe games provided in that behalfe: but one evening when he had invited us to ſupper, he brought him forth into the banquet among us, ſet out and adorned in his fair robes and chaplets magnificently, as the manner is to be ſeen at ſuch games of prize, and attended beſides with a goodly dance and quire of ſingers, well and trimly appointed: and I aſſure you, a brave ſhew it was at the firſt entrie, and a pleaſant paſtime worth the ſeeing and hearing: but after that he had tried and ſounded the whole company there met, and perceived many of them how they were inclined, and that for their delight and pleaſure which they preſently took, they would be carried away & ſuffer him to do what he liſt himſelfe; namely to play laſcivious tunes, and in geſture to repreſent the ſame accordingly; then he ſhewed himſelfe openly, and gave us an evident proof and demonſtration; that muſick will make thoſe more drunk, and diſtemper their brains worſe (who inconſiderately at all times, and without all meaſure exceedingly give themſelves unto it) than all the wine that they can drink. For now by this time, they could not be content as they were ſet at the table, to hout and hollo with open throat, and withall to keep a clapping with their hands one at another; but in the end, the moſt part of them leapt from the board, and began withall, to dance and to foot it, yea, and otherwiſe to ſhew diſhoneſt and filthy geſtures, far unbeſeeming gentlemen, but yet ſutable to the tunes he ſounded & the ſongs that the reſt chanted; but afterwards, when they had made an end; and that the banquet (as it were after a fit of furious madneſs) was come again to it ſelfe, and better ſettled; *Lampias* was deſirous to have ſaid ſomewhat; and rebuked in good earneſt, this miſrule and diſorder of the youth, but that he feared withall, that he ſhould be thought too rigorous, and give offence unto the company; untill ſuch time as *Celliſtratus* himſelfe gave him his hint, and incited him ſo to do, by ſuch a ſpeech as this: For mine own part (quoth he) even I alſo, do acquit of intemperance, the ſimple deſire of hearing muſick, and ſeeing ſports: howbeit, I am not altogether of *Ariſtoxenus* opinion, when he ſaith, that theſe be the only pleaſure that be worth a whoop, and at the end whereof, a man ſhould ſay καλῶς: that is to ſay, Oh, well & trimly done! For ſurely, men are wont to attribute ſo much unto certain dainty meats and ſweet perfumes and ointments, calling them trim and fine, and giving this praiſe unto them, that they be well dreſſed and confected; yea, and it is an ordinary ſpeech to ſay: That it is well with us, when we have been at a delicate and coſtly ſupper. I ſuppoſe alſo, that *Ariſtotle* himſelfe alledgeth not a ſufficient cauſe, that the ſolace and pleaſure by fair ſights, and ſweet muſick, and generally, the contentment that we have by the eye and the ear, is to be exempted from the crime of intemperancy; becauſe, as he ſaith, theſe be the only delights proper unto man; whereas in all others, brute beaſts do communicate with us and have the benefit of them: for I ſee that there be many creatures which have no uſe of reaſon, and yet take delight in muſick; as for example, ſtags, in flutes and pipes; and at the time when mares are to be covered with ſtallions, there is a certain ſound of the hautboies and a ſong to it; named thereupon, *Hippothoros*: and *Pindarus* ſaith in one place, that he was moved with the ſong,

Like as the Dolphin ſwims apace,
Directly forward to that place
Whereas the pleaſant haut-boies ſound,
And whence their noiſe doth ſoon rebound;
What time, both winds and waves do lie
At ſea, and let no harmony.

And as they dance, they bear up their heads and eyes aloft, as joyning in the object which they ſee of others likewiſe dancing; for they ſtrive to imitate and counterfeit the ſame: ſtirring and wagging their ſhoulders to and fro: I cannot ſee therefore, what ſingularity by it ſelfe there is in theſe pleaſures, becauſe they only are reſpective to the ſoul, and others belong unto the body, and do ſeize and reſt the body: whereas tunes, meaſures, dances, and ſongs, paſſing beſides and beyond the ſence, do faſten their delights and tickling pleaſure upon the very joy and contentment of the mind; which is the reaſon that none of theſe delectations are hidden, nor have need either of darkneſſe

to cover them, or of walls to inviron, encloſe, and keep them in, as women are wont to ſay by other pleaſures; but contrariwiſe, built there are for theſe delights of the eye and ear, cirques and races, theaters and ſhew-places; and the greater company that is there with us to ſee or hear any of theſe, the greater joy we take, and the thing it ſelfe is more ſtately: but this is plain, that deſirous we are, not of a number of witneſſes to teſtifie our intemperance and naughty pleaſure, but we care not how many ſee our honeſt exerciſes and civill ſports or recreations.

After that *Calliſtratus* had ended his ſpeech, *Lamprias* perceiving that thoſe favourers and maintainers of ſuch ear-ſports, took better heart, and became more audacious by theſe words, ſet in hand to ſpeak now indeed as he meant before, in this manner: This is not the cauſe, good ſir *Calliſtratus*, the ſon of *Leon*; but in mine opinion, our ancient forefathers have not done well, to ſay that *Bacchus* was the ſon of Oblivion; for they ſhould rather have ſaid, that he was his father; conſidering, that even now by his means you have forgotten, that of thoſe faults and miſdemeanours which are committed by occaſion of pleaſures, ſome proceed from intemperance; others from ignorance or negligence: for where the hurt and damage is evident, there men (if they ſin) do it becauſe their reaſon is forced & overcome by intemperance: but look where the hire and reward of incontinence & looſeneſs doth not directly enſue, nor preſently upon the committing of a fault, there all their delinquency is to be aſcribed unto ignorance, for that ſuch lewd acts, they both approve and perpetrate, becauſe they wiſt not what hurt would follow: and therefore ſuch as do exorbitate and miſgovern themſelves in eating and drinking exceſſively, as alſo in the immoderate uſe of women; which enormities be ordinarily accompanied with many maladies, much expence, decay of eſtate, loſs of goods and an ill name beſides; we uſually call looſe, diſſolute, and intemperate perſons: ſuch an one as that *Theodectes*, who being diſeaſed in his eyes; whenſoever he eſpied his ſweet-heart whom he kept as his harlot, would ſalute her in theſe tearms,

χαῖρε φιλὸν φῶς

All haile my ſweet and lovely light,
The only joy of mine eye-ſight.

And ſuch another was *Anaxarchus* of *Abdera*:

Who (by report) knew well what miſeries
He lived in, but yet his nature was
Inclined ſo to pleaſure, which men wiſe,
And ſages dread moſt part; that he alas
Was thereby drawn and carried unto ſin,
Out of that way which judgement ſet him in.

But thoſe who hold out manfully, and ſtand upon their own guards, for fear they be caught and overcome with the groſſe pleaſure of the belly, and the parts under it, of taſt and of ſmelling; and yet nevertheleſs ſuffer themſelves to be circumvented and ſurprized by other delights, which ſecretly forelay them, and lie in ambuſh, hidden cloſe within their eyes and ears; theſe men (I ſay) although they be nothing leſs paſſionate, diſſolute, and incontinent than the others, yet we tearm them not ſo for all that: and why ſo? becauſe they know not the danger wherein they ſtand; they run not headlong through ignorance, thinking they ſhall be maſters over their pleaſures, yea, though they tarried at the theater all the long day, from morning to night, to ſee and hear plaies and other paſtimes, without bit of bread or drop of drink; as if forſooth an earthen veſſell or pitcher ſhould boaſt it ſelfe and ſtand much upon this, that it is not ſtirred and taken up by the belly or the bottom, and yet eaſily removed and carried from place to place by the two ears: & therefore *Arceſilaus* was wont to ſay: That it skilled not which way one committed filthineſs, for behind and before, was all one: ſo that we ought to fear that wantonneſs and pleaſures which tickleth us in our ears and eyes both: neither are we to think a city impregnable, which having all other gates faſt made with ſtrong locks, fortified alſo with croſs bars, and portculliſſes, if the enemies may enter in at one other gate; nor to take our ſelves to be invincible and unconquered by pleaſures, for that we be not caught and taken within the temple of *Venus*; in caſe wee ſuffer our ſelves to be taken in the chappell of the Muſes, or elſe at ſome theater: For ſurely ſuch a paſſion may overtake and captivate our ſoul as well here as there, yea, and betake it unto pleaſures, for to hale and pull, carry and hurry us as they liſt: and theſe verily do infuſe and powre into our ſpirits, poiſons more eager and piercing, yea, and in greater variety; I mean of ſongs, dances, muſicall accords and meaſures, than all thoſe be, which either cooks, confectioners, or perfumers can deviſe: by the ſtrength thereof, they lead and carry us whither they will, yea, and corrupt us ſo, as that we cannot chuſe but convince and condemne our ſelves by our own teſtimony againſt us: For as *Pindarus* ſaid very well:

We cannot charge, nor yet blame-worthy think,
What ever, for our preſent meat and drink
The ſacred earth to us affords heath,
Or ſea, with windes, that is ſo fell and wrath.

And to ſay a truth, there is no dainty cates, no delicate viands, fiſh or fleſh; no nor this paſſing good wine which we drink, that for any pleaſure and contentment which they yeeld unto us, cauſeth us to ſee up any ſuch noiſes, like as ere while, the ſound and playing of the flutes did, which filled (I ſay) not this houſe only, but I believe well, the whole city, with out-cries, ucas, clapping of hands, and alarmes: and therefore we are to ſtand in great fear and dread of ſuch pleaſures as theſe;

theſe; for exceeding forcible they be, and moſt powerfull they be, as thoſe who ſtay not there, as thoſe do which affect either taſt, feeling, or ſmelling; to wit, in the unreaſonable part of the ſoul, without paſſing any farther; but they reach unto the very judgement, and diſcourſe of reaſon. Moreover, in other delights and pleaſures, although reaſon ſhould faile and not be able to withſtand them, but give over in plain field: yet there be other paſſions a good many which will reſiſt and impeach them: for ſay there be ſome dainty and delicate fiſh to be bought and ſold in the market; nigardiſe oftentimes holdeth back a gluttons fingers from drawing out his purſe-ſtrings, who otherwiſe would be buſie and ready enough to help his deinty tooth: covetouſneſs likewiſe otherwhiles turneth away a wanton leacher, and whore-matter from meddling with a dear and coſtly courteſan, who holds her-ſelfe at an exceeding high price; like as *Menander* in one of his comedies bringeth in a pretty pageant of this matter: for when a certain baud had brought unto a banquet, where divers youthis were drinking, and making merry together, a paſſing faire wench, young withall, and trimly ſet out in every point, for to entice and allure them, they

Caſt down their heads, and like good merry mates,
Fell to their junkets hard, and dainty cates.

For when it ſtands upon this point, that a man muſt take mony up at intereſt, or elſe go without his pleaſure; certes, it is a ſhrewd puniſhment to bridle his luſt and incontinence: for we are not alwayes ſo willing and ready to lay our hand to our purſes: now the eyes and ears of ſuch as love muſicians and minſtrels, and other ſuch gentleman-like ſports, and recreations as we call them, ſatisfy their furious appetites and affections, in ſounding muſick, plaies and ſhewes, for nothing and without any coſt: for why? ſuch pleaſures as theſe, they may be ſped with, and enjoy in many places, as the publick and ſacred games of prize, in theaters, and at feaſts, and all at other mens charges; and therfore an eaſie matter it is to meet with matter enough for to ſpoile and undoe them quite, who have not reaſon to govern and direct them. Hereat he made a pauſe, and ſo there was ſome ſilence for a while: And what? would you have (quoth *Calliſtratus*) this reaſon, either to do or ſay for to ſuccour and ſave us? for ſhe will not falten round about our eares, thoſe little caſes or bolſters to cover our ears with, which *Xenocrates* ſpeaketh of, neither will ſhee cauſe us to riſe from the table ſo ſoon as we heare a muſician to tune his lute or prepare his pipe: No in truth (quoth *Lamprias*) but looke how often ſoever as we fall into the danger of theſe pleaſures, we ought to call upon the muſes for to ſuccour us; we muſt flie into that mountain *Helicon* of our ancients: for ſuch an one as is enamoured upon a ſumptuous and coſtly ſtrumpet, we cannot tell how to match by and by with a *Penelope*: nor marry unto *Panthea*; but if one take pleaſure in baudy ballads, laſcivious ſongs, and wanton dances, we may ſoon divert him from thence, by ſetting him to read *Euripides*, *Pindarus*, or *Menander*; and ſo waſh a filthy ear, and furred all over with ſalt (as *Plato* ſaith) with a ſweet and potable lotion of good ſayings and wiſe ſentences: for like as magicians commanded thoſe who are poſſeſſed or haunted with evill ſpirits, to rehearſe and pronounce apart by themſelves Epheſian letters, or words of a counter-charme; even ſo when we are among theſe vanities, where minſtrels play their parts, and moriſk dancers their may-games, fetching their friſks and gambols,

Shaking themſelves in furious wiſe,
With ſtrange all armes and hideous cries:
Wagging and ſtinging every way
Their necks and heads all while they play.

Let us then call to remembrance the grave, holy and venerable writings of thoſe ancient Sages, and conferring them with theſe ſottiſh ſonnets, ribald rimes, paltry poems, and ridiculous reaſons, we ſhall not be endangered by them, nor turn aſide (as they ſay) and ſuffer our ſelves to be carried away with them down the ſtream.

THE SIXTH QUESTION.

Of ſuch gueſts as be named ſhadowes; and whether he that is called by the one, may go unto another to ſupper; if he may, when, and to whom.

HOmer in the ſecond book of his *Iliad*, writeth of *Menelaus*, how he came of his own accord unbidden, to a feaſt that his brother *Agamemnon* made unto the princes and chief commanders of the army:

For why? he well conceived in his mind,
That troubled much, his brother he ſhould find.

* And therfore might forget his own brother.

And as he would not neglect and overſee thus much, that either the ignorance or forgetfullneſs in his brother ſhould be otherwiſe ſeen; ſo he was leſs willing to diſcover it himſelfe in failing for to come; as ſome froward and peeviſh perſons are wont to take hold of ſuch overſights and negligences of their friends, being better content in their hearts thus to be neglected, than honoured, becauſe they would have advantage, and ſomewhat to complain of. But as touching ſuch as are invited at all to a feaſt, nor have no formall bidding (whom now adayes, we call ſhadowes) and yet are brought in by thoſe who are invited, there aroſe one day a queſtion, how this cuſtome firſt came up and took beginning. Some were of opinion that *Socrates* began it, who perſwaded

Ariſtodemus upon a time, being not bidden to goe with him to a feaſt at *Agathons* houſe, where there fell out a pretty jeſt and a ridiculous; for *Ariſtodemus* tooke no heed when he thither came, that he had left *Socrates* by the way behinde him, and ſo himſelfe entred before into the roome; which is as much as the ſhadow before the body, and the light comming after: but afterwards, at the feaſting and entertainment of friends that are travellers, and paſs by as ſtrangers, eſpecially, if they were princes or great governours, becauſe men knew not who were in their traine, and whom they deigned this honour, for to ſit at their own table, and to eat and drink with them; the cuſtome was to requeſt themſelves, for to bring with them whom they would, but withall, to ſet down a determinate number; for fear leſt they ſhould be ſo ſerved as one was, who invited to ſupper, *Philip* king of *Macedonie*, into the countrey: for he came to his hoſts houſe with a great retinue after him, who had not provided a ſupper for many gueſts: *Philip* perceiving that his friend was hereupon in great perplexity, and knew not what to do, ſent unto every one of his friends that he brought with him, a ſervitor of purpoſe to round them ſecretly in the ear, that they ſhould ſo eat of the viands before them, as that they reſerved a piece of their ſtomack for a dainty tart or cate that was to come in: by which means, whiles they looked evermore when the ſaid diſh ſhould come to the table, and did eat more ſparely in hope of it, of thoſe meats which ſtood before them, there was ſufficient for them all. But whiles I ſeemed thus to play upon the point before the company there preſent, *Florus* thought good that this queſtion ought to be handled in good earneſt, and more ſeriouſly; namely, as touching thoſe ſhadowes aboveſaid: Whether it might ſtand with honeſty and good manners, to follow or go with them who were bidden? As for *Ceſernius* his ſon in law, he utterly condemned that faſhion: For a man ought (quoth he) to obey the counſel of *Heſiodus*, who writeth thus:

Above all others, to thy feaſt,
Invite thy friend who loves thee beſt.

If not ſo, yet be ſure at leaſtwiſe to bid thy familiars and thoſe of thine aquaintance, for to participate with thee in thy ſacred libations and thankſgivings to the gods at the table, in diſcourſes there held, in the curteſies paſſing to and fro; and namely, in drinking one to another: but now adaies it is with men that make feaſts, or with thoſe who keep ferry-barges or barks to tranſport paſſengers; for when they take in men aboard, they permit them to caſt into the veſſell what fardles or baggage they have beſides: for even ſo, we making a feaſt for ſome eſpeciall perſons, give them leave to fill the place with whomſoever they pleaſe; whether they be honeſt men and of worth or no, it maks no matter. And I would marvell much, if a man of quality, and one that knoweth good manners, would come thus bidden (as it were) at the ſecond hand, which is all one as unbidden, being ſuch an one, as many times the maſter of the feaſt himſelfe knoweth not; and if he be one of his acquaintance and knowledge, and yet unbidden, ſurely it were more ſhame now to go to his houſe, as it were, to upbraid him and caſt in his teeth, as if he came unto his feaſt without his good will, and yet would take his part thereof, even by violence and ſtrong hand. Moreover, to go before or tarry after him, who would ſeeme to bid one to another mans table, carrieth ſome ſhame with it, and would make a modeſt and honeſt man diſmaied and blank: neither is it a decent thing to have need of witneſſes, and a warrant (as it were) between him and the maſter of the houſe, to inſinuate thus much, that he is come indeed, not as one formerly bidden to ſupper, but as the ſhadow of ſuch and ſuch a man: beſides, to dance attendance upon another, and obſerve when he hath been in the ſtouph, is anointed and waſhed, waiting the houre when he will go, ſooner or later, ; this in my ſimple judgement is a very baſe and mechanicall thing, ſavouring ſtrongly of the buffon or paraſite *Gnatho*, if ever there were ſuch a ſmell-feaſt as *Gnatho*, who haunted mens tables where it coſt him nought: furthermore, if there be no time or place, wherein a mans tongue may be better permitted to ſay thus:

Art thou diſpoſ'd to boaſt, to crack and brave
In meaſure? ſpeake out hardly; good leave have.

than at a banquet, where commonly there is moſt liberty allowed and intermingled in all that is done and ſaid and every thing is well taken, as in mirth: how ſhould a man behave and govern himſelfe at ſuch a place, who is not a lawfull and naturall bidden gueſt indeed; but as a man would ſay, a baſtard and ſubreptitious, crept in, and intruded I wot not how into a feaſt, without all order of inviting? for ſay that he do ſpeak freely at the board, or ſay he do not, lie open he ſhall both for the one and the other, to the calumniations of them there preſent: neither is it a ſmall inconvenience to be made a marke for ſcurrile termes, and a meer laughing-ſtock, namely, when a man putteth up, and endureth the baſe name of a ſhadow, and will be content to anſwer thereunto? for I aſſure you, to make ſmall account of unſeemly words, is the next way to lead men unto undecent and diſhoneſt deeds, and to acquaint them therewith by little and little: wherefore when I invite others to a feaſt or ſupper unto mine own houſe, I allow them otherwhiles to bring their ſhadowes with them (for the cuſtome of a city is much, and may not well be broken) but ſurely, when I have my ſelfe been called upon, to go with others to a place where I am not bidden. I have ever yet denied, and could not for any thing be brought unto it. Upon which words enſued ſilence for a time, untill *Florus* began again in this wiſe: Certes this ſecond point is more difficult and doubtfull than the other; for when we are to entertain ſtrangers that be travellers (as hath been ſaid before) we muſt of neceſſity invite them in this order: the reaſon is, becauſe it were incivility and diſcurteſie, to part them and their friends in a ſtrange place, whom they were wont to have about them; and again, it is

is no eaſie matter to know, whom a man hath in his company. See then (quoth I) whether they who have given liberty unto them that make a feaſt, thus to invite gueſts, that they may take others unto them (as you ſay) permit not them alſo whom they would bring, as their ſhadowes, to obey, and ſo to come unto a feaſt; for it ſtandeth not with honeſty, to grant and give that, which is not meet for to demand or give; nor in one word to ſollicite or exhort one to that, whereunto he would not willingly be ſollicited, either to do or give his conſent: but as for great States and rulers, or ſtrangers travelling by the way, there is no ſuch inviting or choiſe to be made; for entertained they muſt be whomſoever they bring with them: but otherwiſe, when one friend feaſteth another, if he were a more friendly and courteous part, for himſelfe to bid the familiars or kinſfolke of his ſaid friend, knowing them ſo well as he doth; for by this meanes greater honour he doth unto his friend; yea, and winneth more thanks at his hands again, when the party invited ſhall know that he loveth them beſt, that moſt willingly he deſireth to have their company, as taking pleaſure that they be honoured and entreated to come as well, for his ſake; and yet for all this, it would otherwhiles be wholly referred unto his diſcretion that is bidden: like as thoſe who ſacrifice unto ſome one god, do honour likewiſe and make vowes unto thoſe who are partakers of the ſame temple and altar in common, although they name them not ſeverally by themſelves. * * For there is neither wine, dainty viands, nor ſweet perfumes, that give ſuch contentment and pleaſure at a feaſt, as doth a man whom one loveth and liketh well of, ſitting by his ſide or neer unto him at the table: moreover, to ask and demand of the man himſelfe, whom one would feaſt, what viands or what banqueting diſhes or paſtry works he loveth beſt; as alſo to ſeek and enquire of the diverſitie of wines and pleaſant odors he delighted in, were a very uncivill and abſurd part: but when a man hath many friends, many kinſfolks and familiars, to requeſt ſuch an one to bring with him, thoſe eſpecially whoſe company he liketh beſt, and in whom he taketh greateſt pleaſure, is no abſurdity at all, nor a thing that can be offenſive: for neither to ſaile in one ſhip, nor to dwell in the ſame houſe, ne yet to plead in the ſame cauſe, with thoſe whom we are not affected well unto, is ſo diſpleaſant and odious, as to ſit at a ſupper with them againſt whom our heart doth riſe; and the contrary is as acceptable: for ſurely the table is a very communion and ſociety of mirth and earneſt, of words and deeds; and therefore if men would be merry there, and make good cheer, I ſee no need, that all manner of perſons indifferently ſhould meet, but thoſe only who have ſome inward friendſhip, and private familiarity one with another: as for our meats and ſauces that come up to the board, cooks I confeſs do make them of all manner of ſapours, different as they be, mixing them together, and tempring, harſh, ſowre, milde, ſweet, ſharp, ſubtill, and biting, one with another: but a ſupper or feaſt, is nothing acceptable and contenting, unleſs it be compoſed of gueſts who are of the ſame humour and diſpoſition: and for that, as the Peripatetick Philoſophers do affirm, that there is one *Primum mobile*, above, or principall mover in nature, which moveth only, and is not moved; and another thing beneath, and in the loweſt place, which is moved only, and moveth not; but between theſe two extremities, there is a middle nature, that moveth one and is moved by another: even ſo, (ſay I) there is the ſame proportion among three ſorts of men, the firſt of thoſe who invite another; the ſecond of ſuch as are invited only; and the third of them that do invite others, and are invited themſelves: and now becauſe we have ſpoke already of the firſt and principall feaſt-maker, who inviteth, it were not amiſs now to ſay ſomewhat of the other two folks: He then who is bidden, and yet hath leave to bid others; ought in great reaſon (as I think) to be carefull and take heed, that he forbear to bring with him a great number or multitude, leſt he ſhould ſeem to make ſpoile of his friends houſe, as of an enemies territory, and as it were to forage there for all thoſe that belong unto him; or to do as thoſe who come to occupy and inhabit a new countrey, that is to ſay, by bringing with him ſo many of his own friends, diſſeiſe, or at leaſtwiſe exclude and put by his gueſts, who invited him, and ſo by that means the maſters of the feaſts might be ſerved as they are, who ſet forth ſuppers unto *Hecate* or *Proſerpina*, and to thoſe averruncan gods, or *apotropæi*, whom men call upon, not to do good, but to avert evill, for they themſelves nor any of their houſe lick their lips with any jot of all that cheer; only they have their part of all the ſmoak and troubles belonging thereto: for otherwiſe they that alledge unto us this common ſaying,

At Delphi *when one hath done ſacrifice,*
Muſt buy his own viands, if he be wiſe.

ſpeak it but merrily and by way of jeſt; but certainly it befalleth even ſo in good truth and earneſt unto thoſe who entertain either ſtrangers or friends ſo rude and uncivil, who with a number of ſhadowes, as if there were ſo many harpies or cormorants and greedy guls, conſumed and devoured all their proviſion: ſecondly, a friend that is himſelfe ſolemnly invited, muſt be carefull, that he take not with him, for to goe unto another mans houſe, thoſe that he firſt meeteth or that come next hand, but ſuch eſpecially, as he knoweth to be friends and of familiar acquaintance with the feaſt-maker, as if he ſtrived a vie to prevent him in bidding of them; if not ſo, to have thoſe with him of his own friends, whom the maſter of the feaſt himſelfe could have wiſhed and made choiſe of, to have bidden; as for example, if he be a modeſt man and a civill, to ſort him with modeſt & civill perſons; if ſtudious and learned, to furniſh his table with ſtudents and good ſchollers; if he have been before-time in authority, to fit him now with perſonages of power and authority; and in one word, to acquaint him with thoſe, whom he knoweth he would be willing to ſalute, and entertain with ſpeech and communication; for this is a wiſe kind of courtely and great civility, to give

unto

unto ſuch a perſonage occaſion and means, to ſalute, embrace, and make much of them: whereas he who commeth to a feaſt with ſuch about him as hath no conformity at all unto the feaſt-maker, but ſeem meer aliens and ſtrangers; as namely, with great drunkards, to a ſober mans houſe; to a man that is a good husband, wary, and thrifty in his expences, with a ſort of diſſolute ruffians and ſwaggering companions; or unto a young gentleman, that loveth to drink heartily, to laugh, to jeſt and to be merry, with grim ſirs, and ſevere ancients, ſuch as in their talk are grave, and by their long beards, may be taken for ſages and profound clerks; ſuch an one (I ſay) is a very abſurd fellow, thus to requite the hoſpitall courteſy of his friend, with ſuch impertinent incongruity: for he that is invited, muſt be as carefull to pleaſe firſt the inviter, as the feaſt-maker, his gueſt: and then acceptable ſhall he be and welcom indeed, if not himſelfe only, but thoſe alſo who come with him or for the love of him, be of good carriage and lovely behaviour. As for the third perſon, who remaineth to be ſpoken of, to wit, who is bidden and brought in by another; if he take pepper in the noſe, and cannot abide to be called a ſhadow; certainly he is afraid of his own ſhadow: but in this caſe, there would be very great circumſpection had; for it is no point of honeſty and good manners, to be ſoon intreated, and ready to follow every one indifferently at his call; conſidered it would be, and that not ſlightly, what he is who moveth thee to go with him to ſuch a feaſt; for if he be not a very familiar friend, but one of theſe rich magnificoes and portly perſonages, who would (as it were upon a ſcaffold) make a ſhew unto the world of a number of favourites and followers to guard and attend him at his heeles; or ſuch an one as would ſeem to do much for thee, or to grace and honour thee greatly by taking thee in this order with him, thou oughteſt flatly to deny him, and refuſe ſuch courteſy: well, ſay that he be a friend and familiar perſon, yet muſt not thou by and by for all that, be ready and obey, but then only, when there is ſome neceſſary occaſion for to commune or ſpeake with the maſter of the feaſt or with the other party, and that otherwiſe thou can'ſt meet with no good opportunity for to do it; or if he be newly returned from ſome long voiage, when he hath been a great time away, or elſe about to depart, and ſo ſeem (for very good will) deſirous of thy company at ſupper; or if it appear that he meaneth not to take with him many, nor thoſe ſtrangers and unknown, but either thy ſelfe alone, or ſome few others of his familiars; or after all theſe conſiderations, if thou mayeſt perceive that by this occaſion and opportunity of thy company, he doth practiſe to contract ſome beginning of farther acquaintance, friendſhip, and amity, and namely, if he be reputed an honeſt man, and worthy to be loved and regarded, who thus is deſirous of thy company, and earneſt with thee to go with him: for wicked and lewd perſons, the more they ſeem to claſp and take hold, and hang upon us, the more we ought to ſhake them off as burres, or elſe to leap over them as briers and brambles: nay, admit that they be honeſt enough, who would have our company, and bring us to a man that is not honeſt, we ought not to go with them, leſt we chance to take poiſon with hony, that is to ſay, get the acquaintance of a naughty man, by the means of an honeſt minded friend: moreover, abſurd it is, to go unto a mans houſe, whom we know not at all, or with whom we never had any manner of dealing and acquaintance, unleſs he be a perſonage of great mark for ſingular vertue, as we have before ſaid, or that this occaſion may ſerve as a foundation or ground-work of ſome farther love and amity; for then it were not amiſs to be eaſily intreated, and to go willingly without any ceremoniall complement unto him, under the wing and ſhadow of another. As for thoſe who be already our familiars, unto ſuch above all others we may be bold to go at the motion of another; for by that means we give reciprocall liberty and leave unto them for to repaire likewiſe unto us at the requeſt of others. There was one *Philip* indeed, a buffon and ſcurrile jeſter, who was wont to ſay: That to go unto a feaſt, formally invited, was ſimply more ridiculous, than to come as a ſhadow by the bidding of another: but in truth, more honourable and pleaſant it is for honeſt men and good friends, to reſort unto their friends, who be likewiſe honeſt and vertuous, in ſeaſonable time (without being invited or expected) with other friends; for thereby they both rejoyce the heart of thoſe that entertain them, and do honour unto ſuch as bring them: but above all, moſt undecent it is, to go unto princes, rulers, rich men and great States, when we are not invited by themſelves, but brought by others; for in any caſe avoid we muſt, the imputation and note not undeſerved, of impudency, incivility, want of good manners, or ambitious inſolency.

THE SEVENTH QUESTION.

Whether it be a lawfull and decent thing, to admit minſtrell-wenches to a feaſt, for to play and ſing?

IN our city *Cheronea*, there was held a great diſcourſe one day at the table, where *Diogenianus* the Pergamian was preſent, as touching the ear-ſports which were to be admitted at a banquet; and much adoe we had to defend our ſelves, and to confute a long bearded philoſopher that was there, one of the Stoicks ſect forſooth, who alledged againſt us, *Plato*, blaming and condemning thoſe who brought into their feaſts minſtrell-wenches, to pipe and ſing & to be heard, as if they were not able themſelves to entertain good ſpeeches one with another: and yet preſent there was, a ſcholer, out of the ſame ſchool, *Philip* a Pruſian, who ſaid: That ſuch perſonages were not to be named in this queſtion, who are brought in as ſpeakers at *Agathons* board, for that their ſpeeches ſounded more ſweetly and melodiouſly, than all the flutes and cithrons in the world: no marvell it was therefore, that

that theſe minſtrels had no audience at ſuch a feaſt, but rather, that the gueſts ſitting there at the table, forgat not altogether to eat and drink, for the great pleaſure and contentment which they tooke in hearing ſuch diſcourſes. And yet *Xenophon* was not aſhamed to endure in the preſence of *Socrates*, *Ariſtſthenes*, and other ſuch perſonages, a pleaſant conceited jeſter named *Philippus*; no more than *Homer* to teach men: That an onion was a good ſauce to draw on wine: And *Plato* having inſerted in manner an interlude or comedy within his Banquet, the ſpeech of *Ariſtophanes* as touching love: at the laſt ſetting as it were the back doors of the hall wide open, brings in apageant, fuller of variety and vanity than all the reſt, to wit, *Alcibiades* little better than drunk, crowned with chaplets and garlands of flowers, and marching in a mask or mummery: then follow the altercations and debates with *Socrates* as touching *Agathon*, and that encomiaſticall praiſe of *Socrates*: (O bleſſed ſaint *Charites*!) that even *Apollo* himſelfe (were it lawfull ſo to ſay) if he had entred in place with his harp ready ſtrung and tuned for to play, the company would have requeſted him to ſtay his hand, untill the foreſaid ſpeech had been finiſhed and brought to an end: And did theſe perſonages indeed (quoth he) notwithſtanding they had ſo great grace in their diſcourſes, uſe nevertheleſs theſe pleaſant ſports and paſtimes between, garniſhing their feaſts therewith, and all to make the company to laugh and be merry? And ſhall we being intermingled with perſons managing affaires of State, with merchants, occupiers, and with many (it may ſo fall out) altogether unlettered, and ſomewhat ruſticall, baniſh out of our feaſts and banquets this amiable delight and paſtime; or elſe riſe from the table and be gone, as if we would flie from ſuch Sirenes as ſoon as ever we ſee them comming? It was thought a ſtrange and wonderfull matter in *Clitomachus* the champion and profeſſour of performing games of prize; that ſo ſoon as ever there was any talk begun of love matters, he would leave the company and depart: and when a grave Philoſopher avoideth the ſound of the flute, and goeth out of the feaſt, and as if he were afraid of a minſtrell wench, preparing her-ſelfe to ſound and ſing, * purteth on his ſhoes, and calleth incontinently to his page for to light his torch; ſhall he not in ſo doing be thought worthy to be hiſſed at and laughed of every one, for taking offence, and abhorring theſe harmleſs pleaſures; like as thoſe beetles which flie from perfumes and ſweet odors? For if there be any time or place allowed for theſe diſports, it is at feaſts and banquets principally: Then (I ſay) and there are we to give our minds to ſuch delights, all the while we ſacrifice unto *Bacchus*: For mine own part *Euripides*, howſoever otherwiſe he pleaſeth me very well, doth not ſatisfie me herein, when he ordaineth as touching muſick, that transferred it ſhould be from feaſts and banquets, unto ſorowes and penſive ſadneſs: for in theſe caſes, there would be ſome good, ſober and wiſe remonſtrance at hand (like as a Phyſitian with ſick folk) to help all: but otherwiſe we are to mingle theſe delights of muſick with the gifts of *Bacchus*, in manner of a ſport and recreation: Certes, a prety ſpeech it was of a Lacedæmonian, who being at *Athens* on a time, when new tragedies were to be acted, and the authours of them to contend for the beſt game; ſeeing the ſumptuous furniture and proviſion of thoſe who were the maſters of the revels, and ſuch paſtimes, together with the painfull labour in teaching and prompting of parts, and what adoe there was in ordering of the dances and ſhewes thereto belonging: whiles one ſtrived to go beyond another: Oh what a fooliſh city is this (quoth he) to imploy ſo much travell and ſerious ſtudy in idle plaies and diſports! For to ſay a truth, when weare at our playes, we muſt do nothing elſe but play, and not to buy ſo dear (with ſuch coſt and diſpences, yea, and with the loſs of time, which were better beſtowed about other good affaires) an idle ſport: mary at the table, when our ſpirit is fequeſtrated from other buſineſs, we may taſte a little of ſuch delights, and in the mean while, conſider withall, what profit ſuch ſolace may afford.

* For they ſat upon pallets and beds at meat, and did off their ſhoes for the time.

THE EIGHTH QUESTION.

What Acroams or Ear-ſports, are eſpecially to be uſed at ſupper time?

WHen theſe words had paſſed, the ſophiſter above-ſaid, would glad'y have replied again: but I for to interrupt and ſtay his ſpeech began firſt and ſaid: Nay rather *Diogeniane*, I think it better to conſider upon this point: that ſeeing there be many ear-delights to content our hearing, which of them is moſt meet and fit? and if you think ſo good, let us refer the matter to this wiſe man here in place, and requeſt him to give his judgement: for being as he is, inflexible, and a man ſubject to no paſſions, we ſhall never need to fear that he will ſo much trip, as to prefer a thing that is more pleaſant, before that which is better. Then he at the requeſt and exhortation of *Diogenianus* and us, without any delay: As for other paſtimes (quoth he) at theaters, exhibited upon the ſtage and ſcaffold of players and dancers, I reject and baniſh them all: only I admit one kind of ſport to delight the ear, which not long ſince came to be taken up at *Rome*, in feaſts and banquets, and is not yet divulged abroad in every place: For you know well (quoth he) that among the dialogues of *Plato*, ſome there be which contain a continued narration of a thing done or ſaid; others again conſiſt of certain deviſed perſonages talking and diſcourſing together: of theſe perſonall dialogues, thoſe that be eaſieſt, children uſe to learne, and con them without book, together with expreſſing the geſtures agreeable to the quality, manners, and nature of the perſons, who are feigned and brought in; a conformation alſo and framing of the voice, yea, and a countenance

tenance and diſpoſition every way anſwerable to the words that they pronounce: this manner of paſtime hath been wonderfully well accepted among grave perſons, and men of honour; but ſuch as be effeminate, or have dainty and delicate ears, by reaſon that they are rude, illiterate, and ignorant what is good and honeſt; and who, as *Ariſtenus* was wont to ſay, will be ready to catt up their gorge, and vomit yellow choler, when they hear any good harmony, miſlike them and would not abide the hearing: and I would not marvell veriily, if they reject and condemne them utterly, being ſo poſſeſſed with womaniſh daintineſs. *Philip* then perceiving ſome there in place, not to take theſe words well: Stay there (quoth he) my good friend, and forbear in this wiſe to raile upon us, for we were the firſt, who were offended with this manner and faſhion, when it began at *Rome*, yea, and we reproved thoſe who would have *Plato* ſerve the turne, for to make ſolk merry at the board, and laboured all they could, that *Plato's* dialogues forſooth ſhould be rehearſed and heard, amid'ſt tarts, march-panes, comfitures, and ſweet perfumes: conſidering, that if ſome verſes of *Sappho*, or *Anacreons* odes ſhould be rehearſed: Me thinks I ought for very ſhame and reverence, ſet the cup down out of my hand, If I were about to drink: many more things to this effect I have in my head, which I am afraid to utter for fear I might be thought of purpoſe to make head, and to diſpute againſt you: and therefore to this friend here of ours, together with the cup as you ſee, I give the charge, for to waſh a ſaltiſh ear (as they ſay) with potable liquor of pleaſant ſpeech: then *Diogenianus* receiving the cup at his hand: But (quoth he) I hear no other yet but all good ſober ſpeeches: ſo that it ſeemeth that the wine doth not work in our heads, nor overcome our braines; and I feare me, that I my ſelfe ſhall be capitulated and articled againſt; howbeit, if I muſt ſpeak my mind, I am of opinion, that many of theſe matters which are preſented unto our ears, for to tickle and pleaſe them, ought to be cut off; and namely, tragedies above all others, as being a thing (I wis) not very well befitting a feaſt, for that it ſpeaketh in too grave and baſe a voice, repreſenting beſides, ſuch arguments and acts, as move the hearer to pitty and compaſſion: I reject alſo, out of our dances, that which is called *Pyladion*, as being over-ſtately, and too full of pomp, exceeding pathetical beſides, and requiring many perſons and actors: but if we may admit any of thoſe countrey kinds, which *Socrates* recounteth, when he ſpeakes of dances, I receive that which is called *Bathyllion*, which of it ſelfe beareth a lower port, and ſoundeth much like to the ruſtick dance, called *Cordax*, or reſembling *Echo Pan*, or ſome Satyre dancing amorouſly and wantonly with *Cupid*: as for the comedy, that which was called *Vetus*, that is to ſay, the ancient kind firſt uſed, it ſorteth not well with the table, nor would be acted before men when they be drinking and merry, in regard of the inequality thereof: for that earneſtneſs and liberty of ſpeech uſed in thoſe glancing digreſſions, called παραβάσεις, is too free and over vehement; alſo, the facility and readineſs to ſcoff, flout, and jibe, is too riſe and common over-broad and plain beſides, full of undecent and unhoneſt verbs, and as full of filthy and laſcivious nownes. Moreover, like as at the feaſts of great princes and potentates, there ſtandeth alwayes waiting by every one of them that ſit at the board, a cup-bearer, to give him drink when he calleth for it; even ſo there had need to be ſome Grammarian or other at hand continually, for to expound ever & anon, the meaning of divers tearmes uſed in theſe comedies, to wit, what ſignifieth in *Eupolis* the poet, this word *Laſmodias*; alſo, what the poet *Plato* meanes by *Cineſias*, by his comedies; and what is meant by *Lampon*, in *Cratinus*; likewiſe one or other for the purpoſe, to give the hearers to underſtand, who they be whom the actors let flie their ſcurrile ſcoffs at: ſo that by this means, our feaſt muſt be like a Grammar ſchool, or elſe all the frumps and mocks that be flung and diſcharged, will light in vaine, and loſe their grace, for want of being underſtood. But to come unto the new comedy, what ſhould a man ſay any thing of it but this, that it is ſo incorporate in feaſts and banquets, that a man may better make a ſupper without wine, than without *Menander*? for why? the phraſe or manner of ſpeech in theſe comedies is ſweet, pleaſant and familiar, the matter ſuch, as neither can be deſpiſed of the ſober, nor offenſive to the drunken; beſides, the vertuous and ſententious ſayings therein, delivered in ſimple and plain tearmes, run ſo ſmooth, that they are able to ſoften and make pliable every way the ſtiffeſt and hardeſt natures that be, by the meanes of wine, like as the bars of iron in the fire, and to reduce them to humanity. To be ſhort, the temperature throughout of mirth and gravity together, is ſuch, as it ſeemeth that this comedy was deviſed firſt for nothing elſe, but both to pleaſure & profit, thoſe who had taken their wine liberally & were now well diſpoſed to mirth: moreover, even the amatorious objects therein preſented, are not without a ſingular uſe and benefit, for theſe who being already ſet in an heat with wine, are within a while after to go to bed & ſleep with their wedded wives: neither ſhall you find among all his comedies, as many as he hath written, any filthy love of a young fair boy; and as for the deflowring of young maidens & virgins about which there is ſuch adoe in his comedies, they ordinarily do end in marriages & all parties be pleaſed. As touching the love of harlots & profeſſed courteſans, if they be proud, diſdainful and preſumptuous queans, certainly our wanton affection that way, is well cooled and daunted, by certain chaſtiſments or repentances of young men, who are repreſented in theſe comedies, to come again unto themſelves, and acknowledge their follies; but as for thoſe kinde harlots, which are of good natures, and for their parts do anſwer again in true love, either you ſhall have in the end their own fathers found, who may provide them husbands, or elſe there is ſome meaſure of time ſet out for to gage their love, which at the laſt, after a certain revolution and courſe run, turneth unto civill and baſhfull behaviour. I know well, that all theſe

theſe matters and obſervations, unto thoſe who are otherwiſe occupied and buſied in affaires, be of no importance; but at a table, where men are ſet of very purpoſe to be merry and to ſolace themſelves, I would wonder, if their dexterity, delight, and good grace, doth not bring with it ſome amendment and ornament into the minds and conditions of thoſe who take heed unto them, yea, and imprint a certain zeal and emulation, to frame and conforme themſelves unto thoſe that be honeſt and of the better ſort.

At theſe words, *Diogenianus* pauſed a while, were it for that he had made an end of his ſpeech, or to take his wind, and breath himſelfe a little: and when the ſophiſter began to reply and came upon him again, ſaying, that in his opinion there ſhould have been ſome places and verſes recited out of *Ariſtophanes*. *Philip* ſpeaking unto me by name: This man (quoth he) hath his deſire ſatisfied, now that he hath ſo well recommended his friend *Menander*, in whom he taketh ſo great delight, and in compariſon of whom, he ſeemeth to have no care nor regard at all of any other: but there remain yet many other matters, which we are wont to hear for our pleaſure, which hitherto have not been examined; and yet very willing I am, to hear ſome diſcourſe of them: as for the prety work of imagers, who cut out and grave ſmall living creatures, if it pleaſe this ſtranger here and *Diogenianus*, we will put over the controverſie and the deciſion thereof untill to morrow morning, when we are more ſober. Then began I to ſpeake, and ſaid: There be yet, other kind of ſports and plaies, named *Mimi*, of which, ſome they call *Hypotheſes*, as it were, moralities & repreſentations of hiſtories: others, *Pegnia*, that is to wit, ridiculous fooleries; but neither of them both, do I take meet for a banquet; the former, both becauſe they require ſo long time in the acting, and alſo, for that they require ſo coſtly furniture and preparation; the other, are too full of ribaudrie, of filthy and beaſtly ſpeeches, not well beſeeming the mouthes of pages and lackies, that carry their maſters ſlippers and pantofles after them, eſpecially, if their maſters be honeſt and wiſe men: and yet many there are, who at their feaſts, where their wives ſit by their ſides, and where their young children be preſent, cauſe ſuch fooliſh acts and ſpeeches to be repreſented, as trouble the ſpirits and diſorder the paſſions of the mind more, than any drunkenneſs whatſoever. But as for the play of the harp, which is of ſo great antiquity, and ever ſince before *Homers* time, hath been a familiar friend and companion with feaſts, and alwayes entertained there, it were not meet nor honeſt for to diſſolve that ancient friendſhip, and ſo long continuance; but we would requeſt thoſe minſtrels that play and ſing to the harp, to take out of their ſongs thoſe doleſull plants, dumps, and ſorrowfull lamentations, which be ſo ordinary in them, and to chaunt pleaſant ditties and freſh galliards, meet for thoſe who are met to be merry and jocund. Moreover, as touching the flute and hautboies, they will not be kept out, do what a man will, from the table; for if we do but offer our labations, by powring out wine in the honour of the gods, we muſt needs have our pipes, or elſe all were marred, yea, and chaplers of flowers upon our heads; and it ſeemeth that the gods themſelves do ſing thereto and accord: moreover, the ſound of the flute doth dulce the ſpirits, and entreth into the ears with ſo milde and pleaſant a tune, that it carrieth with it a tranquillity and pacification of all motions, even unto the ſoul, in ſuch ſort, that if there did remain in the underſtanding and mind, any griefe, any care or anxiety, which the wine had not diſcuſſed and chaſed away, by the gracious and amiable noiſe thereof, and the voice of the muſician ſinging thereto, it quieteth it, and bringeth it aſleep: provided alwayes, that this inſtrument keep a mean and mediocrity, ſo that it move not the ſoule too much, and make it paſſionate, with ſo many tunes and notes that it hath, at what time as the ſaid ſoul is ſo drenched and wrought ſoft with wine, that it is ready to be affected therewith: for like as ſheep and other cattell, underſtand not any articulate language of a man, carrying a ſenſe and underſtanding therewith; howbeit, with certain whiſtles or chirts, done by lips or hands, or with the ſound of ſome pipe or ſhell, the ſhepheards and other heard-men can tell how to raiſe them, or make them lie down & couch: even ſo, the brutiſh part of the ſoul, which hath no underſtanding, nor is capable of reaſon, may be appeaſed, ranged and diſpoſed as it ought to be, by ſongs and ſounds, by meaſures, tunes and notes, as if it were charmed and enchanted by them: but to ſpeak what I think, this is my conceit, that neither ſound of flute, nor lute and harp, by it ſelfe, without mans voice and ſong to it, can make merry the company met together at a feaſt, ſo much as a good ſpeech, well and properly fitted; for ſo we muſt accuſtome our ſelves in good earneſt, to take our principall pleaſure and delight in ſpeech, and to ſpend the beſt part of that time in diſcourſe and communication: as for ſong and harmony, we are to make (as it were) a ſauce to our ſpeech, not to lick them up and ſwallow them down alone by themſelves: for like as no man will reject and refuſe the pleaſure that commeth by wine, and viands taken for the neceſſity of our nouriture, and bringing therewith commodity of our health; but that which entreth by ſweet ſents and perfumes is not neceſſary, but ſuperfluous and delicate, *Socrates* ſent away (as it were) with a box of the ear; even ſo we ought not to hear the ſound of a flute or pſalterie, which ſtriketh and beareth upon our ears only, but if it follow or accompany our ſpeech, which doth feaſt and exhilarate the reaſon that is in our ſoul, we may well admit and receive the ſame. And verily, for mine own part, I think, that the reaſon why in old time *Apollo* puniſhed that preſumptuous *Marſias*, was this, that when he had cloſed up his mouth with his pipe and muzzle together, he preſumed to contend and ſtrive (having nothing but the bare ſound of the naked flute) againſt him, who together with the ſound of the harp, had the ſong alſo and muſick of the voice: let us therefore in this one thing eſpecially, beware and take heed, that in the company of thoſe men, who by their

ſpeech

speech and learned discourses are able to delight and pleasure one another, we bring not in any such thing to enter in at their ears, which may be an impeachment or hinderance rather to their delight, than a delectation it selfe: for not only they be fooliſh and ill adviſed, as *Euripides* ſaith:

Who having of their own at home
enough themſelves to ſave,
Will ſeeke elſe where, and from abroad,
their remedy to have.

but alſo, thoſe who being provided ſufficiently of means in themſelves, to make their recreations of, and to ſolace their hearts, labour nevertheleſs all that ever they can, to have their delights from others. For the magnificence of that great king of *Perſia*, wherewith he meant to entertain *Antalcides* the Lacedæmonian, ſeemed (I aſſure you) very groſſe, abſurd and impertinent, namely, when he dipped and wet a chaplet of roſes, ſaffron, and other odoriferous flowers, intermingled together, in a precious oile, and ſo ſent it unto him, doing injury by that means to the flowers, and utterly quenching and marring that native beauty and fragrant ſweetneſs of their own; ſemblably, no leſs abſurdity it were, when a feaſt hath mirth and muſick enough in it ſelfe, to go about for to enchant and encharme it with other miniſtrelſie from abroad, and ſo for a ſtrange and borrowed delight, to bereave the gueſts of their own and proper, and as one would ſay, change the principall for the acceſſory. I conclude therefore, that the fitteſt ſeaſon for ſuch amuſement and occupying of the ears is, when the feaſt beginneth a little to grow turbulent, and to fall into ſome contentious debate and braul, by heat of opinionative arguing, for to allay and quench all, that it break not out, to opprobrious tearms; or to expreſs a diſputation, which is like to paſs the bounds of reaſoning, and to grow unto an unpleaſant and ſophiſticall altercation; yea, and to ſtay all litigious wrangling and vehement invectives, beſeeming rather pleas at bar, or the orations in the publick hall of a city, untill ſuch time as the banquet be reduced into the former calme and tranquillity.

THE NINTH QUESTION.

That to conſult at the table, while men are drinking wine, was an ancient cuſtome among the Greeks as well as Perſians.

Nicoſtratus upon a time invited us to a ſupper; and when we were ſet, there aroſe ſome ſpeech as touching certain matters, upon which the Athenians were the morrow after to ſit in councill, and to debate in a generall aſſembly of the city: now, as one of our company caſt out this word, and ſaid: This is the Perſian faſhion, my maſters, thus to conſult and hold a councill at the board. And why Perſian rather than Grecian (quoth *Glaucias*?) for a Grecian I am ſure he was, that ſaid:

Γεραὸς ἀνὴρ πλείης, βουλὴ δ' ἠΐτις ἀμείνων.

That is to ſay,

From belly full, beſt counſell doth ariſe,
And ſureſt plots men in that caſe deviſe.

And Greeks they were, who under the conduct of *Agamemnon* held *Troy* beſieged; who as they were eating and drinking together,

The good old Neſtor *firſt began*
Wiſely upon the point to ſcan.

who alſo was himſelfe the author of this meeting, and adviſed the king to invite his nobles, and the principall captaines of the army to dinner, for to ſit in councill in theſe tearms:

Make now a feaſt, I you adviſe my lord,
And bid your ancient peeres; who when at board
They be all ſet; marke who gives counſell beſt,
Obey his reed, and ſee therein you reſt.

And therefore the moſt nations of *Greece* which were ruled under the beſt lawes, and moſt conſtantly retained their ancient ordinances and cuſtomes, laid the firſt foundation of their government and councill of State upon wine: for thoſe guilds and ſocieties in *Candy*, which they called *Andreia*, as alſo the *Phiditia* in *Sparta*, were inſtituted and held for privy councills and aſſemblies of ſenators; like unto that, if I be not deceived, which even in this city here of *Athens* goeth under the name of *Prytaneion*, and *Theſmotheſion*, and not far different from theſe, is that night-aſſembly of the principall perſonages, and moſt politick States-men, whereof *Plato* ſpeaketh in his books, unto which he referreth the cauſes and affaires of moſt importance, which require greateſt conſultation: thoſe councellers of State alſo in *Homer*:

Who offer wine to Mercury,
the laſt of others all,
What time, as now, bed-time it is,
and them to ſleep doth call.

do not they I pray join wine and words together? when they are about therefore to depart, and retire themſelves into their bed-chambers, the firſt thing that they do, is to make their prayers, and powre out their libations of wine, unto the wiſeſt God of all others, as if he were preſent with them. and their ſuperintendent to overſee them: but they who were indeed the moſt ancient of all others, called even *Bacchus* himſelfe* *Eubulus*, as if they had no need at all of *Mercury*, and in regard alſo of him, they attributed unto night the name of * *Emphrone*.

* εὐβουλὰς, that is, a wiſe and prudent counceller.
* ἐμφρονῆ, that is, inventive or conſiderate.

THE

THE TENTH QUESTION.

Whether they did well who ſat in conſultation at the table?

WHen *Glaucias* had ſpoken theſe words, we all thought that theſe turbulent and litigious debates had been well appeaſed and laid aſleep; but to the end that they might ſo much the rather die and be buried in oblivion: *Nicoſtratus* provided another queſtion and ſaid: At the firſt (quoth he) I made no great matter of this cuſtome, nor regarded it much, taking it to be a meer Perſian faſhion; but now ſeeing it is diſcovered to be an order alſo among the Greeks, requiſite and neceſſary it is to render ſome reaſon thereof, for to defend it againſt an evident abſurdity, which at the firſt ſight preſenteth it ſelfe; for that the diſcourſe of reaſon in manner of the eye, is hardly to be governed by us, and untoward for to be brought to perform her work in a great quantity of moiſture, and the ſame as yet ſtirring and waving: and beſides, all odious griefs, which on every ſide appear and come forth to wine, like as Snakes, Lizards, and ſuch like Serpents, are brought to light and ſhew themſelves to the ſun, cauſe the mind to be wavering, inconſtant, and irreſolute: as therefore a bed or pallet is better then a chair, for them that are diſpoſed to drink and make merry, for that it containeth the body at full, and exempteth it from all manner of motion: even ſo the beſt way is, to keep the ſoul quiet and in repoſe altogether; and if that may not be, to do by it as men do by children that can reſt and ſtand on no ground, but be evermore ſtirring; namely, to give unto it not a ſword or a javelin, but a rattle or a ball, like as *Bacchus* putteth into the hands of drunken folk the ferula ſtalk (a moſt light weapon and inſtrument either to offend or defend withal) to the end that as they be readieſt to ſtrike, ſo they might be leaſt able for to hurt: for the faults that bee committed in drunkenneſſe ought to paſſe lightly in mirth, and go away with laughter, and not to be lamentable tragical, and bringing with them great calamities. Moreover, that which is the chiefe and principal thing in conſultation of great affairs, to wit, that he who for want of wit and knowledge in the world, ſhould follow the opinion of thoſe who are of great conceit, deepe judgement, and long experience, this means Wine bereaved us of; inſomuch as it ſeemeth hereupon to have taken the name οἶνος in Greek; becauſe as *Plato* ſaith, it cauſeth them that drink it freely, *οἰήσεις, that is to ſay, to have a good conceit and weening of themſelves, as if they were very witty and wiſe: for however they take themſelves to be eloquent, fair, or rich, as ordinarily they do all of them; yet they eſteem better of their own wit and wiſedom, then of any thing elſe: and this is the reaſon that Wine is talkative and full of words; it filleth us with laviſh ſpeech, and the ſame unſeaſonable; yea, it maketh us to have a marvellous good opinion of our ſelves in each reſpect, as if we were worthy to command and preſcribe unto others, more meet to be heard then to heare, and fitter to lead and go before, then to follow and come after; But (quoth *Glaucias* then) an eaſie matter it is for any man to collect and alledge much tending unto this point, conſidering how evident and plaine the thing is: therefore it were good to hear a diſcourſe to the contrary, if haply any perſon, young or old, will ſtand up in defence of Wine. Then our brother, full cunningly and ſtiely, like a crafty Sophiſter: Why (quoth he) think you that any man is able ſo preſently and upon a ſudden to deviſe and ſpeak unto this queſtion in hand, all that may be ſaid probably thereto? And why (quoth *Nicoſtratus*) ſhould not I ſo think, conſidering ſo many learned men in place, and thoſe who love Wine well enough? at which word the other ſmiled and ſaid: Are you indeed ſufficient, even in your own conceit, to diſcourſe upon this point before us, and yet indiſpoſed, and altogether unable to conſider upon State matters, and affaires of Government, becauſe you have taken your Wine well? and is not this all one, as to think that hee who hath drunk freely, ſeeth well enough with his eyes, and howſoever he heareth not perfectly with his eares thoſe whom he ſpeaketh and talketh with, yet for all that he hath the perfect hearing of thoſe who either ſing or play upon the flute? for as it is likely, and ſtandeth to great reaſon, that good and profitable things ſhould affect and draw the outward ſenſes more unto them, than thoſe which are gaudy onely and fine; even ſo no doubt, ſuch matters make the mind alſo more intentive: and if a man for that he hath plied his drinking overmuch, cannot haply apprehend well the difficult ſubtilties of ſome high points in Philoſophy, I nothing marvel thereat; but if the queſtion be of matters and affairs of State, great likelihood there is, that if he becalled away thereto, he ſhould gather his wits more cloſe together, and be more vigorous; like as *Philip* King of *Macedonia*, who having played the fool, and made himſelfe ridiculous at *Chæronea*, after the battel there, both in word and deed, upon his liberal drinking, preſently as ſoon as he fell to treaty of Peace and Articles of agreement, he compoſed his countenance to gravity, knit his brows, and caſt behind him all vain fooleries, wanton geſtures and unſeemly behaviour, and ſo gave unto the Athenians a ſober, diſcreet and well adviſed anſwer. And verily one thing it is to drink well, and another thing to be ſtark drunk: ſuch as be ſo far gone and overſeen with drink, that they know not what they do or ſay, ought as wee think, to take their beds and ſleep; as for thoſe who have taken their Wine indeed too much and be ſcarce ſober (howbeit, otherwiſe men of wit and underſtanding) we ſhall never need to feare that they will faile in judgement, yea, and forget their experience, conſidering that we dayly ſee theſe Dancers, Singers, and Miniſtrels perform their parts no worſe at feaſts, for all their liberal drinking, than in the publick Theaters: for the skill and knowledge,

* VVine of weening.

whereof they have gotten the habit, is evermore ſo preſent and ready with them, that it maketh their bodies active and nimble; able to perform thoſe parts and functions directly, yea, and to anſwer the motions of the mind accordingly with confidence. Many there be alſo, in whoſe heads and hearts wine ſo worketh, that it putteth into them an aſſured boldneſſe and reſolution, which helpeth them much to the performance of any great actions, and the ſame is nothing inſolent and outragious, but mild and gracious. And thus we read of *Æſchylus* the Poet, that he endited and wrote his Tragedies when he was thoroughly ſet in an heat with wine; in ſuch ſort, as that they all were conceived by the influence of *Bacchus*, and not as *Gorgias* ſaith, that one of them, and namely, the greateſt (entituled, The ſeven Princes before *Thebes*) was begotten (as it were) by *Mars*. For wine being of power to embaſe the body and mind both, according as *Plato* ſaith, calleth the body to be perſpirable, quick and active, opening all the Pores and paſſages thereof, giving way unto the fantaſies and imaginations eaſily to run forth, drawing out together with them, the aſſurance of reaſon and boldneſſe of ſpeech: for you ſhall have men, whoſe invention naturally is good enough, in whom (when they be ſober and faſting) the ſame is cold, timorous, and in manner frozen; let them once be well plyed with wine, cup after cup, you ſhall ſee them evaporate and ſmoak out, like as frankincenſe doth by the heat of fire. Furthermore, the nature of wine, chaſeth away all fear, which is as contrary unto thoſe who ſit in conſultation, as any thing in the world: it quencheth alſo many other baſe and vile paſſions, ſuch as malice and rancour; it openeth the double plates and folds of the mind, diſplaying and diſcovering the whole diſpoſition and nature of a man, by his very words: yea, it hath a vertue to give frank and liberal ſpeech; and conſequently, audacity to utter the truth; without which, neither experience nor quickneſſe of wit availeth ought: for many there be who putting in practiſe, and making uſe of that which cometh quickly into their heads, ſpeed better, and have greater ſucceſſe, then thoſe who warily, cautelouſly, and with much ſubtilty, ſeem to conceale and keep in that which preſenteth it ſelfe unto them, and be very lateward in delivering their opinion: we are not therefore to fear wine in this regard, that it ſtirreth up the paſſions of the mind; for it inciteth not the worſt, unleſſe it be in the wickedeſt men, whoſe counſel is at no time ſober: but as *Theophraſtus* was wont to call Barbars-ſhops, dry banquets without wine; even ſo, there is a kind of wineleſſe drunkenneſſe, and the ſame, ſowre and unpleaſant, dwelling continually within the minds of men that be vicious and without good bringing up; troubled and vexed always with ſome anger, with grudg, malice, envy, emulation, contention, or illiberal baſeneſſe; of which vices, wine abating the edge of a great part, rather then ſharpning them, maketh men not ſottiſh fools, and blockiſh dolts, but ready and apt, and yet circumſpect, cautelous, and wary; not ſupine and negligent in matters concerning their profits; but yet induſtrious, and making choiſe of that which is good and honeſt: but ſuch as tearm wily-craftineſſe, by the name of fine wit, and take erroneous opinion and mechanical nigardiſe, for wiſedom may even as well, and with good reaſon ſay, that as many as when they be drinking at the table, ſpeak their minds roundly, and utter with liberty what they think, be ſenſeleſſe fools: but contrariwiſe, our ancients called *Bacchus*, ἐλευθέριος and λύσιον which is as much to ſay, as Deliverer and Freer; being of opinion, that there was to be aſcribed unto him, a great part of divination, not for that he was furious, raging and mad, as *Euripides* ſaid, but becauſe he delivered the minde, and freeth it from all ſervile fear, diffidence and cowardiſe, giving us freedom and liberty to ſpeak the truth, and uſe frankneſſe of ſpeech one to another.

The Eighth Book

Of Sympoſiaques, or Table-Diſcourſes.

The Summary.

1. *Of thoſe days, upon which were born certain notable and famous perſons; and withal, as touching that progeny which is ſaid to deſcend from the gods.*
2. *In what ſenſe* Plato *ſaid, that God always exerciſeth Geometry.*
3. *What is the reaſon that ſounds be more audible in the night, then in the day.*
4. *What is the cauſe that of the ſacred games, ſome have this garland, and others that, but all, the Date tree branch: as alſo, why the great Dates be call'd* Nicolai.
5. *Wherefore they that ſail upon the river* Nilus, *draw up water for their uſe before it be day.*
6. *Of thoſe that come late to ſupper: and therewith, whereupon came theſe names of refections,* ἀκράτισμα, δεῖπνον, *and* ἕσπερον.
7. *Of certain Pythagorean precepts, by which forbidden we are to entertain ſwallows within our houſes: and when we are newly riſen out of our beds, bidden to ruffle the cloaths.*
8. *What might be the motive that induced the Pythagoreans among all other living creatures, to abſtain moſt from fiſh.*
9. *Whether it be poſſible, that by our meats there ſhould be engendred new diſeaſes.*
10. *What is the cauſe that we take leaſt heed of our dreams in Autumn.*

The

The Eighth Book

Of Sympoſiaques, or Table-Diſcourſes.

The Proëme.

THey that chaſe Philoſophy out of feaſts and banquets (O *Soſſius Seneccio*) do not the ſame, but worſe far, then thoſe who take away the light from thence; for that when the lamp is gone, ſuch perſons as be made temperate and well diſpoſed, will be nothing the worſe therefore, making as they do, more account of a reverent regard, then of the mutual ſight one of another: whereas, if rudeneſſe, ignorance and leudneſſe be joined with wine, the very golden lamp of *Minerva*, if it were there, could not poſſibly make the feaſt or banquet lovely, gracious, modeſt, and well ordered: for that men ſhould feed and fill themſelves together in ſilence, without a word ſaying, were the faſhion that ſavoured very much of ſtill ſwine at their draff, and perhaps a thing impoſſible: but whoſoever reſerveth ſpeech in a feaſt, and withal, admitteth not the wiſe and profitable uſe thereof, is more worthy to be laughed at, then he who thinketh verily, that gueſts ſhould be ever eating and drinking at a ſupper, but filleth not unto them, wine undelayed, unſeaſoned, and which is meer of it ſelfe: or ſetting before them viands unſeaſoned, without ſalt or ſauce, and the ſame not cleanly dreſſed: for that there is no meat or drink ſo unſavory, unpleaſant and hurtful, for want of good and orderly handling, as words carried unſeemly, and without diſcretion, at a banquet: which is the reaſon, that Philoſophers when they reprove drunkenneſſe, call it a doting by wine: and ſurely this dotage is no other thing, but raving, or vaine, fooliſh and undiſcreet uſing of words: now when diſordinate babling and fooliſh talk, meereth once with wine in a banquet, it cannot chuſe but the iſſue thereof will be reproachful contumely, inſolency, brainſick folly and villany, which of all others, is a moſt unpleaſant end, and fartheſt from all Muſes and Graces: and therefore it is no fooliſh ceremony and abſurd faſhion, which the women in our country obſerve at their feaſts called *Agronia*, where they make ſemblance for a while, as if they ſought for *Bacchus*, being fled out of the way, but afterwards give over ſeeking, and ſay that he is gone away; and run to the Muſes, and there lurketh, and lieth hidden among them: and anon, when ſupper is ended, they uſe to put forth dark riddles, and propoſe queſtions one to another, hard to be ſolved; the myſtery whereof, teacheth us thus much, that both we, ought at the table, to uſe ſuch ſpeech as doth contain ſome good learned ſpeculation and erudition: and alſo, that when thoſe diſcourſes are joined with wine and drunkenneſſe, then they be the Muſes who hide and cover all furious outrage and enormity, which alſo is willing to be detained and kept by them.

THE FIRST QUESTION.

As touching thoſe days which are ennobled by the nativity of ſome renowned perſons: and withal of that progeny or race which is ſaid to be derived from the gods.

THis book then, which is the eighth in order of our Sympoſiaques or Diſcourſes at the Table, ſhall contain in the firſt place, that which not long ſince we chanced to hear and ſpeak, that day whereon we celebrate the feaſt of *Plato*es nativity: for having ſolemnized the birth day of *Socrates* upon the ſixth of February: the morrow after, which was the ſeventh of that month, we did the like by *Plato*: which gave us occaſion, and miniſtred matter firſt to enter into a diſcourſe fitting the occurrence of theſe two nativities: in which *Diogenianus* the Pergamian, began firſt in this manner: *Ion* the Poet (quoth he) ſaid not amiſſe of fortune, that being as ſhe was, different from wiſedome in many things, yet ſhe brought forth effects not a few like unto her: and as for this, it ſeemeth that ſhe hath cauſed it to fall out very well and fitly, and not without ſome skill, (raſh though ſhe be otherwiſe) not only for that theſe two birth days jump ſo neer one unto the other, but alſo becauſe, that of the maſter who was of the twain more ancient, commeth alſo in order before the other. Whereupon it came into my head alſo to alledge many examples of occurrents happening likewiſe at one and the ſame time: and namely, as touching the birth and death of *Euripides*, who was born that very day whereon the Greeks fought the naval battel of *Salamis* at ſea with the King of *Perſia*: and whoſe fortune it was to die the ſame day that *Denys* the elder Tyrant of *Sicily* was born: as if fortune of purpoſe (as *Timæus* ſaith) had taken out of the world a Poet, who repreſented Tragical calamities, the very ſame day that ſhe brought into the world the Actor thereof. Mention alſo was made of the death of King *Alexander* the Great, which fell out juſt upon the ſame day that *Diogenes* the Cynick Philoſopher departed this life: and by one general voice accorded it was, that King *Attalus* left his life, the very day that he celebrated the memorial of his nativity: and ſome there were who ſaid, that *Pompey* the Great died in *Egypt* the ſame day of the year that he was born: though others affirmed that it was one day ſooner: ſemblably, there came into our remembrance at the ſame time *Pindarus*, who being born during the ſolemnity of the Pythick games, compoſed afterwards many hymns in the honour of that god, for whom thoſe games were ſolemnized: then *Florus* ſaid, that *Carneades* was not unworthy to be remembred upon the day of *Plato*'s nativity, conſidering he was one of the moſt famous pillars that ſupported the School of Academy: and

both of them were born at the feſtival times of *Apollo*; the one in *Athens*, what time as the feaſt *Thargelia* was holden; and the other, that very day when as the Cyrenians ſolemnized it, which they call *Carnea*; and both of them fell out juſt upon the ſeventh day of February; on which day you my maſters, who are the Prophets and Prieſts of *Apollo*, do ſay that himſelfe was born, and therefore you call him *Hebdomagenes*: neither do I think, that they who attribute unto this God, the fatherhood of *Plato* do him any diſhonour, in that he hath begotten and provided for us a Phyſitian, who by the means of the doctrine of *Socrates*, even another *Chiron*, cureth and healeth the greater infirmities and more grievous maladies of the ſoul. Moreover, it was not forgotten, how it was held for certain, that *Apollo* appeared in a viſion by night, unto *Ariſton* the Father of *Plato*, and a voice beſides was heard, forbidding him expreſſly not to lie with his Wife, nor to touch her for the ſpace of ten months. Hereupon *Tyndares* the Lacedæmonian ſeconded theſe words, and ſaid, that by good right we were to ſing and ſay thus of *Plato*:

He ſeemed not the ſon of mortal wight;
Some god for ſire, he may avouch by right.

Howbeit, for my part, I am afraid, that to beget repugneth no leſſe with the immortality of the Deity, then to be begotten: for ſurely, even the act of generation, implyeth alſo a mutation and paſſion: and King *Alexander* the Great ſignified no leſſe one time, when he ſaid, that he knew himſelfe principally to be mortal and ſubject to corruption, by having company with a woman, and by his ſleep: for that ſleep is occaſioned by a relaxation proceeding from feebleneſs, and as for all generation, performed it is by the paſſage of ſome portion of ones ſelfe into another: and ſo much therefore is loſt and gone from the principal: and yet on the other ſide, I take heart again, and am confirmed, when I hear *Plato* himſelfe to call the eternal God, who never was born nor begotten, Father and Creator of the World, and other things generable; not that God doth engender after the manner of men, by the means of natural ſeed; but by another power doth ingenerate and infuſe into matter, a vertue generative, and a principle, which altereth, moveth and tranſmuteth the ſame:

For even by winds that female birds inſpire,
Conceiv'd they be, when they to breed deſire.

Neither do I think it any abſurdity, that a god companying with a woman, not as man, but after another ſort of touching and contractation, and by other means, altereth and repleniſheth her, being a mortal creature, with divine and heavenly ſeed: And this is (quoth he) no invention of mine: for the Egyptians hold that their *Apis* is in that manner engendred by the light of the Moon, ſtriking upon his dam, whereby ſhe is conceived; and generally they admit thus much, that a god of the male ſex, may deale with a mortal woman: but contrariwiſe, they think not that a mortal man is able to give unto any goddeſſe the beginning of conception or birth; for they are of opinion, that the ſubſtance of theſe goddeſſes, conſiſteth in a certain air, and ſpirits, yea, and in certain heats and humours.

THE SECOND QUESTION.

How Plato *is to be underſtood, when he ſaith: That God continually is exerciſed in Geometry.*

After theſe words, there enſued ſome ſilence for a while: and then *Diogenianus* beginning again to ſpeak: How think you Maſters (quoth he) are you contented and well pleaſed, conſidering that we have had ſome ſpeech already of the gods, and that on the day wherein we ſolemnize the nativity of *Plato*, that we make him partaker alſo of our conference, and take occaſion thereby, to conſider upon what intention and in what ſenſe he hath ſaid, that God continually practiſeth this ſentence: Then ſaid I: Written it is not in any place of all his books: howbeit, held to be a ſaying of his, and it ſavoureth much of his ſtile and manner of phraſe. Whereupon *Tyndares* immediately taking the words out of his mouth; Think you (quoth he) O *Diogenianus*, that this ſentence covertly and in myſtical tearms, ſignifieth any dark ſubtilty, and not the very ſame, which *Plato* himſelfe hath both ſaid and written in praiſing and magnifying Geometry, as being the thing which plucketh thoſe away who are faſtened unto ſenſible objects, and averteth them to the conſideration of ſuch natures, as be intelligible and eternal: the contemplation whereof is the very end of Philoſophy, even as the view and beholding of ſecret ſacred things, is the end of Religious Myſteries: for the nail of pleaſure and pain, which faſteneth the ſoul unto the body, among other miſchiefes that it doth unto man, worketh him this diſpleaſure as it ſhou'd ſeem above all, that it cauſeth ſenſible things to be more evident unto him, then intellectual, and forceth his underſtanding to judge by paſſion more then by reaſon: for being accuſtomed by the ſenſe and feeling of extream pain, or exceeding pleaſure of the body, to be intentive unto that wandering, uncertaine, and mutable nature of the body, as ſeeming a thing ſubſiſtent, blinded hee is, and loſeth altogether the knowledge of that which is eſſential indeed, and hath a true being, foregoing that light and inſtrument of the ſoule, which is better then ten thouſand bodily eyes, and by which organ alone, he might ſee the Deity and Divine Nature: for ſo it is, that in all other Sciences which we name Mathematical, as in ſo many mirrors, not twining and warping, but plain, ſmooth, and even, there appear the very tracts, prints, and images of the truth of things intelligible: But Geometry eſpecially which *Philo* calleth the mother City, and miſtreſſe commanding all the reſt, doth divert and gently withdraw by little and little, the mind purified and cleanſed from the cogitation of ſenſual things: and this is the reaſon that *Plato* himſelfe reproved *Eudoxus*, *Architas*, and *Menechmus*, who went about to reduce the duplication of the cube or ſolid ſquare by mechanical inſtruments, and artificial engins, as if it had not been poſſible (if a man would ſet unto it) by demonſtration of reaſon to find out and comprehend, two middle lines proportionall; for he objected unto them: That this was as much as to deſtroy and overthrow the beſt thing in Geometry, when by this meanes they would have her turne back again unto ſenſible things, and keep her from mounting up aloft, and embracing thoſe eternal and incorporal images: upon which God being continually intentive, is therefore always God.

After *Tyndares*, *Florus* a familiar friend of his, and one who made ſemblant always by way of ſport and gave it out in word, that he was amorous of him: Well done of you (quoth he) in that you would not have this ſpeech to be your own, but a common ſaying of every man, and you would ſeem to argue and prove, that *Plato* ſheweth how Geometry is not neceſſary for the gods, but for men: for God hath no need of Mathematical Science, as an engine or inſtrument to turn him from things ingendered, and to bring about and direct his intelligence and underſtanding unto thoſe that be of an eternal eſſence: For why? In him, with him, and about him they be all: but take heed rather, and ſee whether *Plato* hath not covertly under theſe dark words liſped and ſignified ſomewhat that is pertinent and proper unto you, which you have not marked nor obſerved, in that he joineth *Lycurgus* with *Socrates*, no leſſe then *Pythagoras*, as *Dicæarchus* was of opinion; for *Lycurgus* as you know very well, chaſed out of *Lacedæmon*, arithmetical proportion as a popular thing, turbulent and apt to make commotions; but he brought in the Geometrical, as befitting the civil and modeſt government of ſome few wiſe Sages, and a lawful royalty and regal dominion: for the former giveth equally unto all according to number; but the other unto every one, by reaſon, and with regard of deſert and worthineſſe; this proportion (I ſay) maketh no confuſion of all together, but in it there is an apparent diſcretion and diſtinction between the good and the bad, dealing always unto every one their own, not by the ballance or lot, but according to the difference of vice and vertue: God therefore uſeth this proportion, and applieth it unto things: and the ſame it is (my good friend *Tyndares*) which is called *Dice* and *Nemeſis*; teaching us thereby, that we ought to make of juſtice, equality, and not of equality, juſtice; for the equality which the common ſort ſeeketh after, and is indeed the greateſt injuſtice that may be, God taketh out of the world, and as much as poſſibly may be, obſerveth that which is fit and meet for every one according to deſert and worthineſſe, going herein Geometrically to work, by reaſon and law defining and diſtributing accordingly.

When we had praiſed this expoſition and interpretation of his, *Tyndares* ſaid: That he envied ſuch commendation, exhorting *Autobulus* ſet againſt *Florus*, to confute him, and correct that which he had delivered. That he refuſed to do; howbeit, he oppoſed and brought forth a certain opinion and conceit of his own: Thus it is (quoth he) Geometry is not a ſpeculative skill of mens manners and behaviour, nor yet occupied about any ſubject matter whatſoever, but the Symptomes, accidents, and paſſions of thoſe extremities or terms which accompliſh bodies: neither hath God by any other means framed and made the world, but only by determining or making finite that matter which was infinite in it ſelfe, not in regard of quantity, greatneſſe, and multitude; but for that being as it was, inconſtant, wandering, diſorderly, and unperfect, our ancients were wont to call it infinite, that is to ſay, undetermined and unfiniſhed: for the form and figure is the term or end of every thing that is formed and ſhapen: the want whereof made it of it ſelfe to be ſhapeleſſe and diſfigured: but after that numbers and proportion come to be imprinted upon the rude and formleſſe matter, then being tyed and bound (as it were) firſt with lines, and after lines, which ſuperficies and profundities, it brought forth the firſt kindes and differences of bodies, as the foundation and ground-work for the generation of air, earth, water and fire: for impoſſible it had been, and abſurd, that of matter ſo wandering, ſo errant, and diſorderly, there ſhou'd ariſe equalities of ſides, and ſimilitudes of Angles, in thoſe ſolid ſquare bodies, which were called *Octaedra* and *Eicoſaedra*, that is to ſay, with eight and twenty baſes: likewiſe in pyramidals and cubes, unleſſe there had been ſome workman to limit, ordain, and diſpoſe every thing Geometrically; thus a limit or term being given unto that which was infinite; all things this univerſal world, compoſed, ordered, and contempered accordingly in excellent manner, were firſt and made, and are made now every day: notwithſtanding the ſaid matter ſtriveth and laboureth daily to return unto her infinite eſtate, as very loth and refuſing to be thus geometrized, that is to ſay, reduced to ſome finite and determinate limits; whereas reaſon on the contrary ſide, reſtraineth and comprehendeth her; diſtributing her into divers Ideaes, from which all things which are ingendered, take their generation and conſtitution.

He had no ſooner thus ſaid, but he requeſted me to contribute ſomewhat alſo of mine own unto this diſcourſe and queſtion in hand: but I for my part, commended highly their opinions, thus delivered, as being naturally and directly deviſed by themſelves and their own proper inventions, ſaying withal: That they carried with them ſufficient probability; But for that (quoth I) you ſhould not be diſpleaſed and offended with your ſelves, nor altogether have your eye abroad and look unto others,

others, liſten and hear what meaning and interpretation of the ſaid ſentence, was moſt approved unto our maſters and teachers: for there is among the propoſitions, or poſitions rather, and Theorems Geometrical, one above the reſt, to wit, When two forms or figures are given and put down, to ſet a third thereto, equal to the one, and ſemblable to the other; for the invention whereof, it is ſaid, that *Pythagoras* ſacrificed unto the gods: for this *Theoreme* without all doubt is more gallant, witty, and learned, than that, by which he did demonſtrate, and prove that the ſlope line *Hypotinuſa*, availeth as much as the two laterales, which make a right angle in a triangle: Well ſaid of you (quoth *Diogenianus*) but what ſerveth this for the matter now in queſtion? You ſhall underſtand ſoon (quoth I) in caſe you will call to memory that diviſion in *Timæus*, whereas the Philoſopher made a tripartite diſtribution of thoſe principles, whereby the world had the beginning of generation; of which, the one he called by a moſt juſt name, God: the ſecond Matter: and the third Form or Idea: So the matter of all ſubject things is moſt diſordinate: the Idea of all mouldes and patterns moſt beautiful: but God of all cauſes ſimply the beſt: Thus would not he admit, or leave any thing, as far forth as poſſibly might otherwiſe be, infinite and undeterminate: but adorn nature with proportion, meaſure, and number, making of all ſubjects one thing, in quantity equal to the matter, and in quality ſemblable to the form. Setting therefore before him this propoſition, having already twain, a third to it he made, which he doth make and preſerve for ever, equal to the matter, and ſemblable to the form, to wit, the world: which being always in regard of that inbred neceſſity of a body, ſubject to generation, alteration, and all kinds of paſſion, is aided and ſuccoured by the Creator and father thereof, who determineth the ſubſtance by reaſon of juſt proportion, according to the image of the patron, whereby the pourpriſe and circuit of this univerſal world is more beautiful, being thus vaſt and great, then if it had been leſſe and competent.

THE THIRD QUESTION.

What is the reaſon that the night is more reſonant or roſounding then the day?

AS we ſat at ſupper one evening in *Athens* with *Ammonius*, we heard a great tumult and noiſe which rang all the houſe over, of people in the ſtreet without, crying aloud; Captain, Captain: now was *Ammonius* then the third time Prætor or Captain of the City: He ſent forth immediately ſome of his men about him, to ſee what the matter was: who preſently appeaſed the hurry, and diſmiſſed thoſe who had raiſed this outcry: upon which occaſion we in the mean while entred into queſtion: Why thoſe who are within houſe hear them very well that cry without; but they that are abroad hear not ſo eaſily thoſe within, crying as loud? *Ammonius* incontinently made anſwer and ſaid, that this queſtion had already been ſolved by *Ariſtotle* in this wiſe: For that the voice of thoſe within being once gotten forth and flown into a wide place of much air, vaniſheth away, and is diſſipated immediately: whereas the voice of them without, when it is entred in, doth not the like, but is retained and kept cloſe, and ſo by conſequence more eaſie to be heard: But there is another thing (quoth he) which requireth rather to have a reaſon rendered thereof, namely: Why in the night ſeaſon all voices do reſound greater then in the day time, and beſides the greatneſſe, are more clear, diſtinct, articulate, and audible? For mine own part (quoth he) I am of this minde, that the divine providence hath in great wiſedome ordained, that our hearing ſhould be more freſh and quick, when as our ſight ſerveth us in little or no ſtead at all; for ſeeing that the air of the night which according to *Empedocles*,

Wandereth alone, and ſolitary,
And doth blinde eyes about her carry.

is obſcure and dark, look how much defect it maketh in our ſight, ſo much it ſupplieth and requireth in our eares: but for that of things alſo which neceſſarily are done by nature, the cauſes ought to be ſought out, and the proper and peculiar office of a Philoſopher and Naturaliſt, is to buſie himſelfe in ſeeking after the material cauſes, and inſtrumental principles; which of all you will firſt come forth with ſome probable reaſon, as touching this matter? whereupon there being ſome pauſe and ſilence for a time, *Boethus* ſaid thus: When I was my ſelfe a young man, and a ſtudent, I made uſe otherwhiles of thoſe principles which are in Geometry, called Poſitions: and certain propoſitions I ſuppoſed as undoubted truths, without any need of demonſtration: but now will I uſe ſome of thoſe which heretofore have been proved by *Epicurus*, as for example: Thoſe things which be, are carried in that which is not, nor hath any being; for much vacuity or voidneſſe there is ſtored as it were, and intermingled among thoſe Atomes or indiviſible little bodies of the aire, which when it is ſpread abroad in ſpacious capacity, and by reaſon of the rarity and thinneſſe thereof, runneth to and fro round about: there be a number of ſmall, void, and empty places, among thoſe little motes or parcels ſcattered here and there, and taking up the whole region: but contrariwiſe, when they are pent in, and a reſtraint and compreſſion made of them, being thruſt together into a little ſpace: theſe ſmall bodies being hudled perforce one upon another, leave a large void ſpace, to vague and range abroad: and this doth the night by reaſon of cold; for heat doth looſen, diſgregare, ſcatter and diſſolve all thick things, which is the reaſon why thoſe bodies which either boil, thaw, or melt, occupie more room: contrariwiſe, ſuch which gather, congeale, and be frozen, come together cloſe, and be united, leaving an empty place in thoſe veſſels wherein they were contained, and from which they be retired: The voice therefore comming among, and lighting upon many of theſe bodies thus ſcattered & diſperſed thick every where, either is drowned altogether at once or diſgregated and broken as it were in pieces, or elſe meeteth with many impeachments to withſtand and ſtay it: but where there is a ſpace void, and wherein there is not a bodie, it having a free and full courſe, and the ſame not interrupted, but plain and continued, cometh ſo much the ſooner unto the ear, and together with that ſwiftneſſe retaineth, ſtill the articulate expreſſe, and diſtinct ſound of every word in ſpeech: for you ſee how empty veſſels, if a man knock upon them, anſwer better to every ſtroak, and carry the ſound and noiſe a great way off; yea, and many times they yeeld a ſound that goeth round about, and continueth a good while, redoubling the noiſe; whereas let a veſſel be filled either with ſolid bodies, or elſe with ſome liquor it is altogether deaf and dumb, if I may ſo ſay, and yeeldeth no ſound again; for that it hath no place nor way to paſſe thorow. Now among ſolid bodies, gold and ſtone, becauſe they be full and maſſie, have a very ſmall and feeble ſound, that will be heard any way, and that little which they do render, is ſoon gone; contrariwiſe, braſſe is very vocal, reſonant, (and as one would ſay) a blab of the tongue: for that it hath much emptineſſe in it, and the ſubſtance or maſſe thereof, is light and thin, not compact of many bodies, hudled together, and thruſt one upon another; but hath foiſon and plenty of that ſubſtance mingled together, which is ſoft, yeelding, and not reſiſting the touch or the ſtroak, which affordeth eaſineſſe unto other motions, and ſo entertaining the voice gently and willingly, ſendeth it until it meet ſomething in the way which ſtoppeth the mouth; for then it ſtayeth and ceaſeth to pierce any farther, becauſe of the ſtoppage that it findeth. And this is it (quoth he, in mine opinion) that cauſeth the night to be more reſonant, and the day leſſe; for that the heat in day time which diſſolveth the air, cauſeth the intervales between the Atomes or Motes aboveſaid, to be the ſmaller: this only I would requeſt, that no man here do oppoſe himſelf to contradict the premiſes and fitſt ſuppoſitions of mine. Now when as *Ammonius* willed me to ſay ſomewhat, and reply againſt him: As touching your formoſt ſuppoſals, friend *Boethus* (quoth I) about the great emptineſſe, let them ſtand, ſince you will have it ſo: but whereas you have ſet down, that the ſaid emptineſſe maketh much for the motion and eaſie paſſage of the voice, I like not well of that ſuppoſition; for ſurely, this quality not to be touched, ſmitten, or made to ſuffer, is rather proper unto ſilence and ſtill taciturnity: whereas the voice is the ſtriking and beating upon a ſounding body; and a ſounding body is that which accordeth and correſpondeth to it ſelfe, moveable, light, uniform, ſimple, and pliable, like as is our air: for water, earth and fire, be of themſelves dumb and ſpeechleſſe: but they ſound and ſpeak all of them, when any ſpirit or air is gotten in, then (I ſay) they make a noiſe: as for braſſe, there is no voidneſſe within it: but for that mixed it is with an united and equal ſpirit, therefore it anſwereth again to claps and knocks, and therewithal reſoundeth: and if we may conjecture by that which our eye ſeeth and judgeth, iron ſeemeth to be ſpongeous, and as it were worm-eaten within, full of holes, and hollowed in manner of honey-combs: howbeit, a metrall it is of all other, that hath the worſt voice, and is moſt mute: there was no need therefore to trouble the night ſo much in reſtraining, compreſſing, and driving in the air thereof ſo cloſe of the one ſide, and leaving ſo many places and ſpaces void on the other ſide: as if the air impeached the voice, and corrupted the ſubſtance thereof, conſidering it ſelfe is the very ſubſtance, form and puiſſance of it: over and beſides, it ſhould follow thereupon, that unequal nights, namely thoſe that be foggy and miſty, or exceeding cold, were more reſonant then thoſe that be fair and clear; for that in ſuch nights, thoſe Atomes are clunged cloſe together, and look where they come, they leave a place void of bodies: moreover, (that which is eaſie and evident to be ſeen) the cold Winter night ought by this reckoning to be more vocal and ſuller of noiſe, then the hot Summers night; whereof neither the one nor the other is true: and therefore (letting this reaſon, ſuch as it is, go by) I will produce *Anaxagoras*, who ſaith: That the ſun cauſeth the air to move and ſtir after a certain trembling motion, as if it did beat and pant; as it may appear by thoſe little motes and ſhavings (as it were) in manner of duſt, which flutter and fly up and down thorow thoſe holes; whereas the ſun-ſhine paſſeth, ſuch as ſome Greeks call τίλας: which (ſaith he) chirming (as it were) and making a humming in the day time, cauſe by their noiſe, any other voice or ſound not ſo eaſie to be heard; but in the night ſeaſon, as their motion ceaſeth, ſo conſequently their noiſe alſo is gone.

After I had thus ſaid, *Ammonius* began in this wiſe: We may be deemed haply ridiculous (quoth he) to think that we can refute *Democritus*, or to go about for to correct *Anaxagoras*? howbeit, we muſt of neceſſity take from theſe little bodies of *Anaxagoras* his deviſing, this chirming noiſe beforeſaid, which is neither like to be ſo, nor any wayes neceſſary: ſufficient it will be to admit the trembling motion and ſtirring of them, dancing as they do in the ſame light, and by that means diſgregating and breaking the voice many times, ſcatter it to and fro: for the air (as hath been ſaid already) being the very body and ſubſtance of the voice, if it be quiet and ſetled, giveth a direct, united and continued way unto the ſmall parcels and movings of the voice, to paſſe along a great way: for calm weather and the tranquillity of the air, is reſonant, whereas contrariwiſe, tempeſtuous weather is dumb and mute: according to which, *Simonides* hath thus written:

For then, no blaſts of wind aroſe on high,
Shaking tree-leaves; that men need once to fear
Leſt they might break ſweet ſongs and melody,
Stopping the ſound from paſſage to their ear.

For

For oftentimes the agitation of the aire, permitteth not the full, expreſſe and articulate form of the voice, to reach into the ſenſe of hearing; howbeit, ſomewhat it carrieth always thorough from it, if the ſame be multiplied much and forced aloud: as for the night, in it ſelfe it hath nothing to ſtir and trouble the air; whereas the day hath one great cauſe thereof, to wit, the Sun, as *Anaxagoras* himſelfe hath ſaid.

Then *Thraſyllus* the ſon of *Ammonius*, taking his turn to ſpeak: What ſhould we mean by this I pray you in the name of *Jupiter* (quoth he) to attribute this cauſe unto an inviſible motion of the aire; and leave the agitation, toſſing and diviſion thereof, which is ſo manifeſt and evident to our eyes? for this great ruler and commander in the heaven, *Jupiter*, doth not after an imperceptible manner, nor by little and little, ſtir the ſmalleſt parcels of the air, but all at once, ſo ſoon as he ſheweth his face, exciteth and moveth all things in the world,

Giving forthwith a ſignal in ſuch wiſe,
As men thereby unto their works may riſe.

which they no ſooner ſee, but they obey and follow; as if together with the new day they were regenerate again, and entred into another manner of life, as *Democritus* ſaith; ſetting themſelves unto their buſineſſe and affairs, not without ſome noiſe and effectual cries: in which ſenſe *Ibycus* called not impertinently the morning, or dawning of the day *Clytus*, for that now we begin κλυεῖν, that is to ſay, to hear others, yea, and to ſpeak aloud our ſelves: whereas the air of the night being for the moſt part calm and ſtill, without any waves and billows, for that every thing is at reſt and repoſe, by all likelihood conveigheth the voice entire and whole unto us, not broken nor diminiſhed one jot. At theſe words, *Ariſtodemus* of *Cypres*, who was one of our company: But take heed *Thraſyllus*, (quoth he) that this which you ſay be not convinced and refuted by the battels and marches of great Armies in the night ſeaſon, for that upon ſuch an occaſion the noiſe and outcries be no leſſe reſounding and clear, how troubled and waving ſoever the air be, then otherwiſe; and peradventure there is ſome cauſe thereof, proceeding alſo from our ſelves; for the moſt part of that which wee ſpeak in the night ſeaſon, is of this nature, that either we command ſome body after a turbulent manner, as if a paſſion urged us thereto, or if we demand or ask ought, we cry as loud as we can; for that the thing which weakeneth and maketh us to riſe at ſuch a time (when as we ſhould ſleep and take our repoſe) for to ſpeak or do any thing, is no ſmall matter or peaceable, but great and important, haſting us for the urgent neceſſity thereof unto our buſineſſe, in ſuch ſort, that our words and voices which then we utter, go from us in greater force and vehemency.

THE TENTH QUESTION.

How it came to paſſe, that of the ſacred games of prize ſome uſe one manner of chaplet, and ſome another, yet all have the branch of the Date tree? Alſo why the great Dates be called Nicolai.

During the ſolemnity of the Iſthmick games, at what time as *Soſpis* was the Judge and Director thereof now the ſe. ond time: other feaſts of his I avoided; namely, when as he invited one while many ſtrangers together; and otherwhiles a number of none elſe but Citizens, and thoſe one with another: but one time above the reſt, when as he feaſted thoſe only who were his greateſt friends, and all men of learning, I my ſelfe alſo was a bidden gueſt, and preſent among them; now by that time that the firſt ſervice at the table was taken away, there came one unto the profeſſed Orator and Rhetorician *Herodes*, who brought unto him from a Scholar and familiar of his, who had won the prize, for an encomiaſtical or laudatory Oration that he had made, a branch of the Date tree, together with a pleated and broided Coronet of flowers: which when he had courteouſly received, he returned them back to him again, ſaying withal: that he marvelled why ſome of theſe ſacred games had for their prize this Crown, and others that, but generally all, a branch of Date tree: For mine own part (quoth he) I cannot perſwade my ſelfe that this ariſeth upon that cauſe which ſome alledge: namely, the equality and uniformity of the leaves, ſpringing and growing out as they do, alwayes even and orderly, one juſt againſt another directly, wherein they ſeem to contend and ſtrive a vie, reſembling thereby a kind of combat: and that victory it ſelfe took the name in Greek Νικῆ, as it were μὴ ἔχειν, that is to ſay, not yeelding nor giving place: for there be many other plants which as it were by weight and meaſure, diſtribute nouriſhment equally unto their boughs and branches growing oppoſite in that manner, and herein obſerve exactly a wonderful order and equality: but in my conceit, more probability and appearance of reaſon they alledge, who imagine and ſuppoſe, that our ancients made choice of this tree, becauſe they took a love to the beauty, talneſſe, and ſtrait growing thereof; and namely *Homer*, who compareth the beauty of *Nauſica*: the Phæocian Queen, unto the plant or ſtem of a fair Date tree: for this you all know very well, that in old time they were wont always to caſt upon thoſe victorious champions who had won the prize. Roſes, and Roſe champion flowers: yea, and ſome otherwhiles Apples and Pomegranates, thinking by this means to recompence and honour them: but there is nothing elſe ſo much in the Date tree, to commend it ſo evidently above other trees: for in all *Greece* fruit it beareth none that is good to be eaten, as being unperfect and not ripe enough: and if it bare here as it doth in *Syria* and *Egypt*, the Date, which of all fruits for the lovely contentment of the eye, is of all ſights moſt delightſome, and for the ſweetneſſe of taſte, of all banqueting diſhes moſt pleaſant, there

there were not a tree in the world comparable unto it: and verily the great Monarch and Emperor *Auguſtus* by report, for that he loved ſingularly well, one *Nicholaus* a Philoſopher Peripatetick, in regaad that he was of gentle nature and ſweet behaviour, tall and ſlender withal of ſtature, and beſides of a ruddy and purple colour in his viſage, called the faireſt and greateſt Dates, after his name, *Nicholai*, and to this day they bear that denomination.

In this diſcourſe, *Herodes* pleaſed the company no leſſe with the mention of *Nicholaus* the Philoſopher, than he did with that which he had ſpoken to the queſtion: And therefore (quoth *Soſpis*) ſo much the rather ought we every one to deviſe for to conferre unto this queſtion propounded, whatſoever he is perſwaded concerning it: Then I for my part firſt, brought forth mine opinion as touching the ſuperiority of this Date tree at the ſacred games, becauſe the glory of victors and conquerors, ought to endure and continue incorruptible, and as much as poſſibly may be not age and wax old: for the Date tree liveth as long as any plant whatſoever that is longeſt lived: and this is teſtified by theſe verſes of *Orpheus*:

Living as long as plants of Date trees tall,
Which in the head be green and ſpread withall.

And this is the only tree in manner, which hath that property indeed, which is reported though not ſo truely, of many others: And what is that? namely, to carry the leaves firm and faſt, ſo as they never fall off, for we do not ſee, that either the Laurel or Olive tree, nor the Myrtle, nor any other trees which are ſaid to ſhed no leaſe, keep always the ſame leaves ſtill: but as the firſt fall, others put forth, and by this means they continue always freſh and green, living evermore as Cities and great Towns do; whereas the Date tree never loſeth any of thoſe leaves which once came forth, but continueth ſtill clad with the ſame leaves; and this is that vigor as I take it which men dedicate appropriate eſpecially to the force or ſtrength of victory.

When *Soſpis* had made an end of this ſpeech, *Protogenes* the Grammarian calling by name unto *Praxiteles*, the Diſcourſer and Hiſtorian: Shall we ſuffer theſe Orators and Rhetoricians (quoth he) after their uſual manner and profeſſion, to argue thus by conjectures and likely probabilities; and can we alledge nothing out of Hiſtories pertinent directly unto this matter: and verily for mine own part, if my memory fail me not, I have not read long ſince in the Attique Annals, that *Theſeus*, who firſt ſet out games of prize in the Iſle *Delos*, brake and plucked from the ſacred Date tree, a branch, which thereupon was called *Spadix*; and *Praxiteles* ſaid as much: But ſome men (quoth he) might ask of *Theſeus* himſelfe, what reaſon induced him (when he propoſed the prize of victory) to pull a branch from the Date tree, rather then from the Laurel or Olive tree? and what will you ſay, if this be a Pythick prize? for that the *Amphyctiones* honoured firſt at *Delphos*, the victors with a branch of Date tree and Laurel, in honour of *Pythius Apollo*, conſidering that the manner was not to conſecrate unto that god, the Laurel or Olive onely, but alſo the Date tree; like as *Nicias* did when in the name of the Athenians, he defrayed the charges of games, in *Deles*; and the Athenians at *Delphi*; and before them, *Cypſelus* the Corinthian; for otherwiſe, this god of ours hath evermore loved thoſe games of prize, yea, and was deſirous to win the victory, having ſtrove perſonally himſelfe in playing upon the harp, in ſinging, and ſlinging the coit of braſſe; yea, and as ſome ſay, at hurl-bats and fiſt-fight; favouring men alſo, and taking their part at ſuch combats; as *Homer* ſeemeth to teſtifie, when he bringeth in *Achilles*, ſpeaking in this wiſe:

Two champions now, who ſimply are
of all the army beſt,
My pleaſure is, ſhall forth advance;
and look who is ſo bleſt,
And favoured at buffet-fight,
by god Apolloes *grace,*
As for to win the victory,
and honour in that place.

Alſo when he ſpeaketh of archers, he ſaith expreſſly, that one of them who invocated upon *Apollo* and prayed unto him for help, had good ſucceſſe, and carried away the beſt prize; but the other, who was ſo proud, and would not call upon the god for his aid, miſſed the mark and ſcope whereat he ſhot. Neither is it likely or credible, that the Athenians dedicated their publick place of exerciſe unto *Apollo* for nothing, and without good cauſe; but ſurely thus they thought, that the ſame God unto whom we are beholden for our health, giveth us alſo the force and ſtrong diſpoſition of body, to perform ſuch games and feats of activity. But whereas, ſome combats there be, fleight and eaſie: others, hard and grievous: we find in writing, that the Delphians ſacrificed unto *Apollo*, by the name of *Pyθes*, that is to ſay, the champion at fiſt-fight: but the Candians and Lacedæmonians offered ſacrifice unto the ſame god, ſurnamed the Runner. And ſeeing as we do, that the manner is to preſent in his Temple within the City of *Delphos*, the Princes or dedications of the ſpoiles and booty gained from the enemies in war, as alſo to conſecrate unto him the Trophees, is not this a great argument and teſtimony, that in this god it lieth moſt to give the victory and conqueſt; And as hee went forward, and was minded to ſay more, *Cephiſius* the ſon of *Theon*, interrupted his ſpeech, ſaying: Theſe allegations (beleeve me) favour not of Hiſtories, nor of Coſmographical Books: but being fetched immediately out of the middle of thoſe Peripatetical diſcourſes, are handled and argued probably to the purpoſe: and beſides, whiles you take up the fabrick or engine, after the manner

ner of tragedian Players, you intend as it ſhould ſeem, to affright by intimating the name of *Apollo*; thoſe that contradict and gainſay your opinions: and yet (as well beſeemeth his goodneſſe and bounty) he is indifferent and alike affectionate unto all, in clemency and benignity: but we following the tracks and ſteps of *Soſpis*, who hath led us the way very well, keep our ſelves to the Date tree, which affordeth us ſufficient matter to diſcourſe thereof again: for the Babylonians do chant and ſing the praiſes of this tree; namely, that it bringeth unto them three hundred and threeſcore ſorts of ſundry commodities; but we that are Greeks, have little or no profit thereby: howbeit, good Philoſophy may be drawn out of it, for the better inſtructions of champions and ſuch as are to perform combats of prize. in that it beareth no fruit with us: for being a right goodly, fair, and very great tree, by reaſon of the good habit and diſpoſition thereof, yet is it not here among us, fruitful; but by this ſtrong conſtitution that it hath, it employeth and ſpendeth all nurture to feed and fortifie the body, after the manner of champions, by their exerciſe, ſo as there remaineth but a little behind. and the ſame not effectual for ſeed: over and above all this, one quality it hath, proper and peculiar to it ſelfe alone, and that which agreeth not to any other tree, the which I intend to ſhew unto you: For the woody ſubſtance of this Date tree aloft, if a man ſeem to weigh and preſſe down with any heavy burden, it yeeldeth not, nor ſtooped under the poiſe, but curbeth upward archwiſe, as withſtanding that, wherewith it is charged and preſſed; and even ſo it is with thoſe combatants in ſacred games: for ſuch as through feebleneſſe of body, or faintneſſe of heart ſeem to yeeld, thoſe the ſaid exerciſes do, bend and keep under; but as many as ſtoutly abide, not only with their ſtrong bodies, but alſo with magnanimous courage, theſe be they that are raiſed up on high, and mount unto honour.

THE FIFTH QUESTION.

What is the cauſe that they who ſail upon the river Nilus, *draw up water for their uſe, before day light?*

ONe there was, who demanded upon a time the reaſon, why the watermen who ſaile and row upon the river *Nilus*, provided themſelves of that water which they drink, in the night, and not by day. Some ſaid, it was, becauſe they feared the ſun, which by enchafing and heating the water, maketh it more ſubject to corruption and putrifaction: for whatſoever is warmed or made hot, the ſame is always more ready and diſpoſed to mutation, and doth ſoon alter, by relaxation of the proper and native quality that it hath: whereas cold, by reſtraining, ſeemeth to contain and keep each thing in the own kind or nature: and water eſpecially. Now for the truth of this, that the coldneſſe of water hath vertue to preſerve, the ſnow is a ſufficient teſtimony, which keepeth fleſh a long time ſweet, and without corruption; but contrariwiſe, heat cauſeth all things to goe out of their own nature, yea, even honey it ſelfe; for being once boiled, marred it is; but if it continue raw, it not only keepeth it ſelfe well enough, but helpeth to preſerve other things: and for a farther proofe of this matter, the water of lakes and pooles is a principal thing to confirm the ſame: for as potable it is, and as good to drink in Winter, as any other waters: but in Summer, the ſame is ſtark naught, and breedeth diſeaſes: and therefore, ſince the night anſwereth to Winter, and the day to Summer, thoſe water-men of *Nilus* aboveſaid, are of this opinion: That water will continue longer before it turn and corrupt, if it be drawn in the night ſeaſon. To theſe allegations, which of themſelves ſeemed to carry probability enough, reaſon alſo inclineth as an evident and inartificial proof to ſtrengthen and confirm the experience and beleeſe of theſe water-men; for they ſaid, that they drew water, whiles the river was yet ſtill and quiet; for in the day time, many men either ſaile upon it, or otherwiſe, fetch water from it; many beaſts alſo, paſſe to and fro in it: whereby it is troubled, thick and muddy; and ſuch water will ſoon putrifie: for whatſoever is mixed, more eaſily taketh corruption, than that which is pure and ſimple. conſidering that mixture maketh a fight, and fight cauſeth change and alteration. Now, who knoweth not that putrifaction is a kind of mutation? which is the cauſe that Painters call the mixtures of their colours, by the name of φθορεῖ, that is to ſay, corruptions; and the Poet *Homer*, when he ſpeaketh of dying, ſaith, they did μίνυθα, that is to ſay, ſtain and infect: the common uſe alſo of our ſpeech carrieth it, to call that which is unmixed and meer of it ſelfe ἄφθαρτον καὶ ἀκήρατον καὶ ἄκεραον, that is to ſay, incorrupt, and ſincere: but principally. if earth be mingled with water, it changeth the quality, and marreth the name of it quite for ever, for being potable and good to drink; and therefore it is, that dormant and dead waters, which ſtand in hollow holes, are more ſubject to corruption then others, as being ful of earthy ſubſtance; whereas. running ſtreams eſcape this mixture, and repell the earth which is brought into them: good cauſe therefore, had *Heſiodus* to commend

The water of ſome lively ſpring,
that always runs his courſe,
And which no muddy earth among,
doth trouble and make worſe.

For wholeſome we hold that which is uncorrupt; and uncorrupt we take that to be, which is all ſimple. pure and unmixed: and hereto may be adjoined. for to confirm this opinion of theirs, the ſundry kinds and differences of earth: for thoſe waters which run thorow hilly and ſtony grounds, becauſe they carry not with them, much of the earth or ſoil, are ſtronger and more firm, then ſuch as paſſe along mariſhes, plains and flats. Now the River *Nilus* keeping his courſe within a level and ſoft country; and to ſpeak more truely, being (as it were) blood tempered and mingled with fleſh. is ſweet doubleſſe, and full of jnices that have a ſtrong and nutritive vertue: but ordinarily, the ſame runneth mixed and troubled; and ſo much the rather, if it be ſtirred and diſquieted: for the moving and agitation thereof, mixeth the terreſtrial ſubſtance with the liquid humor: but when it is quiet and at repoſe, the ſame ſetleth down to the bottom, by reaſon of the weight. Thus you ſee why they draw up their water in the night ſeaſon: and withal, by that means they prevent the ſunriſing, which always doth catch up and corrupt that which is in all waters moſt ſubtile and light.

THE SIXTH QUESTION.

Of thoſe who come late to ſupper; where, diſcourſed it is from whence he received theſe names of refection in Greek ἀκρόδισμα, δεῖπνον, *and* δόρπον.

MY younger ſons upon a time had ſtaid longer at the Theater, then they ſhould, to ſee the fights. and hear the ear-ſports which there were exhibited: by occaſion whereof, they came too late to ſupper: whereupon *Therus* ſons called them in mirth and ſport κωλυσδείπνους and ζοφοδορπίδας, as one would ſay, ſupper-letting, and night-ſupping-lads, with other ſuch like names: but they, to be meet and quit with them again, gave them the tearm of τρεχέδειπνους. that is to ſay, runners to ſupper. Herewith one of the elder ſort there preſent, ſaid: That he who came late to his ſupper, ought rather to be called τρεχέδορπον, becauſe he maketh more haſte with an extraordinary pace, for that he hath ſeemed to ſtay too long: to which purpoſe he related a pretty tearm of *Baetus*, the buffon or pleaſant jeſter to *Ceſar*, who was wont to call thoſe, ἐπιθυμοδείπνους, that is to ſay, deſirous of ſuppers. who at any time came tardy: For (quoth he) although they have buſineſſe to call and keep them away, yet for the love of good cheer and ſweet morſels they refuſe not to come (late though it be) whenſoever they are invited. Here came I in with the teſtimony of *Polycharmus*, one of the great Orators, who managed the State of *Athens*: in an Oration of his, where making an Apology of his life unto the people in a frequent aſſembly, he ſpake in this wiſe: Loe, my Maſters of *Athens* how I have lived: but beſides many other things which I have already alledged, take this moreover: that whenſoever I was bidden to any ſupper, I never came laſt, for this ſeemed to be very popular and plauſible: whereas contrariwiſe, men are wont to hate them as odious perſons, and ſurly Lords, who came late, and for whom the reſt of the company are forced to ſtay. Then *Socl.rus* willing to defend the young boyes: But *Alcæus* (quoth he) called not *Pittacus* Ζοφοδορπίδας, becauſe he ſuppoſed late in the night, but for that it was ordinary with him to delight in none other gueſts, and table companions, but baſe, vile, and obſcure perſons: for to eat early or betimes, was in old time counted a reproach: and it is ſaid, that this word ἀκρόδισμα, that is to ſay, a breakfaſt, was derived of ἀκρότης, that is to ſay, intemperance. Then *Theon* interrupting his ſpeech: Not ſo (quoth he) but we muſt give credit rather unto thoſe who report the ancient manner of life in old time: for they ſay, that men in thoſe days being laborious, painful, and temperate in their living withal. took for their repaſt early in the morning, a piece of bread dipped in Wine, and no other thing, and therefore they called this breakfaſt of theirs, *Acratiſma*, of *Acraton*, which is meer and pure wine: and as for ὄψον, it ſignifieth thoſe viands which were prepared for repaſt in the evening; for ὄψε, betokeneth late in the evening, at what time their manner was to ſup; namely, after thay had diſpatched their other affairs. Here occaſion was given to demand from whence were derived theſe words δόρπον, that is to ſay, ſupper, and δεῖπνον, dinner: and thought it was that *Ariſton* and *Acratiſma*. ſignified both one thing: and for proof hereof, they reported them to *Homer*, who ſaith: That *Eumæus* provided *Ariſton* by the break of day, as appeareth by this verſe:

No ſooner did day light appear,
But they prepared their own * *dinner.* * δεῖπνον.

And it ſeemeth very probable that this repaſt δεῖπνον, took the name of the morn-tide, and is as much to ſay, as ἔαρινον. now for the refection called δόρπον, that is to ſay, ſupper. it was ſo called, ὅτι τῶν πόνων διαπαύει. becauſe it gave repoſe from their labours; for men uſed to take their ſupper after they had done ſome buſineſſe, or elſe in the very time that they were about the ſame; this alſo may be ſhewed by the teſtimony of *Homer*, who ſaith:

But what time as the woodman minding reſt,
From hewing trees, his ſupper ſoon had dreſt.

Unleſſe a man will haply ſay. that *Ariſton*, that is to ſay, a dinner or breakfaſt, took that name, becauſe folk uſe to dine or break their faſt, with that which firſt came to their hands, without any labour or dreſſing thereof in the Kitchin: and δόρπον, that is to ſay, ſupper, was ſo called, becauſe there was ſome labour imployed about the dreſſing thereof: and therefore δεῖπνον, is as much to ſay, as ῥᾴδιον, that is to ſay, very eaſily, and ſoon provided; but δόρπον, as one would ſay, διατεπονημένον. that is to ſay, done with much pain and travel: But our brother *Lamprias*, who naturally was given to ſcoffing, and loved a life to be merry and to laugh: Since that (quoth he) we are allowed ſo great liberty for to prate thus and talk ſo idlely as we do, I am able to prove unto you. that the Roman words are ten thouſand times more properly deviſed, and expreſſe theſe things better than the Greek:

Greek: for they called a ſupper, *Cœna*, which is as much as κοινὰ; for the good fellowſhip and company of thoſe that ſupped (as it were) in common together: for the old Romans, howſoever they dined or break their faſt ordinarily by themſelves alone, yet they ſupped ever with their friends about them. Now their dinner, they called, *Prandium*, of the hour or time thereof, as if they would ſay πρὸ ἥδιον; for ἥδιον is as much as δειλινὸν, that is to ſay, morning or noon-tide at the fartheſt; and to repoſe or reſt after dinner, is expreſſed by the word ἐδιάζειν: or elſe perhaps, *Prandium*, ſignifieth a breakfaſt or morning repaſt, when as men do eat before they be ἐδεῖν, that is to ſay, before they have any need or want of victuals: and now to ſay nothing of many things, which they expreſſe by meer Greek words; as for example, how they call beds, *Stratæ*, of στρώματα; wine, *Vinum*, of οἶνος; oyl, *Oleum*, of ἔλαιον: honey, *Mel*, of μέλι: to taſte, *Guſtare*, of γύσασθαι; to drink one unto another, *Propinare*, of προπιεῖν; who can deny, but their word, *Comeſſatio*, that is to ſay, Banqueting, is derived of our Greek word κῶμος; and *Miſcere*, that is to ſay, to temper and mix wine, of κεράζειν in Greek; for thus ſaith *Homer*:

She took the cup, and once again,
In it ſhe tempered pleaſant wine.

alſo a table, they called *Menſa*, becauſe it ſtood ἐν μέσῳ, that is to ſay, in the midſt; and bread *Panis*, for that it ſlaked πεῖναν, that is to ſay, hunger; alſo a chaplet, or garland of flowers, *Corona*, of the word κράνος, an helmet, or κεφαλὴ the head, for in one place, *Homer* called an helmet, or head-piece, στεφανὴ, that is to ſay, *Corona*, a coronet; likewiſe, *Cadere*, that is to ſay, to beat or kill, of δέειν; and *Dentes*, that is to ſay, teeth, of ὀδόντες; and laſt of all, *Labra*, that is to ſay, lips, of λαβεῖν βορὸν, that is to ſay, receiving and taking in meat with them. To conclude therefore, either we are to hear ſuch derivations as theſe, without laughing thereat; or elſe we muſt not give them ſo eaſie acceſſe (as it were by undermining) unto words, as unto walls; partly to overthrow and beat down ſome, and in part to batter and break others.

THE SEVENTH QUESTION.

Of certain Pythagorean precepts, for bidding in any wiſe to admit ſwallows into the houſe, and commanding to ruffle the bed cloaths, ſo ſoon as a man is riſen.

SYlla of *Carthage*, upon my return to *Rome*, after I had been long abſent, invited me to a ſupper for my welcome home; for ſo the Romans rearmed ſuch a courteſie; and to bear me company, he bade other friends, and thoſe not many in number; among whom was one *Lucius* of *Tuskane*, a diſciple of the Pythagorean Philoſopher, *Moderatus*: this *Lucius* perceiving that our *Philinus* did eat of nothing which ever had life (as the uſual manner of him and other Pythagoreans was to doe) fell into ſpeech as touching *Pythagoras* himſelfe, and affirmed that a Tuskane hee was, not as ſome others, becauſe his Fathers and Anceſtors, were Tuskans, from whom he was deſcended; but for that he was himſelfe born, reared, brought up, and taught in *Tuskan*; which hee proved principally, by certain Symbolical and Allegorical precepts of his; as for example, among others, that he commanded thoſe who were new riſen out of their beds, to ruffle the cloaths together; alſo that the print of a pot or cauldron, ſhould not be left upon the aſhes, after it is taken away, but that the aſhes ought to be ſtirred together; *Item*, that no Swallows ſhould be admitted into the houſe: likewiſe that no man ſhould ſtep over a beſome, nor keep within houſe, thoſe creatures which had hooked claws: For theſe rules, and ſuch like (quoth he) which the Pythagoreans deliver in word, and ſet down in writing, the Tuskans only obſerve and keep indeed. Which when *Lucius* had ſaid, ſtrange it was thought, and abſurd above the reſt, to chaſe and keep out of the houſe ſilly Swallows, harmleſſe and gentle creatures, as well as thoſe that have crooked clees, which are the moſt bloody and cruel of all others: for whereas ſome ancient interpreters gave the ſolution and expoſition only, as if covertly it implyed thus much, that we ſhould avoid the company of ſecret whiſperers, back-biters and ſlanderers; *Lucius* himſelfe approved not thereof; for the Swallow whiſpereth not at all; it chattereth indeed and talketh (as one would ſay) loud enough; and yet not more then Pies, Partridges and Hens. But what think you by this (quoth *Sylla*) that in regard of the tale that goes of *Progne*, who killed her young ſon *Itys*, they hate * Swallows for that abominable act, and therefore would ſeem to cauſe us for to deteſt a farre off, ſuch infamous caſes, for which they ſay, both *Tereus* and the women, partly did perpetrate, and in part ſuffered horrible and unlawful things; whereupon, to this very day, theſe birds be called Daulides? But *Gorgias* the Sophiſter, by occaſion that a ſwallow mewted over his head, and ſquirted her dung upon him, looking up unto her: Theſe be no fair caſts (quoth he) *Philomela*; or is this alſo common to the reſt? for the Pythagoreans do not exclude or baniſh out of houſe the Nightingale, * which beareth a part in the ſame Tragedies, and is faulty with the reſt. Peradventure (quoth I then) there is as much reaſon in the one as the other (O *Syllas*) but conſider, & ſee whether the Swallow be not odious & infamous with them for the ſame cauſe, that they reject and will not entertain thoſe creatures which have hooked tallons; for ſhe likewiſe feedeth upon fleſh, and beſides, killeth and devoureth eſpecially, graſhoppers, which are facred and muſical: moreover, ſhe fieth cloſe by the ground, hunting and catching little ſilly creatures (as *Ariſtotle* ſaith;) furthermore, ſhee is the onely creature of all the other, that bee under the ſame roofe with us, which lodgeth there of free coſt, living

* For Philomela was turned (as the Poets faine) into a Swallow; who procured her ſiſter Progne to kill her own child, by Tereus, and ſerve it up before him as a diſh of meat, to the boord, for that he had deflowred the ſaid Philomela.

* For Progne (as he tale goe) was turned into a nightingale; See *Natalis Comes Mythelog. 7. cap. 10.*

living without contributing ought, or paying any rent: yet the ſtork which hath no covert by our houſe, nor warmth by our fire, ne yet enjoyeth any benefit, pleaſure, or help at all by our means, giveth us otherwhiles ſome tribute and cuſtome (as it were) for marching only upon the ground; for up and down ſhe goes, killing toades and ſerpents, mortall enemies to mankind, and lying in wait for our lives; whereas the Swallow having all thoſe commodities at our hands, no ſooner hath nouriſhed her young ones, and brought them to ſome perfection, but away ſhe goes and is no more to be ſeen, ſo diſloial and unthankfull ſhe is: and that which of all others is worſt, the flie and the ſwallow be the only creatures haunting our houſes as they do, that never will be tamed, nor ſuffer a man to touch and handle them, nay, they will not admit any fellowſhip, ſociety, or communion with him, either in work or play: the flie indeed hath ſome reaſon to be afraid of us, for that ſhe ſuſtaineth harm by us, and is chaſed and driven away ſo often: but the ſwallow hateth man naturally, ſhe will not truſt him, but remaineth alwayes ſuſpicious and untamed: now if we are to take theſe and ſuch like ſpeeches, not directly according to the literall ſenſe, and as the words only do imply, but rather by way of an oblique reflexion, as the reſemblances of things appearing in others: certes, *Pythagoras* propoſeth unto us herein, the very pattern of an unthankfull and faithleſs perſon, admoniſhing us not to receive unto our familiar acquaintance and amity, thoſe who for the time, and to ſerve their own turne, draw neer unto us, and retire themſelves under the roof of our houſe, and that we ought not to make them inward with us, communicating with them, our houſe, our domeſticall altar, and thoſe things which are inſtead of moſt ſacred obligations. When I had thus ſaid, it ſeemed that I had given the company encouragement and aſſurance to ſpeak, for they began boldly to apply unto the other ſymbolicall precepts, their morall expoſitions: And *Philinus* for his part ſaid, that in commanding to confound the forme of the pot or caldron imprinted in the aſhes, they taught us this leſſon, not to leave any mark or apparent impreſſion of anger; but after it hath once done boiling what it will, and is ſetled and cooled again, to ridde away all ranckor and malice, yea, and to bury all in perpetuall oblivion. As for the ſhuffling of the bed clothes together, when we are newly riſen, ſome thought there was no hidden matter meant thereby, but ſignified only, that it was not ſeemly or honeſt, that the mark or print in the bed ſhould remain as an expreſs image to be ſeen, of the place, wherin man and wife had lain together: But *Sylla* gueſſed otherwiſe & conjectured that herein was conteined a dehorttion to divert us from ſleeping on bed in day the time, when as even in the very morning the preparation and means to ſleep was ſo immediately taken away: for that we ought to take our reſt and repoſe in the night, but in the day time to be ſtirring and about our buſineſs, not ſuffering to remain in our beds ſo much as the tract of our body; for a man lying aſleep, is good for nothing, no more then when he is dead: and hereto ſeemeth to allude and accord, another precept of the Pythagoreans which they give unto their friends, forbidding them not to eaſe any man of his burden, but rather to lay on more, and ſeem to ſurcharge him ſtill, as not approving any ſloth or idleneſs whatſoever: now for that during theſe diſcourſes, *Lucius* neither approved nor diſproved ought that was ſaid, but ſat ſtill, heard all, ſaid nothing, and pondred every thing in himſelfe: *Empedocles* calling unto *Sylla* by name, ſaid as followeth.

HE EIGHTH QUESTION.

Why the Pythagoreans among all other living creatures, abſteine moſt from eating fiſh?

IF *Lucius* our friend (quoth he) be offended, or take no pleaſure in our ſayings, it is high time that we ſhould give over and make an end: but if theſe things fall within their precept for ſilence; yet this I think ought not to be concealed; but may well be revealed and communicated unto others, namely: What the reaſon is, that the Pythagoreans abſteined principally from eating fiſh? for ſo much we find written of the ancient Pythagoreans: and I my ſelfe have fallen into the company and conference of certain diſciples of *Alexicrates*, a man of our time; who fed a little ſometimes of other living creatures, yea, and ſacrificed them unto the gods; but for no good in the world would they ſo much as taſt of a fiſh: not as I take it for that cauſe which *Tyndares* the Lacedæmonian alledged, who thought that this was done for the honour they had to ſilence; in regard whereof, the philoſopher *Empedocles* whoſe name I bear, who was the firſt that ceaſed to teach Pythagorically, that is to ſay, to give rules and precepts of hidden wiſdome, calleth fiſhes *Ellopas*, as having τὼ ὄπα λαιοῦ βύλω, that is to ſay, their voice tied and ſhut up within; but for they thought, taciturnity to be a ſingular and a divine thing, and in one word, that even the gods themſelves doe ſhew by deeds and effects, without voice or ſpeech unto wiſe men, what their will and pleaſure is. Then *Lucius* mildly and ſimply anſwered: That the true cauſe indeed might peradventure lie hidden ſtill and not be divulged: howbeit, there is nothing to hinder or let us, but that we may render one reaſon or other which carrieth with it ſome likelihood and probability: ſo *Theon* the grammarian began firſt to diſcourſe upon that point ſaying: it was very difficult to ſhew and prove that *Pythagoras* was a Tuſcan born: but for certain known it was, that he had made his abode a long time in *Aegypt*, and converſed with the ſages of that countrey, where he approved, embraced, and highly extolled many of their religious ceremonies, and namely, that as touching beanes: for *Herodotus* writeth, that the Aegyptians neither ſow, nor eat beanes, no

nor can abide ſo much as to look upon them: and as for fiſhes, we are aſſured that their prieſts even at this day, abſtein from them, and living as they do, chaſte and unmarried, they refuſe ſalt likewiſe; neither will they endure to eat it as a meat by it ſelfe, nor any other viands wherein any ſea ſalt commeth; whereof divers men alledge divers and ſundry reaſons: but there is one true cauſe indeed, and that is the emnity which they bear unto the ſea, as being a ſavage element, a meer alien, and eſtranged from us, or to ſpeak more truly, a mortall enemy to mans nature; for the gods are not nouriſhed therewith, as the Stoicks were of opinion: that the ſtars were fed from thence: but contrariwiſe, that in it was loſt the father and ſaviour of that countrey of *Aegypt*, which they call the deflux or running out of *Oſiris*, and in lamenting his generation on the right hand, and corruption on the left, covertly they gave us to underſtand, the end and perdition of *Nilus* in the ſea: In which conſideration, they are of opinion, that lawfull it is not, once to drink of the water, as being not potable; neither do they think, that any thing which it breedeth, bringeth forth, or nouriſheth, is clean and meet for man; conſidering that the ſame hath not breath and reſpiration common with us, nor food and paſture agreeable unto ours; for that the very aire which nouriſheth and maintaineth all other living creatures, is pernicious and deadly unto them, as if they were engendred firſt, and lived afterward in this world againſt the courſe of nature, and for no uſe at all: and marvell we muſt not, if for the hatred they bear unto the ſea, they hold the creatures therein, as ſtrangers, and neither meet nor worthy to be intermingled with their bloud or vitall ſpirits: ſeeing they will not deigne ſo much as to ſalute any pilots or mariners whenſoever they meet with them, becauſe they get their living upon the ſea.

Sylla commending this diſcourſe, added moreover, as touching the Pythagoreans, that when they ſacrificed unto the gods, they would eſpecially taſt of the primices or parcels of fleſh which they had killed: but never was there any fiſh that they ſacrificed or offered unto the gods. Now when they had finiſhed their ſpeech, I came in with mine opinion: As for thoſe Aegyptians (quoth I) many men there be as well learned, as ignorant, who contradict them, and plead in the behalfe and defence of the ſea, recounting the manifold commodities thereof, whereby our life is more plentifull, pleaſant, and happy: as touching the ſurceaſe as it were of the Pythagoreans war, and their forbearing to lay hand upon fiſhes, becauſe they are ſuch ſtrangers unto us, it is a very abſurd & ridiculous device: or to ſay more truly, it is a cruell and inhumane part, and ſavoring much of a barbarous *Cyclops*, ſeeing that to other living creatures they render a reward and recompence, for their kindred, conſenage and acquaintance, by killing, eating, and conſuming them as they do: and verily reported it is of *Pythagoras*, that upon a time he bought of the Fiſhers a draught of fiſh and when he had ſo done, commanded that they ſhould all be let out of the net into the ſea again: ſurely this was not the act of a man, who either hated or deſpiſed fiſhes as his enemies or ſtrangers; conſidering that finding them priſoners as he did, he paied for their ranſome, & redeemed their liberty, as if they had been his kinſfolk and good friends: & therefore the humanity, equity, and mildneſs of theſe men induceth us to think and imagine clean contrary, that it was rather for ſome exerciſe of juſtice, or to keep themſelves in ure and cuſtome thereof, that they ſpared and pardoned thoſe ſea-creatures; for that all others give men cauſe in ſome ſort to hurt them; whereas poor fiſhes offend us in no manner: and ſay their nature and will were ſo diſpoſed, yet cannot they execute the ſame: moreover, conjecture we may and collect, by the reports, records, and ſacrifices of our ancients, that they thought it an horrible and abominable thing, not only to eat, but alſo to kill any beaſt that doth no hurt or damage unto us: but ſeeing in proceſſe of time how much peſtered they were, with a number of beaſts that grew upon them, and over-ſpread the face of the earth; and withall being as it is ſaid, commanded by the order of *Apollo* at *Delphos*, to ſuccour the fruits of the earth, which were ready to periſh; they began then to kill them for ſacrifice unto the gods: yet in ſo doing they ſeemed to tremble and fear, as troubled in mind, calling this their action θύειν and ῥίζειν, that is to ſay, to do or perpetrate, as if they did, and committed ſome great deed in killing a creature having life: and even ſtill at this day they obſerve a ceremony with all religious preciſeneſs, not to maſſacre any beaſt before it hath given a nod with his head, after the libations & effuſions of wine upon it, in ſigne and token of conſent; ſo ſtrict they were and wary to commit no unjuſt act. Certes, to ſay nothing of other beaſts, if all men had forborn to kill and eat no more, but pullen and conies, within ſhort time they ſhould not have been able to have dwelt within their towns or cities, nor enjoyed any fruits of the earth: and therefore although neceſſity at the firſt had brought in the uſe of eating fleſh; a very hard matter it were now, in regard of pleaſure, to put down and aboliſh the ſame: whereas the whole kind of ſea-creatures uſing neither the ſame aire and water with us, nor comming neer unto our fruits, but being (as a man would ſay) compriſed within an other world, and having diſtinct bounds and limits of their own, which they cannot paſs, but immediately it coſteth them their life, for puniſhment of their treſpaſs giveth unto our belly none occaſion or pretence at all, more or leſs, to run upon them: ſo that the who'e hunting, atching, and running after fiſh, is a manifeſt work of gormandiſe and dainty feeding; which without any juſt or lawfull cauſe, troubleth and diſquieteth the ſeas, and deſcendeth into the very bottom of the deep; for we have no reaſon at any time to call the red ſea-barbell ἀνθρέττικα that is to ſay, corn-devourer; nor the guilt-head τρυγηφάγος that is to ſay wine waſter, or grap-earer, nor yet any mullers, lubins, or ſea-pikes, σπερμολόγους that is to ſay, ſeed-gatherers, as we name divers land beaſts, noting them thereby for the harme and annoiance they do unto us:

us: neither can we impute unto the greateſt fiſh in the ſea, the leaſt wrong or ſhrewd turne, where- * Some read μυῖς, a flie.
with we charge, in our exceeding neerneſs and parſimony, ſome cat or wezill, * mouſe, or rat which haunt our houſes: in which regard, they preciſely containing themſelves, not for fear of law only, to do wrong unto men, but alſo by the very inſtinct of nature, to offer no injury unto any thing in the world that doth them no harme, nor diſpleaſure, uſed to ſeed on fiſh leſs than on any other meat: and admit there were no unjuſtice in the thing, all buſie curioſity of men in this point, being ſo needleſs as it is, bewraieth great intemperance and waſtfull gluttony: and therefore *Homer* in his poem deviſeth this, that not only the Greeks encamping upon the ſtreight of *Helleſpont*, abſteined wholy from eating fiſh, but alſo that the delicate and dainty toothed Phæacians, the wanton and licorous woers likewiſe of lady *Penelope*, diſſolute though they were otherwiſe, and all iſlanders, were never ſerved at their tables with any viands or cates from the ſea, no nor the companions of *Ulyſſes* in that great and long voiage of theirs which they had at ſea, ever laid hook, leape, or weele, or caſt net into the ſea for fiſh, ſo long as they had a bit of bread, or handfull of meal left:

But when their ſhip had victuals none,
But all therein was ſpent and gone,

even a little before that they laid hands upon the Cowes of the ſun, then began they to fiſh; not iwis for any dainty diſhes, but even for neceſſary food:

With bended hooks, for now their maw
Great hunger bit, and guts did gnaw.

So that for extreme need they were forced to eat fiſh, and to kill the ſunnes kine: whereby we may perceive that it was a point of ſanctimony and chaſtity, not only among the Aegyptians and Syrians, but the Greeks alſo, to forbear feeding upon fiſh; for that beſides the injuſtice of the thing, they abhorred as I think, the ſuperfluous curioſity of ſuch food.

Hereupon *Neſtor* took occaſion to ſpeak: And why (quoth he) is there no reckoning made of my countrey-men and fellow-citizens, no more than of the Megarians? and yet you have heard me to ſay often times, that the prieſts of *Neptune*, whom we call *Hieromnemones*, never eat fiſh: for this god is ſurnamed *Pytholmias*, that is to ſay, the Preſident of breeding and generation in the ſea: and the race deſcending from that ancient *Hellen*, ſacrificed unto *Neptune*, by the name and addition of *Patrogeneios*, that is to ſay, the ſtock-father and principall Progenitor, being of opinion, that man came of a moiſt and liquid ſubſtance, as alſo, be the Syrians; which is the very cauſe they worſhip and adore a fiſh, as being of the ſame kind, generation, and nouriture with themſelves; philoſophizing and arguing in this point, with more apparence and ſhew of reaſon, than *Anaximander* did, who affirmed not, that men and fiſhes were bred both in the ſame places; but avouched that men were firſt engendered within fiſhes themſelves, and there nouriſhed like their young frie; but afterwards, when they became ſufficient and able to ſhift and help themſelves, they were caſt forth, and ſo took land: like as therefore, the fire eateth the wood, whereby it was kindled * Or cyta. and ſet a burning, though it were father and mother both, unto it; according as he ſaid, who inſerted the marriage of * *Ceyx* among the works of *Heſiodus*; even ſo *Anaximander* in pronouncing, that fiſh was both father and mother to men, taxeth and condemneth the feeding thereupon.

THE NINTH QUESTION.

Whether it be poſſible, that new diſeaſes may be engendred by our meats?

PHilo the phyſician conſtantly affirmed, that the leproſie, called *Elephantiaſis*, was a diſeaſe not known long ſince: for that none of the ancient phyſitians made any mention of this maladie; whereas they travelled and buſied their brains, to treat of other ſmall trifling matters, (I wot not what) and yet ſuch ſubtilties as the common ſort could hardly comprehend. But I produced and alledged unto him for a witneſs out of philoſophy, *Athenodorus*, who in the firſt book of his Epidemiall or popular diſeaſes, writeth, that not only the ſaid leproſie, but alſo *Hydrophobie*, that is to ſay, the fear of water, occaſioned by the biting of a mad dog, were firſt diſcovered in the dayes of *Aſclepiades*: now as the company there preſent, marvelled that theſe maladies ſhould newly then begin, and take their conſiſtence in nature; ſo they wondered as much on the other ſide, how ſo great and grievous diſeaſes could be hidden ſo long, and unknown to men: howbeit, the greater part inclined to this ſecond and latter opinion, as being more reſpective and favourable to man; for that they could not be perſwaded, that nature in ſuch caſes ſhould in mans body (as it were in ſome city) ſtudy novelties, and be evermore inventing & working new matters. As for *Diogenianus*, he ſaid, that the paſſions & maladies of the ſoul, held on their common courſe, and went the cuſtomed way ſtill of their predeceſſors: And yet (quoth he) wickedneſs is very manifold in ſundry ſorts, and exceeding audacious, to enterprize any thing; and the mind is a miſtreſſe of her-ſelfe, and at her own command; having puiſſance to turne and change eaſily as ſhe thinketh good, and yet that diſordinate confuſion of hers, hath ſome order in it; keeping a meaſure in her paſſions, and containing her-ſelfe within certain bounds, like as the ſea, in the flowings and tides; in ſuch ſort as that ſhe bringeth forth no new kind of vice, ſuch as hath not been known unto thoſe in old

time, and of which they have not written: for there being many different ſorts of luſts and deſires, infinite motions of fear, as many kinds of pain, and no fewer formes of pleaſure; and which require great labour to reckon up and not to give over.

Theſe neither now nor yeſterday
Began; but all have lived ay:
And no man knows, nor can ſay well,
Since when they firſt to men befell.

nor yet whereupon any new malady or modern paſſion hath ariſen in our body: conſidering it hath not of it ſelfe the beginning of motion properly as the ſoul hath, but is knit and joyned with nature by common cauſes, and compoſed with a certain temperature: the infinite variety thereof, wandereth notwithſtanding within the pourpriſe of ſet bounds and limits; like unto a veſſell lying at anchor in the ſea, nevertheleſs doth wave, and is toſſed within a round compaſs: for neither the ſettled conſtitution of a diſeaſe is without ſome cauſe, bringing into the world irregularly and againſt all law of nature, a generation and power from that which hath no being at all, nor an eaſie matter is it for a man to find out a new cauſe, unleſs withall, he do ſet down a new aire, ſtrange water, and ſuch meats as our forefathers never taſted of, imagining, that they are run hither to us and never before, out of (I wot not what) other worlds; or imaginary inter-worlds and ſpaces between; for ſick we fall by means of the ſame things whereof we live; and no peculiar and proper ſeeds there be of diſeaſes; but the naughtineſs and corruption of ſuch things whereby we live, in regard of us, and our own faults and errors beſides, about them, are they which trouble and offend nature: theſe troubles have perpetually the ſame differences, though the ſame many times take new names; for theſe names are according to the ordinance and cuſtome of men; but the maladies themſelves are the affections of nature: and ſo thoſe diſeaſes of themſelves finite, being varied and diverſified by theſe names infinite, have deceived and beguiled us: and as there is not lightly and upon a ſudden, committed in the Grammaticall parts of ſpeech, or in the Syntaxis, and conſtruction thereof, any new barbariſm, ſolœciſm, or incongruity; even ſo the temperatures of mens bodies, have their falls, errors and tranſgreſſions, which be certain and determinate, conſidering that in ſome ſort, even thoſe things which are againſt nature, be compriſed and included in nature: and this is it, that the witty inventers and deviſers of fables, would ſignifie in ſaying: That when the giants made war againſt the gods, there were ingendred certain ſtrange and monſtrous creatures every way, at what time as the moon was turned cleancontrary, and aroſe not as as ſhe was wont: and verily, their meaning was, that nature produced new maladies, like unto monſters, but withall, imagine and deviſe a cauſe of ſuch change and alteration, that is neither probable nor incredible; pronouncing and affirming, that the augmentation more or leſs of ſome diſeaſes, cauſeth that newneſs and diverſity in them, which is not well done of them (my good friend *Philip*:) for this intention and augmentation may well adde thereunto frequency and greatneſs; but ſurely it tranſporteth not the ſubject thing out of the firſt and primitive kind: and thus I ſuppoſe the leproſie or *elephantiaſis* to nothing elſe, but the vehemency of theſe ſcurvy and ſcabby infections; as alſo the *Hydrophobie*, or vain fear of water, no other augmentation of the paſſions of ſtomack or melancholy: and verily, a wonder it were, that we ſhould not know how *Homer* was not ignorant thereof; for this is very certain, that he calle a dog λυσσήεντα, of this raging accident whereto he is ſubject: and hereupon men alſo, when they are in a rage, be ſaid likewiſe λυσσᾶν. When *Diogenianus* had thus diſcouried, *Philip* himſelfe, both ſeemed ſomewhat to anſwer and refute his reaſons; and alſo requeſted me to ſpeak in the behalfe of the antient Phyſicians, who were thus challenged and condemned for their ignorance or diligence in theſe principall matters, in caſe it were true, that theſe maladies were not of a latter breed and more modern than their age. Firſt therefore, it ſeemed unto me, that *Diogenianus* put not this well down for a good ſuppoſall, that tentions and relaxations, according to more or leſs make no differences, nor remove the ſubject matters out of their kind: for by this means we ſhould likewiſe ſay, that vineger differed not from wine that is fowring, nor bitterneſs from ſtipicity or ſoureneſs nor darnell from wheat, ne yet garden mints from wilde mints: but evident it is, that theſe do degenerate, yea, and become altered in their very qualities; partly by relaxations, as the things do languiſh and loſe their heart; and in part, by reaſon, as they be reenforced, and take vigor: for otherwiſe, we muſt be forced to ſay, that the flame differeth not from a white or cleer wind, not a light from a flame, nor froſt from dew, nor hail from rain; but that all theſe be but the inforcements only and tentions of the ſame thing; and ſo conſtantly we ſhall be driven to affirme, but blindneſſe and dim ſight differ not, and inordinate paſſion of vomiting, called *Cholera*, is nothing different from a keckiſh ſtomack and a deſire to caſt, but only according to augmentation and diminution, more or leſs: and all this is nothing to the purpoſe; for if they admit and ſay, that this very tention and augmentation in vehemency, came but now of late, as if this novelty were occaſioned by the quantity and not the quality, yet the abſurdity of the paradox remaineth nevertheleſſe: moreover, ſeeing that *Sophocles* (ſpeaking of thoſe things, which becauſe they had not been in times paſt, men would not believe to be at this preſent) ſaid very well in this wiſe:

All kind of things both good and bad,
Once at the firſt their being had

This alſo ſeemeth very probable and to ſtand with great reaſon, that maladies ran not forth all at once

once, at if the barriers had been ſet open for the race, and they let out together: but ſome came alwayes ſucceſſively behind at the taile of others; and each one took the firſt begining at a certain time: And a man may well conjecture and gueſs (quoth I) that ſuch as aroſe of want and indigence, as alſo thoſe that came of heat and cold, were the firſt that aſſailed our bodies; but repletions, gluttonies, and delicate pleaſures, came afterward together with ſloth and idleneſs; which by reaſon of abundance of victuals, cauſed great ſtore of ſuperfluity and excrements, from whence proceeded ſundry ſorts of maladies; the complication whereof and intermixture one with another, bringeth evermore ſome new thing or other: for every naturall thing, is orderly, and limited: becauſe that nature is nothing elſe but order it ſelfe, or at leaſtwiſe the work of order: whereas diſorder (like to the ſand which *Pindarus* ſpeaketh of) is infinit and cannot be compriſed within any certain number; ſo that whatſoever is unnaturall, the ſame immediately is unlimited and infinit: for, the truth we cannot deliver but one way; mary to lie, a man may find an infinit number of means, by occaſion of innumerable occurrents; alſo accords muſicall and harmonies, ſtand upon their certain proportions; but the errors that men commit in playing upon the harp or other inſtument, in ſong, and in dancing, who is able to comprehend? although *Phrynichus* the tragedian poet ſaid of himſelfe thus:

In dance I find as many ſorts
And formes of geſtures and diſports,
As waves in ſea, and billowes ſtrong
Ariſe by tempeſt all night long.

And *Chryſippus* writeth that the divers complications of the ten propoſitions, which they call Axioms, and no more, ſurmount the number of ten hundred thouſand: but *Hipparchus* reproved this, and taught that the affirmative doth contain of connexed propoſitions one hundred thouſand, and beſides, one thouſand forty and nine; but the negative of the ſame propoſitions comprehendeth three hundred and ten thouſand, with a ſurpluſage of nine hundred, fifty and two: and *Xenocrates* hath ſet down, that the number of ſyllables, which the letters in the alphabet, being coupled and combined together do afford, amount to the number of one hundred millions, and two hundred thouſand over: why ſhould it therefore be thought ſtrange and wonderfull, that our body having in it ſo many faculties, and gathering ſtill daily, by that which it eateth and drinketh, ſo many different qualities, conſidering withall, that it uſeth motions and mutations, which keep not one time nor the ſame order alwayes; the complications and mixtures of ſo many things together, bring evermore new & unuſuall kindes of maladie, ſuch as *Thucydides* wrot, was the peſtilence at *Athens*, conjecturing that this was no ordinary and uſuall malady, by this eſpecially, for that the beaſts of prey, which otherwiſe did eat of fleſh, would not touch a dead body: thoſe alſo who fell ſick about the red ſea (as *Agathircides* maketh report) were afflicted with ſtrange ſymptomes and accidents, which no man had ever read or ſeen, and among others, that there crawled from them certain vermin like ſmall ſerpents, which did eat the calves of their legs and the brawnes of their armes: and look whenſoever a man thought to touch them, in they would again, and winding about the muskles of the fleſh, ingendered inflammations & impoſtumes with intolerable paine. This peſtilent diſeaſe, no man ever knew before, neither was it ever ſeen ſince by others, but by them alone, like as many other ſuch like accidents; for there was a man who having been a long time tormented with the diſury or difficulty of his urin, delivered in the end by his yard, a barly ſtraw knotted as it was with joints: and we know a friend and gueſt of ours, a young man, who together with a great quantity of naturall ſeed, caſt forth a little hairy worme or vermin with many feet, and therewith it ran very ſwiftly: *Ariſtotle* writeth alſo, that the nurſe of one *Timon* of *Cilicia*, retired her ſelfe for two months ſpace every year, and lurked in a certain cave all the while, without drink or meat, or giving any other apparence of life, but only that ſhe tooke her breath: certes, recorded it is in the Melonian books, that it is a certain ſigne of the liver diſeaſed, when the ſick party is very buſie in ſpying, ſeeking, and chaſing the mice and rats about the houſe: a thing that now adayes is not ſeen: let us not marvell therefore, if a thing be now engendered that never was ſeen before, and the ſame afterwards ceaſe as if it had been; for the cauſe lieth in the nature of the body, which ſometime taketh one temperature, and ſome while another: but if *Diogenianus* bring a new aire, and a ſtrange water, let him alone, ſeeing he is ſo diſpoſed: and yet we know well that the followres of *Democritus* both ſay, and write, that by the worlds which periſh without this, and by the ſtrange bodies which from that infinite of worlds runne into this, there ariſe many times the beginnings of plague and peſtilence, yea, and of other ordinary accidents: we will paſſe over likewiſe the particular corruptions which happen in divers countries, either by earthquakes, exceſſive draughts, extreme heats, and unuſuall raines, with which it cannot be choſen, but that both winds and rivers, which ariſe out of the earth, muſt needs be likewiſe infected, diſeaſed, and altered: but howſoever thoſe cauſes we let go, yet omit we muſt not, what great alterations be in our bodies, occaſioned by our meats and viands, and other diet and uſage of our ſelves; for many things which before time were not wont to be taſted or eaten, are become now moſt pleaſant dainties; as for example: the drink made of hony and wine; as alſo the delicate diſh of a farrowing ſwines ſhape or womb; as for the brain of a beaſt, it is ſaid, that in old time they were wont to reject and caſt it from them, yea, and ſo much to deteſt and abhorre it, that they would not abide to hear one to name it; and for the cucumber,

the melon or pompion, the pomecitron and pepper, I know many old folk at this day, that cannot away with their taſte: credible it is therefore, that our bodies receive a wonderfull change and ſtrange alteration by ſuch things in their temperature, acquiring by little and little a divers quality, and ſuperfluity of excrements far different from thoſe before: ſemblably we are to beleeve that the change of order in our viands, maketh much hereto; for the ſervices at the board, which in times paſt were called the cold tables, to wit, of oiſters, ſea-urchings, green ſallads of raw lettuce, and ſuch other herbs, be as it were the light forerunners of the feaſt, as transferred now by *Plato* from the rere-ward to the forefront, and have the firſt place, whereas before in old time, they came in laſt: a great matter there is alſo in thoſe beaver, or fore-drinkings called *Propomata*, for our anſients would not drink ſo much as water before they did eat; and now adayes, when as men are otherwiſe faſting and have eat nothing, they will be in manner drunk, and after they have well drenched their bodies, they begin to fall unto their meats, and whiles they be yet boiling, they put into the ſtomack thoſe things that be attenuant, inciſive and ſharp, for to provoke and ſtir up the appetite, and ſtill fill themſelves up full with other viands: but none of all this hath more power to make mutation in our bodies, nor to breed new maladies, than the variety of ſundry faſhions, of bathing our fleſh: for firſt and formoſt it is made ſoft, liquid, and fluid as iron is by the fire, and afterwards it receiveth the temper and tincture of hard ſteel, by cold water: ſo that me thinks if any one of thoſe who lived a little before us ſhould ſee the dore of our ſtouphes and baines open, he might ſay thus:

Here into runneth Acheron,
And fire like burning Phlegethon,

Whereas in our forefathers dayes, they uſed their bathes and hot houſes, ſo milde, ſo kinde, and temperate: that king *Alexander* the Great, being in a fever, lay and ſlept within them: yea, the Gaules wives, bringing thither their pots of pottage, and other viands, did eat even there with their children, who bathed together with them: but it ſeemeth in theſe dayes, that thoſe who are within the ſtouphes and baines, be like unto thoſe that are raging mad, and bark as dogs, they puff and blow like fed ſwine, they lay about them and toſs every way; the aire that they draw in, as it were mingled with fire and water, ſuffereth no piece nor corner of the body in quiet and reſt, it ſhaketh, toſſeth, and removeth out of place, the leaſt indiviſible parcell thereof, untill ſuch time as we come to quench and allay the ſame thus inflamed and boiling as they do: There is no need therefore O *Diogenianus* (quoth I) of forrein and farfetched cauſes from without, neither of thoſe new worlds and intervals between: for to go no further than to our ſelves, the very change only of the faſhion of our diet, is a ſufficient means both to breed, and alſo to aboliſh and cauſe to eaſe any malady in us.

THE TENTH QUESTION.

What is the reaſon that we take leaſt heed of dreames in the end of Autumn, and give ſmall credit unto them?

FLorus lighting upon phyſicall problemes or naturall queſtions of *Ariſtotle*, which were brought to *Thermopylæ*, for to paſs the time away, filled both himſelfe with many doubts, as ordinarily men do, who are by nature ſtudious, and alſo put as many into the heads of others, giving teſtimony herein to *Ariſtotle* who ſaith: that much knowledge breedeth many occaſions of doubt: as for other queſtions, they afforded unto us no unpleaſant paſtime and recreation, in the day time as we walked in the galleries abroad; but that problem concerning dreams, (namely, that they be uncertain, lying, and falſe, eſpecially during thoſe months when trees ſhed their leaves) was ſet on foot againe (I wot not how) after ſupper by *Phavorinus*, when he had done with other diſcourſes: As for your familiar companions my children, they were of opinion, that *Ariſtotle* himſelfe had ſufficiently ſolved the queſtion, and there needed no further enquiry into the matter, nor any ſpeech more to be made thereof, but even to attribute the cauſe, as he did, to the new gathered fruits of that ſeaſon: for being as they were, freſh and green ſtill in their ſtrength and full of vigour, they engendred in our bodies many ventoſities and bred much trouble, and agitation in the humours: for likely it is not, that new wine alone doth work, boile, and chafe, nor that oile only, being new drawn and preſſed, yeeldeth a noiſe as it burneth in lamps, by occaſion that the heart cauſeth the windineſs and ſpirit thereof to evaporate and walm out: but we ſee alſo that corne newly inned, and all fruits of trees preſently upon their gathering, are plump, full, and ſwelled again, untill ſuch time as they have exhaled forth all that is flatuous, and breathed out the crudities thereof: now that there be certain meats that cauſe troubleſome dreams, and engender turbulent viſions and fanſies in our ſleep, they brought in and alledged for their teſtimony the inſtance of beans, and the head of the poulp or pour-cuttle fiſh, which they are bidden to abſtain from, who would divine and foreſhew things that come by dreams. As for *Phavorinus*, howſoever he was himſelfe at all times wonderfully affected and addicted to *Ariſtotle*, and one who attributed unto the Peripateticks ſchoole this ſingular commendation, that their doctrine carried more probability and reſemblance of the truth, than other Philoſophers whatſoever; yet at this preſent he came out with an old ruſty reaſon of *Democritus*, taken out of the ſmoak (where it had gathered a deale of thick ſoot) for to furbiſh, ſcoure, and make it bright again: for this was the vulgar opinion which *Democritus* put down for a ſuppoſition: That certain images do enter and pierce deep into our bodies through

through the pores, which as they riſe again from the bottom, cauſe thoſe viſions which appear unto us as we ſleep; that theſe came out of all parts wandring, as preſented from utenſils, habiliments, & plants, but principally from living creatures, for that they move and ſtir much, and beſides are hot, having not only the expreſs ſimilitudes and ſundry formes of bodies imprinted in them, as *Epicurus* thinketh (who thus far forth followeth *Democritus*, & leaveth him there) but alſo drawing therewith the apparences of the motions of the mind, of counſell, of unlall milde affections, as alſo of vehement paſſions, wherewith they entring in, do ſpeak as if they were living things, and diſtinctly carry unto thoſe that receive the ſame, the opinions, the words, the diſcourſes and affections of ſuch as tranſmit the ſame, if in their entrance they retain ſtill the expreſs figures and nothing confuſed; which they do eſpecially, all while that their way and paſſage through the aire, cleer and united, is ſpeedy, quick, and not empeached by any hinderance: conſidering then, th at the aire of the Autumnall quarter, in the end when as trees do caſt their leaves, hath much aſperity and inequality, it turneth aſide and putteth by diverſly thoſe images, cauſing their evidence to be feeble and tranſitory, as being darkened by the tradity and ſlowneſs of their pace in the way: whereas contrariwiſe, when they run forth in great number, and ſwiftly out of thoſe things that ſwell with fullneſs, and burn, as it were, with deſire to be delivered of them, then as they paſs they yeeld their reſemblances all freſh and very ſignificant. After this, caſting his eye upon *Antobulus*, and ſmiling withall: Me thinks (quoth he) that I perceive you, and thoſe about you, to addreſs your ſelves already for to maintain a kind of fight againſt theſe images, and that you meane to faſten with your hands and catch hold of this old opinion, as if it were ſome rotten picture, to do it ſome violence: Go to (quoth *Antobulus*) will you never leave theſe faſhions, to play with us in this manner? for we know well enough iwis, that you hold and approve the opinion of *Ariſtotle*, and that for to give a luſtre thereto, you have ſet this of *Democritus* by it as a ſhadow and foile: that conceit therefore of *Democritus*, we will turn over and put by, and take in hand for to impugne this reaſon of *Ariſtotles*, which impureth all to theſe new fruits, and unjuſtly without all reaſon, blaming and diſcrediting that which we all love ſo well; for both Summer and Autumne will bear witneſs, that when we eat theſe fruits, more freſh and green, even at ſuch time as they are moſt ſucculent, and verdant: (as *Antimachus* ſaid) our dreams are leſs lying and deceitfull: but theſe months which we name, the Fall of the leaf, pitching their tents as it were, and taking up their ſtandings cloſe to the Winter, have reduced already, both corn of the field, and alſo the fruits of trees, which remain uneaten by their perfect concoction, to this paſs that they look ſlender, and in ſome ſort riveled, as having loſt by this time, that violent, heady, and furious force which was in them. As touching new wine, they that drink it ſooneſt, do it in the month * *Anthiſteron*, that is to ſay, February, preſently after winter, and that day upon which they begin to taſt it, we in our countrey call ἀγαθῆς δαίμονος, that is to ſay, the day of good fortune; but the Athenians name it, of opening their tunnes of wine veſſels, *Pithegia*: but ſo long as the Muſt or new wine is working ſtill, and in the heat, we ſee, that all men even the very artificers and labourers are affraid to taſt of it, and to meddle withall: forbear therefore to ſlander and blame the good gifts of the gods, and go wee rather another way to work for the inquiſition of the cauſe, unto which the very name of the ſeaſon, and of theſe windy and vain dreams doth lead us: for this time is called φθινοπώρα, that is to ſay, the fall of the leaf, to wit, the end of Autumne; when by reaſon of cold, and drineſs, trees ſhed their leaves, unleſs it be ſome which are hot and fatty, by nature, as the olive, the lawrell, and the date trees, or very moiſt, as the ivie and myrtle; for ſuch as theſe, their temperature helpeth, others not, by reaſon that this glutinous humour which holdeth the leaves upon the tree, continueth not; becauſe that their naturall humidity is congealed with cold, or elſe dried up, being ſo feeble and little withall to flouriſh therefore, to grow, and to be freſh, in plants, and much more in living creatures, commeth of moiſture and heat; and contrariwiſe, cold and drineſs are deadly enemies: and therefore *Homer* very properly, is wont to call men who are freſh and luſty ἀνθερεῶνας, that is to ſay, moiſt and ſucculent, as alſo to joy and be merry, he expreſſeth by the verb ἰαίνεσθαι, that is to ſay, to be hot; contrariwiſe, that which is dolorous and fearfull, he tearmeth ῥιγεδανὸν καὶ κρυερὸν, that is to ſay, ſtiff and ſtark for cold: a body that is dead, he tearmeth ἀλίβας, that is to ſay, without moiſture; as alſo σκληρὸς, that is to ſay, a very anatomy, dried in the ſmoak, or againſt the ſun; which are two words deviſed to traduce and note their extreme drineſs: moreover, blond which is the thing within us, of principall ſtrength and vertue, is both hot and moiſt, but old age is deſtiture both of the one and the other: now it ſeemeth that the latter end of Autumne is the very age of the year, having performed his revolution; for as yet the moiſture is not come, but the heat is gone already, or at leaſtwiſe is very feeble. and that (which is a great ſigne of cold and drineſs) this ſeaſon cauſeth bodies to be diſpoſed unto diſeaſes. This being laid for a ground neceſſary it is that the ſoul ſhould have a ſympathy & fellow-feeling of the indiſpoſitions of the body, & that, when the ſpirits be incraſſate and thickned; the power and faculty of divination or foreſeeing future things, muſt needs be dimmed and dulled, much like as a mirrour or looking glaſs, overcaſt with ſome thick miſt: no marvel therefore if it ſend and tranſmit nothing in phantaſie and imaginations, that is plain, expreſs, articulate, evident, and ſignificant, ſo long as it is rough and unpoliſhed, not ſmooth and reſplendent.

* Some read November before writers, according to *Theodorus Gaza*.

THE

The Ninth Book

Of Sympoſiaques, or Banquet-Diſcourſes.

The ſummary or principall chapters thereof.

1 Of verſes which have been cited and alledged fitly in good ſeaſon or otherwiſe?
2 What is the cauſe that the letter Alpha, or A, ſtandeth firſt in the alphabet, or A, b, c.
3 In what proportion hath been compoſed and ordained, the number of vowels and ſemi-vowels?
4 Whether hand it was of Venus, that Diomedes wounded?
5 What was the reaſon of Plato, when he ſaid, that the ſoule of Ajax came in the 20 place to the lot?
6 What is covertly ſignified by the table wherein Neptune is feigned to be vanquiſhed? and why the Athenians put out of their kalender the ſecond day of Auguſt?
7 What is the reaſon that the accords in muſick are divided into a ternary?
8 Wherein differ the intervals, melodious, and accordant, in muſick?
9 What is it that maketh accord or ſymphoni? and what is the reaſon that when a man ſtriketh two ſtrings accordant together, the melody is more baſe?
10 How it commeth to paſs that the ecliptick revolutions of ſun and moone, being in number equall, yet the moone is ſeen to be oftener eclipſed than the ſun?
11 That we continue not always one and the ſame, for that our ſubſtance evermore paſſeth ſtill away.
12 Whether is more probable of the twain, that the ſtars be in number even or od?
13 A queſtion of contrary lawes and covenants, drawn out of the third book of the Rhapſody of Homers Iliat.
14 Of the number of the Muſes, certain diſcourſes and reaſons, not after a vulgar and common manner delivered.
15 That there be three parts in dancing, * motion, geſture, and ſhew; and what each of theſe is: alſo what community there is between the art of poetry, and the skill in dancing.

* φορὰ, σχῆμα, μίμησις.

The Ninth Book

Of Sympoſiaques, or Banquet-Diſcourſes.

The Proem.

THis ninth book of Sympoſiaques (O *Soſſius Senecio*) containeth the diſcourſes held at *Athens*, during the feaſtivall ſolemnities of the Muſes; for that this number of nine, ſorteth and agreeth well with the ſaid Muſes. Now if the number of queſtions handled in this book, ſurmount the ordinary Decade of the former books, you are nothing to marvell thereat, becauſe we ought to render unto the Muſes all that appertaineth unto the Muſes, without taking away or detaining ought from them, no more than from holy ſacrifices; conſidering that we owe unto them many things beſides, and the ſame more bountifull than this.

THE FIRST QUESTION.

Of verſes cited and pronounced in ſeaſon and to good purpoſe, or otherwiſe.

Ammonius being captain of the city of *Athens*, was deſirous in favour of *Diogenius*, to take view and knowledge, how the young men profited, who were ſtudents in Grammar, Geometry, Rhetorick, Muſick; whereupon he invited to ſupper, the moſt famous regents and maſters that were throwout the whole city. There met alſo with them, and were preſent, any other learned and ſtudious perſons, in great frequency, yea, and in manner all his friends and familiars: As for *Achilles*, verily, at the funerall games and ſolemnities of *Patroclus*, he bad only thoſe to ſup with him, who had fought hand to hand in ſingle combat to the utterance, with this intent (as it is ſaid) that if happly there had been any choler or heat of revenge inkindled and inflamed between theſe men, whiles they were in armes, they ſhould now lay down and quit the ſame, meeting thus at one feaſt, eating and drinking together at one table: but it hapned clean contrary at this time unto *Ammonius*; for the jealouſie, contention and emulation of theſe ſchoolmen and maſters of art aforeſaid, became the hotter, and grew to the heighth amidſt their cups; for by this time, they fell to argue, yea, and to challenge and defie one another, reaſoning, and diſputing without all order or judgement: whereupon, at the firſt he commanded the muſician *Eraton*, to ſing unto the harp; who began his ſong in this wiſe, out of the works of *Heſiodus*:

Of quarell and contention,
There were as then, more ſorts than one;

for

for which I commended him, in that he knew how to apply the ditty of his own ſong ſo well unto the preſent time; which gave afterwards unto *Ammonius* of this argument; namely, to diſcourſe of verſes in ſeaſon, and to good purpoſe pronounced; ſaying, That herein there appeared not only a good grace, but alſo enſued otherwhiles great commodity thereof. And preſently every mans mouth was full of that Rhapſodian poet; who at the marriage of king * *Ptolomæus*, when he eſpouſed his own ſiſter, and was thought therein to commit a ſtrange and unlawfull act, began this ſong with theſe verſes out of *Homer*: * Philadelphus.

Great Jupiter *to* Juno *then did call,*
His ſiſter dear and wedded wife withall.

as alſo another, who being to ſing after ſupper before king *Demetrius*, at what time as he ſent unto him his ſon *Philip*, being as yet a very infant, came readily forth with theſe verſes:

This childe, ſee that you well bring up
in vertuous diſcipline;
As fits the race of Hercules,
And eke a ſon of mine.

Aristarchus likewiſe, when *Alexander* at ſupper time flung apples at him, aroſe from the board, rehearſing this verſe out of *Euripides*:

Some good one day, in veritie
By mortall hand ſhall wounded be.

But moſt excellently of all others, a Corinthian lad, who being led away priſoner, as the city was forced and loſt, when *Mummius* taking a ſurvey of thoſe children who were born, committed as many of them as had any knowledge in literature, for to write before him, wrot *ex tempore* theſe verſes:

Thrice and foure times thoſe Greeks were bleſt, I ſay,
Whoſe hap it was, to die before this day.

And by report *Mummius* took ſuch ruth and compaſſion hereat, that he ſhed tears, and for this youths ſake, ſet at liberty as many as were of his kindred and alliance. There was remembred alſo, the wife of *Theodorus* the tragedian, who when the time drew neer, that ſuch poets and actors were to ſtrive for the beſt game, would not ſuffer him to live with her; but after he was returned home from the theater, where he had gotten the victory, and gained the prize, when he came toward her, ſhe kiſſed and welcomed him home with theſe verſes:

O noble ſon of Agmemnon, *now*
To do with me your will, good leave have you.

Semblably, ſome there were in place, who hereupon inferred many other verſes as unfitly alledged and altogether out of ſeaſon; for that it was not thought amiſs or unprofitable, both to know the ſame, and to beware thereby; and namely, that which is reported concerning *Pompeius Magnus*, when he returned from a great expedition and warlike voiage; unto whom his little daughter was preſented by her ſchool-maſter; and for to ſhew unto him how ſhe had profited in learning, when a book was brought unto her, the ſaid ſchool-maſter opened it, and turned to this place for her to read, which beginneth thus:

From war thou art returned ſafe and ſound,
Would God thou hadſt been there left dead on ground.

Alſo, when uncertain newes (without any head or author) was brought unto *Caſſus Longinus*, that his ſon was dead in a ſtrange countrey, ſo as he could neither know the truth, nor yet do away the doubtfull ſuſpition thereof, there came an ancient ſenatour to viſit him, and ſaid: What *Longinus*, will you not contemn and neglect his vaine bruit and headleſs rumor, raiſed (no doubt) by ſome malicious perſon? as if you neither had known nor read this ſentence:

No publick fame, nor vox popli
Was ever known in vaine to die.

As for him, who when a gentleman in the iſle of *Rhodus*, called for a theam, to vary upon, and to ſhew thereby his learning before the people in a frequent theater, gave him this verſe:

Avaunt out of this iſle, I do thee reed,
Moſt wicked wretch that lives, and that with ſpeed.

it is hard to ſay, whether he did of purpoſe, contumeliouſly, to deride this poor Grammarian, or committed an errour againſt his will? But to conclude this diſcourſe of verſes inſerted aptly and otherwiſe alledged, did very prettily appeaſe the ſtir and tumult among the regents and maſters of art aboveſaid.

THE SECOND QUESTION, AND THE THIRD.

What is the cauſe why Alpha, *(or* A*) was ranged firſt of all other letters? as alſo, what proportion, the number of vowels and ſemi-vowels hath been compoſed and ordained?*

WHereas the uſe and cuſtome was at *Athens*, during the foreſaid feaſts in the honour of the Muſes, the lots ſhould be carried round about the city, and they that chanced by drawing to be matched together, propounded one unto another queſtions of learning: *Ammonius* fearing

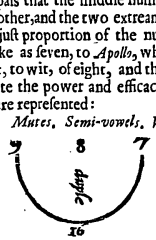
left

leſt ſome profeſſours of one and the ſame art, ſhould be committed in oppoſition together, tooke this order, and ordained, that without any lottery at all, a Geometrician might propoſe a queſtion unto a Grammarian; the Rhetorician unto a muſician, and ſo reciprocally anſwer them again by turnes: Hereupon *Hermias* the Geometrician put forth firſt unto *Protogenes* the Grammarian, a queſtion, urging him to tell the cauſe, why *A* was ſet formoſt of all the letters? who rendred unto him a reaſon which goeth for current in the ſchools: For this is certain (quoth he) that vowels may claim by a moſt juſt title, the place before all conſonants, whether they be mute or ſemi-vowels: and ſeeing that of vowels ſome be long, others ſhort, and a third ſort doubtfull, and as they ſay, of a double time: theſe of the laſt kind, ought by good right to be eſteemed of greater worth and puiſſance than the reſt; and of them, that is, to have and hold the place of a capitainneſs, which in compoſition and making of a diphthong, goeth alwayes before the other two, and never commeth behind: and that is *Alpha*, which never ſecondeth *Iota*, or *Upſilon* ſo, as that it will in ſuch compoſition, yeeld or help to make one ſyllable of thoſe twain: but in a kind of anger and indignation, leap back again unto her proper place: contrariwiſe, ſet *Alpha* with whether you will of the other two, ſo as ſhe may go before, ſhe will accord very well, and both together will make one entire ſyllable, as we may ſee in theſe words, ἄυσεν, ἄυλεν, as alſo in αἴας αἰθεῖδς, and an infinit number of others: thus in theſe three reſpects ſhe hath the victory, and carrieth the prize, like unto thoſe champions who are winners in *Quinquertium*, or the five ſeverall games, for ſhe hath the vantage above the multitude of other letters, in that ſhe is a vowell: above vowels, becauſe ſhe hath two times, as being one while long, and another while ſhort, & even of theſe double timed vowels ſhe hath the preeminence, by reaſon that ſhe ſtandeth alwayes before, and never followeth or commeth behind others.

When *Protogenes* had made an end of his ſpeech, *Ammonius* called unto me by name and ſaid: How now *Plutarch*, will not you aid *Cadmus*, being (as you are) a Bœotian as he was? for it is ſaid, that he placed *Alpha* before all other letters, for that *Alpha* in the Phœnician language ſignifieth a beef, reputed among them, not in the ſecond or third place, according to *Heſiodus*, but even the very firſt and principall of neceſſary moveables belonging to a man: Not I (quoth he) for I am bound to ſuccour (what I can) mine own grand-father, rather than the very grandſire of *Bacchus*; for my grand-father *Lamprias* was wont to ſay: That the firſt diſtinct and articulate voice which a man pronounceth, is by the power of *Alpha*; ſeeing that the breath and ſpirit within the mouth, is formed principally by the motion of the lips, which as they are opened and divided aſunder, yeeld by that ſimple overture this voice firſt, which of all other likewiſe is moſt ſimple, and performed with leaſt adoe, calling neither for the tongue to help it, nor waiting for the uſe thereof, but iſſueth forth, even when it lieth ſtill and ſtirreth not out of the owne place: and therefore it is the firſt voice that infants utter: hereupon alſo commeth this word ἄιεν, in Greek, which ſignifieth as much as to hear any voice, for that alwayes ſuch a ſound as *A* is uſually heard: yea, and many other like vocables, as ἀΐδειν, that is to ſay, to ſing; ἀυλεῖν, that is to ſay, to pipe; and ἀλαλάζειν, to cry and hollo; yea, and theſe words ἄϊξειν, to elevate or lift up, and ἀνοίγειν, that is to ſay, to open: not without good cauſe tooke theſe names upon the deduction and lifting up of the lips, whereby ſuch a ſound as *A*, is let forth, and falleth out of the mouth, and therefore the names of other mute conſonants, all ſave one, are helped by this *A*, which ſerveth as a light to cleer their blindneſs: for there is but *Pi*, or *P* only, wherein the power of this letter or ſound is not imployed: as for *Phi* and *Chi*, the one of them is *P*, and the other *K*, pronounced with (*h*) or an aſpiration.

Hereunto when *Hermias* ſaid, that he approved well of both reaſons: Why do not you then (quoth I) eſpound and deliver unto us, what is the proportion, if there be any, in the number of letters; for in mine opinion there is, which I collect by this argument, in that the multitude of mute conſonants and ſemi-vowels, in regard one of another, as alſo in reſpect of vowels, ariſeth not ſo by chance, but according to the firſt proportion which we call Arithmeticall, for there being nine, & eight, it commeth to paſs that the middle number between, as it ſurmounteth one, ſo it is equally ſurmounted of the other, and the two extreams being brought together, the greater in reſpect of the leſs, beareth the juſt proportion of the number of muſes, to that of *Apollo*; for nine, is attributed to the muſes, like as ſeven, to *Apollo*, which being joyned together, make the duple of that which is in the midſt, to wit, of eight, and that by good reaſon; for that the ſemi-vowel, between both, do participate the power and efficacy of the extreams, to wit, mutes and vowels; according to the figure here repreſented:

Mutes. Semi-vowels. Vowels.



Mercury (quoth he) was the firſt god who found out letters in *Egypt*: therefore the Aegyptians when they would repreſent the firſt letter, do paint *Ibis*, a fowle dedicated to *Mercury*: but not well in my judgement, thus to give the precedence and ſuperiority of all other letters unto a beaſt that uttereth neither voice nor ſound at all: Moreover, unto *Mercury* is conſecrated of all numbers,

bers, the quarternary eſpecially, and many there be who have written, that borne he was upon the fourth day of the month: now if you multiply four by four, you ariſe to ſixteen, the juſt number of thoſe firſt letters which were called Phœnician, inuented firſt by *Cadmus*. Of the other letters which afterwards were added to the reſt, *Pelamedes* deviſed one four; and *Simonides* put thereto another four: moreover, the firſt perfect number of all others is three, as having a beginning, a middle, and an end: after it the number of ſix, becauſe it is known very well to be equall in all the parts thereof: of theſe now, if ſix be multiplied by four, and the firſt quadrat or cube (8) by the firſt perfect number (3) they bring forth twenty four, the full number of all the letters in the alphabet. Whiles he thus ſpake ſtill, *Zopyrion* the Grammarian was perceived evidently to laugh at him and mumble ſome what between his teeth ſecretly: but ſo ſoon as he had made an end of ſpeech, he could no longer but out he ſpake and ſaid: That all this was nothing elſe but frivolous bibble-babble: For that (quoth *Zopyrion*) there can no ſound reaſon at all be given, but even by adventure and chance it fell out, that ſo many letters there were, and thoſe placed in ſuch order as they be: Like as (quoth he) that the firſt verſe of *Homers Iliads*, ſhould contain ſo many ſyllables juſt, as the firſt of his *Odyſſea*: and again, that the laſt of the one, ſhould anſwer in number of ſyllables even to the laſt of the other, is altogether a caſuall thing, happning ſo by meer fortune and not otherwiſe.

THE FOURTH QUESTION.

Whether hand it was of Venus *that* Diomedes *wounded?*

After this, when *Hermias* addreſſed himſelfe to propoſe unto *Zopyrion* a queſtion, we inhibited and ſtaied him. But *Maximus* the Rhetorician, came with a long fetch a far off out of *Homer*, and demanded of him: Whether hand it was of *Venus* that *Diomedes* wounded? With that *Zopyrion* to quit him again, asked him preſently: Of whether leg king *Philip* halted; The caſe quoth *Maximus* is not all one and the ſame: for *Demoſthenes* hath left unto us no means for to anſwer this queſtion: but if you confeſs once that you know not; others there be who will ſhew you the very place where *Homer* telleth them who have any wit to conceive, which hand of hers was hurt? *Zopyrion* at this ſpeech ſeemed to be aſtonied and ſtand in a maze; whereupon whiles he held his peace, we requeſted *Maximus*, to point unto us the place aforeſaid: Firſt and formoſt (quoth *Maximus* then) conſidering that the verſes runne in this wiſe:

Then leapt aſide Tideus *ſon,*
and traverſing his ground,
Stept to, and with ſharp pointed ſpear,
her hand aloft did wound.

It is plain and evident, that if he had meant to have ſmitten her left hand, he needed not to have leapt at one ſide, for he had the left hand of *Venus* juſt oppoſite unto his own right hand, when he directly affronted her: and more probable it is, and ſtands to great reaſon: that his intent was to hurt the ſtronger hand, and that which held *Aeneas* her ſon, whom ſhe ſeemed with violence to carry away, and which being wounded, ſhe might be forced to forgoe her hold, and let his body goe. Secondly, when *Venus* was returned up into heaven, *Minerva* by way of ſcoffing, laughed at her, and ſaid to *Jupiter* in this wiſe:

No doubt, fair Venus *hath ſuborn'd*
Some Greekiſh dame to love,
And follow one of theſe Troy *knights,*
whom ſhe affects above
All other wights: and while ſhe ſtroak't
this lady gently, See,
Her ſoft hand met with ſome cold claſp,
and ſo came ras'd to be.

And verily I ſuppoſe, that even your ſelfe good ſir, an excellent regent and profeſſor as you are, if at any time you would ſeem to make much of any of your ſcholers, to ſtroak and ſoftly to handle him, will not you do it with your left hand, but with the right: and even ſo, very like it is, that *Venus*, the moſt gentle and courteous goddeſs of all others, in this manner dealt with the Grecian ladies, when ſhe perſwaded them unto her mind.

THE FIFTH QUESTION.

What is the reaſon that Plato *ſaid, how the ſoul of* Ajax *came to the lot, in the* 20. *place?*

This pretty diſcourſe aforeſaid, pleaſed the whole company, and made them all merry, but one Grammarian named *Hilas*, whom *Soſpis* a profeſſor in Rhetorick, ſeeing to ſit all ſilent, ſad and heavy, (for that indeed he had ſped not very well, whenſoever he made proof of his ſcholers proceedings) came out with theſe verſes aloud:

Ajax *ſoule, the ſon of* Telamon,
Remained ſtill, and all alone.

and

and the reſt of the verſes following, he delivered in an higher note than ordinary, and rehearſed them aloſt unto him, in this wiſe:

But now good ſir come hither, that
my words you may well hear,
Repr. ſs your ire, this anger quench,
and tame your moody cheer.

But *Hyl s* grumbling ſtill in anger, bewraied no leſs by his croſs and impertinent anſwer, ſaying: That the ghoſt of *Ajax* in hell, took her turn in the twentieth place, and her lot was according to *Pl to*, to be tranſmuted into the nature of a lion: But for mine own part (quoth he) I think many times of the old mans ſaying in the comedy:

Better it were an aſſe to be
Indeed, than for a man to ſee
Thoſe live prefer'd in wordly pelf,
Who are for worth behind himſelfe.

Hereat *Soſpis* laughing heartily: But I beſeech you good *Hylas* (quoth he) meane while that we are turning into Aſſes and taking pack-ſaddles on our backs (if you regard and reſpect any thing the honour of *Plato*) declare unto us the reaſon, why he ſaid: That the ſoule of *Ajax* (him I meane who was *Telamons* ſon) came in the twentieth place to have her choice from the lottery? Which when *Hylas* flatly refuſed to do, (for he thought that they had made a mocking ſtock of him, becauſe he had but bad ſucceſs in his former trials:) my brother took the matter in hand: And what ſay you (quoth he) to this? may it not be for that *Ajax* carried the name alwayes for beauty, greatneſſe and valour,

Next after Peleus ſon (I ſay,)
Who was ſans peer for proweſs ay?

And you know that twenty makes up the ſecond decade; and the decade or number of ten, is of all numbers principally and moſt puiſſant, like as *Achilles* was among the princes of the Greeks. With that we all ſet up a laughter: Then *Ammonius*, Well (quoth he) *Lamprias*, you are diſpoſed thus to jeſt and play with *Hyl s*, but ſince of your own accord you have under-taken the charge, to deliver the cauſe thereof, let us intreat you to impart unto us not by way of ſport and merriment, but in good earneſt. *Lamprias* was at the firſt not a little troubled at this challenge, but after he had pauſed, and thought upon the matter a while, in the end he ſpake to this effect: It is an ordinary thing (quoth he) with *I ſaio*, to play with us many times merrily, by certain deviſed names that he uſeth: but whenſoever he inſerteth ſome fable in any treatiſe of the ſoul, he doth it right ſoberly, and hath a deep meaning, and profound ſence therein: for the intelligent nature of heaven, he calleth, a Chariot volant, to wit, the harmonicall motion and revolution of the world: and here in this place whereof we are now in queſtion (to wit, in the end of the tenth book of this Common-wealth) he bringeth in a meſſenger from hell, to relate newes of that which he had there himſelfe ſeen; and calleth him by the name of *Er*, a Pamphylian born, and the ſon of *Armonius*, giving us covertly (by an enigmaticall conveian e) thus much to underſtand: That our ſoules are engendred by harmony, and ſo joyned to our bodies, but when they be diſjoyned, and ſeparate from them, they run together all into aire from every ſide; and ſo returne again from thence unto ſecond generations: what ſhould hinder then but this word * *δίκοσον*, was put down by him not to ſhew a truth whereof he ſpake, but rather *εἰκαζον*, as a probable ſpeech, and conjecturall fiction, or elſe, a thing ſpoken (as it ſhould ſeem) to a dead body, and ſo uttered * vainly and at a venture in the aire: for *Plato* alwayes toucheth three cauſes, as being the philoſopher who either firſt knew, or principally underſtood how fatall deſtiny is mingled with fortune: and again, how our free will is wont to be joyned with either of them, or is complicate with both: and now in this place before cited, he ſheweth excellently well what power each of theſe cauſes hath in our humane affaires, attributing the choice and election of our life unto free will, (for vertue and vice be free and at the command of no lord) and tying to the neceſſicity of fatall deſtiny, a religious life to God-ward in them, who have made a good choice, and contrariwiſe in thoſe who have made a choice of the worſt: but the cadences or chance of lots, which being caſt at a venture, and lighting here and there, without order, befall to every one of us, bring in fortune, and preoccupate or prevent much of that which is ours, by the ſundry educations or governments of common weale, wherein it hapneth each of us to live: for this I would have every one of you to conſider, whether it be not meer folly and without all reaſon, to ſeek for a cauſe of that which is done by fortune and caſually; for if lot ſhould ſeem to come by reaſon, there were to be imputed no more to fortune or adventure, but all to ſome fatall deſtiny or providence.

* Which ſignifieth alſo the twentieth. * δὶς εἴκοσι.

Whiles *Lamprias* delivered this ſpeech, *Marcus* the Grammarian ſeemed to count and number (I wot not what) upon his fingers to himſelfe apart: but when he had made an end, he ſaid *Marcus* named aloud all thoſe ſoules or ſpirits which are called out in *Homers Necya*: Among which (quoth he) the ghoſt only of *Elpenor* wandering ſtill in the middle confines, is not reckoned with thoſe beneath in another world: for that his body as yet is not interred and committed to the earth: as for the ſoule of *Tireſias* alſo, it ſeemeth not to be numbered with the reſt,

To whom now dead Proſerpina
Above the reſt did give

The gift, alone right wiſe to be,
Although he did not live.

as alſo the power to ſpeake with the living, and to underſtand their ſtate and affaires, even before he had drunke the bloud of ſacrificed beaſts: If then (quoth he) O *Lamprias* you ſubſtract theſe two, and count the reſt, you ſhall find that the ſoule of *Ajax* was juſt the twentieth of thoſe which preſented themſelves to *Ulyſſes*; and hereto alluded *Plato*, as it ſhould ſeeme, by way of mirth, joyning his fable together with that evocation of ſpirits, otherwiſe called *Necyra* in *Homers Odyſſea*.

THE SIXTH QUESTION.

What is covertly meant by the Fable, wherein Neptune *is feigned to have been vanquiſhed: as alſo, why the Athenians take out the ſecond day of the month Auguſt.*

NOw then the whole company were grown to a certaine uprore, *Menephyllus* a Peripatetick Philoſopher calling unto *Hylas* by name: You ſee (quoth he) now, that this queſtion was not propounded by way of mockery and contumelious flouting: but you my good friend (leaving this froward and male-contented *Ajax*, whoſe name as *Sophocles* ſaith, is ominous, and of ill preſage) betake your ſelfe unto *Neptune*, and ſide with him awhile; who is wont to recount unto us himſelfe, how he hath been oftentimes overcome, to wit, in this City, by *Minerva*; at *Delphi*, by *Apollo*; in *Argos*, by *Juno*; in *Ægina*, by *Jupiter*; and in *Naxus*, by *Bacchus*: and yet in all his repulſes, diſaſtrous, and infortunities, he bare himſelfe alwaies mild and gentle, carrying no rancor or malice in his heart: for proofe hereof, there is even in this City a Temple common to him and *Minerva*, in which there ſtandeth alſo an altar dedicated to Oblivion: Then *Hylas* who ſeemed by this time more pleaſantly diſpoſed: But you have forgotten (quoth he) O *Menephyllus*, that we have abroliſhed the ſecond day of the month Auguſt, not in regard of the Moon, but becauſe it was thought to be the day upon which *Neptune* & *Minerva* pleaded for the ſeignory of this territory of *Attica*. Now I aſſure you (quoth *Lamprias*) *Neptune* was every way much more civill and reaſonable than *Thraſibulus*, in caſe being not a winner as the other, but a loſer, he could forget all grudge and malice.

A great breach and defect there is in the Greeke Originall, wherein wanteth the farther handling of this Queſtion, as alſo five Queſtions entire following, and a part of the ſixth, to wit:

7. *Why the accords in Muſick are divided into three?*
8. *Wherein differ the intervals or ſpaces melodious from thoſe that be accordant?*
9. *What cauſe is it that maketh accord? and what is the reaſon that when one toucheth two ſtrings accordant together, the melody is aſcribed to the baſe?*
10. *What is the cauſe that the ecliptike revolutions of Sun and Moone being in number equall, yet we ſee the Moone oftner eclipſed than the Sun?*
11. *That we continue not alwaies one and the ſame, in regard of the daily deſtux of our ſubſtance.*
12. *Whether of the twaine is more probable, that the number of ſtars is even or odde?*

Of this twelfth Queſtion thus much remaineth as followeth:

LYſander was wont to ſay, That children are to be deceived with cockall bones, but men with others: Then *Glaucias*, I have heard (quoth he) that this ſpeech was uſed againſt *Polycrates* the tyrant; but it may be that it was ſpoken alſo to others: But whereby do you demand this of me? Becauſe verily (quoth *Soſpis*) I ſee that children ſnatch at ſuch bones, and the Academiques catch at words: for it ſeemeth unto me, that theſe ſtomacks differ in nothing from them, who holding out their clutched fiſts play at handy dandy, and aske whether they hold in their cloſe hand even or odd? Then *Protogenes* aroſe, and calling unto me by name: What ſaile we (quoth he) and what is come unto us that we ſuffer theſe Rhetoricians and Orators thus to brave it out, and to mock others, being demanded nothing in the meane time, nor put to it for to contribute their ſcot and part unto this conference and theſe diſcourſes? unleſſe peradventure they will come in with this plea, that they have no part of this table talke in drinking wine, as being thoſe who admire and follow *Demoſthenes*, who in all his life time never drank wine: This is not the cauſe (quoth I) but the reaſon is, becauſe we have ſpurred them no queſtions: but if you have no better thing to aske, I will propoſe unto them a caſe of repugnancy in contrary laws or conditions, and the ſame drawn out of *Homer*,

THE THIRTEENTH QUESTION.

A queſtion as touching repugnant laws, taken out of the third Rhapſody or book of Homers *Ilias.*

AND what is the caſe, demanded he againe? I will tell you (quoth I) and withall propoſe it unto theſe here: and therefore let them give attentive eare: *Alexander Paris* in the third book

of *Homers* Ilias, giveth defiance to *Menelaus*, and challengeth him to a ſingle fight, with certaine conditions proteſting in this manner:

Let us betweene both armies meet without,
My ſelfe I mean, and Menelaus *ſtout:*
To try in ſingle fight upon this plaine
To which of us by right ſhall appertaine
Dame Helene, *with her goods: For look who ſhall*
Make good his ground, and quit himſelfe withall
So bravely, that the victory he gaine,
Have he her ſelfe, and jewels in domaine.

Hector againe publiſhing unto all, and declaring as well to Greeks as Trojans the ſame challenge and defiance of his brother *Paris*, uſeth in manner the very ſame words, ſaying:

His meaning is, that Greeks and Trojans all
Beſides, ſhould for the time ſurceaſe and quite
Lay down all arms upon the ground withall,
Whiles he and Menelaus *hardy knight,*
For Helen *faire, and all her jewels fight?*
And he that ſhall the better hand obtaine,
With him both Lady ſhall and goods remaine.

Now when *Menelaus* had accepted of theſe conditions, and both ſides were ſworne to the articles accorded, *Agamemnon* to ratifie the ſame by his royall aſſent, ſpake in this wiſe:

If Alexander *in plaine fight*
Shall Menelaus *kill:*
Dame Helene *he may lead away,*
And her goods at his will:
But ſay that Menelaus *brave*
Do Alexander *ſlay,*
The woman then and what ſhe hath
Let him ſtraight have away.

Now for that *Menelaus* vanquiſhed *Paris* indeed, but yet bereft him not of his life; either ſide had good plea to defend their cauſe oppoſite unto their enemies: for the Greeks pretended a right claime unto *Helena*, for that *Paris* was overcome: and the Trojans impleaded and denied to redeliver her, becauſe he was not left dead in the place: how ſhall this caſe then be decided and judged aright in ſo great a difference and contrariety? Certes it belongeth not to Philoſophers nor Grammarians alone; but it is for Rhetoricians alſo to determine hereof, who are both learned in Grammar and good letters; and withall, well ſeen in Philoſophy, as you be. Then *Soſpis* gave his opinion, and ſaid, That the cauſe and plea of the defendant challenged was far better and ſtronger, as having the Law directly on his ſide: for the aſſailant and challenger himſelfe denounceth under what conditions the combate ſhould be performed; which ſeeing the defendant accepted of, and yeelded unto, it lieth not in their power any more to adde ought thereto: for the condition compriſed in the challenge carried no words implying ſlaughter or death of any ſide; but the victory of the one, and the diſcomfiture of the other; and that with very great reaſon: for by right the Lady belonged to the better man, and more valiant; and the more valorous man is he who vanquiſheth: for otherwiſe it falleth out many times, that valiant and hardy men are ſlaine by very cowards; as afterwards *Achilles* himſelfe chanced to be killed by *Paris* with the ſhot of an arrow: neither will any man (I trow) ſay, that *Achilles* thus ſlaine was the leſſe valiant, or call this the victory; but rather the good fortune of *Paris* unjuſtly dealt, whoſe hap it was to ſhoot ſo right; whereas on the other ſide, *Hector* was vanquiſhed by *Achille*, before he was ſlain, for that he would not abide his comming, but for feare abandoned his ground and fled: for he that refuſeth combate and runneth away is in plaine tearmes vanquiſhed, and hath no excuſe to palliate or cloake his defeature; but flatly confeſſeth his enemie to be his better. And therefore, *Iris*, comming at firſt to *Helena* for to give her intelligence of this combate, ſaith unto her:

They will in combate fight it out
With long ſpeares now for thee:
And look who wins the victory,
His wife thou nam'd ſhalt be.

And afterwards *Jupiter* himſelfe adjudged the prize of victory unto *Menelaus* in theſe words:

Now plaine it is, the champion bold,
Sir Menelaus *hight,*
Hath quit himſelfe a man, and won
The prize in ſingle fight.

For it were a ridiculous mockery to ſay, That *Paris* had conquered *Achilles*, becauſe he ſtood behind afar off, and with the ſhot of an arrow wounded him in the foot, who never was ware of him, nor ſo much as looked for any ſuch thing; and that now when he refuſed combate, diſtruſted himſelfe, and ran out of the field like a coward to ſhroud and hide himſelfe within the boſome, and betweene the armes of a woman, being, as a man would ſay, diſarmed and deſpoiled of his weapons, even

even whiles he was alive, his concurrent ſhould not deſerve to carry away the victory, ſhewing himſelfe the conquerour in open field; even according to the conditions offered by *Paris* the challenger. Then *Glaucus* taking the matter in hand, impleaded and argued againſt him thus: Firſt (quoth he) in all Edicts, Decrees, Laws, Covenants, and Contracts, the laſt are reputed alwaies of greater validity, and do ſtand more firme than the former: but the ſecond covenants and the laſt, were they which were declared and publiſhed by *Agamemnon*; in which was compriſed, expreſſly death for the end of the combate, and not the diſcomfiture or yeelding of the party conquered: moreover, the former capitulation of covenants, paſſed only by parole and bare words; but the other which followed after, was ſealed and confirmed with an oath, yea, and a curſe and execration was ſet thereupon, for whoſoever ſhould tranſgreſſe the ſame: neither was it approved and ratified by one man alone, but by the whole Army together: in ſuch ſort as this latter paction and covenant ought properly and by right to be ſo called; whereas the former was nothing elſe but the intimation of a challenge and defiance given; in teſtimony whereof, *Priamus* alſo after the articles of combate were ſworn unto, departed out of the field, ſaying:

Great Jupiter *and other gods*
Immortall now do know,
Whoſe deſtiny it is to dye
Upon his overthrow.

For he wiſt well enough that the covenants of combate were capitulated and accorded upon this condition: and therefore it was, that a little after *Hector ſaith*:

God Jupiter *aloft in heaven*
Who ſits upon his throne,
The covenants ſworne hath not perform'd
Which were agreed and ſworne.

For as yet the combate remained unatchieved and unperfect, neither had it a certaine and doubtleſſe concluſion, conſidering neither the one nor the other of the champions was ſlaine: ſo that in mine opinion, there is no contrariety here at all; becauſe the former articles and conditions were compriſed in the ſecond: for no doubt, he that killeth hath overcome; but it followeth not, that he who vanquiſheth hath killed his enemy: but to ſay a truth, we may well plead thus: That *Agamemnon* did not reverſe or annull the challenge or defiance pronounced by *Hector*, but explained and declared it; neither altered he it, but added rather the principall point thereof, ſetting down expreſſly him for victor who killed his enemy; for this indeed is a compleat and abſolute victory; whereas all others have evaſions, pretended excuſes, and oppoſitions, ſuch as this of *Menelaus*, who wounded not his enemy, nor ſo much as purſued and followed after him: like as therefore in ſuch caſes wherein there is an evident contradiction of laws indeed, the judges are wont to pronounce award and ſentence, according to that which is moſt expreſly and clearly ſet down, leaving that which is doubtfull and obſcure; even ſo in this preſent caſe now in queſtion; that covenant which hath an evident concluſion, and admitteth no tergiverſation at all, we ought to eſteem more firm and effectuall: furthermore, that which is the chiefe and moſt principall point of all, even he him ſelfe who is ſuppoſed to be the victor, in that he retired not back, nor gave over ſeeking for him that fled, but went up and down, to and fro among the troups ſearching all about,

If haply of this gallant knight
Sir Paris *he might have a ſight,*

teſtifie plainly, that his victory was imperfect and of no validity; conſidering that his concurrent was eſcaped out of his hands, which put him in mind of the words which himſelfe a little before had ſaid:

The houre of death, to whether of us twaine
It come, let him lie dead upon the plaine:
As for the reſt, ſee every one apart,
And that with ſpeed, you home in peace depart.

And therefore it ſtood him upon neceſſarily to ſeek out *Alexander*, to the end, that having ſlaine him, he might accompliſh the entire execution of the combate, and gaine the end thereof; whereas, neither killing him out of the way, nor taking him priſoner, without all right he demanded the prize of victory: for in very truth he did not ſo much as vanquiſh him, if we may gather preſumptions and conjecturall arguments, even out of his own words, complaining as he doth of *Jupiter*, and lamenting to himſelfe, that he miſſed of his purpoſe, in theſe words:

O Jupiter, *in heaven above,*
No God there is againe,
More ſpightfull than thy ſelfe to me,
Nor cruell; to be plaine,
I made account, and ſo gave out,
Of Paris *in this place,*
Reveng'd to be for all his wrongs,
And working my diſgrace:
But now my ſword in hand is burſt,
My javelin lanc'd in vaine

With force of armes, hath done no hurt,
Nor wrought him any paine:

For himſelfe confeſſeth, that it was to no purpoſe, that he pierced thorow his enemies ſhield, and tooke away his armet that fell from his head, unleſſe he had wounded him therewith, and ſlaine him outright.

THE FOURTEENTH QUESTION.

As touching the Muſes and their number, certaine points not after a vulgar and common manner handled.

THis diſcourſe being thus finiſhed, we performed our oblations and libaments to the Muſes; and after we had ſung an hymn to *Apollo*, the leader and conductor of the Muſes, we chanted alſo to the ſound of an harpe, as *Eraton* plaied thereupon, thoſe verſes which *Heſiodus* wrote concerning the generation and birth of the Muſes: when our ſong was ended, *Herodes* the Rhetorician began his ſpeech in this wiſe: Liſten lordings (quoth he) you that would diſtract and pluck from us *Calliope*: they ſay (forſooth) that ſhe converſeth with Kings, and not with thoſe who can skill of unfolding ſyllogiſmes, or who propoſe difficult queſtions to ſuch as ſpeake big, and are of magnificent ſpeech, but thoſe rather who do and effect great matters, the works I meane which concerne Orators, Politicians, and Stateſmen: and as for *Clio*, of all the Muſes, ſhe admireth and avoweth the encomiaſticall orations, wherein are contained the praiſes of other artizans; for that in old time our anceſtors called praiſes, *Clea*: and *Polymneia* entertaineth hiſtory; which is nothing elſe but the memo riall or remembrance of many antiquities: and it is reported, that in ſome places, and namely, in **Chios*, they name all the Muſes *μνείας*, that is to ſay, memories: as for me, I challenge alſo to my ſelfe ſome part of **Euterpe*, if it be as *Chryſippus* ſaith, that ſhe it is, who hath allotted unto her the gift to entertaine meetings and conferences, with pleaſure, delectation, and grace: for an Orator is no leſſe aſtable in familiar converſation, than eloquent in pleading cauſes at the bar, or in opining and delivering his mind in conſultations at the Councill table; conſidering that the art and profeſſion of an Orator containeth the faculty and feate to win good will, do defend, maintaine, and juſtifie; but principally, and moſt of all, we imploy our greateſt skill in praiſing and diſpraiſing; which if we can order artificially and with dexterity, we are able to bring about and effect no ſmall matters and contrariwiſe, if we do unskilfully, and without art, we faile of the marke which we ſhoot at for this commendable title,

* Or, *Lion.*
* Or, *Terpſichore.*

O God, this man how acceptable
Is he to all, and venerable!

agreeth in my judgement to Orators, rather than to any other perſons, who have the skill to ſpeake well and to perſwade: a gift moſt requiſite, fit, and beſeeming thoſe that are to converſe with men. Then *Ammonius*: It were not well done of us (quoth he) O *Herodes*, if we ſhould be offended and angry with you, although you ſeem to comprehend all the Muſes together in your hand: for that among friends all things are common: and therefore it is, that *Jupiter* hath begotten many Muſes, that every man might draw abundance from them of all good things, and make no ſpare: for we have not all of us need of the skill in hunting, of military ſcience, of the art of navigation, nor of the mechanicall handicrafts of Artizans; but we all ſtand in need of learning and erudition,

As many as on fruits do feed,
Which for our uſe the earth doth breed.

And hereupon it is, that *Jupiter* hath procreated one *Minerva*, one *Diana*, and one *Vulcan*; but many Muſes: now that there ſhould be nine of them in number juſt, and neither more nor fewer, you will be ſo good (will you not) as to yeeld us a reaſon? for I ſuppoſe you are well ſtudied in this point, being as you are, ſo well affected unto them, and ſo much adorned by their graces. And what great learning (quoth *Herodes* againe) ſhould there be in that? For every man hath in his mouth the number of nine, and there is not a woman but ſingeth thereof, and is able to ſay, that as it is the firſt ſquare ariſing from the firſt odde number, ſo it is unevenly odde it ſelfe, as being divided into three odde numbers equall one to the other. Now ſurely (quoth *Ammonius*, and therewith ſmiled) this is manfully done of you, and ſtoutly remembred: but why do you not adde thereto, thus much more, for a corrollary and over-meaſure, that it is a number compoſed of the two firſt cubes, conſidering that it is made of an unity and an octonary: and after another manner likewiſe of compoſition, it ſtandeth of two triangled numbers, to wit, a ſenary, and a ternary, whereof both the one and the other is a perfect number: but what is the reaſon, that this novenary or number of nine agreeth better unto the Muſes than to any other gods or goddeſſes; for nine Muſes we have, but not nine *Cereſes*, nor nine *Minervaes*, nor yet nine *Dianas*? you are not (I trow) perſwaded that the cauſe hereof is, becauſe the name of their mother Μνημοσύνη, containeth juſt ſo many letters? *Herodes* laughed heartily hereat; and after ſome time of pauſe and ſilence, *Ammonius* ſollicited us to take the matter in hand, and ſearch the cauſe thereof. With that my brother began, and ſaid: Our ancients in old time knew of no more than three Muſes; but to prove ſo much by way of demonſtration, before this company, where there be ſo many wiſe men and learned clerks, were a meere uncivill and ruſticall part, favouring of vanity and oſtentation; but I aſſure you, the reaſon of this number was not (as ſome affirme) the three kinds of muſick or melody, to wit,

*Diato-

* Diatonique, * Chromatique, and * Harmonique; nor by occaſion of the three tearmes or bounds which make the intervals in an octave or eight of muſick harmonicall, to wit, *Nete*, *Meſe*, and *Hypate*, that is to ſay, the Treble, the Meane, and the Baſe: and yet verily, the Delphians ſo called the Muſes; wherein they did amiſſe, in my judgement, to reſtraine that generall name of them all to one ſcience, or rather to one part of a ſcience, to wit, the harmony of muſick: but our ancients (knowing well, that all arts and ſciences which are practiſed and performed by reaſon and ſpeech, are reduced to three principall kinds, Philoſophicall, Rhetoricall, and Mathematicall) reputed them to be the gifts and beneficiall graces of three deities or divine powers, which they called Muſes: howbeit, afterwards, and about the time wherein *Heſiodus* lived, when the faculties of theſe generall ſciences were better revealed and diſcovered, they perceived that each of them had three differences; and ſo they ſubdivided them into three ſubalternall ſorts; namely, the Mathematicks, into Arithmetick, Muſick, and Geometry; Philoſophy, into Logick, Ethick or Morall, and Phyſick or Naturall; as for Rhetorick, it had at the beginning for the firſt part, Demonſtrative, which was imployed in praiſes; for the ſecond, Deliberative, occupied in conſultations; and for the third, Judiciall, uſed in pleas and judgements: of all which faculties they thought there was not ſo much as one, that was invented, or could be learned without ſome gods or Muſes, that is to ſay, without the conduct and favour of ſome ſuperiour puiſſance: and therefore they did not deviſe and make ſo many Muſes, but acknowledged and found that ſo many there were: like as therefore, the number of nine is divided into three ternaries, and every one of them ſubdivided into as many unites; even ſo the rectitude of reaſon in the precellent knowledge of the truth, is one puiſſance, and the ſame common: but each of theſe three kinds is ſubdivided into three other; and every of them hath their ſeverall Muſe, for to diſpoſe and adorne particularly one of theſe faculties: for I do not thinke, that in this diviſion Poets and Aſtrologers can of right complaine of us for leaving out their ſciences; knowing (as they do) as well as we can tell them, that Aſtrology is contributed unto Geometry, and Poetry to Muſick. Upon this ſpeech *Tryphon* the Phyſician brake out into theſe words: But what meane you (I pray you) and how hath our poore art offended you, that it is excluded thus out of the temple and ſociety of the Muſes? Then *Dionyſius* of *Melitus*, added moreover, and ſaid, Nay, you have provoked many of us beſides, to complaine upon our diſcontentment in the ſame behalfe: for we that are gardeners and husbandmen imployed in agriculture, challenge a right and property in Lady *Thalia*, aſcribing unto her the care and charge of plants and ſeeds, that they may come up, grow, flower, increaſe, and be preſerved. But herein (quoth I) you do the man manifeſt wrong; for you have *Ceres* for your patronneſſe, ſurnamed *φυτάλμιος*, for giving us ſo many gifts; to wit, the fruits of the earth: yea, and *Bacchus* may go for a patron in this reſpect, who (as *Pindarus* ſaith,)

Taking the charge of trees that grow,
Doth cauſe them for to bud and blow:
The verdure freſh and beauty pure,
Of lovely fruits he doth procure.

And we know beſides, that Phyſicians have *Æſculapius* for their preſident and tutelar god, who ordinarily alſo uſe *Apollo* as he is ſurnamed, *Paan*, that is to ſay, the appealer of all paines and maladies, but never as he is, *Muſegetes*, that is to ſay, the prince and guide of the Muſes: True it is indeed, that according to *Homer*:

All mortall men of gods have need,
That they in their affaires may ſpeed.

Howbeit all men require not the help of all gods: But I wonder much at this, that *Lamprias* ſhould either forget or be ignorant of that common ſaying of the Delphians, who give out; That among them the Muſes beare not the name either of ſounds and notes, or of ſtrings; but whereas the whole world is divided into three principall parts or regions; whereof the firſt is of thoſe natures which be fixed and not erraticall; the ſecond, of ſuch as are wandering; and the third, of bodies under the ſpheare of the moon: theſe are every one diſtinctly digeſted, compoſed, and ordered by harmonicall proportions, and each of them (as they ſay) hath a Muſe to their keeper and preſident, to wit, the firſt or higheſt region, *Hypate*; the laſt or loweſt, *Nete*: and as for *Meſe* which is in the middle between, ſhe doth both comprehend and alſo turne about mortall things, (as much as it is poſſible, conſidering they come after) with divine and immortall, yea, and earthly natures with heavenly and celeſtiall, according as *Plato* himſelfe after a covert and ænigmaticall manner hath given us to underſtand, under the names of the three deſtinies, calling one, *Atropos*; another, *Lacheſis*; and a third, *Clotho*: for as touching the motions and revolutions of the eight heavenly Spheares, he hath attributed as preſidents unto them ſo many Syrens in number, and not Muſes.

* Plain-ſong or naturall muſick.
* Full of deſcant, quavers, and ſained voices.
* Melodious and ſtanding much of pleaſant conſent and accord.

Then *Menephylus* the Peripatetick coming in with his ſpeech: There is (quoth he) ſome reaſon and probability in the Delphians ſaying; but ſurely the opinion of *Plato* is abſurd, in that unto thoſe divine and eternall revolutions of the heavens, he hath aſſigned inſtead of Muſes the Syrens which are Dæmons, or powers not very kind and good, nor beneficiall; either leaving out as he doth the Muſes altogether, or elſe calling them by the names of the Deſtinies, and ſaying they be the daughters of Neceſſity: for ſurely Neceſſity is a rude thing and violent; whereas Perſwaſion is gentle and gracious; by the meanes of Muſes amiable, taming what it will, and in my mind,

Deteſteth more the durity,
And force of hard neceſſity.

than doth that grace and *Venus* of *Empedocles*. That is true indeed (quoth *Ammonius*) it abhorreth that violent and involuntary cauſe which is in our ſelves, enforcing us to do againſt our wils: but the neceſſity which is among the gods is nothing intollerable, nor violent, nor hard to be obeyed or perſwaded, but to the wicked, no more than the Law of a City, that unto good men is the beſt thing that is, and which they cannot pervert or tranſgreſſe; not becauſe it it impoſſible for them ſo to do, but for that they are not willing to change the ſame. Moreover, as touching thoſe Syrenes * of *Homer*, there is no reaſon that the fable of them ſhould affright us: for (after an ænigmaticall and covert ſort) even he ſignifieth very well unto us, that the power of their ſong and muſick is neither inhumane, nor pernicious or mortall; but ſuch as imprinteth in the ſoules which depart from hence thither, as alſo to ſuch as wander in that other world after death, a vehement affection to divine and celeſtiall things, together with a certaine forgetfulneſſe of thoſe that be mortall and earthly, detaining and enchanting them as it were with a pleaſure that they give unto them; in ſuch ſort as by reaſon of the joy which they receive from them, they follow after and turne about with them: now of this harmony there is a little eccho or obſcure reſonance commeth hither unto us, by the meanes of certaine diſcourſes, which calleth unto our ſoule, and putteth into her mind ſuch things as then and there are, whereof the greateſt part is encloſed and ſtopped up with the obſtructions of the fleſh, and paſſions that are not ſincere: howbeit, our ſoule, by reaſon of the generoſity wherewith it is endued, doth underſtand, yea, and remember the ſame, being raviſhed with ſo vehement an affection thereof, that the paſſion may be compared properly unto moſt ardent and furious fits of love, whiles ſhe ſtill affecteth and deſireth to enjoy, but is not able for all that to looſen and free her ſelfe from the body; howbeit, I do not accord and hold with him altogether in theſe matters: but it ſeemeth unto me, that *Plato* as he hath ſomewhat ſtrangely in this place, called the axes and poles of the world and heavens, by the names of ſpindles, rocks, and diſtaves, yea, and tearmed the ſtars, wherves: ſo, to the Muſes alſo he hath given an extraordinary denomination of Syrens, as if they related, and expounded unto the ſoules and ghoſts beneath, divine and celeſtiall things: like as *Ulyſſes* in *Sophocles* ſaith, that the Syrens were come:

The daughters who of Phorcis *were,*
That doth of hell the laws declare.

As for the Muſes they be aſſigned unto the eight heavenly ſpheares: and one hath for her portion the place and region next to the earth: thoſe then which have the preſidences and charges of the revolution of thoſe eight ſpheares, do keep, preſerve, and maintaine the harmony and conſonance, as well between the wandering planets and fixed ſtars, as alſo of themſelves one to another; and that one which hath the ſuperintendence of that ſpace between the moone and the earth, and converſeth with mortall and temporall things, bringeth in and inſuſeth among them, by the meanes of her ſpeech and ſong (ſo far forth as they be capable by nature and apt to receive the ſame) the perſwaſive faculty of the Graces, of muſicall meaſures and harmony: which faculty is very cooperative with civill policy and humane ſociety, in dulcing and appeaſing that which is turbulent, extravagant and wandering in us, reducing it gently into the right way, from blind-paths and errours, and there ſetleth it: but according to *Pindarus*,

Whom Jupiter *from heaven above*
Vouchſafeth not his gracious love,
Amaz'd they be and ſtie for feare
When they the voice of Muſes heare.

Wherto when *Ammonius* had given acclamation, alluding (as his manner was) unto the verſe of *Xenophanes* in this wiſe:

Theſe things do carry good credence
And to the truth have reverence.

and withall moved us every one to opine and deliver his advice: I my ſelfe after ſome little pauſe and ſilence, began thus to ſay: That as *Plato* himſelfe by the etymology of names (as it were by traces) thought to find out the properties and powers of the gods; even ſo let us likewiſe place in heaven and over celeſtiall things, one of the Muſes, which ſeemeth of the heaven to be called *Urania*. Certes, it ſtandeth to great reaſon, that theſe heavenly bodies require not much variety of government, for that they have but one ſimple cauſe, which is nature: but whereas there be many errors, many enormities and treſpaſſes thither we muſt tranſmit thoſe eight: one for to correct one ſort of faults and diſorders, and another for to amend and reforme another: and for that of our life, one part is beſtowed in ſerious and grave affaires, and another in ſport and game; and throughout the whole courſe thereof it hath need of a moderate temperature and muſicall conſent: that which in us is grave and ſerious ſhall be ruled and conducted by *Calliope*, *Clio*, and *Thalia*, being our guides in the skill and ſpeculation as touching gods and goddeſſes: as for the other Muſes, their office and charge is to ſupport and hold up that which is inclined and prone to pleaſure, play and diſport, not to ſuffer it through weakneſſe and imbecillity to run headlong into looſeneſſe and beſtiality; but to keep in repreſſe, and hold it in good and decent order with dancing, ſinging, and playing, ſuch as hath their meaſures, and is tempered with harmony, reaſon, and proportion: For mine own part, conſidering that *Plato* admitteth and ſetteth down in every one two principles and cauſes of all our actions;

actions; the one inbred and naturall; to wit, a deſire and inclination to pleaſures: the other comming from without forth; to wit, an opinion which covereth the beſt; inſomuch, as the one he calleth ſometime, Reaſon, and the other, Paſſion; and ſeeing that either of theſe againe admitteth diſtinct differences; I ſee certainly, that both of them require a great government; and in very truth, an heavenly and divine conduct: and firſt as touching Reaſon, one part thereof is civill and royall, namely, that which medleth in politike government, and matters of State: over which is placed, as *Heſiodus* ſaith, *Calliope*; *Clio* is allotted for her part principally, to advance, collaud, and encourage ambition or deſire of honour: *Polymneia* ruleth and preſerveth the vertue memorative, and the deſire of knowledge and learning, which is in the ſoule: and hereupon it is, that the Sicyonians of thoſe three Muſes which they honour, call one, *Polymathia*; and unto *Euterpe*, who attributeth not the skill and ſpeculation of truth in nature; as acknowledging no delights and recreations more pure, beautifull, and honeſt than it. To come now unto appetites and affections, that which concerneth eating and drinking, *Thalia* maketh civill, ſociable and honeſt: whereas, otherwiſe it would be inhumane, beaſtly, and diſordered; which is the reaſon that we ſay; thoſe men do θαλιάζειν, when they meet together friendly and merrily to make good cheere: but in no wiſe ſuch as become drunke, and grow to exceſſe and riotous miſdemeanours. As for the accords of love and *Venus*, *Erato* is ſhe that perſormeth them with her preſence; perſwading that the action thereof ſhould reſpect reaſon and the opportunity of time, cutting off wantonneſſe, and quenching the furious heat of luſt and pleaſure, making it for to determine and reſt in faithfull love and amity, and not to end in diſſolute and laſcivious intemperance. There remaineth yet the pleaſure of hearing and ſeeing, whether the ſame belong to reaſon or to paſſion; or rather appertaine in common to both: the other two Muſes, to wit, *Melpomene* and *Terpſichore*, are agents over them, which they compoſe and order in ſuch ſort, that as the one becommeth an honeſt delight, and not an enchantment of the eares; ſo the other contenteth the eyes as much, though it do not bewitch and corrupt the ſame.

The whole Chapter following is ſo defective and faulty in the Originall, that we know not by any conjecturall meanes to ſupply or reforme it.

THE FIFTEENTH QUESTION.

That in dancing there be three parts, Motions, Geſture, and Shew: what every of them is? alſo, what community there is between the art of Poetry and the feat of dancing.

After this, there was propoſed a tart or cake called *Pyramis*, as the prize of victory for * children, who dance beſt: and for umpires and judges were choſen *Meniſſus* the ſchoole-maſter, and *Lamprias* my brother: for before-time he had danced the warlike moriske very prettily, and was held in the dancing ſchooles and places of exerciſe, to have the beſt grace in geſticulation with his hands when he danced, above all other boies whatſoever: now when as many had danced and ſhewed therein more affection than elegancy, and more heart than art; ſome there were of the company, who having choſen two more expert than the reſt, and who affected greatly to obſerve the rules of art, prayed them to dance φορὰν παρὰ φορὰν, as one would ſay, motion after motion, or one hour after another. Hereupon *Thraſibulus* the ſon of *Ammonius*, demanded what this tearme φορὰ, that is to ſay, motion, ſignified in this place, which miniſtred matter, and gave occaſion unto *Ammonius* to diſcourſe more at large concerning the parts of dancing; for he ſaid, That there were three parts thereof, namely, φορὰ, σχῆμα, and δεῖξις: For that (quoth he) a dance is compounded of motions, geſtures, or countenances, like as ſongs ſtandeth upon ſounds, and times, or reſts between; for pauſes and ſtaies are the ends of motions herein; and verily thoſe motions, profeſſors call φορὰς; but the diſpoſitions and habitudes, σχήματα unto which the motions do tend, and wherein they reſt and end; namely, when in the forme and geſture of their body, they repreſent *Apollo* or *Pan*, or ſome of theſe raging *Bacchæ*, ſo as a man at the firſt ſight may acknowledge their part expreſly reſembled: as for the third part, called δεῖξις, it is not a feigned imitation, but a lively and true demonſtration of the ſubject matters in the dance: for like as the Poets when they would plainly and barely name *Achilles*, *Ulyſſes*, the Earth, or Heaven, uſe their proper tearmes to expreſſe them, and even ſuch as the vulgar know them by; but for the greater emphaſis and repreſentation as it were to the life of that which they meane to deliver, they uſe otherwhiles words of their own making, and borrowed Metaphors; as namely, when they would ſignifie the noiſe of running water, they are wont to ſay, they do κελαρύζειν, and καχλάζειν: and for to expreſſe the flight of arrows, they tell us that they flie κλαιόμενα χροὸς ἔσσω, that is to ſay:

With hot deſire, and haſte they make
Of fleſh and blood their fill to take.

Alſo to ſhew a doubtfull battell, wherein it is hard to ſay whether part ſhall have the better hand; they come with theſe tearmes:

ἴσας δ' ἐρίδι κεκαδὼς ἔχεν.
The fight two heads alike in view,
Confronting equally did ſhew.

Likewiſe

* παῖδες, ſome read πάσι, that is to ſay all.

Likewiſe to expreſſe that which they would ſay, they deviſe and coine many compoſitions of names in their verſes, as for example: *Euripides* ſpeaking of *Perſeus*:

Then Gorgon-ſlayer *mounting hie,*
In aire of Jupiter *did flie.*

Semblably *Pindarus* writing of the horſe:

What time as he with courage ſtout,
* *Spurleſſe, his body gave ſo ſtrong,*
To runne a race from bout to bout,
Upon Alpheus *banks along.*

* ἀκέντητον.

Yea, and *Homer* deſcribing a courſe at horſe-running:

The chariots with braſſe and tin,
Bedight upon the plaine,
And drawn by ſure ſwift-footed ſteeds,
Were ſeen to run amaine.

Even ſo it is in dancing, for that which they call σχῆμα, that is to ſay, geſture, repreſenteth the forme and the viſage: φορά, that is to ſay, the motion, expreſſeth emphatically ſome affection, action, or power of the mind; but by the ſhews, which they call δείξεις, properly and promptly, the very things themſelves; as for example, the earth, the heaven, the aſſiſtants or ſtanders by; which being done in order, number, and meaſure, reſemble thoſe proper names which otherwhiles in Poetry are uſed, running roundly with the ornaments of their attributes and epithets in this manner:

Themis modeſt, venerable:
Uenus black-eyed, amiable:
Queen Juno *with her gold-crown honour'd,*
Faire Dione *and well favour'd.*
Alſo,
From Hellen *came renowned Kings,*
* θεμιστόλοι. *Of* * *laws protectors grave,*
Sir Dorus, Xanthus, Æolus,
* ἱππιοχάεμις. ** Who joyed in horſes brave.*

for otherwiſe if Poets ſhould not thus do, their ſtile would be very baſe, and their verſes ſtarke naught, and without all grace, as if one ſhould pen them in this ſort ſimply without all epithets:

From one deſcended Hercules,
And from another Iphytus,
This Ladies ſire, her husband eke,
And ſon, were Kings all in their courſe:
Her brethren alſo were the like,
And ſo were her progenitors.
Who liſt to know what dame ſhe was
Greece *cleaped her* Olympias.

For the like faults and errours are committed at dancing in the foreſaid ſhews, if they carry not a probable likelihood and a grace with them, and the ſame accompanied with decency and an unaffected ſimplicity: in one word, we may fitly transfer the Apophthegme of *Simonides*, from painting unto dancing, and ſay thus, That a dance is a mute poeſie, and poeſie a ſpeaking dance; inſomuch (quoth he) as neither painting dependeth upon poeſie, nor poeſie of painting, as having no need at all one of the other: whereas between dancing and poetry all things are common, are participating one with another in every thing, and repreſenting, both of them one and the ſame thing, eſpecially in thoſe ſongs to dance, which they call *Hyporchemata*, wherein is performed the moſt effectuall and lively reſemblance of the one, by geſture, and of the other, by words and names: ſo that poems ſeem aptly to be compared unto the lines and pourfling in a picture, by which the formes of viſages are drawn; inſomuch as he who hath proceeded well in thoſe *Hyporchemata*, and is become excellent in that feat, ſheweth plainly, that theſe two arts neceſſarily have need the one of the other: for he who chanteth out this ſong,

ἀπέλασον ἵππον, ἠκύτα ἀμυκλαίαν ἀγωνίδ', &c.
That is to ſay;
I play the horſe of Theſſaly,
Or elſe the hound of Amycly.

following and purſuing with his foot the meaſures, and expreſſing the winding and turning ſound of the voice; or this other ſong,

* This place is corrupt in the originall, that un-till it be reſtored I think it boot-leſſe to go about to interpret it.

* διὸ ἀνάδωτον, ἀνδεμόεντα πεδίον πέτεται
δαιδάλου κεφάλα εὑρήσῃ μανίων ἕλδωρ
τὰν δ' ἐπ' ἀυχένι σείσεται ἔτερον κάρα πάντα ἕτοιμον, &c.

declareth thereby, that poems do in manner provoke the diſpoſition and geſture of dancing, drawing with the ſound of verſes, as it were with certaine cords, both hands and feet, or the whole body rather, ſtretching out every member thereof in ſuch ſort, as when they be pronounced and chanted forth, there is not one of them that can reſt in quiet: by occaſion whereof, the party who ſingeth ſuch ſongs, is not abaſhed to praiſe himſelfe no leſſe for his ſufficiency in the art of dancing, than his

his accompliſhed skill in Poeſie: and as he were wrapt with ſome divine inſtinct, breaketh out into this note:

How old ſoever that I be,
I can yet foot it merrily.

And this manner of dancing to the meaſures they call, the Candiot dance: howbeit, now adaies there is nothing ſo ill taught, ſo badly practiſed, and ſo much depraved and corrupted as is this ſeat of dancing: and therefore that is befallen unto it, which *Ibycus* the Poet fearing, wrote of himſelfe in theſe verſes:

For honour loſt among the gods, I dread,
With men alone I ſhall be honoured.

For having aſſociated her ſelfe to (I wot not what) triviall and vulgar Poeſie, and being fallen from that which was ancient, divine, and heavenly, ſhe ruleth and beareth ſway only in fooliſh and amazed theaters, where like a tyranneſſe ſhe hath in ſubjection a ſmall deale of Muſick (God wot) good enough to pleaſe and content the vulgar ſort; but among wiſe men and divine indeed, it hath (to ſay a truth) loſt all honour and reputation.

Theſe were in manner the laſt philoſophicall diſcourſes (O *Saſſius Senecio*) which were held at that time in good *Ammonius* his houſe, during the feſtivall ſolemnity of the Muſes.

The Opinions of Philoſophers.

The Summary.

FOraſmuch as in the Preface to the ſecond tome, containing the *Miſcellanes* or *mixt works* of Plutarch, he ſpake of theſe gatherings out of naturall Philoſophy, and of the fruit that may be reaped thereout, by diſcerning true opinions from falſe; we will not rehearſe againe here that which was delivered in that place: but propoſe unto the eyes of the Reader the bare titles of every Chapter throughout theſe five books, which the Author hath joyned together, for to ſhew the Opinions of the ancient Philoſophers, as touching the expoſition of the principall points of naturall Philoſophy.

Chapters of the firſt Book.

1. *What is Nature.*
2. *What difference there is between a principle, and an elament.*
3. *As touching Principles, what they be.*
4. *How the world was compoſed.*
5. *Whether All be One.*
6. *How it commeth that men have a notion of God.*
7. *What is God.*
8. *Of heavenly intelligences, or powers called Demons, and of Demi-gods.*
9. *Of the firſt Matter.*
10. *Of the Forme called* Idea.
11. *Of cauſes.*
12. *Of Bodies.*
13. *Of the leaſt indiviſible bodies or Atomes.*
14. *Of Figures.*
15. *Of Colours.*
16. *Of the ſection of bodies.*
17. *Of Mixture and Temperature.*
18. *Of Voidneſſe.*
19. *Of Place.* τόπος.
20. *Of Space.* χώρα.
21. *Of Time.*
22. *Of the eſſence of Time.*
23. *Of Motion.*
24. *Of Generation and Corruption.*
25. *Of Neceſſity.*
26. *Of the eſſence of Neceſſity.*
27. *Of Deſtiny.*
28. *Of the ſubſtance of Deſtiny.*
29. *Of Fortune.*
30. *Of Nature.*

Chapters of the ſecond Book.

1. *Of the World.*
2. *Of the figure of the World.*
3. *Whether the World be endued with ſoule, and governed by providence.*
4. *Whether the World be incorruptible.*
5. *Whereof the World is nouriſhed.*
6. *With what Element God began to frame the World.*
7. *The order of the Worlds Fabrick.*
8. *For what cauſe the World bendeth or copeth.*
9. *Whether there be any voidneſſe without the World.*
10. *Which is the right ſide of the World, and which is the left.*
11. *Of Heaven, and what is the ſubſtance thereof.*
12. *The diviſion of Heaven, and how many circles it is divided into.*
13. *What is the ſubſtance of the Stars, and how they be compoſed.*
14. *The figure of the Stars.*
15. *The order and ſituation of the Stars.*
16. *The lation or motions of the Stars.*
17. *Whence the Stars have their light.*
18. *Of the Stars called* Dioſcuri, *that is to ſay,* Caſtor *and* Pollux.
19. *The ſignifiance of Stars: how commeth winter and ſummer.*
20. *The ſubſtance of the Sun.*
21. *The*

21. The greatnesse of the Sun.
22. The forme of the Sun.
23. The solstices or Sun-steeds, or the conversions of the Sun.
24. The eclipse of the Sun.
25. The substance of the Moon.
26. The bignesse of the Moon.
27. The forme of the Moon.
28. The illumination of the Moon.
29. The eclipse of the Moon.
30. The face or apparence of the Moon; and why she seemeth earthly.
31. The distance that is between Sun and Moon.
32. Of the Year; and how much is the great year; and the revolution of each planet.

Chapters of the third Book.

1. OF the circle Galaxia, or the milk way.
2. Of Comets or blasing starsof starrs that seem to shoot or fall; as also of the fire-lights, or meteors called beames.
3. Of thunders, lightnings, flashings, of the burning winds, called Prefteres, and Typhons.
4. Of Clouds, Rain, Snow, and Haile.
5. Of the Rainbow.
6. Of rods or strakes in the skie.
7. Of Winds.
8. Of Winter and Summer.
9. Of the Earth: what is the substance thereof: and how big it is.
10. The forme of the Earth.
11. The positure and situation of the Earth.
12. The bending of the Earth.
13. The Motion of the Earth.
14. The division of the Earth.
15. The Zones and Climates of the Earth, how many and how great they be.
16. Of Earthquakes.
17. Of the Sea: how it is concret; and how it comes to be bitter.
18. How come the Tides, that is to say, the ebbing and flowing of the seas.
19. Of the circle called Halo.

Chapters of the fourth Book.

1. OF the rising of Nilus.
2. Of the Soule.
3. Whether the soule be corporall: and what is her substance.
4. The parts of the Soule.
5. Which is the Mistris or principall part of the Soule, and wherein it doth consist.
6. Of the Soules motion.
7. Of the Soules immortality.
8. Of the Senses and sensible things.
9. Whether the Senses and Imaginations be true.
10. How many Senses there be.
11. How sense and notion is performed, as also how reason is ingendred according to disposition.
12. What difference there is between imagination, imaginable, and imagined.
13. Of Sight, and how we do see.
14. Of the reflexions or resemblances in Mirrors.
15. Whether Darknesse be visible.
16. Of Hearing.
17. Of Smelling.
18. Of Tasting.
19. Of the Voice.
20. Whether the Voice be incorporall: and how commeth the resonance called Ecchо.
21. How it is that the soule hath sense: and what is the principall and predominant part thereof.
22. Of respiration.
23. Of the Passions of the Body: and whether the Soule have a fellow-feeling with it of paine.

Chapters of the fifth Book.

1. OF divination or fore-knowledge of future things.
2. How dreames come.
3. What is the substance of naturall seed.
4. Whether naturall seed be a body.
5. Whether females, as well as males, do yeeld naturall seed.
6. After what manner Conceptions are.
7. How males and females are ingendred.
8. How Monsters are ingendred.
9. What is the reason, that a woman accompanying oftentimes carnally with a man doth not conceive.
10. How twins, both two and three at once, be occasioned.
11. How commeth the resemblance of parents and progenitors, in children.
12. What is the cause that infants be like to some other, and not to the parents.
13. How women prove barren, and men unable to ingender.
14. What is the reason that mules be barren.
15. Whether the fruit within the wombe is to be accounted a living creature or no.
16. How such fruits be nourished within the womb.
17. What part is first accomplished in the womb.
18. How it commeth to passe, that Infants borne at seven months end do live, and are livelike.
19. Of the generation of living creatures; how they be ingendred, and whether they be corruptible.
20. How many kinds there be of living creatures; whether they all have sense and use of reason.
21. In what time living creatures receive forme within the mothers womb.
22. Of what elements is every generall part in us composed.
23. How commeth sleep and death; whether it is of soule or body.
24. When and how a man beginneth to come unto his perfection.
25. Whether it is soule or body that either sleepeth or dieth.
26. How Plants come do grow, and whether they be living creatures.
27. Of nourishment and growth.
28. From whence proceed appetites, lusts, and pleasures in living creatures.
29. How the feaver is ingendred: and whether it be an accessary or symptome to another disease.
30. Of health, sickneſſe, and old age.

The First Book of Philosophers Opinions.

The Prohem.

BEing minded to write of naturall Philosophy, we thinke it necessary in the first place, and before all things else to set down the whole disputation of Philosophy, by way of division: to the end that we may know which is naturall, and what part it is of the whole. Now the Stoicks say, that sapience or wisdome is the science of all things, as well divine as humane; and that Philosophy is the profession and exercise of the art expedient thereto, which is the only supreame and soveraigne vertue; and the same divided into three most generall vertues; to wit, Natural, Moral, and Verbal: by reason whereof Philosophy also admitteth a threefold distribution; to wit, into Naturall, Morall, Rationall, or Verball: the Naturall part is that, when as we enquire and dispute of the world and the things contained therein: Morall, is occupied in intreating of the good and ill that concerneth mans life: Rationall or Verball, handleth that which perraineth unto the discourse of reason and to speech, which also is named Logick or Dialectique, that is to say, Disputative. But *Aristotle* and *Theophrastus*, with the Peripatetick, in manner all, divide Philosophy in this manner; namely, into Contemplative and Active: For necessary it is (say they) that a man (to attaine unto perfection) should be a spectatour of all things that are, and an actor of such things as be seemly and decent, and may the better be understood by these examples: The question is demanded, whether the Sun be a living creature, according as it seemeth to the sight to be, or no? He that searcheth and enquireth into the truth of this question, is altogether therein speculative, for he seeketh no farther than the contemplation of that which is; semblably, if the demand be made, whether the World is infinite? or if there be any thing without the pourprise of the World? for all these questions be meere contemplative. But on the other side moved it may be, How a man ought to live? How he should governe his children? How he is to beare rule and office of State? And lastly, in what manner laws are to be ordained and made? For all these are sought into, in regard of action, and a man conversant therein, is altogether active and practique.

CHAP. I.

What is Nature?

SInce then, our intent and purpose is to consider and treat of naturall Philosophy, I think it needfull to shew first, what is Nature: for absurd it were to enterprise a discourse of naturall things, and meane-while to be ignorant of Nature and the power thereof. Nature then (according to the opinion of *Aristotle*) is the beginning of motion and rest, in that thing wherin it is properly and principally not by accident: for all things to be seen (which are done neither by fortune nor by necessity, and are not divine, nor have any such efficient cause) are called Naturall, as having a proper and peculiar nature of their own; as the Earth, Fire, Water, Aire, Plants, and living Creatures. Moreover, those other things which we do see ordinarily engendered, as Raine, Haile, Lightning, Prefteres, Winds, and such like; for all these have a certaine beginning; and every one of them was not so for ever, and from all eternity, but did proceed from some original: likewise living Creatures and Plants have a beginning of their motion; and this first principle is Nature: the beginning not of motion only, but also of rest and quiet; for whosoever hath had a beginning of motion, the same also may have an end: and for this cause Nature is the beginning as well of rest as of moving.

CHAP. II.

What difference there is between a principle and an element.

Aristotle and *Plato* are of opinion, that there is a difference between a Principle and an Element; but *Thales Milesius* thinketh they be both one: howbeit, there is a great difference between the one and the other; for elements be compounded; whereas we hold, that the first principles neither be compounded, nor are any compleat substance: and verily, Earth, Water, Aire, and Fire, we tearme Elements; but Principles we call other Natures in this respect, that there is nothing precedent or before them, whereof they are ingendred: for otherwise, if they were not the first, they should in no wise be Principles, but that rather were to be so called, whereof they be ingendred. Now certain things

things there are precedent, whereof earth and water, &c. be composed; to wit, the first matter, without all forme and shape; as also the first forme it selfe, which we call *Entelechia*; and thirdly, Privation. *Thales* therefore is in an errour, when he saith, that water was both the Element and Principle or first beginning of all things.

CHAP. III.

Of principles or first beginnings, what they be.

Thales the Milesian affirmed, that Water was the first principle of the whole World: and this man seemeth to have been the first author of Philosophy: and of him took the Ionique sect of Philosophers their name (for many families there were successively of Philosophers) who having studied Philosophy in *Ægypt* went to *Miletum*, when he was far stept in yeares, where he maintained this position: That, as all things were made of Water; so all things were to be resolved againe into Water. The reasons of this conjecture of his were these: first, because naturall seed is the principle and beginning of all living creatures, and that is of a moist substance; therefore probable it is, that all other things likewise have humidity for their principle: secondly, for that all sorts of plants be nourished by moisture, which if they want they wither and fade away: thirdly, considering that the fire or the sun it selfe, and the stars is nourished and maintained by vapours proceeding from the waters, the whole world also by consequence consisteth of the same: which is the reason, that *Homer* (supposing all things to be engendred of water) saith thus:

The ocean sea from whence each thing
Engendred is, and hath beginning.

But *Anaximander* the Milesian holdeth: that Infinity is the principle of all: for every thing proceedeth from it, and resolveth into it againe: and therefore there be engendred infinite worlds, and those vanish againe into that whereof they be engendred: and why is there this Infinity? Because (quoth he) there should never faile any generation, but still have subsistence, howbeit, even he also erreth herein; for that he declareth not what is this Infinity whereof he speaketh, whether it be aire, water, or any other body? he faileth likewise in this, that he putteth down a subject matter, but overthroweth the efficient cause: for this Infinity whereof he talketh is nothing else but matter; and matter cannot attaine to perfection, nor come into act; unlesse there be some moving and efficient cause. *Anaximenes* the Milesian maintaineth that aire is the principle of the world; for that all things come of it, and returne unto it: Likeas (quoth he) our soule which is aire keepeth us alive; even so spirit and aire maintaine the Being of the whole world: for spirit and aire be two words signifying both one thing. But this Philosopher is out of the way as well as the rest, in that he thinketh that living creatures be composed of a simple spirit, or uniforme aire: and impossible it is that there should be but one principle of all things, to wit, matter; but there ought withall to be supposed an efficient cause: for it is not enough to be provided of silver or gold, for to make a vessell or piece of plate, if there come not unto it the efficient cause, to wit, the gold-smith: semblably we are to say of brasse, wood, and all other sorts of matter.

Anaxagoras the Clazomenian is perswaded, and so teacheth: That the principles of the world, and all that therein is are small like parcels; which he tearmeth *Homœomeries*; for he thought it altogether absurd and impossible, that any thing should be made of that which is not; or be dissolved into that which hath no being; for howsoever we take our nourishment simple and uniforme; as for example, eate bread of corne, and drinke water, yet with this nutriment are nourished haires, veines, arteries, sinews, bones, and other parts of the body: which being so, Confesse we must (quoth he) likewise, that in this food which we receive are all things which have their Being; and that all things do grow and encrease of that which hath Being: so that in this nourishment be those parcels which breed bloud, sinews, bones, and other parts of our body, which may be comprehended by discourse of reason; for we are not to reduce all unto the outward sense, to shew and prove that bread and water effect these things: but it may suffice, that in them these parts are conceived by reason: Insomuch therefore as in nourishment there be parcels semblable unto that which they breed in that regard he called them *Homœomeries*, affirming them to be the principles of all things; and even so he would have these semblable parcels to be the matter of all things; and for efficient cause, he setteth down a mind or understanding that ordereth and disposeth all. And thus beginneth he to go to worke, and reasoneth in this wise. All things at first were consumed and hudled together pell-mell; but that mind or understanding doth sever, dispose, and set them in order: in this one thing yet he hath done well, and is to be commended, that unto the matter he hath adjoyned a workman.

Archelaus an Athenian the son of *Apollodorus*, affirmeth, that the principle of all things was the infinite aire, together with the condensation, and rarefaction thereof; of which the one is fire, and the other water: and these Philosophers, following by continuall succession one upon another after *Thales*, made that sect which is called *Ionique*. But from another head, *Pythagoras* the son of *Mnesarchus*, and a Samian borne, the first author of the name of Philosophy; held that the principle of all things were Numbers, and their symmetries, that is to say the proportions that they have in their correspondency one unto another; which he calleth otherwise Harmonies: and those elements that be composed of them both, are tearmed by him Geometricall: furthermore, he reckoneth among

among Principles, Unity, and twaine indefinite; of which, the one tendeth and hasteneth to an efficient and speciall cause, to wit, a Mind, and the same is God; the other unto a passive and materiall cause, namely the visible world: Moreover, he thought that the Denarii or ten, was the absolute nature and perfection of numbers; for that all men, as well Greeks as Barbarians, count untill Ten, and when they be thither come, they returne back againe unto unity: over and besides he said, That all the power of Ten consisted within foure, and in a quaternary; the reason is this: that if a man begin at one, and reckon on still, numbring upright unto foure, he shall make up ten; surpasse he once the quaternary, he is gone beyond the denarie; as for example, one and two make three, three thereto arise to six, put thereto foure, and you have ten: insomuch as number collected by unities resteth in ten; but the force and puissance thereof lieth in foure. The Pythagoreans therefore were wont to sweare by the quaternary or number of foure, which they held to be the greatest oath that they could take, as appeareth by this Distinction:

I sweare by this quaternity,
That yeelds our soules fountaine,
Which of natures eternity.
Doth seed and root containe.

And our soule (as he saith) doth consist of the quaternary number; for there is in it understanding, science, opinion, and sense: from whence proceedeth all manner of art and knowledge, and whereupon we our selves are called reasonable: as for understanding, it is that unity; for that it conceiveth and knoweth not but by unity; as for example, There being many men, they are not every one in particular subject to our senses, but incomprehensible and infinite; mary in our understanding we conceive and comprehend this one man alone, unto whom none is like: and so in our cogitation we consider one man only; but if he be considered particularly apart, they are infinite: for all these genders and kinds are in unity; and therefore when the question is asked of a particular man, what he is? we yeeld a generall definition, and say, He is a reasonable creature apt to discourse by reason; and so likewise of this or that horse, we must answer, That he is a living creature, having a property to neigh. Thus you see how understanding is unity, whereby we understand these things: but the binary or number of two is by good right an indefinite science: for all demonstration and proofe of any science, yea, and moreover, all manner of syllogisme or argumentation, doth collect a conclusion which was doubtfull, or certaine premised propositions, confessed as true: whereby it sheweth easily another thing, whereof the comprehension is science; and so it appeareth, that science by a likelihood is the binary number: but opinion by good reason may be said, the ternary number by comprehension; for that opinion is of many, and the ternary number implyeth a plurality or multitude, as we may see by the Poet when he saith:

Thrice happy men
Those Greeks were then,

And for this cause *Pythagoras* made no reckoning of three, whose sect bare the name of *Italique*, for that he (not able to endure the tyrannicall dominion of *Polycrates*) departed from *Samos*, his native Country, and went to keep his schoole in *Italy*.

Heraclitus and *Hippasus* the Metapontine, were of opinion, that Fire was the principle and beginning of all: for of fire, say they, all things are made, and in fire they shall have an end; and when it is extinct and quenched, the universall world is in this manner engendred and framed: for first and formost the grossest part thereof being condensate and thrust together into it selfe, becommeth earth, and afterwards, when the same earth is resolved by fire, it turneth to be water; which when it doth evaporate, is converted into aire: againe, the whole world, and all the bodies therein contained, shall be one day consumed by fire in that generall conflagration and burning of all: whereby he concludeth, that fire is the beginning of all things, as that whereof all was made, and the end likewise, for that all things are resolved into it.

Epicurus the Athenian, son of *Neocles*, following the Philosophy of *Democritus*, saith, That the principles of all things be certaine Atomes, that is to say, little bodies indivisible, and by reason only perceptible, the same solid, and admitting no vacuity, not engendred, immortall, eternall, incorruptible, such as neither can be broken, nor receive any forme of the parts, ne yet be otherwise altered: These (quoth he) being perceptible and comprehended by reason, move notwithstanding in emptinesse, and by emptinesse; and as the same voidnesse is infinite, so the said bodies also be in number infinite: howbeit, these three qualities are incident unto them, figure, bignesse, and weight: for *Democritus* allowed them but twaine, to wit, bignesse, and figure, but *Epicurus* added unto them a third, namely, poise or ponderosity. For these bodies (quoth he) must of necessity move by the permission of the weight; otherwise they could not possibly stir: the figures also of their bodies, (he said) were comprehensible and not infinite; and these were neither hooked nor three-forked, ne yet round in manner of a ring, for such formes are apt to breake: as for the Atomes themselves, they be impassible and infrangible, having certaine figures, no otherwise perceptible, but by reason; and such a body is called *Atomos*, not in this regard, that it is the least of all, but for that it cannot be divided as being impassible, and admitting no vacuity: and therefore he that nameth an Atome, saith as much, as infrangible, impassible, and without vacuity: now that there is such an indivisible body called *Atomos*, it is apparent, for that there be elements eternall, bodies void, and an unity.

Empedocles an Agrigentine, the son of *Meton*, saith, There be foure elements, Fire, Aire, Water, and Earth; also two principall faculties or powers, namely, accord, and discord, or amity and enmity, of which, the one hath puissance to unite, the other to dissolve: and these be his words:

Foure seeds and roots of all things that you see,
Now listen first, and hearken what they be:
Lord Jupiter *with his ignipotence,*
And Lady Junoes *vitall influence,*
Rich Pluto, *and dame* Nestis *weeping ay,*
Who with her teares ou seed-sourse weets alway.

By *Jupiter* he meaneth fiery heat, and ardent skie; by *Juno* giving life, the aire; by *Pluto*, the earth; by *Nestis*, and this humane fountaine of naturall seed, water.

Socrates the son of *Sophroniscus*, and *Plato* the son of *Ariston*, both Athenians, (for the opinions of them both, concerning the world and all things therein, be the same) have set down three principles, God, Matter, and Idea, that is to say, Forme: God is an universall Spirit or Mind: Matter is the first and principall subject of generation and corruption: Idea, an incorporall substance, resting in the thoughts and cogitations of God; which God is the generall soule and intelligence of the world.

Aristoteles of *Stagira*, the son of *Nichomachus*, hath put down for Principles these three, to wit, a certaine forme called *Entelechia*, Matter, and Privation: for elements, foure, and for a fifth Quintessence, the heavenly body which is immutable.

Zeno, the son of *Mnaseus*, a Citiean born, holdeth for two principles, God, and Matter: whereof the one is an active and efficient cause, and the other passive; and besides, foure elements.

CHAP. IIII.
How the World was framed.

THis world then became compосed and formed in a round figure, bending and coping after this manner: those Atomes or indivisible bodies, having an accidentary and inconsiderate motion, stirring continually, and most strictly, happen many of them to encounter one another and meet together; in which regard they differ in figures and magnitudes: now when they are thus gathered and heaped up together in one, the greater sort of them, and such as were most ponderous, setled altogether downward; as many of them as were small, round, even, smooth, and slippery, those being beaten upon by the encounter of these weighty bodies, were repulsed, driven back, and forced upward; but when that force which drave them aloft began to faile, and gave over once to send them up higher, not being able to fall downward againe; for that they were empeached, they were of necessity enforced to enter into those places which were able to receive them: to wit, such as were round about them: unto which a mighty number of bodies being wound together in an heape, and by means of the repercussion, enterlaced one within another, they engendred and brought forth the heaven; and afterwards others of the same nature; yet of divers formes (as hath been said before) being likewise driven up aloft, accomplished the nature of Stars. Moreover, the multitude of those bodies yeelding a vapour and exhalation, did beat forward and drive the aire; which by stirring and motion, being converted into wind, and comprising therewith the Stars, turned them about with it; and so maintaine unto this day, that revolution which they have aloft. Of those bodies then, which setled below, was made the earth; and of such as mounted on high, the heaven, the fire, and the aire: but round about the earth, by occasion that there was much matter yet left, and the same increasate and thickned by the forcible driving of the winds, and the breathing of the stars: all that part thereof which was more subtile, and of a thinner forme and consistance, gathered round together, and engendred the element of water, which being of a liquid and flowing nature, ran downward to hollow places lying low, which were able to receive and hold them: or else the water of it selfe where it staied and rested made concavities and hollow places underneath. Thus you see after what manner the principall parts of the world were first engendred and made.

CHAP. V.
Whether All be One.

THe *Stoick* Philosophers held opinion that the world was one, which they called πᾶν, That is to say, All, and the same of corporall substance.

Empedocles affirmed, that the world indeed was one; but All and the world were not both one: for the world (quoth he) is but a small portion of All: and as for the rest beside, it is but an idle and dull matter.

Plato proveth his opinion, that the world is but one, by conjecture; and guesseth All to be one, by three presumptions or probable arguments. First, for that otherwise the world were not perfect and accomplished, if it comprised not All within it selfe. Secondly, it should not be like unto the patterne, if it were not one and uniforme. Thirdly, it would not be incorruptible, in case there were any thing without it. But we are to answer *Plato*, and say against him, that the world is perfect although it comprehend not all things: for man is perfect enough, and yet all things be not comprised

prized in him. Moreover, there be many examples drawn from one patterne, as we may see in statues, houses, and pictures: and how is it perfect, if any thing may turne without it? Finally, incorruptible neither is it, nor can it be, considering it had a beginning in a kind of Nativity.

Metrodorus saith, That as it were an absurd and impertinent speech to say, that in a great field there grew but one eare of corne; so it were as strange a matter, that in this infinity there should be but one world: and that there be in number infinite, it appeareth by this, that there be causes infinite: for if the world were finite, and all the causes infinite whereof it is made it cannot choose but of necessity there should be likewise infinite: for where all the causes be, there must needs the effects follow: now the causes of the world be either these Atomes or the Elements.

CHAP. VI.
From whence it came that Men had the notion of God.

THe Stoick Philosophers define the Essence of God in this wise; namely, To be a spirit full of intelligence, and of a fiery nature, having no forme, but transforming himselfe into whatsoever he will, and resembling all things. The notion and apprehension men had of him, first, by conceiving the beauty of those things which are object to their eyes: for no beautifull thing hath been made by chance, and at adventure, but composed and framed by some ingenious and operative Art: now that the heaven is beautifull it appeareth by the forme, colour, and bigneſse thereof, by the variety also of the stars disposed therein: moreover, the world is round in manner of a Ball, which figure of all other is principall and most perfect, for it alone resembleth all the parts; for being round it selfe, it hath the parts likewise round. For this cause *Plato* said, That our mind and reason (the most divine part of man) is lodged and seated in the head, which commeth neere unto a round figure: as for the colour, it is faire and lovely; for it standeth upon the azure or blew, which being more darke than purple hath notwithstanding a bright and resplendent quality, in such sort, as by the exceeding strength of that lightsome hew, it cutteth and pierceth thorow so great an intervall and spaciousneſse of the aire, as it may be evidently seen in so mighty a distance: in regard also of the greatneſse thereof it is right beautifull; for, of all things that be of one and the same kind, that which invironeth and coutaineth the rest is ever faireſt; as we may see in a living creature, and a tree: besides, to consummate and accomplish the beauty of the world there be the cœlestiall signes which appeare unto our eye; for the oblique circle of the Zodiack is embelished with twelve divers and sundry images,

Wherein the Crab *is to be seen,*
The Lion *after it,*
The Virgin, *and two forked* * Clees,
The Scorpion *with his bit,*
The Archer *and the* Capricorne,
Upon which horned Goat
There follow with the Waterman
Two Fishes *all afloat;*
And after these ensue in course
The Ram *and sturdy* Bull,
But left of all, the double Twins,
Make up the dozen full.

* That is to say, *Libra.*

Besides an innumerable sort of other configurations of stars, which God hath made in the like arches and rotundities of the world; whereupon *Euripides* wrote thus:

The starry splendour of the skie,
Which κόσμον some do call,
The wondrous work of that most wise
Creator, Lord of all.

Thus then we apprehended hereby the notion of God; for the sun, the moon, and other stars, after they have performed the course of their revolutions under the earth come to rise againe all like in colour, equall in bigneſse, and retaining alwaies still the same places and times: whereupon they who deliver unto us the manner of Gods service and worship declare the same unto us after three sorts; the first, naturall; the second, fabulous; and the third, civill; that is to say, testified by the statutes and ordinances of every City and State: the naturall is taught by Philosophers; the fabulous, by Poets; the civill and legall, by the Customes of each City: but all this doctrine and manner of teaching is divided into seven sorts; the first consisteth in the cœlestiall bodies, appearing aloft in heaven; for men had an apprehension of God by stars that shew above, seeing how they are the causes of great symphony and accord, and that they keep a certaine constant order of day and night, of Winter and Summer, of rising and setting, yea, and among those living creatures and fruits which the earth beneath bringeth forth: whereupon, it hath been thought, that heaven was the father, and earth the mother to these; for that the powring down of showers and raine seemed instead of naturall seeds, and the earth as a mother, to conceive and bring the same forth. Men also, seeing and considering the stars alwaies θεόντες, that is to say, holding on their course, and that they were the cause that we did θεωρεῖν, that is to say, behold and contemplate: therefore they called the sunne

and moone. &c. θεὸς, that is to say, gods, of the word θεῖν, that is to say, to run, and θεωρεῖν, that is to say, to behold. Now they range the gods into a second and third degree; namely, by dividing them into those that be profitable, and such as are hurtfull, calling the good and profitable, *Jupiter*, *Juno*, *Mercury*, and *Ceres*; but the noisome and hurtfull, πόνους, that is to say, maligne spirits, ἐριννύας, that is to say, furies; and *Ares*, that is to say, *Mars*, whom they derested as bad and violent, yea, and devised means to appease and qualifie their wrath. Moreover, the fourth and fifth place and degree, they attributed unto affaires. passions and affections; namely, love, *Venus*, lust, or desire: and as for affaires. they had hope, justice, good policy, and equity. In the sixth place, be those whom the Poets have fained; for *Hesiodus* being minded to set down a father for the gods begotten and engendred, devised and brought in such progenitors as these,

To wit, sir Ceus *and* Crius,
Hyperion, *and* Japetus.

whereupon all this kind is named Fabulous. But in the seventh place, are those who were adorned with divine honours, in regard of the great benefits and good deeds done unto the common life of mankind, although they were begotten and borne after the manner of men; and such were *Hercules*, *Castor*, *Pollux*, and *Bacchus*; and these, they said, had an humane forme: for that as the most noble and excellent nature of all, is that of gods; so of living creatures, the most beautifull is man, as adorned with sundry vertues above the rest, and simply the best, considering the constitution of his mind and soule: they thought it therefore meet and reasonable, that those who had done best, and performed most noble acts, resembled that which was the most beautifull and excellent of all other.

CHAP. VII.

What is God.

SOme of the Philosophers, and namely, *Diagoras* of the Isle of *Melos*, *Theodorus* the Cyrenæan, and *Euemerus* of *Tegea*, held resolutely, that there were no gods. And verily, as touching *Euemerus*, the Poet *Callimachus* of *Cyrene*, writeth covertly in Iambique verses, after this manner:

All in a troupe, into that Chappell go,
Without the walls, the City not far fro;
Whereas sometime that old vain-glorious asse,
When as he had the image cast in brasse,
Of Jupiter, *proceeded for to write*
Those wicked books, which shame was to indite.

And what books were they? even those, wherein he discoursed that there were no gods at all. And *Euripides* the tragœdian Poet, although he durst not discover and set abroad in open termes the same. for feare of that high Court, and Councill of *Areopagus*, yet he signified as much, in this manner; for he brought in *Sisyphus* as the principall author of this opinion, and afterwards, favourizeth even that sentence of his, himselfe; for thus he saith:

The time was when the life of man was rude,
And as wild beasts, with reason not endu'd,
Disordinate, when wrong was done alway,
As might and force in each one bare the sway.

But afterwards, these enormities were laid away, and put down, by the bringing in of Laws: howbeit, for that the Law was able to represse injuries and wicked deeds, which were notorious and evidently seen and yet many men notwithstanding offended and sinned secretly; then some wise man there was, who considered and thought with himselfe, that needfull it was alwaies to blindfold the truth with some devised and forged lies, yea, and to perswade men, that

A god there is, who lives immortally,
Who heares, who sees, and knows all wondrously.

For away (quoth he) with vain dreames and poeticall fictions, together with *Callimachus*, who saith:

If God thou knowst, wot well, his power divine,
All things can well performe, and bring to fine.

For God is not able to effect all things: for say there be a God, let him make snow black, fire cold, him that sitteth or lieth to stand upright, or the contrary at one instant: and even *Plato* himselfe, that speaketh so big, when he saith: That God created and formed the world to his own patterne and likenesse, smelleth herein very strongly of some old * dotards foolerie: to speake according to the Poets of the old comedy: For how could he look upon himselfe (quoth he) to frame the world according to his own similitude? or how hath he made it round in manner of a globe, being himselfe lower than a man?

* βωμολοχίαν, so is *Aristophanes* speaketh in *Nub.*

Anaxagoras is of opinion that the first bodies in the beginning stood still and stirred not: but then the mind and understanding of God digested and aranged them in order, yea, and effected the generations of all things in the universall world.

Plato is of a contrary mind, saying, That those first bodies were not in repose but that they moved confusedly and without order: whereupon God (quoth he) knowing that order was much better than disorder and confusion, disposed all these things; but as well the one as the other have herein faulted in common; for that they imagined and devised, that God was entangled and encumbred with

with humane affaires; as also that he framed the world in regard of man, and for the care that he had of him: for surely (living (as he doth) happy and immortall, accomplished with all sorts of good things, and wholy exempt from all evill, as being altogether imployed and given to prefer and maintaine his own beatitude and immortallity) he intermed.eth not in the affaires and occasions of men; for so he should be as unhappy and miserable as some artizan, mason, or labouring workman, bearing heavy burdens, travelling and sweating about the fabrick of the world. Againe, this god of whom they speake of necessity either was not before the creation of the world, at what time as those first bodies lay still unmoveable, or stirred confusedly; or else if he were before, he either slept or watched. or did neither the one nor the other: but as the former of these we may not admit, for that God is eternall; so the latter we cannot confesse: for if God slept from all eternity and time out of mind, he was no better than dead: for what is eternall sleep other than death? but surely God is not subject to death: for the immortallity of God, and this vicinity to death are much distant asunder and cannot stand both together: but if we say that God was awake all that while; either he was defective in his blessed state of felicity; or else he enjoyed the same compleat: but in the first condition God is not happy; for whatsoever wanteth ought of felicity cannot be happy: and verily in the second state he is not better: for if he were defective in nothing before, to what purpose busied he himselfe in such vaine enterprises? moreover, if there be a God. and that by his prudent care mens affaires be governed, how commeth it to passe that wicked men prosper in the world, and find fortune their indulgent mother, but the good and honest suffer the contrary, and feele her to be a curst step-dame? for King *Agamemnon*, as the Poet saith,

A Prince right good and gracious,
A knight withall most valourous.

was by an adulterer and adultéresse surprised and murdered treacherously: and *Hercules* one of his race and kindred, after he had rid and purged the life of man from so many monsters that troubled his repose was poisoned by *Deianeira*, and so by indirect means lost his life.

Thales saith, that God is the soule of the world.

Anaximander is of opinion, that the stars be celestiall gods.

Democritus is perswaded, that God is a mind of a fiery nature, and the soule of the world.

Pythagoras affirmeth, that of the two first principles, Unity was God, and the soveraign good; which is the very nature of one, and is Understanding it selfe: but the indefinite binary, is the devill and evill, about which is the multitude materiall, and the visible world.

Socrates and *Plato* do hold, that he is one and of a simple nature, begotten and borne of himselfe alone truly good: All which tearmes and attributes tend unto a Mind: so that this Mind is God, a forme separate apart, that is to say, neither mingled with any matter, nor entangled and joyned with any thing passible whatsoever.

Aristotle supposeth, that this supreame God is an abstract forme setled upon the round spheare of the universall world, which is an heavenly and cœlestiall body, and therefore tearmed by him, the fifth body or *quinta essentia*: which cœlestiall body being divided into many spheares coherent by nature, but separate and distinct by reason and understanding, he thinketh each of these spheares to be a kind of animall, composed of body and soule, of which twaine, the body is cœlestiall, moving circularly; and the soule, reason, unmovable in it selfe, but the cause in effect of motion.

The Stoicks teach after a more generall manner, and define God to be a working and artificiall fire proceeding methodically and in order to the generation of the world, which comprehendeth in it selfe all the spermaticall proportions and reasons of seed; according to which every thing by fatall destiny is produced and commeth forth: also to be a spirit piercing and spreading through the whole world; howbeit, changing his denomination throughout the whole matter, as it passeth by transition from the one to the other: Semblably that the world is God, the stars likewise and the earth. yea, and the supreame mind above in heaven.

Finally, *Epicurus* conceiveth thus of the gods, that they all have the forme of man, and yet be perceptible only, by reason and cogitation, in regard of the subtile parts, and fine nature of their imaginative figures: he also affirmeth, that those other foure natures in generall be incorruptible, to wit, the atomes, vacuity, infinity, and resemblances, which also be called semblable parcels and elements.

CHAP. VIII.

Of Dæmons and demy-gods, otherwise named, Heroes.

TO this Treatise of the gods, meet it is to adjoyne a discourse as touching the nature of Dæmons and *Heroes*.

Thales, *Pythagoras*, *Plato*, and the *Stoicks*, hold that these Dæmons be spirituall substances: and the *Heroes* soule separate from their bodies; of which sort, there be good and bad: the good *Heroes* are the good soules, and the bad *Heroes* the bad soules; but *Epicurus* admitteth none of all this.

CHAP. IX.
Of Matter.

MAtter is the first and principall subject exposed to generation, corruption, and other mutations.

The Sectaries of *Thales* and *Pythagoras*, together with the Stoicks, do say, that this Matter is variable, mutable, alterable, and fluxible, all wholly thorow the universall world.

The disciples and followers of *Democritus* are of opinion, that the first principles be impassible; to wit, the small indivisible body, Atomos, Voidnesse, and Incorporall.

Aristotle and *Plato* do hold, that Matter is corporall, without forme, shape, figure, and quality, in the own nature and property; but when it hath received formes once it becommeth (as it were) a nurse, a mold, patterne, and a mother. They who set down for this Matter, water, earth, fire, or aire, do not say, that now it is without forme; but that it is a very body: but such as affirme, that these Atomes and indivisible bodies be the said Matter, make it altogether formelesse.

CHAP. X.
Of Idea.

Idea is a bodilesse substance, which of it selfe hath no subsistence, but giveth figure and forme unto shapelesse matters, and becommeth the very cause that bringeth them into shew and evidence.

Socrates and *Plato* suppose, that these *Ideas* be substances separate and distinct from matter, how be it, subsisting in the thoughts and imaginations of God, that is to say, of Mind and Understanding.

Aristotle admitteth verily these formes and *Ideas*, howbeit, not separate from matter, as being the partterns of all that which God hath made.

The *Stoicks*, such as were the scholars of *Zeno*, have delivered, that our thoughts and conceits were the *Ideæ*.

CHAP. XI.
Of Causes.

A Cause is that whereupon dependeth or followeth an effect, or by which any thing hapneth.

Plato hath set down three kinds of Causes, and those are distinguished by these tearmes; By which, Of which, and For which; but he taketh the most principall to be that, By which; that is to say, the efficient cause, which is the mind or understanding.

Pythagoras and *Aristotle* do hold, that the principall Causes be incorporall; and as for other Causes, either by participation or by accident, they are of a corporall substance: and so the world is a body.

But the *Stoicks* are of opinion, that all Causes are corporall, inasmuch as they be spirits.

CHAP. XII.
Of Bodies.

A Body is measurable, and hath three dimensions, length, bredth, and depth, or thicknesse. Or thus: A Body is a masse that resisteth, touching naturally of it selfe; or that which occupieth a place.

Plato saith, that a Body is neither heavy nor light of it selfe naturally, so long as it abideth in the own proper place; but being once in a strange place, it hath first an inclination, and upon it a motion and impulsion, either to weight or lightnesse.

Aristotle is of opinion, that earth simply is most ponderous, and fire lightest: that aire and water be of a middle or doubtfull nature between both, sometime heavy and otherwhiles light.

The *Stoicks* hold, that of the foure elements two be light, namely, Fire and Aire: other two be heavy; to wit, Water and Earth: for, light is that, which of the own nature, and not by any compulsion or instigation removeth from the proper middle where it is: heavy also is that which naturally tendeth to the said middle; but the middle it selfe, is in no wise heavy.

Epicurus saith, that Bodies are not comprehensible; that the first Bodies be simple; but all the compositions of them have their weight and ponderosity: also, that the *Atomes* do move, some plumbe right down; others, at one side; and some againe mount aloft, and that by impulsion and concussion.

CHAP. XIII.
Of the smallest Bodies.

Empedocles is of opinion, that before the foure elements there were certaine small parcels or fragments, as one would say, elements before elements; and those were of semblable parts, and the same all round.

Heraclitus

Heraclitus commeth in with (I know not what) petty scrapings or shavings, exceeding small, and the same not divisible into parts.

CHAP. XIIII.
Of Figures.

A Figure is the superficies, circumscription, and accomplished lineament of a body.

The *Pythagoreans* affirme, that the bodies of the foure elements be of a sphærick or round figure; only the highest of them (to wit, fire) is pyramidall, or sharpe pointed above.

CHAP. XV.
Of Colours.

A Colour is the visible quality of a body.

The *Pythagoreans* called Colour, the outward superficies of the body.

Empedocles defined it to be that which is fit and agreeable to the waies and passages of the sight.

Plato saith, it is a flame sent from bodies, having certaine parcels proportionable to the eye-sight.

Zeno the Stoick holdeth, that Colours be the first figurations of any matter.

The followers of *Pythagoras* affirme these to be the kinds of Colours, White, Black, Red, and Yellow; and that the diversity of Colours ariseth from a certaine mixture of Elements: but in living creatures, the same proceedeth from the variety of their * places and sundry aires.

* τοπῶν, some read τροπῶν, that is to say, their manners and conditions.

CHAP. XVI.
Concerning the Section of Bodies.

THe Sectaries of *Thales* and *Pythagoras* are of opinion, that bodies be passible and divisible infinitely.

Democritus and *Epicurus* hold, that this section staieth either at the Atomes indivisible, or at those small bodies which have no parts, neither doth this division (say they) passe infinitely.

Aristotle saith, that divided they be in *infinitum*, potentially, but actually not.

CHAP. XVII.
Of Mixture and Temperature.

THe ancient Philosophers affirme, that this mixture of Elements is by way of alteration: but *Anaxagoras* and *Democritus* say, it is done by apposition.

Empedocles composeth the elements of smaller masses, which he supposeth to be the least bodies, and as a man would say, the Elements of Elements.

Plato would have the three bodies (for he deigneth not them, either to be called, or to be, Elements) to be convertible one into the other, to wit, water, aire, and fire: but as for the earth, it cannot be turned into any one of them.

CHAP. XVIII.
Of Voidnesse or Vacuity.

THe naturall Philosophers of *Thales* his schoole, all untill you come unto *Plato*, have generally disavowed and reproved this Vacuity: As for *Empedocles* thus he writeth:

In all the world so spacious,
Nought is void or superfluous.

Leucippus, *Democritus*, *Demetrius*, *Metrodorus*, and *Epicurus*, hold, that the Atomes be infinite in multitude, and Voidnesse infinite in magnitude.

The *Stoicks* affirme, that within the world there is no Voidnesse, but without there is infinity.

Aristotle is of opinion, that without the world there is no such Voidnesse, as that the heaven by the meanes thereof may draw breath, for that it is of the nature of fire.

CHAP. XIX.
Of Place.

Plato saith, that Place is that which is susceptible of formes, one after another, which is by way of Metaphor or translation to expresse the first matter, as a nurse receiving and embracing all.

Aristotle taketh Place to be the extreame superficies of the continent, conjunct, and contiguous to the content.

CHAP.

CHAP. XX.
Of Roome or Space.

THe *Stoicks*, and *Epicurus* do hold, that there is a difference between Voidneſſe, Place, and Room: for Voidneſſe (ſay they) is the ſolitude or vacuity of a body: Place, that which is fully occupied and taken up with a body: but Roome or Space, that which is occupied but in part; as we may ſee in a rundlet or barrell of wine.

CHAP. XXI.
Of Time.

Pythagoras ſaith, that Time is the ſpheare of that utmoſt heaven that compriſeth all.

Plato thinketh it to be the moveable image of the eternity, or the intervall of the worlds motion: but *Eratoſthenes* affirmeth it to be the courſe of the ſun.

CHAP. XXII.
Of the Eſſence of Time.

Plato ſaith, that the Eſſence of Time is the moving of heaven: but many of the *Stoicks* hold it to be the moving it ſelfe; and moſt of them affirme, that Time had no beginning of generation.

Plato is of opinion, that engendred it is according to our conceit and capacity.

CHAP. XXIII.
Of Motion.

Pythagoras and *Plato* affirme, that Motion is a certaine difference and alteration in matter.

Ariſtotle giveth out, that it is the actuall operation of that which is moveable.

Democritus ſaith, that there is but one kind of Motion, to wit, that which tendeth obliquely.

Epicurus maintaineth twaine, the one direct and plumbe, the other ſide-long.

Erophilus is of opinion, that there is one motion perceptible in reaſon, and another object to ſenſe naturall.

Heraclitus excludeth all ſtation, reſt, and repoſe out of the world: For this (quoth he) belongeth unto the dead, but perpetuall Motion agreeth to eternall ſubſtances; and periſhable Motion to ſubſtances corruptible.

CHAP. XXIV.
Of Generation and Corruption.

Parmenides, *Meliſſus*, and *Zeno*, rejected wholly all Generation and Corruption: for they thought the univerſall world to be unmoveable: but *Empedocles* and *Epicurus*, and all thoſe who held the world to be made of a maſſe and heap of ſmall bodies hudled together, bring in and admit certaine concretions and diſſipations; but in no wiſe Generations and Corruptions to ſpeake properly, ſaying, that theſe come not according to quality by way of alteration, but according to quantity by collection and heaping together.

Pythagoras, and as many as ſuppoſe matter to be paſſible, hold, that there is properly indeed Generation and Corruption: for they ſay that this is done by the alteration, mutation, and reſolution of the elements.

CHAP. XXV.
Of Neceſſity.

Thales ſaith, that Neceſſity is moſt potent and forcible, for it is that which ruleth the whole world.

Pythagoras held, that the world was poſſeſſed and compaſſed with Neceſſity.

Parmenides, and *Democritus* were of opinion, that all things were made by Neceſſity, and that deſtiny, juſtice, providence, and the Creator of the world, were all one.

CHAP. XXVI.
Of the Eſſence of Neceſſity.

Plato referreth ſome events to providence, and others he attributeth to Neceſſity.

Empedocles ſaith, that the Eſſence of Neceſſity is a cauſe apt to make uſe of the principles and elements.

Democritus affirmeth it to be the reſiſtance, the * lation, motion, and percuſſion of the matter.

* ρορὰν, ſome read φθορὰν, that is to ſay, corruption.

Plato

Plato holdeth it to be one while matter it ſelfe, and another while the habitude of that which is agent to the matter.

CHAP. XXVII.
Of Deſtiny.

Heraclitus affirmeth, that all things were done by fatall Deſtiny, and that it and Neceſſity be both one.

Plato admitteth willingly this Deſtiny in the ſoules, lives, and actions of men; but he inferreth withall a cauſe proceeding from our ſelves.

The *Stoicks* likewiſe according with the opinion of *Plato*, do hold, that Neceſſity is a cauſe invincible, moſt violent and inforcing all things: alſo that Deſtiny is a connexion of cauſes interlaced and linked orderly: in which concatenation or chaine, there is compriſed alſo that cauſe which proceedeth from us, in ſuch ſort as ſome events are deſtined, and others not.

CHAP. XXVIII.
Of the ſubſtance of Deſtiny.

Heraclitus ſaith, that the ſubſtance of Deſtiny is the reaſon that pierceth throughout the ſubſtance of the univerſall world.

Plato affirmeth it to be an eternall reaſon, and a perpetuall law of the nature of the whole world.

Chryſippus holdeth it to be a certaine puiſſance ſpirituall, which by order governeth and adminiſtreth all things. And againin his book of definitions he writeth thus: Deſtiny is the reaſon of the world, or rather the law of all things in the world, adminiſtred and governed by providence: or elſe the reaſon whereby things paſt, have been; things preſent, are; and future things, ſhall be.

The *Stoicks* are of opinion that it is the chaine of cauſes, that is to ſay, an order and connexion, which cannot be ſurmounted and tranigreſſed.

Poſidonius ſuppoſeth it to be the third after *Jupiter*; for that *Jupiter* is in the firſt degree; Nature in the ſecond; and fatall Deſtiny in the third.

CHAP. XXIX.
Of Fortune.

Plato defineth Fortune to be (in things proceeding from mans counſell and election) a cauſe by accident, and a very caſuall conſequence.

Ariſtotle holdeth it to be an accidentall cauſe in thoſe things which from ſome deliberate purpoſe and impulſion tend to a certaine end, which cauſe is not apparent, but hidden and uncertaine. And he putteth a difference between Fortune and raſh adventure: for that all Fortune in the affaires and actions of this world is adventurous: but every adventure is not by and by Fortune; for that it conſiſteth in things without action: againe, Fortune is properly in actions of reaſonable creatures; but adventure, indifferently in creatures, as well unreaſonable as reaſonable, yea, and in thoſe bodies which have neither life nor ſoule.

Epicurus ſaith, that Fortune is a cauſe which will not ſtand and accord with perſons, times, and manners.

Anaxagoras and the *Stoicks* affirme it to be a cauſe unknown, and hidden to humane reaſon: for that ſome things come by neceſſity, others by fatall deſtiny; ſome by deliberate counſell, others by Fortune, and ſome againe by caſuality or adventure.

CHAP. XXX.
Of Nature.

Empedocles holdeth that Nature is nothing; only that there is a mixture and divulſion, or ſeparation of Elements: for in this manner writeth he in the firſt book of his Phiſicks:

This one thing more I will yet ſay,
Of things that be humane.
And Mortall, mature none there is,
And deaths end is but vaine.
A mixture and divulſion,
Of Elemets and of all,
Only there is, and this is that,
Which men do Nature call.

Semblably *Anaxagoras* ſaith, that Nature is nothing elſe but a concretion and diſſipation: that is to ſay, generation and corruption.

The

The Second Book of Philosophers Opinions.

The Proem.

HAving now finished the Treatise of *Principles*, *Elements*, and such other matters linked and concurring with them; I will turne my pen unto the discourse as touching their effects and works composed of them, beginning first at that which is most spacious and capable of all things.

CHAP. I.
Of the World.

Pythagoras was the first who called the Roundle that containeth and comprehendeth all, to wit, the World, Κόσμον: for the orderly digestion observed therein.

Thales and his disciples held, that there is but one World.

Democritus, *Epicurus*, and their scholler *Metrodorus* affirme, that there be innumerable Worlds in an infinite space according to all dimensions and circumstances.

Empedocles saith, that the course and race of the Sun is the very circumscription of the bounds and limits of the World; and that it is the very confinement thereof.

Selencus held the World to be infinite.

Diogenes affirmed the universality to be infinite: but the World finite and determinate.

The *Stoicks* put a difference between universall and whole: for they say, that the universall together with voidnesse is infinite: and that the whole without voidnesse is the World: so as these termes, the Whole, and the World, be not both one.

CHAP. II.
Of the figure and formes of the World.

THe *Stoicks* affirme the World to be round: some say it is pointed or pyramidall: others that it is fashioned in manner of an egge; but *Epicurus* holdeth, that his Worlds may be round, and it may be that they are apt besides to receive other formes.

CHAP. III.
Whether the World be animate, or endued with a soule.

ALL other Philosophers agree, that the World is animate, and governed by providence: but *Democritus*, *Epicurus*, and as many as maintaine *Atomes*, and withall bring in *Vacuity*, that it is neither animate, nor governed by providence, but by a certaine nature void of reason.

Aristotle holdeth, that it is not animate wholly and throughout all parts; nor sensitive, nor reasonable, nor yet intellectuall or directed by providence: True it is (quoth he) that cœlestiall bodies be capable of all these qualities, as being compassed about with spheares both animate and vitall: whereas bodies terrestriall and approaching neere unto the earth, are endued with none of them: and as for the order and decent composition therein, it came by accident, and not by prepensed reason and counsell.

CHAP. IIII.
Whether the World be incorruptible and eternall.

Pythagoras and *Plato* affirme, that the World was ingendred and made by God; and of the own nature (being corruptible) shall perish: for sensible it is, and therefore corporall; howbeit, in regard of the divine providence, which preserveth and maintaineth it, perish it shall never.

Epicurus saith, that it is corruptible, for that it is engendred, like as a living creature or a plant.

Xenophanes holdeth the World to be eternall, ingenerable, uncreated and incorruptible.

Aristotle is of opinion, that the part of the World under the moone is passible; wherein the bodies also adjacent to the earth be subject to corruption.

CHAP. V.
Whereof the World is nourished.

Aristotle saith, that if the World be nourished, it is likewise corruptible, and will perish; but so it is, that it hath no need of nouriture, and so by consequence it is eternall.

Plato is of opinion, that the world yeeldeth unto it selfe nouriture of that which perisheth, by way of mutation.

Philolaus affirmeth, that there is a twofold corruption; one while by fire falling from heaven, and another while by water of the moon, powred forth by the circumgyration and turning about of the aire; the exhalations whereof become the food of the world.

CHAP.

CHAP. VI.
At which Element began God the Fabrick of the World.

THe Naturalists do hold, that the creation of the world began at earth, as the very center thereof; for that the beginning of a spheare or ball is the center.

Pythagoras saith, that it began at Fire, and the fifth element.

Empedocles saith, that the first thing separate apart was the skie or fifth essence, called *Æther*; the second, Fire; after which, the Earth; of which being thrust close and pressed together by the violence of revolution sprang Water, from which Aire did evaporate: also, that heaven was made of that Skie or Quintessence; the Sun, of Fire; and of the other elements were constipate and felted (as it were) terrestriall bodies, and such as be neare the earth.

Plato is of opinion, that this visible world was formed to the mold and patterne of the intellectuall: that of the visible world the soule was first made; and after it, that which is corpulent: that of the fire and earth, first; that which standeth of water and aire, second.

Pythagoras affirmed, that of the five solid bodies, which are also called Mathematicall; the Cube (that is to say, a square body, with sixe faces) went to the making of the earth; of the pointed Pyramis, was made fire; of Octoedra or solid body with eight bases, the earth; of Icosiedra with twenty sides, the water; of Dodecaedra with twelve faces, the supreame spheare of the universall world: and himselfe herein also doth Pythagorize.

CHAP. VII.
Of the order of the Worlds Fabrick.

Parmenides imagineth certaine coronets (as it were) interlaced one within another, some of a rare substance, others of a thick, and the same mixed of light and darknesse between: also that the body which containeth them altogether was as firme and solid as a wall.

Leucippus and *Democritus* enwrapped the world round about with a tunicle or membrane.

Epicurus held, that the extremity of some worlds were rare; of others thick; and that of them, some were movable, others immovable.

Plato setteth down Fire first; secondly, the Skie; then Aire; afterwards, Water; and last of all, Earth; but otherwhiles, he conjoyneth the Skie unto Fire.

Aristotle rangeth in the first place the impassible Aire, which is a certaine fifth body; and after it, the Elements passible, to wit, Fire, Aire, Water, and the Earth last: of all which unto the cœlestiall bodies he attributeth a circular motion; and (of the others situate beneath them) unto the lightest kind, the ascent or rising upward; unto the weightier, descent or setling downward.

Empedocles is of opinion, that the places of the elements are not alwaies steady and certaine, but that they all interchange mutually one with another.

CHAP. VIII.
What is the cause that the World bendeth or copeth forward.

Diogenes and *Anaxagoras* affirme, that after the World was made, and that living creatures were produced out of the Earth, the world bowed (I wot not how) of it selfe, and of the own accord, to the Southerne or Meridionall part thereof; haply by the divine providence so ordering all, that some parts of the world should be habitable, others inhabitable, according to excessive cold, extreame heat, and a meane temperature of both.

Empedocles saith, that by reason that the aire gave place to the violence of the Sun, the two Bears or Poles * bended, and inclined: as for those parts which were northerly, they were elevated and mounted aloft; but the southerne coasts were depressed and debased as much; and so accordingly the whole world.

* Artick & Antartick.

CHAP. IX.
Whether without the world, there be any vacuity.

THe schoole of *Pythagoras* holdeth, that there is a voidnesse without the world, to which, and out of which the world doth draw breath: but the *Stoicks* affirm, that into it the infinite world by way of conflagration is resolved.

Posidonius admitteth no other infinity, than as much as is sufficient for the dissolution thereof.

In the first book of vacuity, *Aristotle* saith, there is voidnesse.

Plato affirmeth, that there is no emptinesse at all, either without or within the world.

CHAP. X.
What be the right sides, and which be the left, in regard of the world.

Pythagoras, *Plato*, and *Aristotle* do take the East for the right part, and the West for the left.

Empedocles

Empedocles saith, that the right side bendeth toward the summers Tropick; and the left toward the Tropick of winter.

CHAP. XI.
Of Heaven, and what is the substance thereof.

Naximenes affirmeth the exterior circumference of heaven to be earthy.
Empedocles saith, that Heaven is solid, being made of aire condensate by fire, after the manner of chrystall; and that it containeth the fiery and airy nature in the one and the other hemispheare.
Aristotle holdeth, that Heaven is composed of the fifth body above fire, or else of the mixture of heat and cold.

CHAP. XII.
Of the division of Heaven: and namely, into how many circles it is divided.

Thales, and *Pythagoras* with his followers do say, that the spheare of the whole Heaven is parted into five circles, which they call certaine Zones, cinctures, or girdles; of which circles, one is called the Arctick, and is alwaies to be seen of us; a second, the summer Tropick; a third, Equinoctiall; the fourth, winter Tropick; and the fifth, the Antartick circle: which is evermore unseen: as touching the oblique or crooked circle, called the Zodiack, which lieth under the other three middle circles above named, it toucheth them all three as it passeth, and every of them are cut in right angles by the Meridian, which goeth from Pole to Pole.
Pythagoras was the first (men say) that observed the obliquity of the Zodiack: whic invention nevertheless *Oenopides* the Chian, ascribeth to himselfe, as if he were the author of it.

CHAP. XIII.
What is the substance of the Stars, and how they were made and composed.

Thales affirmeth them to be terrestriall, and nathless fiery and ardent.
Empedocles holdeth them to be enflamed by that fire, which the skie containing within it selfe, do violently send forth at the first excretion. *Anaxagoras* saith, that the skie which environeth is indeed of the own essence of a fiery nature; but by the vilent revolution of it selfe snatcheth up stones from the earth, and setting them on fire they become Stars.
Diogenes thinketh, that Stars be of the substance of a pumish stone, as being the breathing holes of the world: and againe, the same Philosopher saith, that they be certaine blind-stones not apparent; howbeit, falling often to the earth, are there quenched, as it hapneth in a place called *αἰγὸς ποταμὸς*, that is to say, Goats rivers, where there fell sometime a stone-star in forme of fire.
Empedocles holdeth, that the fixed Stars which wander not, be fastned to the chrystall skie; but the planets are loose and at liberty.
Plato giveth out, that for the most part they be of fire, and yet nevertheless they participate with other elements in manner of glue or sodder.
Xenophanes is of opinion, that they consist of clouds inflamed, which notwithstanding are quenched every day, and afterwards againe be fired in the night in manner of coles: as for the rising and setting of Stars, they be nothing else but their catching fire and quenching.
Heraclides and the *Pythagoreans* hold, that every Star is a world by it selfe, containing an earth, an aire, and a skie, in an infinite coelestiall nature: and these opinions go current in the verses of *Orpheus*, for they make of every Star a world. *Epicurus* reproveth none of all this, but holdeth still that old note of his: It may so be.

CHAP. XIIII.
The forme and figure of Stars.

The *Stoicks* say, that the Stars be spheatick or round like the world, the sun and moon. *Cleanthes* ho'deth them to be pointed and pyramidall. *Anaximenes* saith, they stick fast in the chrystalline skie, like a number of nailes. Others imagine, that they be fiery plates, like unto flat pictures.

CHAP. XV.
Of the order and situation of Stars.

Xenocrates supposeth that the Stars move upon one and the same superficies: but other Stoicks affirme, that there be some afore others in height and depth.
Democritus rangeth the fixed Stars first; next the Planets; and after them, the Sun, the Moon, and the day-star *Lucifer*.
Plato, after the situation of the fixed Stars, setteth in the first place that which is called Phænon, to wit, the Star of *Saturne*; in the second, *Phaeton*, which is the Star of *Jupiter*; in the third, *Pyroeis*,

Pyroeis, that is to say, fiery or ardent, and it is that of *Mars*; in the fourth Phosphorus, and that is *Venus*; in the fifth Stilbon, which is *Mercury*; in the sixth, the Sun; and last, in the seventh, the Moon. Of the Mathematicians some accord with *Plato*, others place the Sun in the midst of them all.
Anaximander, *Metrodorus* the Chian, and *Crates* affirm, that the Sun is placed highest of all, next to him the Moon, and under him the fixed Stars and the Planets.

CHAP. XVI.
Of the lation and motion of the Stars.

Anaxagoras, *Democritus*, and *Cleanthes*, do hold, that all Stars do move from east to west.
Alcmeon and the Mathematicians say that the Planets hold an opposite course to the fixed stars, and namely from the west to the east.
Anaximander saith, they be carried by their spheres and Circles, upon which they are fastned.
Anaximenes is of opinion, that they roll as well toward the earth, as turn about the earth.
Plato and the Mathematicians hold, that the course of the Sun, of *Venus*, and of *Mercury*, is the same and equal.

CHAP. XVII.
From whence the Stars have their illumination.

Metrodorus thinketh, that all the fixed Stars have their light from the Sun.
Heraclitus, and the Stoicks say that the Stars be nourished by exhalations arising from the earth.
Aristotle opineth, that the celestial bodies need no nurture, for that they are not corruptible but eternall.
Plato and the Stoicks hold, that all the world and the stars likewise be nourished of themselves.

CHAP. XVIII.
Of the two stars named Dioscuri, *to wit*, Castor *and* Pollux.

Xenophanes doth maintain that the lights like stars which appear otherwhiles upon ships, are thin and subtile clouds, which after a kind of motion do shine.
Metrodorus saith, they be certain glittering sparkles glancing and leaping out of their eys who behold them with fear and astonishment.

CHAP. XIX.
Of the signification of Stars, and how commeth Winter and Summer.

Plato saith, that the tokens and significations both of Winter and Summer, proceed from the rising and setting of Sun, Moon, and other Stars, as well fixed as wandring.
Anaximenes saith, that none of all this is occasioned by the Moon, but by the sun only. *Eudoxus* and *Aratus* affirm them to be in common, by means of all the Stars: and *Aratus* sheweth us much in these verses:

These radiant stars and lights so evident,
As signs, God hath set in the firmament,
Distinct, in great fore-sight, throughout the years
To shew how all the seasons ordered were.

CHAP. XX.
Of the Suns substance.

Anaximander affirmeth, that the Circle of the Sun is eight and twenty times bigger then the earth, having an hollow apsis about it, like (for all the world) unto a charriot wheele, and the same full of fire: in one certain place whereof, there is a mouth, at which the fire is seen, as out of the hole of a flute, or such like pipe, and the same is the Sun.
Xenophanes holdeth, that there is a certain gathering of small fires, which by occasion of moist exhalations, meet together; and they all (being collected) make the body of the Sun, or else (quoth he) is a cloud set on fire.
The *Stoicks* say, that the sun is an enflamed body * intellectual, or humour inflamed, proceeding out of the Sea. * ποιεῖν or πάσχειν after some.
Plato imagineth it to consist of much fire.
Anaxagoras, *Democritus* and *Metrodorus* suppose it to be a masse of iron, or a stone inflamed.
Aristotle is of opinion, that it is a sphere out of the fifth body.

Philolaus the Pythagorean, is perswaded that it is in manner of a glasse, receiving the reverberation of all the fire in the world, and tranmitting the light thereof unto us (as it were) thorow a tanniſe or ſtainer, in ſuch ſort, as that fiery light in heaven reſembleth the Sun: then that which proceedeth from it, is in form of a mirror: and thirdly, there is a ſplendour, which by way of reflexion from that mirror, is ſpread upon us: and this call we the Sun, as it were the image of an image.

Empedocles is of this mind, that there be two Suns, the one an original and primitive fire, which is in the other hemiſphere of the world; and the ſame filling this hemiſphere of ours, as being always ſituate full oppoſite to the reflexion of the reſplendent light thereof: as for this that we ſee, it is the light in that other hemiſphere, repleniſhed with air mixed with heat, and the ſame is occaſioned by refraxion from the earth, that is more round, entring into the Sun, which is of a Chryſtalline nature, and yet is trained and carried away together with the motion of that fire. But to ſpeak more plainly and ſuccinctly in fewer words, this is as much to ſay, as the Sun is nothing elſe, but the reflexion of that light of the fire which is about the earth.

Epicurus imagineth the Sun to be a terreſtrial ſpiſſitude or thickneſſe, yet ſpungeous (as it were) and hollow in manner of a pumice ſtone, and in thoſe holes lightned by fire.

CHAP. XXI.
Of the Suns magnitude.

Anaximander is of opinion, that the Sun is equal in bigneſſe to the earth; but the Circle from which he hath his reſpiration, and upon which he is carried, is eight and twenty times bigger then the whole earth.

Anaxagoras ſaid, it was by many degrees greater then all *Peloponneſus*.

Heraclitus held, that it was a mans foot broad.

Epicurus again affirmed, that all above ſaid might be; or that it was as big as it appeared to be, at leaſtwiſe a little under or over.

CHAP. XXII.
Of the Suns form.

Anaximenes imagined that the Sun was flat and broad, like unto a thin plate of mettal.

Heraclitus ſuppoſed it to be made like unto a boat, ſomewhat curbed downward & turning up.

The *Stoicks* ſuppoſe it to be round, like unto the whole world and other ſtars.

Epicurus ſaith, that all this may be well enough.

CHAP. XXIII.
Of the Solſtices or Tropick of the Sun.

Anaximenes thinketh that the Stars are beaten back by the thick air, and the ſame making reſiſtance.

Anaxagoras ſaith, that they are occaſioned by the repulſe of the air, about the Beares or Poles, which the Sun himſelfe (by thruſting and making thick) cauſeth to be more powerful.

Empedocles aſcribeth the reaſon thereof to the ſphere, that containeth and impeacheth him from paſſing farther; as alſo to the two Tropick Circles.

Diogenes imagineth, that the Sun is extinct by the cold, falling oppoſite upon the head. The *Stoicks* affirm, that the Sun paſſeth thorow the tract and ſpace of his food and paſture lying under him, which is the Ocean ſea or the earth, upon the vapours and exhalation whereof he feedeth.

Plato, *Pythagoras* and *Ariſtotle* hold, that this is occaſioned by the obliquity of the Zodiack Circle thorow which the Sun paſſeth biaſe; as alſo by reaſon of the Tropick Circles, which environ and guard him about: and all this, the very ſphere it ſelfe doth evidently ſhew.

CHAP. XXIV.
Of the Suns Eccliſe.

Thales was the firſt who obſerved the Suns eccliſe, and ſaid, that it was occaſioned by the Moon, which is of a terreſtrial nature, when as in her race, ſhe cometh to be juſt and plumb under him; which may be plainly ſeen as in a mirror by ſetting a baſon of water underneath.

Anaximander ſaid, that the Sun became eccliſed, when the mouth or tunnel (at which the heat of his fire cometh forth) is cloſed up.

Heraclitus is of opinion, that this happeneth, when the body of the Sun which is made like a boat, is turned upſide down, ſo as the hollow part thereof is upward and the keel downward to our ſight.

Xenophanes affirmeth, that this cometh by extinction of one Sun, and the riſing of another again in the eaſt: he addeth moreover, and reporteth, that there is an eccliſe of the Sun, during one whole month; as alſo one entire and univerſal eccliſe, in ſuch manner, as the day ſeemeth to be night.

Others aſcribe the cauſe thereof, to the thickneſſe of clouds, which ſuddenly and after an hidden manner, overcaſt the rundle and plate of the Sun.

Ariſtarchus reckoneth the Sun among the fixed Stars, ſaying, that it is the earth which rolleth and turneth round about the Suns Circle, and according to the inclinations thereof, the Suns light-ſome body cometh to be darkened by her ſhade.

Xenophanes holdeth, that there be many Suns and Moons according to the divers Climates, Tracts, Sections, and Zones of the Earth: and at a certain revolution of time, the rundle of the Sun falleth upon ſome Climate or Section of the Earth, which is not of us inhabited: and ſo marching (as it were) in ſome void place, he ſuffereth eccliſe: he alſo affirmeth, that the Sun goeth indeed infinitly forward ſtill, but by reaſon of his huge diſtance and retract from us, ſeemeth to turn round about.

CHAP. XXV.
Of the Moons ſubſtance.

Anaximander ſaith, that the Moon is a Circle, xix. times bigger then the Earth, and like as that of the Sun, full of fire; that ſhe ſuffereth eccliſe when her wheele turneth: for that he ſaith, that circle reſembleth the wheele of a charriot, the curvature or felly whereof, is hollow and full of fire; howbeit, there is an hole or tunnel, out of which the fire doth exhale.

Xenophanes ſaith, that the Moon is a thick, compact, and felted cloud.

The *Stoicks* hold, that ſhe is mixed of fire and air.

Plato affirmeth, that ſhe ſtandeth more of fiery ſubſtance.

Anaxagoras and *Democritus* do hold, that the Moon is a ſolid and firm body all fiery, containing in it, champion grounds, mountains and vallies.

Heraclitus is of opinion that it is earth overſpread with miſts.

Pythagoras alſo thinketh that the body of the Moon is of the nature of fire.

CHAP. XXVI.
Of the Moons magnitude.

The *Stoicks* pronounce flatly that the Moon is bigger then the earth, like as the Sun alſo.

Parmenides affirmeth it to be equal in brightneſs to the Sun, & that of him ſhe hath her light.

CHAP. XXVII.
Of the Moons form.

The *Stoicks* ſay, the Moon is round as a Globe, like as the Sun.

Empedocles would have it to reſemble a baſon or platter.

Heraclitus compareth it to a boat; and others to a round cylinder; *[that ſhe is ſhaped ſeven manner of ways: at her firſt birth as it were ſhe appeareth horned or tipped; then divided or quarrered; afterwards growing ſomewhat together; and ſoon after full: from which time by little and little ſhe waneth by degrees; firſt bending ſomewhat cloſe, then quarrered, and after that tipped and horned, until at the change ſhe appeareth not at all: and they ſay, this variety of her configurations is occaſioned by the earth ſhadowing her light more or leſſe, according as the convexity of the earth cometh between.]

* That which is inſerted betweene theſe two marks [] I find neither in the original Greek, nor in the French, but in the Latine only.

CHAP. XXVIII.
Of the Moons illumination.

Anaximander ſaith, that ſhe hath a light of her own, but the ſame very rare and thin.

Antiphon affirmeth, that ſhe ſhineth with her own light; and whereas ſhe is otherwhiles hidden, it proceedeth from the oppoſition of the Sun; namely, when a greater fire cometh to darken a leſſe, a thing incident to other ſtars.

Thales and his followers hold, that the Moon is lightned by the Sun.

Heraclitus ſuppoſeth, that the caſe of the Sun and Moon is all one, for that both of them being formed like a Boat, and receiving moiſt exhalations, they ſeem in our ſight illuminate; the Sun brighter of the twain, for that he goeth in a more clear and pure air, and the Moon in that which is more troubled, which is the reaſon that ſhe ſeemeth more dark and muddy.

CHAP. XXIX.
Of the Moons Eccliſe.

* *Anaximenes* ſaith, that the Moon is Eccliſed, when the mouth or venting hole whereout iſſueth her fire, is ſtopped. * *Anaximander.*

Beroſus is of opinion, that it is when that face and ſide of hers which is not lightned, turneth toward us.

Heraclitus would have it to be, when the convexity or ſwelling part of the boat which ſhe doth repreſent, regardeth us directly.

Some of the *Pythagoreans* doe hold the eccliſe of the Moone to be partly a reverberation of

light, and in part an obstruction; the one in regard of the Earth, the other of the Antipodes, who tread opposite unto us. But the modern writers are of opinion, that it is by occasion of the augmentation of the Moons flame, which regularly and by order is lightned by little and little, until it re-present unto us the full face of the Moon, and again doth diminish and wane in proportion, until the conjunction, at what time it is altogether extinct.

Plato, *Aristotle*, the *Stoicks*, and *Mathematicians*, do all with one accord say, that the occultations of the Moon every moneth, are occasioned by reason that she falleth in conjunction with the Sun: by whose brightnesse she becometh dim and darkened: but the Eccliples of the Moon be caused when she cometh within the shadow of the earth, situate directly between both Stars, rather for that the Moon is altogether obstructed therewith.

CHAP. XXX.

Of the Moons apparition, and why she seemeth to be earthly.

THe Pythagoreans affirm, that the Moon appeareth terrestrial, for that she is inhabited round about, like as the earth wherein we are, and peopled as it were with the greatest living creatures, and the fair plants; and those creatures within her, be fifteen times stronger and more puissant than those with us, and the same yeeld forth no excrements, and the * day there, is in that proportion so much longer.

* ἡμέρα, some read, νύκτα, that is to say, night.

Anaxagoras saith, that the inequality which is seen in the face of the Moon, proceedeth from the co-agmentation of cold and terrestrity mixed together, for that there is a certain tenebrosity medled with the fiery nature thereof; whereupon this star is said to be *Pseudophanes*, that is to say, to have a false light.

The *Stoicks* are of opinion, that by reason of the diversity of her substance, the composition of her body is not subject to corruption.

CHAP. XXXI.

The distance between Sun and Moon.

EMpedocles thinketh, that the Moon is twice as far off from the Sun as she is from the Earth.

The *Mathematicians* say, that the distance is eighteen times as much.

Eratosthenes giveth out, the Sun is from the earth 408. thousand Stadia, ten times told: and the Moon from the earth 78. thousand Stadia, ten times multiplied.

CHAP. XXXII.

Of the years; and how much the year of every Planet containeth; the great yeer.

THe revolution or year of *Saturn* comprehendeth thirty common years: Of *Jupiter* twelve: of *Mars* two: of the Sun, twelve months: those of *Mercury* and *Venus* be all one, for their course is equal: of the Moon thirty days: for this we count a perfect month, to wit, from the apparition to the conjunction. As for the great year; some say it compriseth eight years: others nineteen, and others again sixty wanting one. *Heraclitus* saith it consisteth of 80000 solar years. *Diogenes* of 365. years, such as *Heraclitus* speaketh of: and others of 7777.

The Third Book of Philosophers opinions.

The Proeme.

HAving summarily, and after a cursory manner treated in the former books, of celestial bodies, and resting in the confines thereof, which is the Moon, I will addresse my selfe in this third booke, to discourse of Meteors, that is to say, of such impressions as be engendered in the air above, to wit, between the circle of the Moon and the situation of the Earth: the which men hold generally to be inclosed of the prick or center in that compasse of the universal Globe. And hereat will I begin.

CHAP. I.

Of the milk way, or white Circle Galaxia.

THis *Galaxia* is a cloudy or misty circle, appearing always in the skie; and called it is the Milk way, of the white colour which it doth represent.

Of the Pythagoreans some say, it is the inflammation or burning out of some star removed, and falling out of his proper place, which hath burnt round about all the way as it passed, from the very time of *Phaethon* his conflagration.

Others hold, that in old time the race and course of the Sun was that way. Some are of opinion, that it is a speculary apparition, only occasioned by the reflexion of the Sun beams against the cope of Heaven, even as we observe it to fall out between the rainbow and thick clouds.

Metrodorus affirmeth it to be caused by the passage of the sun: for that this is the solar circle.

Parmenides is of opinion that the mixture of that which is thick, with the rare or thin, engendereth this milky colour.

Anaxagoras saith, that the shadow of the earth resteth upon this part of heaven, at what time as the Sun being underneath the earth, doth not illuminate all throughout.

Democritus is perswaded, that it is the resplendent light of many small stars, and those close together, shining one upon another, and so occasioned by their spissitude and astriction.

Aristotle would have it to be an inflammation of a dry exhalation; the same being great in quantity and continued: and so there is an hairy kind of fire under the skie, and beneath the Planets.

Possidonius supposeth it to be a consistence of fire, more clear and subtile than a star: and yet thicker then a splendeur or shining light.

CHAP. II.

Of Comets, or blazing Stars: of stars seeming to shoot and fall: as also of fiery beams appearing in the air.

SOme of *Pythagoras* Scholars affirm, that a Comet is a Star of the number of those which appear not always, but at certain prefixed seasons after some periodical revolutions do arise.

Others affirm it to be the reflexion of our sight against the Sun, after the manner of those resemblances which shew in mirrors or looking glasses.

Anaxagoras and *Democritus* say, that it is a concourse of two stars or more meeting with their lights together.

Aristotle is of opinion, that it is a consistence of a dry exhalation enflamed.

Strato saith, that it is the light of a star enwrapped within a thick cloud, as we see it ordinarily in our lamps and burning lights.

Heraclides of *Pontus* holdeth it to be a cloud heaved and elevated on high, and the same illuminated by some high light also: and the like reason giveth he of the bearded blazing star called Pagonias. Others (like as all the Peripateticks) affirm, that the beam, the column, and such other meteors or impressions are made after the same manner by divers configurations of clouds in the air.

Epigines supposeth a Comet to be an elevation of spirit or wind mixed with an earthly substance, and set on fire.

Boethus imagineth it to be an apparition of the air, let loose as it were, and spread at large.

Diogenes is perswaded that Comets be Stars.

Anaxagoras saith, that the Stars which are said to shoot, be as it were sparkles falling from the elementary fire: which is the cause that they are quenched and gone out so quickly.

Metrodorus supposeth, that when the Sun striketh violently upon a cloud, the beams or raies thereof do sparkle, and so cause this shooting of Stars as they tearm it.

Xenophanes would bear us in hand, that all such Meteors and Impressions as these be constitutions or motions of clouds enflamed.

CHAP. III.

Of thunders, lightnings, flashes, prester's, or fiery blasts, and tempestuous whirlwinds

ANaximander supposeth, that all these come by wind: for when it hapneth that it is conceived and enclosed within a thick cloud, then by reason of the subtilty and lightnesse thereof, it breaketh forth with violence: and the rupture of the cloud maketh a crack; and the divulsion or cleaving, by reason of the blacknesse of the cloud, causeth a shining light.

Metrodorus saith, when a wind chanceth to be enclosed within a cloud gathered thick and close together, the said wind by bursting of the cloud maketh a noise; and by the stroak and breach it shineth; but by the quick motion catching heat of the Sun, it shooteth forth lightning; but if the said lightning be weak, it turneth into a Prester or burning blase.

Anaxagoras is of opinion, that when ardent heat falleth upon cold, that is to say, when a portion of celestial fire lighteth upon the airy substance; by the cracking noise thereof is caused thunder, by the colour against the blacknesse of the cloud, a flashing beam; by the plenty and greatnesse of the light, that which we call lightning; and in case the fire be more grosse and corpulent, there ariseth of it a whirlwind; but if the same be of a cloudy nature, it engendereth a burning blast called Prester.

The *Stoicks* hold thunder to be a combat, and smiting together of clouds: that a flashing beame, is a fire or inflammation proceeding from their attrition: that lightning is a more violent flashing, and Prester, lesse forcible.

Aristotle supposeth, that all these Meteors come likewise of a dry exhalation, which being gotten enclosed within a moist cloud, seeketh means, and striveth forcibly to get forth: now by attrition and breaking together, it causeth the clap of thunder; by inflammation of the dry substance, a flashing beam; but Prester's, Typhons, that is to say, burning blasts, and whirlewinds, according as the store of matter is, more or lesse, which the one and the other draweth to it; but if the same be hotter, you shall see Prester, if thicker, look for Typhon.

CHAP. IIII.
Of Clouds, Rain, Snow, and Haile.

Naximenes saith that clouds are engendered when the air is most thick, which if they coagulate still more and more, there is expressed from them a shower of rain: but in case this matter as it falleth, do congeale, it turneth to be snow; but say it meet with a cold moist wind and be surprized therewith, it proveth haile.

Metrodorus supposeth, that clouds be composed of a watersh evaporation elevated, *Epicurus* of meer * vapors: also that as well the drops of rain as haile stones, become round by the long way of their descent.

* ἀτμῶδη, haply it should be ἀτομῶδη, that is to say, indivisible bodies

CHAP. V.
Of the Rainbow.

AMong those Meteors or impressions engendered in the aire, some there be which have a true substance indeed, as rain and haile: others again, have no more but a bare appearance, without any real subsistence, much like as when we are within a ship, we imagine that the continent and firm land doth move: and among those which are in appearance only, we must range the Rainbow. *Plato* saith, that men derive the Genealogy of it from *Thaumas*, as one would say, from wonder, because they marvelled much to see it: according as *Homer* sheweth in this verse:

Like as when mighty Jupiter *the purple rainbow bends,*
Thereby to mortal men from heaven a wondrous token sends,
Which either tempests terrible, or woful war portends.

And hereupon it is, that some have made thereof a fabulous device, and given out, that she having a bulls head, drinketh up the rivers. But how is this Rainbow engendered, and how cometh it so to appear? Certes, we see by lines, either direct and straight, or crooked, or else rebated and broken: which though they be obscure, and appear not evidently, yet are perceived by cogitation and discourse of reason, as being bodilesse. Now by right lines we behold things, some in the air, and others thorow transparent stones and horns; for that all these consist of very subtile parts: by crooked and curbed lines, we look within the water: for our eye-sight doth bend and turn again perforce, by reason that the matter of the water is more thick: which is the cause, that we see the mariners Oare in the sea afar off, as it were crooked. The third manner of seeing, is by refraction, and so we behold objects in mirrors; and of this sort is the Rainbow: for we must consider and understand, that a moist vapour being lifted up aloft, is converted into a cloud: and then within a while by little and little,, into small dew drops: when as therefore, the Sun descendeth westward, it cannot chuse, but every Rainbow must needs appear opposite unto it in the contrary part of the skie: and when our sight falleth upon those drops, it is rebated and beaten back: and by that means there is presented unto it a Rainbow: now those drops are not of the form and figure of a bow, but represent a colour only: and verily the first and principal hew that this bow hath, is a light and bright red: the second, a deep vermillion or purple: the third, blew and green: Let us consider then, whether the said red colour appear not, because the brightnesse of the Sun beating upon the cloud, and the sincere light thereof reflected and driven back, maketh a ruddy or light red hew: but the second part more obscure, and rebating the said splendor through those dewy drops, causeth a purple tincture, which is (as it were) an abatement of red: and then as it becometh more muddy still, and darkning that which distinguisheth the sight, it turneth into a green: and this is a thing which may be proved by experience: for if a man take water directly against the Sun beams in his mouth, and spit the same forward, in such sort, as the drops receive a repercussion against the said raies of the Sun, he shall find that it will make (as it were) a Rainbow. The like befalleth unto them that are bleer-eyed, when they look upon a lamp or burning light.

Anaximenes supposeth, that the Rainbow is occasioned by the Sun shining full against a grosse, thick and black cloud, in such sort, as his beams be not able to pierce and strike thorow, by reason that they turn again upon it, and become condensate.

Anaxagoras holdeth the Rainbow to be the refraction or repercussion of the Suns round light against a thick cloud, which ought always to be opposite full against him, in manner of a mirror: by which reason, in nature it is said, that there appear two Suns in the country of *Pontus*.

Metrodorus saith, when the Sun shineth thorow clouds, the cloud seemeth blew, but the light looketh red.

CHAP. VI.
Of Water-galls or streaks like rods, somewhat resembling Rainbows.

THese rods and opposite apparitions of Suns, which are seen otherwhiles in the skie, happen through the temperature of a subject matter and illumination: namely, when clouds are seen not in their natural and proper colour, but by another, caused by a divers irradiation: and in all these, the like passions fall out both naturally, and also are purchased by accident.

CHAP.

CHAP. VII.
Of Winds.

A*Naximander* is of opinion, that the Wind is a fluxion of the aire; when as the most subtile and liquid parts thereof be either stirred, or melted and resolved by the Sun.

The *Stoicks* affirm, that every blast is a fluxion of the aire, and that according to the mutation of regions, they change their names; as for example, that which bloweth from the darknesse of the night and Sun setting, is named *Zephyrus*; from the East and Sun rising, *Apelioten*: from the North, *Boreas*; and from the South, *Libs*.

Metrodorus supposeth, that a watersh vapour being enchased by the heat of the Sun, produceth and raiseth these winds: and, as for those that be anniversary, named *Etesiæ*, they blow, when the air about the North pole is thickened and congealed with cold, and so accompany the Sun, and flow (as it were) with him, as he retireth from the Summer Tropick, after the Æstival Solstice.

CHAP. VIII.
Of Winter and Summer.

E*mpedocles* and the *Stoicks* do hold, that Winter cometh when the air is predominant in thicknesse, and is forced upward; but Summer, when the fire is in that wise predominant, and is driven downward.

Thus having discoursed of the impressions aloft in the aire, we will treat also (by the way) of those which are seen upon and about the earth.

CHAP. IX.
Of the Earth: the substance and magnitude thereof.

T*Hales* with his followers affirm, there is but one Earth.

Oecetes the Pythagorean, maintaineth twain; one here, and another opposite against it, which the Antipodes inhabit.

The *Stoicks* say, there is one Earth, and the same finite.

Xenophanes holdeth, that beneath it is founded upon an infinite depth; and that compact it is of aire and fire.

Metrodorus is of opinion, that Earth is the very sediment and ground of the water; like as the Sun is the residence of the air.

CHAP. X.
The form of the Earth.

T*Hales*, the *Stoicks* and their school affirm the Earth to be round, in manner of a globe or ball.

Anaximander resembleth the Earth unto a column or pillar of stone, such as are seen upon the superficies thereof.

Anaximenes compareth it to a flat table; *Leucippus*, unto a drum or tabour: *Democritus* saith, that it is in form broad, in manner of a platter, hollow in the midst.

CHAP. XI.
The situation of the Earth.

THe disciples of *Thales* maintain, that the Earth is seated in the midst of the world.

Xenophanes affirmeth, that it was first founded and rooted as it were to an infinite depth.

Philolaus the Pythagorean saith, that fire is the middle, as being the hearth of the world, in the second place he rangeth the Earth of the Antipodes: and in the third, this wherein we inhabit, which lieth opposite unto that counter earth, and turneth about it: which is the reason (quoth he) that those who dwell there, are not seen by the inhabitants here.

Parmenides was the first Philosopher, who set out and limited the habitable parts of the Earth, to wit, those which are under the two Zones, unto the Tropicks or Solsticial circles.

CHAP. XII.
Of the bending of the Earth.

P*ythagoras* is of opinion, that the earth enclineth toward the Meridional parts, by reason of the rarity which is in those South coasts: for that the Septentrional tracts are congealed, and frozen with cold, whereas the opposite regions be inflamed and burnt.

Democritus yeeldeth this reason; because of the ambient air is weaker toward the South (quoth he) the Earth as it groweth and encreaseth, doth bend to that side: for the North parts be intemperate: whereas contrariwise the Southern parts are temperate: in which regard it weigheth more that way, whereas indeed it is more plentiful in bearing fruits, and those growing to greater augmentation.

CHAP.

CHAP. XIII.
The motion of the Earth.

SOme hold the earth to be unmoveable and quiet: but *Philolaus* the Pythagorean saith, that it moveth round about the fire, in the oblique circle, according as the Sun and Moon do.

Heraclides of *Pontus*, and *Ecphantus* the Pythagorean, would indeed have the Earth to move, howbeit not from place to place, but rather after a turning manner like unto a wheele upon the Axel tree, from West to East, round about her own center.

Democritus saith that the Earth at first wandered to and fro, by reason as well of smalnesse as lightnesse: but waxing in time thick and heavy, it came to rest unmoveable.

CHAP. XIIII.
The division of the Earth, and how many Zones it hath.

Pythagoras saith, that the earth is divided into five Zones proportionably to the sphear of the universal heaven; to wit, the Artick Circle, the Tropick of Summer, the Tropick of Winter, the Æquinoctial and the Antartick. Of which the middlemost doth determine and set out the very midst and heart of the earth: and for that cause it is named *Torrida Zona*, that is to say, the burnt climate: but that region is habitable, as being temperate, which lieth in the midst between the summer and the winter Tropick.

CHAP. XV.
Of Earthquakes.

Thales and *Democritus* attribute the cause of Earthquakes unto water.

The *Stoicks* thus define and say, Earthquake is the moisture within the earth subtiliated and resolved into the air, and so breaking out perforce.

Anaximenes is of opinion, that rarity and drinesse of the earth together, be the causes of Earthquake: whereof the one is engendered by excessive drought, the other by gluts of rain.

Anaxagoras holdeth, that when the air is gotten within the earth, and meeteth with the superficies thereof, which it findeth tough and thick, so as it cannot get forth, it shaketh it in manner of trembling.

Aristotle alledgeth, the *Antiperistasis* of the circumstant cold which environeth about on every side, both above and beneath: for heat endeavoureth and maketh haste to mount aloft, as being by nature light. A dry exhalation, therefore finding it selfe enclosed within and stayed, striveth to make way through the clifts and chinks of the earth, in which businesse it cannot chuse but by turning to and fro up and down disquiet and shake the earth.

Metrodorus is of mind, that no body being in the own proper and natural place can stir or move, unlesse some one do actually thrust or pull it. The earth therefore (quoth he) being situate in the own place, naturally moveth not: howsoever some places thereof may remove into others.

Parmenides and *Democritus* reason in this wise: for that the earth on every side is of equal distance, and confineth still in one counterpoise, as having no cause wherefore it should incline more to the one side than to the other: therefore well it may shake onely, but not stir or remove for all that.

Anaximenes saith, that the earth is carried up and down in the air, for that it is broad and flat.

Others say, that it floateth upon the water, like as planks or boards, and that for this cause it moveth.

Plato affirmeth, that of all motions there be six sorts of circumstances, above, beneath, on the right hand, on the left, before and behind. Also that the earth cannot possibly move according to any of these differences; for that on every side it lieth lowest of all things in the world, and by occasion thereof resteth unmoveable, having no cause why it should encline more to one part then to another, but yet some places of her because of their rarity do jog and shake.

Epicurus keepeth his old tune, saying it may well be, that the earth being shogged, and as it were rocked and beaten by the air underneath, which is grosse and of the nature of water, therefore moveth and quaketh. As also, it may be (quoth he) that being hollow and full of holes in the parts below, it is forced to tremble and shake by the air that is gotten within the caves and concavities, and there enclosed.

CHAP. XVI.
Of the Sea, how it was made and cometh to be bitter.

Anaximander affirmeth, that the Sea is a residue remaining of the primitive humidity, whereof the Sun having burnt up and consumed a great part, the rest behind he altered and turned from the natural kind by his excessive ardent heat.

Anaxagoras is of opinion, that the said first humidity being diffused and spread abroad in manner of a poole or great mear, was burnt by the motion of the Sun about it: and when the oilous substance thereof was exhaled and consumed, the rest setled below, and turned into a brackish and bitter saltnesse, which is the Sea.

Empedocles saith, that the Sea is the sweat of the earth, enchased by the sun, being bathed and washed all over aloft.

Antiston thinketh it to be the sweat of heat, the moisture whereof which was within, being by much seething and boyling sent out, becommeth salt; a thing ordinary in all sweats.

Metrodorus supposeth the Sea to be that moisture, which running thorow the earth, retained some part of the density thereof, like as that which passeth through ashes.

The disciples of *Plato* imagine, that so much of the elementary water which is congealed of the air by refrigeration, is sweet and fresh; but whatsoever did evaporate by burning and inflammation, became salt.

CHAP. XVI.
Of the Tides, to wit, the ebbing and flowing of the sea, what is the cause thereof?

Aristotle and *Heraclitus* affirme, that it is the sun which doth it, as who stirreth, raiseth, and carrieth about with him the most part of the windes, which comming to blow in on the Ocean, cause the Atlantick sea to swell, and so make the flux or high water; but when the same are allayed and clean down, the sea falleth low, and so causeth a reflux and ebbe or low water.

Pytheas of Marseils, referreth the cause of flowing to the full Moon, and ebbing to the Moon in the wane.

Plato attributeth all to a certain rising of the waters, saying, There is such an elevation, that through the mouth of a cave carrieth the Ebbe and Flow to and fro, by the means whereof, the seas do rise and flow contrarily.

Timæus alledgeth the cause hereof to be the rivers, which falling from the mountains in *Gaule*, enter into the Atlantique sea, which by their violent corruptions driving before them the water of the sea, cause the Flow, and by their ceasing and return back by times, the Ebbe.

Seleucus the Mathematician, who affirmed also, that the earth moved, saith, that the motion thereof is opposite and contrary to that of the Moon: also that the wind being driven to and fro, by these two contrary revolutions, bloweth and beateth upon the Atlantick Ocean, troubleth the sea also (and no marvel) according as it is disquieted it selfe.

CHAP. XVIII.
Of the round Circle called Halo.

THis *Halo* is made after this manner: between the body of the Moon, or any other Star, and our eye-sight, there gathereth a grosse and misty air, by which air, anon our sight cometh to be reflected and diffused: and afterwards the same incurreth upon the said Star, according to the exterior circumference thereof, and thereupon appeareth a circle round about the star; which being there seen is called *Halo*, for that it seemeth that the apparent impression is close unto that, upon which our sight so enlarged, as is before said, doth fall.

The Fourth Book of Philosophers Opinions.

The Proeme.

HAving run through the general parts of the world, I will now passe unto the particulars.

CHAP. I.
Of the rising and inundation of Nilus.

Thales thinketh that the anniversary winds called *Etesiæ* blowing directly against *Egypt*, cause the water of *Nilus* to swell; for that the sea being driven by these winds, entreth within the mouth of the said river, and hindereth it, that it cannot discharge it selfe freely into the sea, but is repulsed backward.

Euthymenes of *Marseils*, supposeth that this river is filled with the water of the Ocean, and the great sea lying without the continent, which he imagineth to be fresh and sweet.

Anaxagoras saith, that this happeneth by the snow in *Æthiopia*, which melteth in summer, and is congealed and frozen in winter.

Democritus is of opinion, that it is long of the snow in the north parts, which about the Æstival Solstice and return of the Sun, being dissolved and dilated breedeth vapors, and of them be engendred clouds, which being driven by the Etesian winds into *Æthiopia* and *Egypt* toward the south, cause great and violent rains, wherewith both lakes, and the river also *Nilus*, be filled.

Herodotus the Historian writeth, that this river hath as much water from his sources and springs, in

in winter as in ſummer; but to us it ſeemeth leſſe in winter, becauſe the ſun being then neer unto *Egypt*, cauſeth the ſaid water to evaporate.

Ephorus the Hiſtoriographer reporteth, that all *Egypt* doth reſolve and run as it were wholly into ſweat in ſummer time: whereunto *Arabia* and *Libya* do confer, and contribute alſo their waters, for that the earth there is light and sandy.

Eudoxus ſaith, that the Prieſts of Egypt aſſign the cauſe hereof to the great rains and the *Antiperiſtaſis*, or contrary occurſe of ſeaſons; for that when it is ſummer with us, who inhabit within the Zone toward the Summer Tropick, it is Winter with thoſe who dwell in the oppoſite Zone under the Winter Tropick, whereupon (ſaith he) proceedeth this great inundation of waters, breaking down unto the river *Nilus*.

CHAP. II.
Of the Soul.

Thales was the firſt that defined the ſoul to be a nature moving always, or having motion of it ſelf.

Pythagoras ſaith, it is a certain number moving it ſelf: and this number he taketh for intelligence or underſtanding.

Plato ſuppoſeth it to be an intellectual ſubſtance moving it ſelfe, and that according to harmonical number.

Ariſtotle is of opinion, that it is the firſt *Entelechia* or primitive act of a natural and organical body, having life potentially.

Dicearchus thinketh it to be the harmony and concordance of the four elements.

Aſclepiades the Phyſitian defineth it to be an exerciſe in common of all the ſenſes together.

CHAP. III.
Whether the ſoule be a body, and what is the ſubſtance of it.

ALl theſe Philoſophers before rehearſed, ſuppoſe that the ſoul is incorporal, that of the own nature it moveth and is a ſpiritual ſubſtance, and the action of a natural body, compoſed of many organs or inſtruments, and withal having life.

But the Sectaries of *Anaxagoras* have given out, that it is of an airy ſubſtance, and a very body.

The *Stoicks* would have the ſoul to be an hot ſpirit or breath.

Democritus holdeth it to be a certain fiery compoſition of things perceptible by reaſon, and the ſame having their forms ſpherical and round, and the puiſſance of fire, and withal to be a body.

Epicurus ſaith, it is a mixtion or temperature of four things, to wit, of a certain fire, of (I wot not what) air, of an odd windy ſubſtance, and of another fourth matter, I cannot tell what to name it, and which to him was ſenſible.

Heraclitus affirmeth the ſoul of the world to be an evaporation of humors within it: as for the ſoul of living creatures, it proceedeth (quoth he) as well from an evaporation of humors without, as an exhalation within it ſelfe, and of the ſame kind.

CHAP. IV.
The parts of the Soul.

Pythagoras and *Plato*, according to a more general and remote diviſion, hold, that the ſoul hath two parts, that is to ſay, the Reaſonable and the unreaſonable: but to go more neer and exactly to work, they ſay, it hath three; for they ſubdivided the unreaſonable part into Concupiſcible and Iraſcible.

The *Stoicks* be of opinion, that compoſed it is of eight parts, whereof five be the ſenſes natural, to wit, ſight, hearing, ſmelling, taſting, and feeling; the ſixth is the voice; the ſeventh generative, or ſpermatical, and the eighth, underſtanding, which guideth and commandeth all the reſt by certain proper organs and inſtruments, like as the Polype fiſh by her clees and hairy branches.

Democritus and *Epicurus* ſet down two parts of the ſoule; the Reaſonable ſeated in the breſt, and the Unreaſonable ſpread and diſperſed over all the ſtructure of the body beſides.

As for *Democritus*, he affirmeth, that all things whatſoever, have a certain kind of ſoul, even the very dead bodies, for that always they do manifeſtly participate a kind of heat and ſenſitive faculty, notwithſtanding the moſt part thereof be breathed forth, and yeelded up.

CHAP. V.
Which is the Miſtreſſe and commanding part of the Soul, and wherein it is.

Plato and *Democritus* place it in the head throughout: *Strato* between the two eye-brows: *Eraſtratus* in the membrane or kell that enfoldeth the brain, & he calleth *Epicranus*: *Herophilus* within

within the ventricle or concavity of the brain, which alſo is the baſis or foundation of it: *Parmenides* over all the breſt, and with him accordeth *Epicurus*: the *Stoicks* all with one voice hold it to be in the whole heart, or elſe in the ſpirit about the heart: *Diogenes* in the cavity of the great Artery of the heart, which is full of vital ſpirit: *Empedocles* in the conſiſtence or maſſe of blood: others in the very neck of the heart: ſome in the tunicle that lappeth the heart: and others againe in the midriff: ſome of our modern Philoſophers hold, that it taketh up and occupieth all the ſpace from the head downward to the *Diaphragma* or Midriff aboveſaid: *Pythagoras* ſuppoſeth that the vital part of the ſoul is about the heart, but the reaſon and the intellectual or ſpiritual part, about the head.

CHAP. VI.
The motion of the Soul.

Plato is of opinion, that the ſoul moveth continually; but the intelligence or underſtanding is immoveable, in regard of local motion from place to place.

Ariſtotle ſaith, that the ſoul it ſelfe moveth not, although it be the author that rules and directeth all motion; howbeit, that by an accident, it is not devoid of motion, according as divers ſorts of bodies do move.

CHAP. VII.
Of the Soul's immortality.

Pythagoras and *Plato* affirm the ſoul to be immortal; for in departing out of the body, it retireth to the ſoul of the univerſal world, even to the nature which is of the ſame kind.

The *Stoicks* hold, that the ſoul going from the body, if it be feeble and weak, as that is of ignorant perſons, ſetleth downward with the groſſe conſiſtence of the body; but if it be more firme and puiſſant, as that is of wiſe and learned men, it continueth * even unto the conflagration of all.

Democritus and *Epicurus* ſay, that it is corruptible, and periſheth together with the body.

Pythagoras and *Plato* are of opinion, that the reaſonable part of the ſoul is immortal and incorruptible; for that the ſoul, if it be not God, yet the work it is of eternal God: as for the unreaſonable part, it is mortal and ſubject to corruption.

* μέχρι ἐκπυρώσεως, Some interpret it thus, it amounteth up to the region of fire.

CHAP. VIII.
Of the Senſes and ſenſible objects.

THe *Stoicks* thus define Senſe: Senſe (ſay they) is the apprehenſion of the ſenſitive organ. But Senſe is taken many ways; for we underſtand by it, either an habitude or faculty natural, or a ſenſible action, or elſe an imagination apprehenſive; which all are performed by the meanes of an inſtrument ſenſitive; yea, and the very eighth part of the ſoul abovenamed, even that which is principal, to wit, the diſcourſe of reaſon, by which all the reſt do conſiſt: Again, the ſpirits intellectual, are called ſenſitive inſtruments, which from the ſaid principal underſtanding reach unto all the organs.

The Senſe (quoth *Epicurus*) is that parcel of the ſoul which is the ſenſitive power it ſelfe, and the effect which proceedeth from it, ſo that he taketh Senſe in two ſorts, for the power, and effect.

Plato defineth Senſe to be the ſociety of the body and ſoul, as touching external objects; for the faculty and power of Senſe is proper to the ſoule, the inſtrument belonging to the body; but both the one and the other apprehendeth external things, by the means of the imaginative faculty, or the phantaſie.

Leucippus and *Democritus* do ſay, that both Senſe and intelligence are actuated by the means of certain images repreſented from without unto us, for that neither the one nor the other, can be performed without the occurrence of ſome ſuch image.

CHAP. IX.
Whether Senſes and Fanſies be true or no?

THe *Stoicks* hold, that the Senſes be true: but of Imaginations, as ſome be true, ſo others are falſe.

Epicurus ſuppoſeth that all Senſes and Imaginations be true: marry, of opinions, ſome be true, others falſe: and as for the Senſe, it is deceived one way only, to wit, in things intelligible: but imagination after two ſorts: for that there is an Imagination as well of ſenſible things, as of intelligible.

Empedocles and *Heraclides* ſay, that particular Senſes are effected according to the proportion of their pores and paſſages; namely, as the proper object of each Senſe is well diſpoſed and fitted.

CHAP. X.
How many Senſes there be?

THe *Stoicks* hold, that there be five proper Senſes, Sight, Hearing, Smelling, Taſte, and Feeling. *Ariſtotle*

Aristotle saith not, that there is a sixth, howbeit he putteth down one common Sense, which judgeth as touching the compound kinds: whereunto all the other particular and single Senses bring and present their proper imaginations: wherein the transition of the one to the other, as of a figure or motion doth shew.

Democritus affirmeth, that there be more Senses in brute beasts, in the gods, and in wise men.

CHAP. XI.

After what manner is effected Sense, Notion and Reason, according to disposition or affection.

THe *Stoicks* are of opinion and say, that when a man is engendered, he hath the principal part of his soule, which is the understanding, like for all the world unto a parchment or paper ready to be written in: and therein he doth register and record every several Notion and cogitation of his: for those who have perceived any thing by Sense, (as for example sake, have seen a white thing) when the same is gone out of their eye, retain it still in memory: now after they have collected together many semblable memories of the same kind, then they say, they have experience; for experience is nothing else but an heap or multitude of like sorts: but of notions and thoughts, some be natural, which are caused in manner aforesaid, without any artificial means; others come by our study, and by teaching, and such alone properly and indeed are called Notions; the other bee named rather conceptions or anticipations; and Reason for which we bear the name of Reasonable, is accomplished by those anticipations in the first seven years: and intelligence is the conception in the understanding of a reasonable creature: for phantasie when it lighteth upon the reasonable soul is then called Intelligence, taking the denomination of understanding, which is the cause that these imaginations are not incident unto other creatures; but such as are presented unto gods and us both, those are only and properly imaginations; whereas those which offer themselves unto us, are imaginations in general, and cogitations in special: like as Deniers, Testons, or Crowns being considered apart in themselves, are Deniers, Testons and Crowns; but if you give them for the hire of a ship, then besides that they are Deniers, &c. they be also the fare, for ferry or passage.

CHAP. XII.

What difference there is between Imagination, Imaginable, Imaginative, and Imagined.

*φαλλοὶ.

Chrysippus saith, there is a difference between all these four; and first, as for * Imagination, it is a passion or impression in the soul, shewing the selfe same thing that made and imprinted it: as for example; when with our eyes we behold a white, it is a passion or affection engendered by the sight in our soul, and we may well say, that the said white is the subject or object that moveth and affecteth us: semblably in smelling and touching, and this is called Phantasie, a word derived of φάος or φῶς, which signifieth light or clearnesse; for like as the light sheweth it selfe, and all that is comprised in it; so the Phantasie or imagination representeth it selfe, and that which made it.

* φαλλαστὸν.

* Imaginable is that which maketh imagination, as white, cold, and whatsoever is able to move or affect the soul, is called imaginable.

* φαλλαστικὸν.

* Phantastick or Imaginative, is a vain attraction; even an affection or passion in the soul, which cometh not from any object imaginable; like as we may observe in him that fighteth with his own shadow, or in vain flingeth forth his hands: for in true phantasie or imagination, there is a subject matter named Imaginable: but in this Phantastick or Imaginative there is no such object or subject at all.

* φάντασμα.

Phantasme or * Imagined, is that unto which we are drawn by that vain attraction: a thing usual with those who are either furious, or surprized with the malady of melancholy: for *Orestes* in the Tragedy of *Euripides* when he uttereth these speeches,

O mother mine, against me raise not thus,
*I thee beseech, these * wenches furious:*
Whom now I see clad, with bloody eyes,
And Dragon like, how they against me rise:
These me beset, and charge on every part,
These strike on still, these wound me to the heart.

* κόραι, or women.

doth speak them as enraged and in a phrantick fit: for he seeth nothing, but onely imagineth and thinketh that he seeth them: and therefore his sister *Electra* replieth thus upon:

Lie still poor wretch, rest in thy bed, for why?
Thou seest not that which seems so verily.

* *Odyss.* v. toward the end. The same is the case of *Theoclymenus* in * *Homer.*

CHAP. XIII.

Of sight, and how we do see.

Democritus and *Epicurus* supposed, that sight was caused by the intromission of certain images: others by an insinuation of beams, returning to our eye-sight, after the occurrence of an object. *Empedocles*

Empedocles hath mingled the said images and beames together, calling that which is made thereof, the raies of a compound image. *Hipparchus* holdeth, that the beams sent out and launced from the one eye, and the other comming to be extended, in their ends meet together, and as it were by the touching and clasping of hands, taking hold of external bodies, carry back the apprehension of them unto the visive power.

Plato attributeth it to the corradiation or conjunction of light, for that the light of the eyes reacheth a good way within the aire of like nature, and the light likewise issuing from the visible bodies, cutteth the aire between, which of itselfe is liquid and mutable, and so extendeth it together with the fiery power of the eye; and this is it which is called the conjunct light or corradiation of the Platonicks.

CHAP. XIV.

Of the Resemblances represented in mirrors.

Empedocles saith, that these apparitions come by the means of certain defluxions, gathered together upon the superficies of the mirrour, and accomplished by the fire that ariseth from the said Mirror, and withal transmuteth the aire that is object before it, into which those defluxions are carried.

Democritus and *Epicurus* are of opinion, that these apparences in Mirrors, are caused by the subsistence and stay of certain images, which passing from us, gather together upon the Mirror by way of rebounding and resultation.

The Pythagoreans attribute all this to the reflexion of the sight: for that the sight is extended and carried as far as to the Mirror of brass or whatsoever, where resting and staying upon the thick solidity thereof, and beaten back by the polished smoothnesse of the Mirror object against it, the same returneth again upon it selfe; much like as when our hand is stretched out and brought back againe unto the shoulder.

All these points and opinions may serve very well, and be accommodate to that chapter and question, carrying this title: How we do see.

CHAP. XV.

Whether Darknesse be visible.

THe *Stoicks* hold, that Darknesse is visible; for that from the sight there is a splendeur going forth that compasseth the said Darknesse; neither doth the eye-sight lie and deceive us, for it seeth certainly and in truth that there is Darknesse *

* *Chrysippus* saith, that we do see by the tension of the air between, which is pricked by the visual spirit, that passeth from the principal part of the soul into the apple of the eye: and after that it falleth upon the air about it, it extendeth the same in a pyramidal form, namely, when as it meeteth with an aire of the same nature with it: for there flow from out of the eyes certain raies resembling fire, and nothing black or misty, and therefore if is that Darknesse may be seen.

* In one copy I read thus much more. Furthermore Darknesse doth aggregate & gather in the sight, and thereby makes it dim: contrariwise, light doth disgregate and convey it as far to the visible objects, thorough the air between; and therefore it seeth not in the dark, but is able to see darknesse.

CHAP. XVI.

Of Hearing.

Empedocles is of opinion, that Hearing is performed by the means of a spirit or wind gotten within the concavity of the ear, writhed or turned in manner of a vice or screw, which they say is fitted and framed of purpose within the ear, hanging up aloft, and beaten upon in manner of a clock.

Alcmæon affirmeth, that we do hear by the void place within the ear: for he saith, that this is it that resoundeth, when the said spirit entreth into it: because all empty things do make a sound.

Diogenes supposeth, that hearing is caused by the air within the Head, when it cometh to bee touched, stirred, and beaten by the voice.

Plato and his scholars hold, that the air within the head is smitten, and that it rebounderh and is carried to the principal part of the soul, wherein is reason, and so is formed the sense of Hearing.

CHAP. XVII.

Of Smelling.

Alcmæon affirmeth, that reason, the principal part of the soul, is within the brain, and that by it we smell drawing in scents and smells by respirations.

Empedocles is of this advice, that together with the respiration of the lights, odours also are intromitted and let in: when as then the said respiration is not performed at liberty and ease, but with much adoe, by reason of some asperity in the passage, we smell not at all, like as we observe in them who are troubled with the pose, mur, and such like rheumes.

CHAP. XVIII.
Of Taste.

Alemaon saith, that by the moisture and warmth in the tongue, together with the softnes thereof, all smacks and objects of taste are distinguished.

Diogenes attributeth the same to the spungeous rarity and softnesse of the tongue; and for that the veins of the body reach up to it, and are inserted and grafted therein, the savors are spread abroad and drawn into the sense and principal part of the soul, as it were with a spunge.

CHAP. XIX.
Of the Voice.

Plato defineth the Voice to be a spirit, which by the mouth is brought and directed from the understanding; also a knocking performed by the air, passing through the ears, the braine, and the blood, as far as to the soul; after an unproper manner and abusively we attribute Voice to unreasonable Creatures, yea, and to such as have no soul or life at all, namely, to the neighing of horses, and to other sounds; but to speak properly, there is no voice but that which is articulate, and called it is φωνη in Greek, for that it declareth that which is in the thought.

Epicurus holdeth the Voice to be a fluxion sent forth by such as speak and make a noise, or otherwise do sound; which fluxion breaketh and crumbleth into many fragments of the same forme and figure, as are the things from whence they come; as for example, round to round, and triangles whether they have three equal sides or unequal, to the like triangles: and these broken parcels entring into the ears, make the sense of the Voice, which is hearing; a thing that may be evidently seen in bottels that leak and run out, as also in fullers that blow upon their cloaths.

Democritus saith, that the very air breaketh into small fragments of the same figure, that is to say, round to round; and roll together with the fragments of the Voice: for according to the old proverb:

One chough neer to another chough,
loves always for to pearch,
And God hath so appointed aire,
that all their like should search.

For even upon the shores and sea-sides, stones are evermore found together semblable, to wit, in one place round, in another long; in like manner, when as folk do winnow or purge corn with the Van, those grains always are ranged and sorted together, which be of one and the same form; insomuch as Beans go to one side by themselves, and Cich Pease to another apart by their selves: but against all this it may be alledged and objected; How is it possible that a few fragments of spirit and wind should fill a Theater, that receiveth ten thousand men?

The *Stoicks* say, that the air doth not consist of small fragments, but is continual throughout, and admitteth no voidnesse at all: howbeit, when it is smitten with spirit or wind, it waveth directly in circles infinitely, until it fill up all the air about, much after the manner as we may perceive in a pond or poole, when there is a stone thrown into it: for like as the water in it moveth in flat circles; so doth the air in roundles like to balls.

Anaxagoras saith, that the Voice is formed by the incursion and beating of the Voice against the solid air, which maketh resistance, and returneth the stroke back againe to the ears, which is the manner also of that reduplication of the Voice or resonance called Eccho.

CHAP. XX.
Whether the Voice be incorporall? and how cometh the Eccho to be formed?

Pythagoras, *Plato*, and *Aristotle* do hold the Voice to be bodilesse: for that it is not the aire but a form in the aire, and a superficies thereof, and that by a certaine beating which becometh a Voice. Now this is certaine that no superficies hath a body. True it is indeed that it moveth and removeth with the body, but of it selfe without all doubt it hath no body at all: like as in a wand or rod that is bent, the superficies thereof suffereth no alteration, in respect of it self, but it is the very matter and substance that is bowed. Howbeit the Stoicks are of another opinion & say, that the Voice is a body: for whatsoever is operative and worketh ought, is a body: but certain it is that the Voice is active and doth somewhat: for we do hear and perceive when it beateth upon our ears, and it giveth a print, no lesse then a seal upon Wax. Moreover all that moveth or troubleth us, is a body: but who knoweth not that in Musick, as good harmony affecteth us; so dissonance and discord doth disquiet us: and that which more is; all that stirreth or moveth is a body: but the voice stirreth and hitteth against smooth and polished solid places, by which it is broken & sent back again

in manner as we do see a tennis ball when it is smitten upon a wall: insomuch as in the Pyramides of Ægypt, one Voice delivered within them, rendereth foure or five resonances or Echoes for it.

CHAP. XXI.
How the Soule commeth to be sensitive; and what is the principall and prædominant part thereof.

The *Stoicks* are of opinion, that the supreame and highest part of the Soule is the principall and the guide of the other: to wit, that which maketh imaginations, causeth assents, performeth senses, and moveth appetite: and this is it which they call the discourse of reason. Now of this principall and soveraign part, there be seven others springing from it, and which are spread through the rest of the body, like unto the armes or hairy branches of a poulp fish: of which seven the naturall senses make five; namely, Sight, Smelling, Hearing, Tasting, and Feeling. Of these the Sight is a spirit passing from the chiefest part unto the eyes: Hearing, a spirit reaching from the understanding to the eares: Smelling, a spirit issuing from reason to the nostrils: Tasting, a spirit going from the foresaid principall part unto the tongue: and last of all Feeling, a spirit stretching and extended from the same predominant part, as far as to the sensible superficies of those objects which are easie to be felt and handled. Of the twaine behind, the one is called genitall seed, and that is likewise a spirit transmitted from the principall part unto the genitories or members of generation: the other which is the seventh and last of all, *Zeno* calleth Vocall, and we, Voice; a spirit also, which from the principall part passeth to the wind-pipe, to the tongue, and other instruments appropriate for the voice. And to conclude, that Mistris her selfe and Lady of the rest is seated (as it were in the midst of her own world) within our round head, and there dwelleth.

CHAP. XXII.
Of Respiration.

Empedocles is of opinion, that the first Respiration of the first living creature was occasioned, when the humidity in young ones within the mothers wombe retired, and the outward aire came to succeed in place thereof, and to enter into the void vessels now open to receive the same: but afterwards the naturall heat driving without forth this airy substance for to evaporate and breath away, caused exspiration: and likewise when the same returned in againe there ensued inspiration, which gave new entrance to that aereous substance. But as touching the respiration that now is, he thinketh it to be when the bloud is carried to the exterior superficies of the body; and by this fluxion doth drive and chase the airy substance through the nostrils, and cause exspiration; and inspiration when the bloud returned inward, and when the aire reentreth withall through the rarities which the blound hath left void and empty. And for to make this better to be understood, he bringeth in the example of a Clepsidre or water houre-glasse.

Asclepiades maketh the lungs in manner of a tunnell, supposing that the cause of Respiration is the aire, smooth, and of subtill parts which is within the breast, unto which the aire without, being thick and grosse, floweth and runneth; but is repelled back againe, for that the breast is not able to receive any more, nor yet to be cleane without: Now when as there remaineth still behind some little of the subtile aire within the breast, (for it cannot all be cleane driven out) that aire without retyred chargeth againe with equall force upon that within, being able to support and abide the weight thereof: and this compareth he to Physicians ventoses, or cupping glasses. Moreover, as touching voluntary Respiration, he maketh this reason, that the smallest holes within the substance of the lungs are drawn together, and their pipes closed up. For these things obey our will.

Herophilus leaveth the motive faculties of the body unto the nerves, arteries, and muscles: for thus he thinketh and saith, that the lungs only have a naturall appetite to dilation, and contraction, that is to say, to draw in and deliver the breath, and so by consequence other parts. For this is the proper action of the lungs, to draw wind from without; wherewith when it is filled there is made another attraction by a second appetition; and the breast deriveth the said wind into it: which being likewise repleat therewith, not able to draw any more, it transmitteth back againe the superfluity thereof into the lungs, whereby it is sent forth by way of exspiration: and thus the parts of the body reciprocally suffer one of another, by way of interchange. For when the lungs are occupied in dilatation, the breast is busied in contraction; and thus they make repletion and evacuation by a mutuall participation one with the other; in such sort as we may observe about the lungs foure manner of motions. The first, whereby it receiveth the aire from without; the second, by which it transfuseth into the breast that aire which it drew and received from without; the third, whereby it admitteth againe unto it selfe that which was sent out of the breast; and the fourth, by which it sendeth quite forth that which so returned into it. And of these motions two be dilatations, the one occasioned from without, the other from the breast: and the other two, contractions; the one when the breast draweth wind into it: and the other when it doth expell the aire insinuated into it. But in the breast parts there be but two only, the one dilatation when it draweth wind from the lungs, the other contraction, when it rendreth it againe.

CHAP. XXIII.

Of the Passion of the body; and whether the soule have a fellow-feeling with it, of paine and dolour.

THe *Stoicks* say, that affections are in the passible parts, but senses in the principall part of the soule.

Epicurus is of opinion, that both the affections and also the senses, are in the passible places: for that reason which is the principall part of the soule he holdeth to be unpassible.

Strato contrariwise affirmeth, that as well the Passions of the soule, as the senses, are in the said principall part, and not in the affected and grieved places; for that in it consisteth patience, which we may observe in terrible and dolorous things, as also in fearefull, and magnanimous persons.

The Fifth Book of Philosophers Opinions.

CHAP. I.

Of Divination.

PLato and the *Stoicks* bring in a fore-deeming and fore-knowledge of things by inspiration or divine instinct, according to the divinity of the soule; namely, when as it is ravished with a fanaticall spirit or revelation by dreames: and these admit and allow many kinds of divination.

Xenophanes and *Epicurus* on the contrary side abolish and annull all Divination whatsoever.

Pythagoras condemneth that only which is wrought by sacrifices.

Aristotle and *Dicearchus* receive none but that which commeth by Divine inspiration, or by dreames; not supposing the soule to be immortall, but to have some participation of Divinity.

CHAP. II.

How Dreames are caused.

DEmocritus is of opinion, that Dreames come by the representation of images.

Strato saith, that our understanding is I wot not how, naturally, and yet by no reason, more sensitive in sleep than otherwise, and therefore sollicited the rather by the appetite and desire of knowledge.

Herophilus affirmeth, that Dreames divinely inspired come by necessity; but naturall Dreames by by this meanes, that the soule formeth an image and representation of that which is good and commodious unto it, and of that which must ensue thereupon: as for such as be of a mixt nature of both, they fall out casually by an accidentall accesse of images; namely, when we imagine that we see that which we desire; as it falleth out with those who in their sleep thinke they have their paramours in their armes.

CHAP. III.

What is the substance of Naturall seed.

ARistotle defineth Seed to be that which hath power to move in it selfe for the effecting of some such thing, as it was from whence it came.

Pythagoras taketh it to be the foame of the best and purest bloud, the superfluity and excrement of nouriture; like as bloud and marrow.

Alcmæon saith, it is a portion of the braine.

Plato supposeth it to be a decision or deflux of the marrow in the back bone.

Epicurus imagineth it to be an abstract of soule and body.

Democritus holdeth, that it is the geniture of the fleshly nerves proceeding from the whole body, and the principall parts thereof.

CHAP. IIII.

Whether genitall Seed be a body.

LEucippus and *Zeno* take it to be a body; for that it is an abstract parcell of the soule.

Pythagoras, *Plato*, and *Aristotle* acknowledge indeed and confesse, that the power and force of Seed is bodilesse; like as the understanding, which is the author of motion; but the matter thereof, say they, which is shed and sent forth, is corporall.

Strato and *Democritus* affirme the very puissance thereof to be a body, howbeit, spirituall.

CHAP. V.

Whether females send forth Seed as well as males.

PYthagoras, *Epicurus*, and *Democritus* hold, that the Female likewise dischargeth Seed; for that it hath seminary vessels turned backward; which is the reason that she hath lust unto the act of generation.

Aristotle

Aristotle and *Zeno* be of opinion, that the female delivereth from it a moist matter, resembling the sweat which commeth from their bodies, who wrestle or exercise together: but they will not have it to be Seed.

Hippon avoucheth that Females do ejaculate Seed no lesse than Males, howbeit the same is not effectuall for generation, for that it falleth without the matrix: whereupon it commeth to passe that some women, though very few, and widdows especially, do cast from them Seed without the company of men: and he affirmeth, that of the male Seed, are made the bones, and of the female the flesh.

CHAP. VI.

The manner of Conception

ARistotle thinketh, that Conceptions come in this manner: when as the matrix drawn before from the naturall purgation, and therewithall the monthly tearmes fetch some part of pure bloud from the whole masse of the body, so that the males genitall may come to it, and so concur to engender: Contrariwise, that which hindereth conception is this, namely, when the matrix is impure or full of ventosities; as it may be by occasion of feare, of sorrow, or weakenesse of women; yea, and by the impuissance and defect in men.

CHAP. VII.

How it commeth that Males are engendred, and how Females.

EMpedocles supposeth, that Males and Females are begotten by the meanes of heat and cold accordingly: and hereupon recorded it is in Histories, that the first Males in the world, were procreated and borne out of the earth, rather in the East and Southern parts; but Females toward the North.

Parmenides maintaineth the contrary, and saith, that Males were bred toward the Northern quarters, for that the aire there is more grosse and thicker than elsewhere: on the other side, Females toward the South, by reason of the rarity and subtility of the aire.

Hipponax attributeth the cause hereof unto the seed, as it is either more thick or powerfull, or thinner and weaker.

Anaxagoras and *Parmenides* hold, that the seed which commeth from the right side of a man, ordinarily is cast into the right side of the matrix; and from the left side likewise into the same side of the matrix: but if this ejection of seed fall out otherwise cleane crosse, then Females be engendred.

Leophanes, of whom *Aristotle* maketh mention, affirmeth, that the Males be engendred by the right genitory, and females by the left.

Leucippus ascribeth it to the permutation of the naturall parts of generation, for that according to it the man hath his yard of one sort, and the woman her matrix of another: more than this he saith nothing.

Democritus saith, that the common parts are engendred indifferently by the one and the other, as it falleth out: but the peculiar parts that make distinction of sex, of the party which is more prevalent.

Hipponax resolveth thus, that if the seed be predominant, it will be a Male; but if the food and nourishment, a Female.

CHAP. VIII.

How Monsters are engendred.

EMpedocles affirmeth, that Monsters be engendred either through the abundance of seed, or default thereof; either through the turbulent * perturbation of the moving, or the distraction and division of the seed into sundry parts; or else through the declination thereof out of the right way: and thus he seemeth to have preoccupated in manner all the answers to this question.

Strato alledgeth for this part addition, or substraction, transposition of inflation and ventosities: And some Physicians there be, who say, that at such a time as monsters be engendred the matrix suffereth distortion, for that it is distended with wind.

* ἀφαι-ρέσεως, some read ἀφαιρέσεως, the beginning.

CHAP. IX.

What is the reason that a woman, though oftentime she accompanieth with a man, doth not conceive.

DIocles the Physician rendreth this reason, for that some do send forth no seed at all; or lesse in quantity than is sufficient, or such in quality, which hath no vivificant or quickning power; or else it is for defect of heat, of cold, of moisture, or drinesse; or last of all, by occasion of the paralysie or resolution of the privy parts and members of generation.

The *Stoicks* lay the cause hereof upon the obliquity or crookednesse of the mans member, by occasion whereof, he cannot shoot forth his seed directly; or else it is by reason of the disproportion of the parts, as namely, when the matrix lieth too far within, that the yard cannot reach unto it.

Erasistratus findeth fault in this case with the matrix, when it hath either hard callosities, or too much carnosity; or when it is more rare and spungeous, or else smaller then it ought to be.

CHAP. X.

How it commeth that two Twins and three Twins are borne.

Empedocles saith, that two Twins or three, are engendred by occasion either of the abundance, or the divulsion of the seed.

Asclepiades assigneth it unto the difference of bodies, or the excellence of seed: after which manner we see how some barley from one root beareth two or three stalks with their eares upon them, according as the seed was most fruitfull and generative.

Erasistratus attributeth it unto divers conceptions and superfætations, like as in brute beasts; for when as the matrix is cleansed, then it commeth soon to conception and superfætation.

The *Stoicks* alledge to this purpose the cels or conceptacles within the matrix; for as the seed falleth into the first and second, there follow conceptions and superfætations, and after the same sort may three Twins be engendred.

CHAP. XI.

How commeth it to passe that children resemble their parents or progenitors before them.

Empedocles affirmeth, that as similitudes are caused by the exceeding force of the genitall seed; so the dissimilitudes arise from the evaporation of naturall heat contained within the same seed.

Parmenides is of opinion, that when the seed descendeth out of the right side of the matrix, the children be like unto the fathers, but when it passeth from the left side, unto the mothers.

The *Stoicks* opine thus; from the whole body and the soule passeth the seed, and so the similitudes do forme of the same kinds, the figures & characters, like as a painter of the like colours draweth the image of that which he seeth before him: also the woman for her part doth confer genitall seed, which if it be prevalent, then the infant is like unto the mother; but if the mans seed be more predominant, it will resemble the father.

CHAP. XII.

How it falleth out that children resemble others, and not their fathers and mothers.

The most part of the Physicians affirme this to happen by chance and adventure, but upon this occasion, that the seed, as well of the man as the woman waxeth cold, for then the infants resemble neither the one nor the other.

Empedocles attributeth the forme and resemblance of young babes in the wombe, unto the strong imagination of the woman in time of conception; for many times it hath been known, that women have been enamoured of painted images and statues, and so delivered of children like unto them.

The *Stoicks* say, that by a sympathy of the mind and understanding, through the insinuation of beams, and not of images, these resemblances are caused.

CHAP. XIII.

How it commeth that some women be barren, and men likewise unable to get children.

Physicians hold, that women be barren by reason that the matrix is either too streight, overrare, or too hard: or else by occasion of certaine callosities or carnosities: for so that the women themselves be weaklings and heartlesse, or do not thrive but mislike; or else because they are fallen into some Cachexia and evill habit of body; or by reason that they are distorted, or otherwise in a convulsion.

Diocles saith, that men in this action of generation are impotent, for that some send forth no seed at all, or at least wise in quantity lesse than is meet, or such as hath no generative power; or because their genitals be paralyticall or relaxed; or by reason that the yard is crooked, that it cannot cast the seed forward; or for that the genitall members be disproportioned and not of a competent length, considering the distance of the matrix.

The *Stoicks* lay the fault upon certaine faculties and qualities, discordant in the parties themselves that come together about this businesse; who being parted one from another, and conjoyned with others uniting well with their complexion, there followeth a temperature according to nature, and a child is gotten between them.

CHAP. XIIII.

Why Mules be barren.

Alcmeon is of opinion, that Mulers, that is to say, male Mules be not able to engender, for that their seed or geniture is of a thin substance which proceedeth from the coldnesse thereof. The Females also, because their shaps do not open wide enough, that is to say, the mouth thereof doth not gape sufficiently; for these be the very tearmes that he useth.

Empedocles

Empedocles blameth exility or smalnesse, the low posture, and the over-streight conformation of the matrix, being so turned backward and tied unto the belly, that neither seed can be directly cast into the capacity of it, nor if it were carried thither would it receive the same. Unto whom *Diocles* also beareth witnesse, saying, Many times (quoth he) in the dissection of Anatomies we have seen such matrices of Mules; and it may be therefore, that in regard of such causes some women also be barren.

CHAP. XV.

Whether the Infant lying yet in the mothers wombe, is to be accounted a living creature or no.

Plato directly pronounceth that such an Infant is a living creature: for that it moveth, and is fed within the belly of the mother.

The *Stoicks* say, it is a part of the wombe, and not an animall by it selfe. For like as fruits be parts of the trees, which when they be ripe do fall; even so it is with an Infant in the mothers wombe.

Empedocles denieth it to be a creature animall, howbeit that it hath life and breath within the belly: marry the first time that it hath respiration is at the birth; namely, when the superfluous humidity which is in such unborne fruits is retired and gone, so that the aire from without entreth into the void vessels lying open.

Diogenes saith, that such Infants are bred within the matrice inanimate, howbeit in heat, whereupon it commeth that naturall heat, so soon as ever the Infant is turned out of the mothers wombe is drawn into the lungs.

Herophilus leaveth to unborne babes a moving naturall; but not a respiration; of which motion the sinews be the instrumentall cause; but afterwards they become perfect living animall creatures, when being come forth of the wombe they take in breath from the aire.

CHAP. XVI.

How unborne babes are fed in the Wombe.

Democritus and *Epicurus* hold, that this unperfect fruit of the wombe receiveth nourishment at the mouth; and thereupon it commeth, that so soon as ever it is borne it seeketh and nuzzeleth with the mouth for the breast head, or nipple of the pap: for that within the matrix there be certaine teats, yea, and mouths too, whereby they are nourished.

The *Stoicks* say, that it is fed by the secundine and the navell; whereupon it is that Midwives presently knit up and ty the navell string fast, but open the Infants mouth; to the end that it be acquainted with another kind of nourishment.

Alcmeon affirmeth, that the Infant within the mothers womb feedeth by the whole body throughout: for that it sucketh to it and draweth in manner of a spunge, of all the food, that which is good for nourishment.

CHAP. XVII.

What part of the Child is first made perfect within the mothers belly.

The *Stoicks* are of opinion, that the most parts are framed all at once; but *Aristotle* saith, the back bone and the loines are first framed, like as the keele in a ship.

Alcmeon affirmeth, that the head is first made, as being the seat of reason.

Physicians will have the heart to be the first, wherein the veines and arteries are.

Some think the great toe is framed first, and others the navel.

CHAP. XVIII.

What is the cause that Infants borne at seven months end be livelike.

Empedocles thinketh, that when mankind was first bred of the earth, one day then, by reason of the slow motion of the Sun was full as long, as (in this age of ours) ten months: and that in processe of time, and by succession it came to be of the length of seven months: And therefore (quoth he) infants borne either at ten or seven months end do ordinarily live: the nature of the world being so accustomed in one day to bring that fruit to maturity after that night, wherein it was committed into the wombe thereof.

Timæus saith, that they be not ten months, but are counted nine, after that the monthly purgations stay upon the first conception: and so it is thought that infants be of seven months which are not; for that he knew how after conception many women have had their menstruall flux.

Polybus, *Diocles*, and the *Empiricks* know, that the eight months child also is vitall; howbeit in some sort feeble, for that many for feebleneſse have died so borne: in generall, and for the most part ordinarily none are willing to reare and feed the children borne at the seventh month; and yet many have been so borne and grown to mans estate.

Aristotle and *Hippocrates* report, that if in seven months the matrix be grown full, then the Infant seeketh to get forth; and such commonly live and do well enough: but if it incline to birth, and be not sufficiently nourished, for that the navel is weake, then in regard of hard travell, both the

mother

mother is in danger, and her fruit becommeth to misslike and thriveth not: but in case it continue nine months within the matrix, then it commeth forth accomplished and perfect.

Polybus affirmeth it to be requisite and necessary for the vitality of infants, that there should be 127. daies and a halfe, which is the time of six months compleat; in which space the sun commeth from one Solstice or Tropick to another: but such children are said to be of seven months, when it falleth out that odde daies left in this month are taken to the seventh month. But he is of opinion, that those of eight months live not; namely, when as the infant hasteneth indeed out of the womb, and beareth downward, but for the most part the navell is thereby put to streisse and retched, and so cannot feed, as that should, which is the cause of food to the infant.

The *Mathematicians* beare us in hand and say, that eight months be dissociable of all generations, but seven are sociable. Now the dissociable signes are such as meet with such stars and constellations which be Lords of the house: for if upon any of them falleth the lot of mans life and course of living, it signifieth that such shall be unfortunate and short lived. These dissociable signes be reckoned eight in number: namely, *Aries* with *Scorpio* is unsociable; *Taurus* with *Scorpio* is unsociable; *Gemini* with *Capricorne*; *Cancer* with *Aquarius*; *Leo* with *Pisces*; and *Virgo* with *Aries*: And for this cause infants of seven months and ten months be livelike, but those of eight months for the insociable dissidence of the world, perish and come to naught.

CHAP. XIX.

Of the generation of animall creatures; after what manner they be engendred; and whether they be corruptible.

THey who hold that the world was created, are of opinion, that living creatures alse had their creation or beginning, and shall likewise perish and come to an end.

The *Epicureans*, according unto whom Animals had no creation, do suppose that by mutation of one into another, they were first made; for they are the substantiall parts of the world: like as *Anaxagoras* and *Euripides* affirme in these termes: Nothing dieth, but in changing as they do one for another, they shew sundry formes.

Anaximander is of opinion, that the first Animals were bred in moisture, and enclosed within pricky and sharpe pointed barks; but as age grew on they became more dry, and in the end, when the said barke burst and clave in sunder round about them, a small while after they survived.

Empedocles thinketh, that the first generations, as well of living creatures as of plants, were not wholly compleat and perfect in all parts, but disjoyned, by reason that their parts did not cohære and unite together: that the second generations when the parts begun to combine and close together seemed like to images: that the third generations were of parts growing and arising mutually one out of another; and the fourth were no more of semblable, as of earth and water, but one of another; and in some the nourishment was incrassate and made thick, as for others the beauty of women provoked and pricked in them a lust of spermatike motion. Moreover, that the kinds of all living creatures were distinct and divided by certaine temperatures; for such as were more familiarly enclined to water, went into water; others into the aire, for to draw and deliver their breath to and fro, according as they held more of the nature of fire; such as were of a more heavy temperature were bestowed upon the earth; but those, who were of an equall temperature, uttered voice with the whole breasts.

CHAP. XX.

How many sorts of living creatures there be, whether they be all sensitive and endued with reason.

THere is a Treatise of *Aristotle* extant, wherein he putteth down foure kinds of Animals, to wit, Terrestriall, Aquaticall, Volatile, and Cœlestiall: for you must thinke, that he calleth Heavens, Stars, and the World, Animals; even as well as those that participate of earth: yea, and God he despeth to be a reasonable Animall and immortall.

Democritus and *Epicurus* do say, that heauenly Animals are reasonable.

Anaxagoras holdeth, that all Animals are endued with active reason, but want the passive understanding, which is called the interpreter or truchment of the mind.

Pythagoras and *Plato do* affirme, that the soules even of those very Animals which are called unreasonable and brute beasts are endued with reason; howbeit they are not operative with that reason, neither can they actuate it, by reason of the distempered composition of their bodies, and because they have not speech to declare and expound themselves: as for example, apes and dogs which utter a babling voice, but not an expresse language and distinct speech.

Diogenes supposeth that they have an intelligence; but partly for the grosse thicknesse of their temperature, and in part for the abundance of moisture, they have neither discourse of reason nor sense, but fare like unto those who be furious; for the principall part of the soule, to wit, Reason is defectuous and empeached.

CHAP.

CHAP. XXI.

Within what time are living creatures formed in the mothers wombe.

EMpedocles saith, that men begin to take forme after the thirty sixth day; and are finished and knit in their parts within fifty daies wanting one.

Asclepiades saith, that the members of males, because they be more hot, are joynted, and receive shape in the space of 26. daies, and many of them sooner; but are finished and compleat in all limbs within fifty daies: but the females require two months ere they be fashioned, and foure before they come to their perfection; for that they want naturall heat. As for the parts of unreasonable creatures, they come to their accomplishment sooner or later, according to the temperature of the elements.

CHAP. XXII.

Of how many elements is composed each of the generall parts which are in us.

EMpedocles thinketh, that flesh is engendred of an equall mixture and temperature of the foure elements; the sinews of earth and fire, mingled together in a duple proportion; the nailes and clees in living creatures come of the nerves refrigerate and made cold in those places where the aire toucheth them; the bones, of water and earth within: and of these foure medled and contempered together sweat and teares proceed.

CHAP. XXIII.

When and how doth man begin to come to his perfection.

HEraclitus and the *Stoicks* suppose, that men do enter into their perfection about the second septimane of their age, at what time as their naturall seed doth move and run: for even the very trees begin then to grow unto their perfection; namely, when as they begin to engender their seed; for before then unperfect they are, namely, so long as they be unripe and fruitlesse: and therefore a man likewise about that time is perfect: and at this septenary of yeares he beginneth to conceive and understand what is good and evill, yea, and to learn the same.

* Some thinke that a man is consummate at the end of the third septimane of yeares, what time as he maketh use of his full strength.

* This I find in the latine translation.

CHAP. XXIIII.

In what manner Sleep is occasioned, or death.

ALcmeon is of this mind, that sleep is caused by the returne of bloud into the confluent veines; and Waking is the diffusion and spreading of the said bloud abroad: but Death the utter departure thereof.

Empedocles holdeth that Sleep is occasioned by a moderate cooling of the naturall heat of bloud within us: and Death by an extreame coldnesse of the said bloud.

Diogenes is of opinion, that if bloud being diffused and spread throughout, fill the veines, and withall drive back the aire setled thereabout into the breast, and the inferiour belly underit, then ensueth Sleep, and the brest with the precordiall parts are hotter thereby: but if that aireous substance in the veines expire altogether, and exhale forth, presently followeth death.

Plato and the *Stoicks* affirme, that the cause of sleep is the remission of the spirit sensitive, not by way of relaxation and discent downward, as it were to the earth; but rather by elevation aloft, namely, when it is carried to the interstice or place betweene the brows, the very seat of reason: but when there is an entire resolution of the spirit sensitive, then of necessity Death doth ensue.

CHAP. XXV.

Whether of the twaine it is, that sleepeth or dieth, the Soule or the Body?

ARistotle verily supposeth that Sleep is common to Body and Soule both: and the cause thereof is a certaine humidity which doth steame and arise in manner of a vapour out of the stomack and the food therein, up into the region of the head, and the naturall heat about the heart cooled thereby. But death he deemeth to be an entire and totall refrigeration; and the same of the Body only, and in no wise of the Soule, for it is immortall.

Anaxagoras saith, that Sleep belongeth to corporall action; as being a passion of the Body and not of the Soule: also that there is likewise a certaine death of the Body, to wit, the separation of it and the Body asunder.

Leucippus is of opinion, that Sleep pertaineth to the Body only, by concretion of that which was of subtile parts: but the excessive excretion of the animall heat is Death: which both (saith he) be passions of the Body and not of the Soule.

Empedocles saith that Death is a separation of those elements whereof mans Body is compounded: according to which position, Death is common to Soule and Body: and Sleep a certaine dissipation of that which is of the nature of fire.

CHAP.

CHAP. XXVI.

How Plants come to grow, and whether they be animate.

PLato and *Empedocles* hold, that Plants have life, yea, and be animall creatures which appeareth (say they) by this, that they wag to and fro, and stretch forth their boughs like armes; also, that when they be violently strained and bent, they yeeld; but if they be let loose they returne againe, yea, in their growth are able to overcome weight laid upon them.

Aristotle granteth that they be living creatures, but not animall; for that animall creatures have motions and appetites, are sensitive and endued with reason.

The *Stoicks* and the *Epicureans* hold, that they have no soule or life at all: for of animall creatures some have the appetitive and concupiscible soule, others the reasonable: but Plants grow after a sort casually of their own accord, and not by the meanes of any soule.

Empedocles saith, that Trees sprang and grew out of the ground before animall creatures; to wit, ere the Sun displayed his beames, and before that day and night were distinct. Also that according to the proportion of temperature, one came to be named, Male, another, Female; that they shoot up and grow by the power of heat within the eath; in such sort, as they be parts of the earth, like as unborne fruits in the womb be parts of the matrix. As for the fruits of trees, they are the superfluous excrements of water and fire: but such as have defect of that humidity, when it is dried up by the heat of the Summer, lose their leaves: whereas they that have plenty thereof keep their leaves on still; as for example, the Laurell, Olive, and Date tree. Now as touching the difference of their juyces and sapours, it proceedeth from the diversity of that which nourisheth them, as appeareth in Vines: for the difference of Vine trees maketh not the goodnesse of Vines for to be drunke, but the nutriment that the territory and soile doth afford.

CHAP. XXVII.

Of Nourishment and Growth.

EMpedocles is of opinion, that animall creatures are nourished by the substance of that which is proper and familiar unto them; that they grow by the presence of naturall heat; that they diminish, fade and perish through the default both of the one and the other. And as for men now adaies living, in comparison of their ancestors, they be but babes new borne.

CHAP. XXVIII.

How Animall creatures came to have appetite and pleasure.

EMpedocles supposeth, that Lust and Appetites are incident to animall creatures, through the defect of those elements which went unto the framing of each one: that pleasures arise from humidity: as for the motions of perils and such like, as also troubles and hinderances, &c. ***

CHAP. XXIX.

After what sort a Feaver is engendred, and whether it is an accessory to another malady.

ERasistratus defineth a Feaver thus: A Feaver (quoth he) is the motion of bloud, which is entred into the veines or vessels proper unto the spirits, to wit, the arteries; and that against the will of the patient; for like as the sea when nothing troubleth it lieth still and quiet; but if a boisterous and violent wind be up and bloweth upon it, contrary unto nature it surgeth and riseth up into billows even from the very bottome: so in the body of man, when the bloud is moved, it invadeth the vitall and spirituall vessels, and being set on fire, it enchafeth the whole body. And according to the same physicians opinion, a Feaver is an accessary or consequent comming upon another disease.

But *Diocles* affirmeth, that Symptomes apparent without forth, do shew that which lieth hidden within: Now we see that an Ague followeth upon those accidents that outwardly appeare; as for example, wounds, inflammations, impostumes, biles and botches in the share and other emunctories.

CHAP. XXX.

Of Health, Sickness, and old age.

ALcmæon is of opinion that the equall dispensing and distribution of the faculties in the body, to wit, of moisture, heat, drinesse, cold, bitter, sweet, and the rest, is that which holdeth and maintaineth Health; contrariwise, the Monarchy, that is to say, the predominant soveraignty of any of them causeth sickness: for the predomination and principality of any one bringeth the corruption of all the other, and is the very cause of maladies: the efficient in regard of excessive heat or cold; and the materiall in respect of superabundance, or defect of humours; like as in some there is want of bloud or braine; whereas health is a proportionable temperature of all these qualities.

Diocles supposeth, that most diseases grow by the inequality of the elements, and of the habit and constitution of the body.

Erasistratus

Erasistratus saith, that sickness proceedeth from the excesse of feeding, from crudities, indigestions, and corruptions of meat: whereas good order and sufficiance is Health.

The *Stoicks* accord hereunto and hold, that old age cometh for want of natural heat; for they who are most furnished therewith, live longest, and be old a great time.

Asclepiades reporteth, that the *Æthiopians* age quickly, namely, when they be thirty years old; by reason that their bodies be over-heat, and even burnt again with the sun: whereas in *England* and all *Britain*, folk in their age continue two years: for that those parts be cold, and in that people the natural heat by that means is united and kept in their bodies: for the bodies of the *Æthiopians* are more open and rare, in that they be relaxed and resolved by the suns heat. Contrariwise their bodies who live toward the North Pole, be more compact, knit and fast, and therefore, such are long-lived.

Roman Questions, that is to say, *An enquiry into the causes of many Fashions and Customes in* Rome.

A Treatise fit for them who are conversant in the reading of *Roman Histories* and *Antiquities*, giving a light to many places otherwise obscure and hard to be understood.

I.

What is the reason that new wedded wives are bidden to touch fire and water.

1. IS it because that among the elements and principles, whereof are composed natural bodies, the one of these twain, to wit, fire is the Male, and water the Female, of which, that insisteth the beginning of motion, and this affordeth the property of the subject and matter?

2. Or rather, for that, as the fire purgeth, and water washeth; so a Wife ought to continue pure, chaste, and cleap all her life.

3. Or is it in this regard, that as fire without humidity yeeldeth no nourishment, but is dry; and moisture without heat is idle, fruitlesse and barren; even so the Male is feeble, and the Female barrein, when they be apart and severed asunder: but the conjunction of two matched folk yeeldeth unto both, their collaboration and perfection of living together.

4. Or last of all, because man and wife ought not to forsake and abandon one another, but to take part of all fortunes; though they had no other good in the world common between them, but fire and water only.

II.

How it is, that they use to light at weddings five torches, and neither more nor lesse, which they call Fax Nuptialis.

WHether is it as *Varro* saith; because the Prætors or Generals of Armies use three, and the Ædiles two: therefore it is not meet that they should have more then the Prætors and Ædiles together, considering that new married folk goe unto the Ædiles to light their fire?

2. Or, because having use of many numbers, the odd number seemed unto them as in all other respects better, and more perfect then the even: so it was fitter and more agreeable for marriage: for the even number implyeth a kind of discord and division, in respect of the equal parts in it, meet for siding, quarrel, and contention: whereas the odd number cannot be divided so just and equally but there will remain somewhat still in common for to be parted. Now among all odd numbers, it seemeth that Cinque is most nuptial, and best beseeming marriage: for that Trey is the first odd number, and Deux the first even; of which twain, five is compounded, as of the Male and the Female.

3. Or is it rather, because light is a sign of being and of life: and a woman may beare at the most five children at one burden; and so they used to carry five tapers or wax candles?

4. Or lastly, for that they thought, that those who were married had need of five gods and goddesses: namely, *Jupiter*, * genial, *Juno* genial, *Venus*, *Suada*, and above all *Diana*; whom (last named) women in their labour and travel of child-birth, are wont to call upon for help.

* Or *Nuptial*.

III.

What is the cauſe that there being many Temples of Diana *in* Rome, *into that only which ſtandeth in the Patrician ſtreet, men enter not.*

IS it not becauſe of a Tale which is told in this manner; In old time a certain woman being come thither for to adore and worſhip this goddeſſe, chanced there to be abuſed and ſuffer violence in her honour: and he who forced her, was torn in pieces by Hounds: Upon which accident, ever after, a certain ſuperſtitious fear poſſeſſed mens heads, that they would not preſume to go into the ſaid Temple.

IV.

Wherefore is it, that in other Temples of Diana *men are wont ordinarily to ſet up and feſten Harts horns; onely in that which is upon mount* Aventine; *the horns of Oxen and other Beeſts are to be ſeen.*

MAy it not be, that this is reſpective to the remembrance of an ancient occurrent that ſometime befel? For reported it is that long ſince in the Sabines country, one *Antion Coratius* had a Cow, which grew to be exceeding fair and wonderful big withal above any other: and a certain Wizzard or Soothſayer came unto him and ſaid: How predeſtined it was that the City which ſacrificed that Cow unto *Diana* in the mount *Aventine*, ſhould become moſt puiſſant and rule all *Italy*: This *Coratius* therefore came to *Rome* of a deliberate purpoſe to ſacrifice the ſaid Cow accordingly: but a certain houſhold ſervant that he had gave notice ſecretly unto King *Servius Tullius* of this prediction delivered by the aboveſaid Soothſayer: whereupon *Servius* acquainted the Prieſt of *Diana*, *Cornelius*, with the matter: and therefore when *Antion Coratius* preſented himſelfe for to perform his ſacrifice, *Cornelius* adverſed him, firſt to go down into the river, there to waſh: for that the cuſtome and manner of thoſe that ſacrificed was ſo to do: now whiles *Antion* was gone to waſh himſelfe in the river, *Servius* ſteps into his place, prevented his return, ſacrificed the Cow unto the goddeſſe, and nailed up the horns when he had ſo done, within her Temple. *Juba* thus relateth this hiſtory, and *Varro* likewiſe, ſaving that *Varro* expreſſely ſetteth not down the name of *Antion*, neither doth he write that it was *Cornelius* the Prieſt, but the Sexton onely of the Church that thus beguiled the Sabine.

V.

Why are they who have been falſly reported dead in a ſtrange Country, although they return home alive, not received nor ſuffered to enter directly at the doors, but forced to climb up to the tiles of the houſe, and ſo to get down from the roof into the houſe?

VArro rendereth a reaſon hereof, which I take to be altogether fabulous: for he writeth, that during the Sicilian war, there was a great battel fought upon the ſea, and immediately upon it there ran a rumour of many that they were dead in this fight; who notwithſtanding, they returned home ſafe, died all within a little while after; howbeit, one there was among the reſt, who when he would have entred into his own houſe, found the door of the own accord faſt ſhut up againſt him; and for all the forcible means that was made to open the ſame, yet it would not prevaile: whereupon this man taking up his lodging without juſt before his door, as he ſlept in the night, had a viſion which adverſed and taught him how he ſhould from the roofe of the houſe let himſelfe down by a rope, and ſo get in: now when he had ſo done, he became fortunate ever after, all the reſt of his life; and he lived to be a very aged man: and hereof aroſe the foreſaid cuſtome, which always afterwards was kept and obſerved.

But haply this faſhion may ſeem in ſome ſort to have been derived from the Greeks: for in *Greece* they thought not thoſe pure and clean who had been carried forth for dead to be enterred, or whoſe ſepulchre and funerals were ſolemniſed or prepared: neither were ſuch allowed to frequent the company of others, nor ſuffred to come neer unto their ſacrifices. And there goeth a report of a certain man named *Ariſtinus*, one of thoſe who had been poſſeſſed with this ſuperſtition, how he ſent unto the Oracle of *Apollo* at *Delphos*, for to make ſupplication and prayer unto the god, for to be delivered out of this perplexed anxiety that troubled him by occaſion of the ſaid cuſtome or law then in force: and that the Propheteſſe *Pythia* returned this anſwer:

Look whatſoever women do
in childbed newly laid,
Unto their babes, which they brought forth,
the very ſame I ſay
See that be done to thee again:
and after that be ſure,
Unto the bleſſed gods with hands
to ſacrifice, moſt pure.

Which Oracle thus delivered, *Ariſtinus* having well pondered and conſidered, committed himſelfe as

as an infant new born unto women for to be new waſhed, to be wrapped in ſwadling cloaths, and to be ſuckled with the breaſt-head: after which, all ſuch others, whom we call *Hyſteropotmous*, that is to ſay, thoſe whoſe graves were made, as if they had been dead, did the ſemblable. Howbeit, ſome do ſay, that before *Ariſtinus* was born, theſe ceremonies were obſerved about thoſe *Hyſteropotmi*; and that this was a right ancient cuſtome kept in the ſemblable caſe: and therefore no marvel it is, that the Romans alſo thought, that ſuch as were ſuppoſed to have been once buried, and ranged with the dead in another world, ought not to enter in at the ſame porch, out of which they goe, when they purpoſe to ſacrifice unto the gods, or at which they re-enter when they return from ſacrifice: but would have them from above to deſcend through the tiles of the roof into the cloſe houſe, with the aire open over their heads: for all their purifications ordinarily they performed without the houſe abroad in the air.

VI.

Why do women kiſſe the lips of their kinſfolks?

IS it as moſt men think, for that women being forbidden to drink wine, the manner was brought up: That whenſoever they met their kinſfolk, they ſhould kiſs their lips, to the end they might not be unknown, but convicted if they had drunk Wine? or rather for another reaſon, which *Ariſtotle* the Philoſopher hath alledged? for as touching that occaſion, which is ſo famous and commonly voiced in every mans mouth, yea, and reported of divers and ſundry places: it was no doubt the hardy attempt executed by the dames of *Troy*, and that upon the coaſts of *Italy*; for when the men upon their arrival were landed: the women in the mean while ſet fire upon their ſhips, for very deſire that they had to ſee an end at once, one way or other of their long voyage, and to be delivered from their tedious travel at ſea: but fearing the fury of their men, when they ſhould return, they went forth to meet their kinſfolk and friends upon the way, and welcomed them with an amiable embracing and ſweet kiſſes of their lips: by which means having appeaſed their angry mood, and recovered their favours, they continued ever after, the cuſtome of kind greeting and loving ſalutation in this manner.

Or was not this a priviledge granted unto women for their greater honour and credit; namely, to be known and ſeen for to have many of their race and kindred, and thoſe of good worth and reputation?

Or becauſe it was not lawful to eſpouſe women of their blood and kindred, therefore permitted they were to entertain them kindly and familiarly with a kiſſe, ſo they proceeded no farther; inſomuch as this was the only mark and token left of their conſanguinity. For before time, they might not marry women of their own blood: no more then in theſe days their Aunts by the Mothers ſide, or their Sitters: and long it was ere men were permitted to contract marriage with their Couzen germans; and that upon ſuch an occaſion as this. There was a certain man of poor eſtate and ſmall living, howbeit otherwiſe of good and honeſt carriage, and of all others that mannaged the publick affairs of State moſt popular and gracious with the Commons: who was ſuppoſed to keep as his eſpouſed wife a kinſwoman of his and couſen german, an inheritreſſe; by whom he had great wealth, and became very rich: for which he was accuſed judicially before the people: but upon a ſpecial favor that they bare unto him, they would not enquire into the cauſe in queſtion: but not only ſuppreſſed his bill of enditement, and let her go as quit of all crime, but alſo even they, enacted a Statute: by vertue wherof, lawful it was for all men from that time forward to marry, as far as to their Cozen-germans, but in any higher or neerer degree of conſanguinity, they were expreſly forbidden.

VII.

Wherefore is it not lawful either for the husband to receive a gift of his wife, or for the wife of the husband.

MAy it not be, for that, as *Solon* ordained that the Donations and Bequeſts, made by thoſe that die ſhal ſtand good, unleſs they be ſuch as a man hath granted upon neceſſity, or by the inducement and flattery of his wife: in which proviſo, he excepted neceſſity, as forcing and conſtraining the will: and likewiſe pleaſure, as deceiving the judgement: even ſo have men ſuſpected the mutualgifts paſſing between the husband and the wife, and thought them to be of the ſame nature.

Or was it not thought, that giving of preſents was of all other the leaſt and worſt ſign of amity and good will (for even ſtrangers and ſuch as bear no love at all uſe in that ſort to be giving) and in that regard they would baniſh out of marriage ſuch kind of pleaſing and currying favour: to the end that the mutual love and affection between the parties ſhould be free and without reſpect of ſalary and gain, even for it ſelfe and nothing elſe in the world.

Or becauſe women commonly admit and entertain ſtrangers, as corrupted by receiving of preſents and gifts at their hands, it was thought to ſtand more with honour and reputation, that wives ſhould love their own husbands, though they gave them nothing by way of gift.

Or rather, for that it was meet and requiſite, that the goods of the husband ſhould be common to the wife, and to the wife likewiſe of the husband: for the party who receiveth a thing in gift, doth learn to repute that which was not given, to be none of his own, but belonging unto another: ſo that man and wife in giving never ſo little one to another, deſpoil and defraud themſelves of all that is beſide.

VIII.

*What might be the cauſe that they were forbidden to receive any gift either of * Son in Law, or * Father in Law?*

* Daughters husband. * Wives Father.

OF Son in Law, for fear leſt the gift might be thought by the means of the Father to paſſe about, and return unto the Wife: and of the Father in Law, becauſe it was ſuppoſed meet and juſt, that he who gave not, ſhould not likewiſe receive ought.

IX.

What ſhould be the Reaſon that the Romans when they returned from ſome voyage out of a far and forreign countrey, or only from their farm into the City; if their wives were at home, uſed to ſend a meſſenger unto them before, for to give warning and advertiſement of their comming?

EIther it was becauſe this is a token of one that beleeveth and is verily perſwaded that his Wife intendeth no lewdneſſe, nor is otherwiſe buſied then well: whereas to come upon her at unawares and on a ſodain, is a kind of forlaying and ſurprize. Or for that they make haſte to ſend them good news of their comming, as being aſſured that they have a longing deſire, and do expect ſuch tidings.

Or rather becauſe themſelves would be glad to hear from them ſome good news, to wit, whether they ſhall find them in good health when they come, and attending affectionately and with great devotion, their return.

Or elſe becauſe women ordinarily, when their husbands be away and from home, have many pety buſineſſes and houſe affairs: and other whiles there fall out ſome little jars and quarrels within doors with their ſervants, men or maidens: to the end therefore all ſuch troubles and inconveniences might be overblown, and that they might give unto their husbands a loving and aimable welcome home, they have intelligence given unto them before hand of their arrival and approach.

X.

What is the cauſe that when they adore and worſhip the gods, they cover their heads: but contrariwiſe when they meet with any honourable or worſhipfull perſons, if their heads haply were then covered with their robe, they diſcover the ſame, and are bare-headed.

FOr it ſeemeth that this faſhion maketh the former doubt and branch of the queſtion more difficult to be aſſoiled: and if that which is reported of *Æneas* be true; namely, that as *Diomedes* paſſed along by him whiles he ſacrificed, he covered his head, and ſo performed his ſacrifice: there is good reaſon and conſequence, that if men be covered before their enemies, they ſhould be bare when they encounter either their friends, or men of worth and honour: for this manner of being covered before the gods, is not properly reſpective unto them, but occaſioned by accident, and hath ſince that example of *Æneas* been obſerved and continued.

But if we muſt ſay ſome what elſe beſide, conſider whether it be not ſufficient to enquire only of this point: namely, why they cover their heads when they worſhip the gods, ſeeing the other conſequently dependeth hereupon: for they ſtand bare before men of dignity and authority, not to do them any more honor therby, but contrariwiſe to diminiſh their envy, for fear they might be thought to require as much reverence and the ſame honor as is exhibited to the gods, or ſuffer themſelves, and take pleaſure to be obſerved and reverenced equally with them; as for the gods, they adored them after this ſort: either by way of lowlineſſe and humbling themſelves before their majeſty, in covering and hiding their heads; or rather becauſe they feared leſt as they made their prayers, there ſhould come unto their hearing, from without, any ſiniſter voice or inauſpicate and ominous oſſe: and to prevent ſuch an object they drew their hood over their ears: And how true it is, that they had a careful eye and regard to meet with all ſuch accidents, it may appear by this, that when they went to any Oracle for to be reſolved by anſwer from thence upon a ſcrupulous doubt, they cauſed a great noiſe to be made all about them, with ringing of pans or braſen baſons.

Or it may well be (as *Caſtor* ſaith, comparing in concordance the Roman faſhions with the rites of the Pythagoreans) for that the Dæmon or good Angel within us, hath need of the gods help without, and maketh ſupplication with covering the head, giving thus much covertly to underſtand thereby, that the ſoul is likewiſe covered and hidden by the body.

XI.

Why ſacrifice they unto Saturn *bare-headed.*

IS it becauſe *Æneas* firſt brought up this faſhion of covering the head at ſacrifices; and the ſacrifice to *Saturnus* is much more ancient then his time?

Or, for that they uſed to be covered unto the cœleſtial gods: but as for *Saturn* he is reputed a Subterranean or terreſtrial god?

Or, in this reſpect, that there is nothing hidden, covered, or ſhadowed in Truth? For among the Romans, *Saturn* was held to be the father of Verity.

XII.

Why do they repute Saturn *the Father of Truth.*

IS it for that (as ſome Philoſophers deem) they are of opinion that * *Saturn* is * Time? and Time you know well findeth out and revealeth the Truth. * Κρόνος. * Χρόνος.

Or, becauſe as the Poets fable, men lived under *Saturne* reign in the golden age: and if the life of man was then moſt juſt and righteous, it followeth conſequently that there was much truth in the world.

XIII.

What is the reaſon that they ſacrificed likewiſe unto the god whom they termed Honor, *with bare head? now a man may interpret* Honor *to be as much as Glory and Reputation.*

IT is haply becauſe Honor and Glory is a thing evident, notorious, and expoſed to the knowledge of the whole world: and by the ſame reaſon that they veil Bonet before men of worſhip, dignity, and honour, they adore alſo the Deity that beareth the name of Honory with the head bare.

XIV.

What may be the cauſe, that Sons carry their Fathers and Mothers forth to be enterred, with their heads hooded and covered; but daughters bare-headed, with their hairs detreſſed and hanging down looſe.

IS it for that Fathers ought to be honored as gods by their Male-Children, but lamented and bewailed as dead men by their daughters, and therefore the law having given and granted unto either Sex that which is proper: hath of both together made that which is beſeeming and convenient?

Or, it is in this regard, that unto ſorrow and heavineſſe, that is beſt beſeeming which is extraordinary and unuſual: now more ordinary it is with women to go abroad with their heads vailed and covered: and likewiſe with men, to be diſcovered and bare-headed. For even among the Greeks when there is befallen unto them any publick calamity, the manner and cuſtome is, that the women ſhould cut off the hairs of their head, and the men wear them long: for that otherwiſe it is uſual that men ſhould poll their head, and women keep their hair long. And to prove that Sons were wont to be covered: in ſuch a caſe, and for the ſaid cauſe, a man may alledge that which *Varro* hath written: namely, that in the ſolemnity of funerals, and about the Tombs of their Fathers, they carry themſelves with as much reverence and devotion as in the Temples of the gods: in ſuch ſort, as when they have burnt the corps in the funeral fire, ſo ſoon as ever they meet with a bone, they pronounce that he who is dead, is now become a god. On the contrary ſide, women were in no wiſe permitted to vaile and cover their heads. And we find upon record, that the firſt man who put away and divorced his Wife was *Spurius Carbilius*, becauſe ſhe bare him no children: the ſecond, *Sulpitius Gallus*, for that he ſaw her to caſt a robe over her head: and the third *Publius Sempronius*, for ſtanding to behold the ſolemnity of the funeral games.

XV.

How it cometh to paſſe, that conſidering the Romans eſteemed Terminus *a god, and therefore in honor of him celebrated a feaſt called thereupon* Terminalia, *yet they never killed any beaſt in ſacrifice unto him?*

IT is becauſe *Romulus* did appoint no bonds and limits of his country, to the end that he might lawfully ſet out and take in where pleaſed him, and repute all that land his own ſo far as (according to that ſaying of the Lacedæmonian) his ſpear or javelin would reach: But *Numa Pompilius* a juſt man and politick withal, one who knew well how to govern, and that by the rule of Philoſophy, cauſed his Territory to be confined between him and his neighbour Nations, and called thoſe frontier bonds by the name of *Terminus*, as the ſuperintendent, overſeer and keeper of peace and amity between neighbours; and therefore he ſuppoſed, that this *Terminus* ought to be perſerved pure and clean from all blood, and impollute with any murder.

XVI.

What is the reaſon that it is not Lawful for any maid ſervants to enter into the temple of the goddeſſe Leucothea? *and the Dames of* Rome, *bringing in thither one alone and no more with them, fall to cuffing that, and boxing her about the ears and cheeks.*

* Or *Matuta*.

AS for the Wench that is thus buffeted, it is a ſufficient ſign and argument, that ſuch as ſhe, are not permitted to come thither: now for all others they keep them out in regard of a certaine Poetical Fable reported in this wiſe: that Lady *Ino* being in times paſt jealous of her husband, and ſuſpecting him with a maid ſervant of hers, fell mad, and was enraged againſt her own ſon: this ſervant the Greeks ſay was an Æolian born, and had to name *Antiphera*: and therefore it is that here among us in the City of *Chæronea*, before the Temple or Chappel of *Matuta*, the Sexton taking a whip in his hand, crieth with a loud voice: No man ſervant or maid ſervant be ſo hardy as to come in here; No Æolian he or ſhe preſume to enter into this place.

XVII.

What is the cause that to this goddesse, folk pray not for any blessings to their own children, but for their nephews only, to wit, their brothers or sisters children?

MAy it not be, for that *Ino* was a Lady that loved her Sister wonderous well, in so much as she suckled at her own breast a Son of hers: but was infortunate in her own children? Or rather, because the said custome is otherwise very good and civil, inducing and moving folks hearts to carry love and affection to their kindreds.

XVIII.

For what cause, were many rich men wont to consecrate and give unto Hercules *the Disme or tenth of all their goods?*

WHy may it not be upon this occasion, that *Hercules* himselfe being upon a time at * *Rome*, sacrificed the tenth Cow of all the drove which he had taken from *Geryon*? Or for that he freed and delivered the Romans from the tax and tribute of the Dismes which they were wont to pay out of their goods unto the Tuscans. Or in case this may not go current for an authentical history, and worthy of credit; what and if we say that unto *Hercules* as to some great belly god, and one who loved good cheer, they offered and sacrificed plenteously and in great liberality?

* By Prolepsis, meaning the place where afterwards *Rome* stood.

Or rather, for that by this means they would take down and diminish a little their excessive riches which ordinarily is an eye-sore and odious unto the Citizens of a popular state, as if they meant to abate and bring low (as it were) that plethorical plight and corpulency of the body, which being grown to the height is dangerous: supposing by such cutting off, and abridging of superfluities, to do honour and service most pleasing unto *Hercules*, as who joyed highly in frugality: for that in his life time he stood contented with a little, and regarded no delicacy or exceise whatsoever.

XIX.

Why begin the Romans their year at the month January?

FOr in old time the month of March was reckoned first, as a man may collect by many other conjectures, and by this especially, that the fifth month in order after March was called *Quintilis*; and the sixth month *Sextilis*, and all the rest consequently one after another until you come to the last, which they named December, because it was the tenth in number after March: which giveth occasion unto some for to think and say, that the Romans (in those days) determined and accomplished their compleat year, not in twelve Months but in ten; namely, by adding unto every one of those ten months certain days over and above thirty. Others write, that December indeed was the tenth month after March; but January was the eleventh, and February the twelfth: in which month they used certain expiatory and purgatory sacrifices, yea, and offered oblations unto the dead (as it were) to make an end of the year. Howbeit, afterwards they transposed this order, and ranged January in the first place, for that upon the first day thereof, which they call the Calends of January; the first Consuls that ever bare rule in *Rome* were enstalled, immediately upon the deposition and expulsion of the Kings out of the City. But there seemeth to be more probability and likelihood of truth in their speech, who say, that *Romulus* being a martial Prince, and one that loved war and feats of arms, as being reputed the son of *Mars*, set before all other months, that which carried the name of his father: howbeit *Numa* who succeeded next after him, being a man of peace, and who endeavoured to withdraw the hearts and minds of his subjects and citizens from war to agriculture, gave the prerogative of the first place unto January, and honoured *Janus* most, as one who had been more given to politick government, and to the husbandry of ground, then to the exercise of war and arms.

Consider moreover, whether *Numa* chose not this month for to begin the year withal, as best fitting with nature in regard of us; for otherwise in general, there is no one thing of all those that by nature turn about circularly, that can be said first or last, but according to the several institutions and ordinances of men. some begin the time at this point, others at that. And verily they that make the Winter Solstice or hibernal Tropick the beginning of their year, do the best of all others: for that the Sun ceasing then to passe farther, beginneth to return and take his way again toward us: for it seemeth, that both according to the course of nature, and also in regard of us, this season is most befitting to begin the year: for that it encreaseth unto us the time of the day light, and diminisheth the darknesse of night, and causeth that noble star or planet to approach neerer and come toward us, the Lord, Governor and Ruler of all substance transitory and fluxible matter whatsoever.

XX.

Why do women when they dresse up and adorn the Chappel or Shrine of their feminine goddesse whom they call Bona, *never bring home for that purpose any branches of Myrtle tree: and yet otherwise have a delight to employ all sorts of leaves and flowers?*

* Or *Phavlius.*

MAy it not be, for that, as some fabulous writers tell the tale, there was one * *Flavius* a soothsayer had a wife, who used secretly to drink wine, and when she was surprized and taken in the manner by her husband, she was well beaten by him with myrtle rods: and for that cause they bring thither no boughs of myrtle: mary they offer libations unto this goddesse of wine, but forsooth they call it Milke.

Or is it not for this cause, that those who are to celebrate the ceremonies of this divine service, ought to be pure and cleane from all pollutions, but especially from that of *Venus* or leachery? For not only they put out of the roome where the service is performed unto the said goddesse *Bona*, all men, but also whatsoever is besides of masculine sex; which is the reason that they so detest the myrtle tree, as being consecrated unto *Venus*, insomuch as it should seeme they called in old time that *Venus*, *Myrtea*, which now goeth under the name of *Murcia*.

XXI.

What is the reason that the Latines do so much honour and reverence the Woodpecker, and forbeare altogether to do that bird any harme?

IS it for that *Picus* was reported in old time by the enchantments and sorceries of his wife, to have changed his own nature, and to be metamorphozed into a Woodpecker; under which forme he gave out oracles, and delivered answers unto those who propounded unto him any demands?

Or rather, because this seemeth a meere fable; and incredible tale: there is another story reported, which carrieth more probability with it, and foundeth nearer unto truth. That when *Romulus* and *Remus* were cast forth and exposed to death; not only a female woolfe gave them her teats to suck, but also a certaine Woodpecker flew unto them, and brought them food in her bill, and so fed them: and therefore haply it is, that ordinarily in these daies we may see, as *Nigidius* hath well observed, what places soever at the foot of an hill covered and shadowed with oakes or other trees a Woodpecker haunteth, thither customably you shall have a woolfe to repaire.

Or peradventure, seeing their manner is to consecrate unto every god one kind of bird or other, they reputed this Woodpecker sacred unto *Mars*, because it is a couragious and hardy bird, having a bill so strong, that he is able to overthrow an oake therewith, after he hath jobbed and pecked into it as far as to the very marrow and heart thereof.

XXII.

How is it that they imagine Janus *to have had two faces, in which manner they use both to paint and also to cast him in mold?*

IS it for that he being a Grecian borne, came from *Perrhæbia*, as we find witten in histories; and passing forward into *Italy*, dwelt in that countrey among the Barbarous people, who there lived, whose language and manner of life he changed?

Or rather because he taught and perswaded them to live together after a civill and honest sort, in husbandry and tilling the ground; whereas before time their manners were rude, and their fashions savage without law or justice altogether.

XXIII.

What is the cause that they use to sell at Rome *all things pertaining to the furniture of Funerals, within the temple of the goddesse* Libitina, *supposing her to be* Venus?

THis may seeme to be one of the sage and philosophicall inventions of King *Numa*, to the end that men should learn not to abhor such things, nor to flie from them, as if they did pollute and defile them?

Or else this reason may be rendred, that it serveth for a good record and memoriall, to put us in mind, that whatsoever had a beginning by generation, shall likewise come to an end by death; as if one and the same goddesse were superintendent and governesse of nativity and death: for even in the City of *Delphos* there is a pretty image of *Venus*, surnamed *Epitymbia*; that is to say, sepulchrall: before which they use to raise and call forth the ghosts of such as are departed, for to receive the libaments and sacred liquors powred forth unto them.

XXIIII.

*Why have the Romans in every month three beginnings as it were, to wit, certaine principall and prefixed or preordained * dates, and regard not the same interwall or space of daies between?*

* That is to say, *Calends*, *Nones* and *Ides*.

ISit because as *Juba* writeth in his Chronicles, that the chiefe Magistrates were wont upon the first day of the month to call and summon the people; whereupon it took the name of *Calends*: and then to denounce unto them that the *Nones* should be the fifth day after; and as for the *Ides* they held it to be an holy and sacred day?

Or for that they measuring and determining the time according to the differences of the moone, they observed in her every month three principall changes and diversities: the first, when she is altogether hidden, namely, during her conjunction with the sun; the second when she is somewhat removed from the beames of the sun, and beginneth to shew her selfe croissant in the evening toward

toward the West whereas the sun setteth; the third, when she is at the full: now that occultation and hiding of hers in the first place they named Calends, for that in their tongue what soever is secret and hidden they say it is [*Clam*] and to hide or keep close, they expresse by this word [*Celare*;] and the first day of the moons illumination, which we here in *Greece* tearme *Noumenia*, that is to say, the new-moone, they called by a most just name *Nona*, for that which is new and young, they tearm *Novum*, in manner as we do *vsdv*. As for the *Ides*, they took their name of this word *ἴδος*, that signifieth beauty; for that the moon being then at the full is in the very perfection of her beauty; or haply they derived this denomination of *Dios*, as attributing it to *Jupiter*: but in this we are not to search out exactly the just number of daies, nor upon a small default to slander and condemne this manner of reckoning, seeing that even at this day, when the science of Astrology is grown to so great an increment, the inequality of the motion, and course of the moone surpasseth all experience of Mathematicians, and cannot be reduced to any certaine rule of reason.

XXV.

What is the cause that they repute the morrows after Calends, Nones, *and* Ides, *disasterous or dismall daies, either for to set forward upon any journey or voyage, or to march with an army into the field?*

IS it becuse as many thinke, and as *Titus Livius* hath recorded in his story: the Tribunes military, at what time as they had consular and soveraign authority, went into the field with the Romane army the morrow after the *Ides* of the month *Quintilis*, which was the same that July now is, and were discomfited in a battell by the Gaules, neare unto the river *Allia*: and consequently upon that overthrow lost the very City it selfe of *Rome*: by which occasion the morrow after the *Ides*, being held and reputed for a sinister and unlucky day, superstition entring into mens heads, proceeded farther, (as she loveth alwaies so to do) and brought in the custome for to hold the morrow after the *Nones*, yea, and the morrow after the *Calends*, as unfortunate, and to be as religiously observed in semblable cases.

But against this there may be opposed many objections: for first and formost, they lost that battell upon another day, and calling it *Allienſis*, by the name of the river *Allia*, where it was strucken, they have it in abomination for that cause. Againe, whereas there be many daies reputed dismall and unfortunate, they do not observe so precisely and with so religious feare, other daies of like denomination in every month, but each day apart only in that month wherein such and such a disaster hapned: and that the infortunity of one day should draw a superstitious feare simply upon all the morrows after *Calends*, *Nones*, and *Ides*, carrieth no congruity at all, nor apparence of reason.

Consider moreover and see, whether, as of months they used to consecrate the first to the gods cœlestiall: the second to the terrestriall, or infernall, wherein they performe certaine expiatory ceremonies and sacrifices of purification, and present offerings and services to the dead: so of the daies in the month, those which are chiefe and principall, as hath been said, they would not have to be kept as sacred and festivall holidaies; but such as follow after, as being dedicated unto the spirits, called *Demons*, and those that are departed; they also have esteemed consequently as unhappy, and altogether unmeet either for to execute or to take in hand any businesse: for the Greeks adoring and serving the gods upon their new-moones and first daies of the month, have attributed the second daies unto the demi-gods and *Demons*: like as at their feasts also they drinke the second cup unto their demi-gods, and demi-goddesses. In sum, Time is a kind of number, and the beginning of number is (I wot not what;) some divine thing, for it is Unity: and that which commeth next after it is Deuz or two, cleane opposite unto the said beginning, and is the first of all even numbers: as for the even number it is defective, unperfect, and indefinite, whereas contrariwise, the uneven or odde number it selfe is finite, compleat, and absolute: and for this cause like as the *Nones* succeed the *Calends* five daies after; so the *Ides* follow the *Nones* nine daies after them; for the uneven and odde numbers do determine those beginnings, or principall daies; but those which presently ensue after the said principall daies being even, are neither ranged in any order, nor have power and puissance: and therefore men do not enterprise any great work, nor set forth voyage or journey upon such daies: and hereto we may to good purpose annex that pretty speech of *Themistocles*: For when the morrow (quoth he) upon a time quarrelled with the festivall day which went next before it, saying, that her selfe was busied and took a great deale of paines, preparing and providing with much travell those goods which the feast enjoyed at her ease, with all repose, rest, and leisure: the Festivall day made this answer: Thou saidst true indeed; but if I were not, where wouldst thou be? This tale *Themistocles* devised, and delivered unto the Athenian Captaines, who came after him; giving them thereby to understand, that neither they nor any acts of theirs would ever have been seen, unlesse he before them had saved the City of *Athens*. Forasmuch then, as every enterprise and voyage of importance hath need of provision, and some preparatives; and for that the Romans in old time upon their festivall daies, dispensed nothing, nor tooke care for any provision; being wholly given and devoted at such times to the service and worship of God, doing that, and nothing else: like as even at this day, when the Priests begin to sacrifice, they pronounce with a loud voice before all the company there assembled *Hoc age*, that is to say, Mind this, and do no other thing: very like it is, and standeth to great reason, that they used not to put themselves upon the way for any long voyage, nor tooke in hand any great affaire or businesse presently after a festivall day, but kept within house all

all the morrow after, to thinke upon their occasions, and to provide all things necessary for journey or exploit: or we may conjecture, that as at this very day the Romans after they have adored the gods, and made their praiers unto them within their temples, are wont to stay there a time, and sit them down; even so they thought it not reasonable to call their great affaires so, as that they should immediately follow upon any of their festivall daies; but they allowed some respit and time between, as knowing full well that businesses carry with them alwaies many troubles and hinderances, beyond the opinion, expectation, and will of those who take them in hand.

XXVI.

What is the cause that women at Rome, *when they mourne for the dead, put on white robes, and likewise weare white cawles, corses, and kerchiefes upon their heads.*

MAy it not be that for to oppose themselves against hell and the darknesse thereof, they conforme their raiment and attire to that colour which is cleare and bright?

Or do they it not rather for this: that like as they clad and bury the dead corps in white cloaths, they suppose, that those who are next of kin, and come neareſt about them ought also to weare their liverie? Now the body they do in this wise deck, because they cannot adorne the soule so; and it they are willing to accompany as light some pure and neat, as being now at the last delivered and set free, and which hath performed a great and variable combate.

Or rather, we may guesse thus much thereby: that in such cases, that which is most simple and least costly, is best beseeming; whereas cloaths of any other colour died do commonly bewray either superfluity or curiosity: for we may say even as well of black as of purple: These robes are deceitfull; these colours also are counterfeit. And as touching that which is of it selfe black, if it have not that tincture by diers art, surely it is so coloured by nature, as being mixed and compounded with obscurity: and therefore there is no colour else but white, which is pure, unmixt, and not stained and sullied with any tincture, and that which is inimitable: in which regard more meet and agreeable unto those who are interred, considering that the dead is now become simple, pure, exempt from all mixtion, and in very truth, nothing else but delivered from the body, as a staine and infection hardly scoured out and rid away. Semblably, in the City of *Argos*, whensoever they mourned, the manner was to weare white garments, washed (as *Socrates* said) in faire and cleare water.

XXVII.

What is the reason that they esteeme all the walls of the City sacred and inviolable, but not the gates.

IS it (as *Varro* saith) because we ought to thinke the walls holy, to the end that we may fight valiantly, and die generously in the defence of them? for it seemeth that this was the cause, why *Romulus* killed his own brother *Remus*, for that he presumed to leape over an holy and inviolable place: whereas contrariwise, it was not possible to consecrate and hallow the gates, thorow which there must needs be transported many things necessary, and namely, the bodies of the dead. And therefore they who begin to found a City, environ and compasse first with a plough all that pourprise and precinct wherein they meant to build, drawing the said plough with an oxe and a cow coupled together in one yoke: afterwards, when they have traced out all the said place where the walls should stand, they measure out as much ground as will serve for the gates, but take out the ploughshare, and so passe over that space with the bare plough, as if they meant thereby, that all the furrow which they cast up and eared should be sacred and inviolable.

XXVIII.

What is the reason, that when their Children are to sweare by Hercules, *they will not let them doit within doores, but cause them to go forth of the house, and take their oath abroad.*

IS it because (as some would have it) that they thinke *Hercules* is not delighted with keeping close within house and sitting idlely, but taketh pleasure to live abroad and lie without?

Or rather, for that of all the gods, *Hercules* is not (as one would say) home-bred, but a stranger, come amongst them from afar? For even so they would not sweare by *Bacchus*, under the roofe of the house, but went forth to do it; because he also is but a stranger among the gods.

Or haply, this is no more but a word in game and sport, given unto children: and besides (to say a truth) it may be a meanes to withhold and restraine them from swearing so readily and rashly, as *Phavorinus* saith: for this device causeth a certaine premeditate preparation, and giveth them (whiles they go out of the house) leasure and time to consider better of the matter. And a man may conjecture also with *Phavorinus*, and say with him, That this fashion was not common to other gods, but proper to *Hercules*: for that we find it written, that he was so religious, so respective and precise in his oath, that in all his life time he never sware but once, and that was only to *Philem* the son of *Augias*. And therefore the propheteſſe at *Delphos*, named *Pythia*, answered thus upon a time to the Lacedæmonians:

When all these oaths you once forsend,
Your state (be sure) shall dayly mend.

XXIX.

XXIX.

What should be the reason, that they would not permit the new wedded bride to passe of her selfe over the doore-sill or threshold, when she is brought home to her husbands house, but they that accompany her, must lift her up between them from the ground, and so convey her in?

I Sit in remembrance of those first wives whom they ravished perforce from the Sabines, who entred not into their houses of themselves with their good will, but were carried in by them, in this manner?

Or is it perhaps, because they would be thought to go against their wills into that place where they were to lose their maidenhead?

Or haply it may be, that a wedded wife ought not to go forth of her doores, & abandon her house, but perforce, like as she went first into it by force. For in our Country of *Bœotia*, the manner is, to burne before the doore where a new married wife is to dwell, the axell tree of that chariot or coach in which she rode when she was brought to her husbands house. By which ceremony, thus much she is given to understand, that will she nill she, there she must now tarry, considering that it which brought her hither is now gone quite and consumed.

XXX.

Wherefore do they at Rome, *when they bring a new espoused bride home to the house of her husband, force her to say these words unto her spouse:* Where you are *Caius*, I will be *Caia*?

IS it to testifie by these words, that she entreth immediately to communicate with him in all goods, and to be a governesse and commander in the house as well as he? for it implieth as much, as if she should say, where you are Lord and Master, I will be Lady and Mistris. Now these names they used as being common, and such as came first to hand, and for no other reason else: like as the Civill Lawyers use ordinarily these names, *Caius*, *Seius*, *Lucius*, and *Titius*: the Philosophers in their schooles, *Dion* and *Theon*?

Or peradventure it is in regard of *Caia Cæcilia* a beautifull and vertuous Lady, who in times past espoused one of the sons of King *Tarquinius*: of which dame there is yet to be seen even at this day one image of brasse within the temple of the god *Sanctus*: and there likewise in old time her slippers, her distaffe and spindles laid up for to be seen: the one to signifie that she kept the house well, and went not ordinarily abroad; the other to shew how she bused her selfe at home.

XXXI.

How commeth it, that they use to chant ordinarily at weddings, this word so much divulged, Talassio?

IS is not of *Talasia*, the Greeke word, which signifieth yarne: for the basket wherein women use to put in their rolls of carded wooll they name *Talasos* in Greek, and *Calathus* in Latine? Certes they that lead the bride home, cause her to sit upon a fleece of woull, then bringeth she forth a distaffe and a spindle, and with wooll all to hangeth and deckeeth the doore of her husbands house.

Or rather, if it be true which historians report: There was sometime a certaine young gentleman, very valiant and active in feats of armes, and otherwise of excellent parts and singular well conditioned, whose name was *Talasius*: and when they ravished and carried away the daughters of the Sabines who were come to *Rome*, for to behold the solemnity of their festivall games and plaies: certaine meane persons, such yet as belonged to the traine and retinue of *Talasius* aforesaid, had chosen forth and were carrying away one damosell above the rest most beautifull of visage, and for their safety and security as they passed along the streets, cried out aloud *Talasio*, *Talasio*, that is to say, for *Talasius*, for *Talasius*; to the end that no man should be so hardy as to approach neere unto them, nor attempt to have away the maiden from them, giving it out, that they carried her for to be the wife of *Talasius*; and others meeting them upon the way, joyned with them in company for the honour of *Talasius*, and as they followed after, highly praised their good choice which they had made, praying the gods to give both him and her joy of their marriage, and contentment to their hearts desire. Now for that this marriage proved happy and blessed, they were wont ever after in their wedding songs to recant and resound this name, *Talasius*, like as the manner is among the Greeks to sing in such carrols, *Hymenæus*.

XXXII.

What is the reason that in the month of May, they use at Rome *to cast over their woodden bridge into the river certaine images of men, which they call* Argeos?

I Sit in memoriall of the Barbarians who sometimes inhabited these parts, and did so by the Greeks, murdering them in that manner as many of them as they could take? But *Hercules* who was highly esteemed among them for his vertue, abolished this cruell fashion of killing of strangers, and taught them this custome to counterfeit their ancient superstitions, and to fling these images instead of them: now in old time our ancestors used to name all Greeks of what country soever they were, *Argeos*: unless haply a man would say that the Arcadians repuring the Argives to be their enemies, for that they were their neighbour borderers, such as fled with *Evander* out of *Arcadia*, and came to inhabit these quarters, retained still the old hatred and rancor, which time out of mind had taken root, and been setled in their hearts against the said Argives.

XXXIII.

What is the cause that the Romans in old time never went forth out of their houses to supper, but they carried with them their young sons, even when they were but in their very infancy and childhood.

VVAs not this for the very same reason that *Lycurgus* instituted and ordained, that young children should ordinarily be brought into their halls where they used to eat in publick, called *Phiditia*, to the end that they might be inured and acquainted betimes, not to use the pleasures of eating and drinking immoderately, as brutish and ravenous beasts are wont to do; considering that they had their elders to oversee them, yea, and to control their demeanor: and in this regard haply also, that their fathers themselves should in their carriage be more sober, honest, and frugal, in the presence of their children: for look where old folk are shamelesse, there it cannot chuse, but (as *Plato* saith) children and youth will be most graceleſſe and impudent.

XXXIV.

What might the reason be, that whereas all other Romans made their offerings, ceremonies, and sacrifices for the dead, in the month of February: Decimus Brutus *as Cicero saith, was wont to do the same in the month of December: now this* Brutus *was he who first invaded the country of* Portugal, *and with an army passed over the river of* Lethe, *that is to say, Oblivion.*

MAy it not be, that as the most part of men used not to perform any such services for the dead, but toward the end of the month, and a little before the shutting in of the evening; even so it seemeth to carry good reason, to honour the dead at the end of the year; and you wot well that December was the last month of all the year.

Or rather, it is because this was the honour exhibited to the Deities terrestrial: and it seemeth that the proper season to reverence and worship these earthly gods, is when the fruits of the earth be fully gathered and laid up.

Or haply, for that the husbandmen began at this time to break up their grounds against their seedtime: it was meet and requisite to have in remembrance those gods which are under the ground.

Or haply, because this month is dedicate and consecrated by the Romans to *Saturn*; for they counted *Saturn* one of the gods beneath, and none of them above: and withal, considering the greatest and most solemn feast, which they call *Saturnalia*, is holden in this month, at what time as they seem to have their most frequent meeting, and make best cheer, he thought it meet and reasonable that the dead also should enjoy some little portion thereof.

Or it may be said, that it is altogether untrue that *Decimus Brutus* alone sacrificed for the dead in this month: for certain it is that there was a certain divine service performed to *Acca Larentia*, and solemn effusions and libaments of Wine and Milk were poured upon her sepulchre in the month of December.

XXXV.

Why honoured the Romans this Acca Larentia *so highly, considering she was no better then a Strumpet, or Courtesan.*

FOr you must think, that the Histories make mention of another *Acca Larentia*, the Nurse of *Romulus*, unto whom they do honour in the month of April: as for this Courtesan *Larentia*, shee was (as men say) surnamed *Fabula*, and came to be so famous and renowned by such an occasion as this. A certain Sexton of *Hercules* his Temple, having little else to do, and living at ease (as commonly such fellows do) used for the most part to spend all the day in playing at Dice and with Cokal-bones: and one day above the rest, it fortuned, that meeting with none of his Mates and playfellows who were wont to bear him company at such games, and not knowing what to do nor how to passe the time away, he thought with himselfe to challenge the god whose servant he was, to play at Dice with him, upon these conditions: That if himselfe won the game, *Hercules* should be a means for him of some good luck and happy fortune; but in case he lost the game, he should provide for *Hercules* a good supper, and withal, a pretty Wench and a fair, to be his bed-fellow: these conditions being agreed upon and set down, he cast the Dice, one chance for himselfe, and another for the god: but his hap was to be the loser: whereupon minding to stand unto his challenge, and to accomplish that which he had promised, he prepared a rich supper for *Hercules* his god, and withall, sent for this *Acca Larentia*, a professed Courtesan and common Harlot, whom he feasted also with him, and after supper bestowed her in a bed within the very Temple, shut the doors fast upon, and so went his way. Now the tale goes, forsooth, that in the night *Hercules* companied with her, not after the manner of men, but charged her, that the next morning betimes she should go into the

the market place, and look what man she first met withal, him she should entertain in all kindness, and make her friend especially. Then *Larentia* gat up betimes in the morning accordingly, and chanced to encounter a certain rich man and a stale Batchelor, who was now past his middle age, and his name was *Tarutius*; with him she became so familiarly acquainted, that so long as he lived, she had the command of his whole house; and at his death, was by his last Will and Testament instituted inheritresse of all that he had. This *Larentia* likewise afterward departed this life, and left all her riches unto the City of *Rome*; whereupon this honour aboveſaid was done unto her.

XXXVI.

What is the cauſe that they name one gate of the City Feneſtra, *which is as much to ſay, as Window; neer unto which adjoineth the bed-chamber of Fortune?*

IS it for that King *Servius* a moſt fortunate Prince, was thought and named to lie with Fortune, who was wont to come unto him by the window? or is this but a devised tale? But in truth, after that King *Tarquinius Priſcus* was deceaſed, his Wife *Tanaquillis* being a wiſe Lady, and endued with a royal mind, putting forth her head, and bending forward her body out of her chamber window, made a ſpeech unto the people, perſwading them to elect *Servius* for their King. And this is the reaſon that afterwards the place retained this name, *Feneſtra*.

XXXVII.

What is the reaſon, that of all thoſe things which be dedicated and conſecrated to the gods, the cuſtome is at Rome, *that only the ſpoils of enemies conquered in the wars, are neglected and ſuffered to run to decay in proceſſe of time: neither if there any reverence done unto them, nor repaired be they at any time, when they wax old.*

WHether is it, becauſe they (ſuppoſing their glory to fade and paſſe away together with theſe firſt ſpoils) ſeek evermore new means to win ſome freſh marks and monuments of their vertue, and to leave the ſame behind them.

Or rather, for that ſeeing time doth waſte and conſume theſe ſigns and tokens of the enmity which they had with their enemies, it were an odious thing for them, and very invidious, if they ſhould refreſh and renew the remembrance thereof: for even thoſe among the Greeks, who firſt erected their Trophees or Pillars of braſſe and ſtone, were not commended for ſo doing.

XXXVIII.

What is the reaſon that Quintus Metellus *the high Prieſt, and reputed beſides a wiſe man and a politick, forbade to obſerve auſpices, or to take preſages by flight of birds, after the month* Sextilis, *now called Auguſt.*

IS it for that, as we are wont to attend upon ſuch obſervations about noon or in the beginning of the day, at the entrance alſo, and toward the middle of the month: but we take heed and beware of the dyes declination, as inauſpicate and unmeet for ſuch purpoſes; even ſo *Metellus* ſuppoſed, that the time after eight months was (as it were) the evening of the year, and the latter end of it, declining now and wearing toward an end.

Or haply, becauſe we are to make uſe of theſe birds, and to obſerve their flight for preſage, whiles they are entire, perfect and nothing defective, ſuch as they are before Summer time. But about Autumn ſome of them moult, grow to be ſickly and weak; others are over-young and too ſmall; and ſome again appear not at all, but like paſſengers are gone at ſuch a time into another country.

XXXIX.

What is the cauſe, that it was not lawful for them who were not preſt Souldiers by oath and enrolled, although upon ſome other occaſions they converſed in the camp, to ſtrike or wound an enemy? And verily Cato *himſelfe the elder of that name ſignified thus much in a letter miſſive which he wrote unto his ſon: wherein he ſtraitly charged him, that if he had accompliſhed the full time of his ſervice, and that his captain had given him his conge & diſcharge, he ſhould immediately return or in caſe he had rather ſtay ſtill in the camp, that he ſhould obtain of his captain permiſſion and licence to hurt and kill his enemie.*

IS it becauſe there is nothing elſe but neceſſity alone, doth warrantize the killing of a man: and he who unlawfully and without expreſſe commandment of a ſuperior (unconſtrained) doth it, is a meer homicide and manſlayer. And therefore *Cyrus* commended *Chryſantas*, for that being upon the very point of killing his enemy, as having lifted up his Cymiter for to give him a deadly wound, preſently upon the ſound of the retreat by the Trumpet, let the man go, and would not ſmite him, as if he had been forbidden ſo to do.

Or may it not be, for that he who preſenteth himſelfe to fight with his enemy, in caſe he ſhrink, and make not good his ground, ought not to go away clear withal, but to be held faulty and to ſuffer puniſhment; for he doth nothing ſo good ſervice that hath either killed or wounded an enemy, as harm and damage, who reculeth back or flieth away: now he who is diſcharged from warfare, and hath leave to depart, is no more obliged and bound to military laws: but he that hath demanded permiſſion to do that ſervice which ſworn and enrolled ſouldiers perform, putteth himſelfe again under the ſubjection of the law and his own Captain.

XL.

XL.

How is it that the Prieſt of Jupiter, *is not permitted to anoint himſelfe abroad in the open air?*

IS it for that in old time it was not held honeſt and lawful for children to do off their cloaths before their fathers; nor the ſon in law in the preſence of his wives father; neither uſed they the ſtouph or bath together: now is *Jupiter* reputed the Prieſts or *Flamines* father: and that which is done in the open air, ſeemeth eſpecially to be in the very eye and ſight of *Jupiter*?

Or rather, like as it was thought a great ſin and exceeding irreverence, for a man to turn himſelf out of his apparel naked, in any church, chappel, or religious and ſacred place; even ſo they carried a great reſpect unto the air and open skie, as being full of gods, demi-gods, and ſaints. And this is the very cauſe, why we do many of our neceſſary buſineſſes within doors, encloſed and covered with the roofe of our houſes, and ſo removed from the eyes, as it were, of the Deity. Moreover, ſome things there be that by law are commanded and enjoyned unto the Prieſt only: and others again unto all men, by the Prieſt: as for example, there with us in *Bœotia*; to be crowned with chaplets of flowers upon the head; to let the hair grow long; to wear a ſword, and not to ſet foot within the limits of *Phocis*; pertain all to the office and duty of the captain general and chiefe ruler: but to taſte of no new fruits before the Autumnal Æquinox be paſt: not to cut and prune a vine but before the Æquinox of the Spring, be intimated and declared unto all by the ſaid Ruler or Captain General: for thoſe be the very ſeaſons to do both the one and the other. Inlike caſe, it ſhould ſeem in my judgement that among the Romans it properly belonged to the Prieſt: not to mount on horſeback: not to be above three nights out of the City; not to put off his cap, whereupon he was called in the Roman Language, *Flamen*. But there be many other offices and duties, notified and declared unto all men by the Prieſt, among which this is one, not to be enhuiled or annointed abroad in the open air. For this manner of anointing dry without the bath, the Romans mightily ſuſpected and were afraid of: and even at this day they are of opinion, that there was no ſuch cauſe in the world that brought the Greeks under the yoak of ſervitude and bondage, and made them ſo tender and effeminate, as their halls and publick places where their young men wreſtled and exerciſed their bodies naked: as being the means that brought into their Cities, much looſe of time, engendered idleneſſe, bred lazy ſloath, and miniſtred occaſion and opportunity of lewdneſſe and villany; as namely, to make love unto fair boies, and to ſpoile and mar the bodies of young men with ſleeping, with walking at a certain meaſure, with ſtirring according to motions, keeping artificial compaſſe, and with obſerving rules of exquiſite diet. Through which faſhions, they ſee not, how (ere they be aware) they be fallen from exerciſes of arms, and have clean forgotten all military diſcipline: loving rather to beheld and eſteemed good wreſtlers, fine dancers, conceited pleaſants, and fair minions, then hardy footmen, or valiant men of arms. And verily it is an hard matter to avoid and decline theſe inconveniences, for them that uſe to diſcover their bodies naked before all the world in the broad air: but thoſe who anoint themſelves cloſely within doors, and look to their bodies at home are neither faulty nor offenſive.

XLI.

What is the reaſon that the ancient coin and money in old time, carried the ſtamp of one ſide of Janus *with two faces: and on the other ſide, the prow or the poop of a boat engraved therein.*

WAs it not as many men do ſay, for to honour the memory of *Saturn*, who paſſed into *Italy* by water in ſuch a veſſel? But a man may ſay thus much as well of many others: for *Janus*, *Evander*, and *Æneas*, came thither likewiſe by ſea: and therefore a man may peradventure gueſſe with better reaſon; that whereas ſome things ſerve as goodly ornaments, for Cities, others as neceſſary implements: among thoſe which are decent and ſeemly ornaments, the principal is good government and diſcipline, and among ſuch as be neceſſary, is reckoned plenty and abundance of victuals: now for that *Janus* inſtituted good government, in ordaining wholſome laws, and reducing their manner of life to civility, which before was rude and brutiſh, and for that the river being navigable, furniſhed them with ſtore of all neceſſary commodities, whereby ſome were brought thither by Sea, others from the Land; the coin carried for the mark of a Law-giver, the head with two Faces, like as we have already ſaid, becauſe of that change of life which he brought in; and of the river, a ferry boat or barge. and yet there was another kind of money currant among them, which had the figure portrayed upon it, of a Beeſe, of a Sheep, and of a Swine; for that their riches they raiſed eſpecially from ſuch cattel, and all their wealth and ſubſtance conſiſted in them. And hereupon it cometh, that many of their ancient names, were *Ovilii*, *Bubulci* and *Porcii*, that is to ſay, Sheep-reeves, and Neat-herds, and Swine-herds according as *Feneſtella* doth report.

XLII.

What is the cauſe that they make the Temple of Saturn, *the chamber of the City, for to keep therein the publick treaſure of gold and ſilver: as alſo their archives, for the cuſtody of all their writings, rolls, contracts and evidences whatſoever.*

IS it by occaſion of that opinion ſo commonly received, and the ſpeech ſo univerſally currant in every mans mouth, that during the raign of *Saturn*, there was no avarice nor injuſtice in the world; but loyalty, truth, faith, and righteouſneſs carried the whole ſway among men. Or,

Or for that he was the god who found out fruits, brought in agriculture; and taught husbandry firſt; for the hooke or ſickle in his hand ſignifieth ſo much, and not as *Antimachus* wrote following therein and beleeving *Heſiodus*:

Rough Saturne *with his hairy skin,*
against all law and right,
Of Æmons ſon, ſir Ouranus,
or Cœlus *ſometime hight,*
Thoſe privy members which him gat,
with hook a-ſtant off-cut.
And then anon in fathers place
of reign, himſelfe did put.

Now the abundance of the fruits which the earth yeeldeth, and the vent or diſpoſition of them, is the very mother that bringeth forth plenty of money: and therefore it is that the ſame god they make the author and maintainer of their felicity: in teſtimony whereof, thoſe aſſemblies which are holden every ninth day in the common place of the City, called *Nundinæ*, that is to ſay, Fairs or Markets, they eſteem conſecrated to *Saturn*: for the ſtore and ſoiſon of fruits is that which openeth the trade and commerce of buying and ſelling. Or, becauſe theſe reaſons ſeem to be very antick; what and if we ſay that the firſt man who made (of *Saturns* Temple at *Rome*) the treaſury or chamber of the City, was *Valerius Poplicola*, after that the Kings were driven out of *Rome*, and it ſeemeth to ſtand to good reaſon that he made choice thereof, becauſe he thought it a ſafe and ſecure place, eminent and conſpicuous in all mens eyes, and by conſequence hard to be ſurprized and forced.

XLIII.

What is the cauſe that thoſe who come as Embaſſadors to Rome, *from any parts whatſoever, go firſt into the Temple of* Saturn, *and there before the Queſtors or Treaſurers of the City, enter their names in their Regiſters.*

IS it for that *Saturn* himſelfe was a ſtranger in *Italy*, and therefore all ſtrangers are welcome unto him?

Or may not this queſtion be ſolved by the reading of Hiſtories? for in old time theſe Queſtors or publick Treaſurers, were wont to ſend unto Embaſſadors certain preſents, which were called *Lautia*: and if it fortuned that ſuch Embaſſadors were ſick, they took the charge of them for their cures and if they chanced to die, they enterred them likewiſe at the Cities charges. But now in reſpect of the great reſort of Embaſſadors from out of all countries, they have cut off this expenſe: howbeit the ancient cuſtome yet remaineth, namely, to preſent themſelves to the ſaid Officers of the treaſure, and to be regiſtred in their book.

XLIV.

Why is it not lawful for Jupiters *Prieſt to ſwear?*

IS it becauſe an oath miniſtred unto free born men, is as it were the rack and torture tendered unto them? for certain it is, that the ſoul as well as the body of the Prieſt, ought to continue free, and not be forced by any torture whatſoever.

Or, for that it is not meet to diſtruſt or diſcredit him in ſmall matters, who is beleeved in great and divine things?

Or rather, becauſe every oath endeth with the deteſtation and malediction of perjury: and conſidering that all maledictions be odious and abominable; therefore it is not thought good that any others Prieſts whatſoever, ſhould curſe or pronounce any malediction: and in this reſpect was the Prieſteſſe of *Minerva* in *Athens* highly commended, for that ſhe would never curſe *Alcibiades*, notwithſtanding the people commanded her ſo to do: For I am (quoth ſhe) ordained a Prieſteſſe to pray for men, and not to curſe them.

Or laſt of all, was it becauſe the peril of perjury would reach in common to the whole Commonwealth, if a wicked, godleſſe and forſworn perſon, ſhould have the charge and ſuperintendance of the prayers, vows, and ſacrifices made in the behalf of the City.

XLV.

What is the reaſon that upon the feſtival day in the honour of Venus, *which ſolemnity they call* Veneralia *they uſe to pour forth a great quantity of Wine out of the Temple of* Venus.

IS it as ſome ſay upon this occaſion, that *Mezentius* ſometime Captain general of the Tuſcans, ſent certain Embaſſadors unto *Æneas*, with commiſſion to offer peace unto him, upon this condition, that he might receive all the Wine of that * years Vintage. But when *Æneas* refuſed ſo to doe, *Mezentius* (for to encourage his ſouldiers the Tuſcans to fight manfully) promiſed to beſtow Wine upon them when he had won the field: but *Æneas* underſtanding of this promiſe of his, conſecrated and dedicated all the ſaid Wine unto the gods: and in truth, when he had obtained the victory, all the Wine of that year, when it was gotten and gathered together, he poured forth before the Temple of *Venus*.

* ἐτήσιον οἶνον, or a certain quantity of wine yearly, as ſome interpret it.

Or,

Or, what if one ſhould ſay, that this doth ſymbolize thus much: That men ought to be ſober upon feſtivall daies, and not to celebrate ſuch ſolemnities with drunkenneſſe; as if the gods take more pleaſure to ſee them ſhed wine upon the ground, than to powre overmuch thereof down their throats?

XLVI.

What is the cauſe that in ancient time they kept the temple of the goddeſſe Horta, *open alwaies.*

WHether was it (as *Antiſtius Labeo* hath left in writing) for that, ſeeing *Hortari* in the Latine tongue ſignifieth to exhort, they thought that the goddeſſe called *Horta*, which ſtirreth and provoketh men unto the enterpriſe and execution of good exploits, ought to be evermore in action, not to make delaies, nor to be ſhut up and locked within doores, ne yet to ſit ſtill and do nothing?

Or rather, becauſe as they name her now adaies *Hora*, with the former ſyllable long, who is a certaine induſtrious, vigilant, and buſie goddeſſe, carfull in many things: therefore being as ſhe is ſo circumſpect and ſo watchfull, they thought ſhe ſhould be never idle, nor reckleſſe of mens affaires.

Or elſe, this name *Hora* (as many others beſides) is a meere Greeke word, and ſignifieth a deity or divine power, that hath an eye to overlooke, to view and controule all things; and therefore ſince ſhe never ſleepeth, nor layeth her eyes together, but is alwaies broad awake, therefore her Church or Chappell was alwaies ſtanding open.

But if it be ſo as *Labeo* ſaith, that this word *Hora* is rightly derived of the Greeke verbe ὁρμᾶν or παροτρύνειν, which ſignifieth to incite or provoke; conſider better, whether this word *Orator* alſo, that is to ſay, one who ſtirreth up, exhorteth, encourageth, and adviſeth the people as a prompt and ready counſellor, be not derived likewiſe in the ſame ſort, and not of ἀγορὰ or ἐυχὴ, that is to ſay, prayer and ſupplication, as ſome would have it.

XLVII.

Wherefore founded Romulus *the Temple of* Vulcan *without the City of* Rome?

IS it for jealouſie (which as fables do report) *Vulcan* had of *Mars*, becauſe of his wife *Venus*: and ſo *Romulus* being reputed the ſon of *Mars*, would not vouchſafe him to inhabit and dwell in the ſame City with him? or is this a meere foolery and ſenſeleſſe conceit?

But this Temple was built at the firſt to be a Chamber and Parlour of Privy Councill for him and *Tatius* who reigned with him; to the end that meeting and ſitting there in conſultation together with the Senatours, in a place remote from all troubles and hinderances, they might deliberate as touching the affaires of State with eaſe and quietneſſe.

Or rather, becauſe *Rome* from the very firſt foundation was ſubject to fire by caſualty, he thought good to honour this god of fire in ſome ſort, but yet to place him without the walls of the City.

XLVIII.

What is the reaſon, that upon their feſtivall day called Conſualia, *they adorned with garlands of flowers as well their aſſes as horſes, and gave them reſt and repoſe for the time?*

IS it for that this ſolemnity was holden in the honour of *Neptune* ſurnamed *Equeſtris*, that is to ſay, the horſeman? and the aſſe hath his part of this joyfull feaſt, for the horſes ſake?

Or, becauſe that after navigation and tranſporting of commodities by ſea was now found out, and ſhewed to the world, there grew by that meanes, (in ſome ſort) better reſt and more eaſe to poore labouring beaſts of draught and carriage.

XLIX.

How commeth it to paſſe, that thoſe who ſtood for any office and magiſtracy, were wont by an old cuſtome (as Cato *hath written) to preſent themſelves unto the people in a ſingle robe or looſe gown, without any coat at all under it?*

WAs it for feare leſt they ſhould carry under their robes any money in their boſomes, for to corrupt, bribe, and buy (as it were) the voices and ſuffrages of the people?

Or was it becauſe they deemed men worthy to beare publike office and to governe, not by their birth and parentage by their wealth and riches, ne yet by their ſhew and outward reputation, but by their wounds and ſcars to be ſeen upon their bodies. To the end therefore that ſuch ſcars might be better expoſed to their ſight whom they met or talked withall, they went in this manner down to the place of election without inward coats in their plaine gowns.

Or haply, becauſe they would ſeeme by this nudity and nakednеſſe of theirs, in humility to debaſe themſelves, the ſooner thereby to curry favour, and win the good grace of the Commons, even as well as by taking them by the right hand, by ſuppliant craving, and by humble ſubmiſſion on their very knees.

L.

What is the cauſe that the Flamen or Prieſt of Jupiter, *when his wife was once dead, uſed to give up his Prieſthood or Sacerdotall dignity, according as* Ateius *hath recorded in his hiſtory.*

WAs it for that he who once had wedded a wife, and afterwards buried her, was more infortunate, than he who never had any? for the houſe of him who had married a wife, is entire

and perfect, but his house who once had one, and now hath none, is not only unperfect, but also maimed and lame?

Or might it not be that the Priests wife was consecrated also to divine service together with her husband; for many rites and ceremonies there were, which he alone could not performe if his wife were not present: and to espouse a new wife immediately upon the decease of the other were not peradventure possible, nor otherwise would well stand with decent and civill honesty: whereupon neither in times past was it lawfull for him, nor at this day as it should seeme, is he permitted to put away his wife: and yet in our age *Domitian* at the request of one, gave licence so to do: at this dissolution and breach of wedlock, other Priests were present and assistant, where there passed among them many strange, hideous, horrible, and monstrous ceremonies.

But haply a man would lesse wonder at this, if ever he knew and understood before, that when one of the Censors died, the other of necessity must likewise quit and resigne up his office. Howbeit, when *Livius Drusus* was departed this life, his companion in office *Æmylius Scaurus*, would not give over and renounce his place, untill such time as certaine Tribunes of the people, for his contumacy commanded, that he should be had away to prison.

LI.

What was the reason that the idols Lares, *which otherwise properly be called* Præstites, *had the images of a dog standing hard by them, and the* Lares *themselves were pourtraied clad in dogs skins?*

IS it because this word *Præstites* signifieth as much as προεστῶτας, that is to say, Presidents, or standing before as keepers: and verily such Presidents ought to be good house-keepers, and terrible unto all strangers, like as a dog is; but gentle and loving to those of the house.

Or rather, that which some of the Romans write is true, like as *Chrysippus* also the Philosopher is of opinion; namely, that there be certaine evill spirits which go about walking up and downin the world; and these be the butchers and tormentors that the gods imploy to punish unjust and wicked men: and even so these *Lares* are held to be maligne spirits, and no better than devils, spying into mens lives, and prying into their families: which is the cause that they now be arraied in such skins, and a dog they have sitting hard by them, whereby thus much in effect is given to understand, that quick sented they are, and of great power both to hunt out, and also to chastice lewd persons.

LII.

What is the cause that the Romans sacrifice a dog unto the goddesse called Genita-Mana, *and withall make one prayer unto her, that none borne in the house might ever come to good?*

IS it for that this *Genita-Mana* is counted a *Dæmon* or goddesse that hath the procuration and charge both of the generation and also of the birth of things corruptible? for surely the word implieth as much as a certaine fluxion and generation, or rather a generation fluent or fluxible: and like as the Greeks sacrificed unto *Proserpina*, a dog, so do the Romans unto that *Genita*, for those who are borne in the house. *Socrates* also saith, that the Argives sacrificed a dog unto *Hecate*, for the more ease and safe deliverance of child-birth. Furthermore, as touching that Prayer, that nothing borne within the house might ever prove good, it is not haply meant of any persons, man or woman, but of dogs rather which were whelped there; which ought to be, not kind and gentle, but curst and terrible.

* χρησους. Or peradventure, for that they * that die (after an elegant manner of speech) be named good or quiet: under these words they covertly pray, that none borne in the house might die. And this need not to seeme a strange kind of speech; for *Aristotle* writeth, that in a certaine treaty of peace between the Arcadians and Lacedæmonians, this article was comprised in the capitulations: That they should

* μηδένα χρησὸν. make none * of the Tegeats good, for the aide they sent, or favour that they bare unto the Lacedæmonians; by which was meant, that they should put none of them to death.

LIII.

What is the reason, that in a solemne procession exhibited at the Capitoline plaies, they proclame (even at this day) by the voice of an herald, port-sale of the Sardians? and before all this solemnity and pompe, there is by way of mockery and to make a laughing-stock, an old man led in a shew, with a jewell or brooch pendant about his neck, such as noblemens children are wont to weare, and which they call Bulla.

IS it for that the Veientians, who in times past being a puissant State in Tuscane, made war a long time with *Romulus*: whose City being the last that he won by force, he made sale of many prisoners and captives together with their King, mocking him for his stupidity and grosse folly. Now for that the Tuscans in ancient time were descended from the Lydians, and the capitall City of *Lydia* is *Sardis*, therefore they proclaimed the sale of the Veientian prisoners under the name of the Sardians; and even to this day in scorne and mockery, they retaine still the same custome.

LIIII.

Whence came it, that they call the Shambles or Butchery at Rome *where flesh is to be sold,* Macellum?

IS it for that this word *Macellum*, by corruption of language is derived of Μάγειρος, that in the Greek tongue signifieth a cook? like as many other words by usage and custome are come to be received; for the letter C. hath great affinity with G. in the Roman tongue: and long it was ere they had the use of G. which letter *Spurius Carbilius* first invented. Moreover, they that maffle and stammer in their speech pronounce ordinarily L. instead of R.

Or this question may be resolved better by the knowledge of the Roman history: for we read therein, that there was sometime a violent person and a notorious thiefe at *Rome*, named *Macellus*, who after he had committed many outrages and robberies, was with much ado in the end taken and punished: and of his goods which were forfeit to the State there was built a publike shambles or market place to sell flesh-meats in, which of his name was called *Macellum*.

LV.

Why upon the Ides of January *the Minstrels at* Rome, *who plaied upon the hautboies, were permitted to to go up and down the City disguised in womens apparrell?*

A Rose this fashion upon that occasion which is reported? namely, that King *Numa* had granted unto them many immunities and honourable priviledges in his time, for the great devotion that he had in the service of the gods? and for that afterwards the Tribunes military who governed the City in Consular authority, tooke the same from them, they went their way discontented, and departed quite from the City of *Rome*: but soone after, the people had a misse of them, and besides, the Priests made it a matter of conscience, for that in all the sacrifices thorowout the City there was no sound of flute or hautboies. Now when they would not returne againe (being sent for) but made their abode in the City *Tibur*; there was a certaine afranchised bondslave who secretly undertook unto the Magistrates, to find some meanes for to fetch them home. So he caused a sumptuous feast to be made, as if he meant to celebrate some solemne sacrifice, and invited to it the pipers and players of the hautboies aforesaid: and at this feast he took order there should be divers women also; and all night long there was nothing but piping, playing, singing and dancing: but all of a sudden this Master of the feast caused a rumour to be raised, that his Lord and Master was come to take him in the manner; whereupon making semblant that he was much troubled and affrighted, he perswaded the Minstrels to mount with all speed into those coaches covered all over with skins, and so to be carried to *Tibur*. But this was a deceitfull practise of his; for he caused the coaches to be turned about another way, and unawares to them: who partly, for the darknesse of the night, and in part because they were drowsie and the wine in their heads, took no heed of the way, he brought all to *Rome* betimes in the morning by the breake of day, disguised as they were, many of them in light coloured gowns like women, which (for that they had over-watched and over-drunke themselves) they had put on, and knew not thereof. Then being (by the Magistrates) overcome with faire words, and reconciled againe to the City, they held ever after this custome every yeare upon such a day, To go up and down the City thus foolishly disguised.

LVI.

What is the reason, that it is commonly received, that certaine Matrons of the City first founded and built the Temple of Carmenta, *and to this day honour it highly with great reverence?*

FOr it is said, that upon a time the Senate had forbidden the dames and wives of the City to ride in coaches: whereupon they tooke such a stomack, and were so despiteous, that to be revenged of their husbands, they conspired altogether not to be with child by them, nor to bring them any more babes: and in this mind they persisted still, untill their husbands began to bethinke themselves better of the matter, and let them have their will to ride in their coaches againe as before time: and then they began to breed and beare children afresh: and those who ere while conceived and bare most and with greatest ease, founded then the temple of *Carmenta*. And as I suppose this *Carmenta* was the mother of *Evander*, who came with him into *Italy*; whose right name indeed was *Themis*, or as some say *Nicostrata*: now for that she rendred prophetical answers and oracles in verse, the Latines surnamed her *Carmanta*: for verses in their tongue they call *Carmina*. Others are of opinion, that *Carmenta* was one of the Destinies, which is the cause that such matrons and mothers sacrifice unto her. And the Etymology of this name *Carmenta*, is as much as *Carens mente*, that is to say: beside her right wits, or bestraught, by reason that her senses were so ravished and transported: so that her verses gave her not the name *Carmenta*, but contrariwise, her verses were called *Carmina* of her, because when she was thus ravished and carried beside her selfe, she chanted certaine oracles and prophesies in verse.

LVII.

What is the cause that women who sacrifice unto the goddesse Rumina, *do powre and cast store of milke upon their sacrifice, but no wine at all do they bring thither for to be drunke?*

IS it, for that the Latines in their tongue call a pap, *Roma*? And well it may so be, for that the wild fig tree neere unto which the she-woolfe gave suck with her teats unto *Romulus*, was in that respect called *Ficus Ruminalis*. Like as therefore we name in our Greeke Language those milch nurses that suckle young infants at their brests, *Thelona*, being a word derived of *Thele*, which signifieth a pap; even so this goddesse *Rumina*, which is as much to say, as Nurse, and one that taketh the care and charge of nourishing and rearing up of Infants, admitteth not in her sacrifices any wine; for that it is hurtfull to the nurture of little babes and sucklings.

LVIII.

What is the reason that of the Roman Senatours, some are called simply, Patres; *others with an addition,* Patres conscripti?

IS it for that they first, who were instituted and ordained by *Romulus* were named *Patres & Patritii*, that is to say, Gentlemen or Nobly borne, such as we in *Greece*, terme *Eupatrides*?

Or rather they were so called, because they could avouch and shew their fathers: but such as were adjoyned afterwards by way of supply, and enrolled out of the Commoners houses, were *Patres conscripti* thereupon?

LXIX.

Wherefore was there one Altar common to Hercules *and the Muses?*

MAy it not be, for that *Hercules* taught *Evander* the letters, according as *Juba* writeth? Certes, in those daies it was accounted an honourable office for men to teach their kinsfolke and friends to spell letters, and to read. For a long time after it, and of late daies it was, that they began to teach for hire and for money: and the first that ever was known to keep a publike schoole for reading, was one named *Spurius Carbilius*, the freed servant of that *Carbilius* who first put away his wife.

LX.

What is the reason, that there being two Altars dedicated unto Hercules, *women are not partakers of the greater, nor taste one whit of that which is offered or sacrificed thereupon?*

IS it, because, as the report goes, *Carmenta* came not soone enough to be assistant unto the sacrifice: no more did the family of the *Pinarii*, whereupon they took that name? for in regard that they came tardy, admitted they were not to the feast with others who made good cheere; and therefore got the name *Pinarii*, as if one would say, pined and famished:

Or rather it may allude unto the tale that goeth of the shirt empoisoned with the bloud of *Nessus* the Centaure, which Lady *Deianira* gave unto *Hercules*.

LXI.

How commeth it to passe, that it is expresly forbidden at Rome, *either to name or to demand ought as touching the Tutelar god, who hath in particular recommendation and patronage, the safety and preservation of the City of* Rome: *nor so much as to enquire whether the said deity be male or female? And verily this prohibition proceedeth from a superstition feare that they have; for that they say that Valerius Soranus died an ill death, because he presumed to utter and publish so much:*

IS it in regard of a certaine reason that some Latine historians do alledge; namely, that there be certaine evocations and enchantings of the gods by spels and charmes, through the power whereof they are of opinion, that they might be able to call forth and draw away the Tutelar gods of their enemies, and to cause them to come and dwell with them: and therefore the Romans be afraid lest they may do as much for them? for like as in times past the Tyrians, as we find upon record, when their City was besieged, enchained the images of their gods to their shrines, for feare they would abandon their City and be gone; and as others demanded pledges and sureties that they should come againe to their place, whensoever they sent them to any bath to be washed, or let them go to any expiation to be cleansed; even so the Romans thought, that to be altogether unknown and not once named, was the best means, and surest way to keep with them their Tutelar god.

Or rather, as *Homer* very well wrote:

The earth to men all
Is common great and small:

That thereby men should worship all the gods, and honour the earth; seeing she is common to them all: even so the ancient Romans have concealed and suppresse the god or angell which hath the particular guard of their City, to the end that their Citizens should adore, not him alone but all others likewise.

LXII.

LXII.

What is the cause that among those Priests whom they name Fœciales, *signifying as much as in Greek εἰρηνοποιοί, that is to say, Officers going between to make treaty of peace; or σπονδοφόροι, that is to say, Agents for truce and leagues, he whom they call* Pater Patratus *is esteemed the chiefest? Now* Pater Patratus *is he, whose father is yet living, who hath children of his own: and in truth this chiefe Fecial or Herauld hath still at this day a certaine prerogative, and speciall credit above the rest. For the Emperours themselves, and generall Captaines, if they have any persons about them who in regard of the prime of youth, or of their beautifull bodies had need of a faithfull, diligent, and trusty guard, commit them ordinarily into the hands of such as these for safe custody?*

IS it not for that these *Patres Patrati*, for reverend feare of their fathers of one side, and for modest shames to scandalize or offend their children on the other side, are enforced to be wise and discreet?

Or may it not be, in regard of that cause which their very denomination doth minister and declare: for this word *Patratus* signifieth as much as compleat, entire, and accomplished, as if he were one more perfect and absolure every way than the rest, as being so happy as to have his own father living, and be a father also himselfe.

Or is it not, for that the man who hath the superintendence of treaties of peace, and of others, ought to see as *Homer* saith ἅμα πρόσω καὶ ὀπίσω, that is to say, before and behind. And in all reason such one is he like to be, who hath a child for whom, and a father with whom he may consult.

LXIII.

What is the reason that the Officer at Rome, *called* Rex sacrorum, *that is to say, the King of sacrifices, is debarred both from exercising any Magistracy, and also to make a speech unto the people in publike place?*

IS it for that in old time, the Kings themselves in person performed the most part of sacred rites, and those that were the greatest, yea, and together with the Priests offered sacrifices; but by reason that they grew insolent, proud, and arrogant, so as they became intollerable, most of the Greek nations, deprived them of this authority, and left unto them the preheminence only to offer publike sacrifice unto the gods: but the Romans having cleane chased and expelled their Kings, established in their stead another under Officer whom they called King, unto whom they granted the oversight and charge of sacrifices only, but permitted him not to exercise or execute any office of State, nor to intermeddle in publike affaires; to the end it should be known to the whole world, that they would not suffer any person to reigne at *Rome*, but only over the ceremonies of sacrifices, nor endure the very name of Royalty, but in respect of the gods. And to this purpose upon the very common place neere unto *Comitium*; they use to have a solemne sacrifice for the good estate of the City; which so soone as ever this King hath performed, he taketh his legs and runs out of the place, as fast as ever he can.

LXIIII.

Why suffer not they the table to be taken cleane away, and voided quite, but will have somewhat alwaies remaining upon it?

GIve they not hereby covertly to understand, that we ought of that which is present to reserve evermore something for the time to come, and on this day to remember the morrow.

Or thought they it not a point of civill honesty and elegance to represse and keep down their appetite when they have before them enough still to content and satisfie it to the full; for lesse will they desire that which they have not, when they accustome themselves to abstaine from that which they have.

Or is not this a custome of curtesie and humanity to their domesticall servants, who are not so well pleased to take their victuals simply, as to partake the same, supposing that by this means in some sort they do participate with their Masters at the table.

Or rather is it not, because we ought to suffer no sacred thing to be empty? and the boord you wot well is held sacred.

LXV.

What is the reason that the Bridegroome commeth the first time to lye with his new wedded bride, not with any light but in the darke?

IS it because he is yet abashed, as taking her to be a stranger and not his own, before he hath companied carnally with her?

Or for that he would then acquaint himself, to come even unto his own espoused wife with shamefacednesse and modesty?

Or rather, like as *Solon* in his Statures ordained, that the new married wife should eate of a quince before she enter into the bride bed-chamber, to the end that this first encounter and embracing should not be odious or unpleasant to her husband? even so the Roman Law-giver would hide in the obscurity of darknesse the deformities and imperfections in the person of the bride, if there were any.

Or haply this was instituted to shew how sinfull and damnable all unlawfull company of man and woman together is, seeing that which is lawfull and allowed, is not without some blemish and note of shame.

LXVI.

Why is one of the races where horses use to run, called the Cirque *of* Flaminius?

IS it for that in old time an ancient Roman, named *Flaminius*, gave unto the City a certaine piece of ground, they employed the rent and revenues thereof in runnings of horses, and chariots: and for that there was a surplussage remaining of the said lands, they bestowed the same in paving that high way or causey, called *Via Flaminia*, that is to say, *Flaminia* street?

LXVII.

Why are the Sergeants or Officers who carry the knitches of rods before the Magistrates of Rome, *called* Lictores?

IS it because these were they who bound Malefactors, and who followed after *Romulus*, as his guard, with cords and leather thongs about them in their bosomes? And verily the common people of *Rome* when they would say to bind or tie fast, use the word *Alligare*, and such as speake more pure and proper Latine, *Ligare*.

Or is it, for that now the letter *C* is interjected within this word, which before time was *Litores*, as one would say Λειτῆρες, that is to say, Officers of publike charge; for no man there is in a manner, ignorant, that even at this day in many Cities of *Greece*, the Common-wealth or publike state is written in their laws by the name of Λεῖτον.

LXVIII.

Wherefore do the Luperci *at* Rome *sacrifice a Dog? Now these* Luperci *are certaine persons who upon a festivall day called* Lupercalia, *run through the City all naked, save that they have aprons only before their privy parts, carrying leather whips in their hands, wherewith they slap and scourge whomsoever they meet in the streets?*

IS all this ceremoniall action of theirs a purification of the City? whereupon they call the month wherein this is done *Februarius*, yea, and the very day it selfe *Febraten*, and *Februrin*, like as the manner of squitching with a leather scourge *Februare*, which verbe signifieth as much as to purge or purifie?

And verily the Greeks, in manner all, were wont in times past, and so they continue even at this day, in all their expiations, to kill a dog for sacrifice. Unto *Hecate* also they bring forth among other expiatory oblations certaine little dogs or whelps: such also as have need of cleansing and purifying, they wipe and scoure all over with whelps skins; which manner of purification they tearme *Perisciacismos*.

Or rather is it for that *Lupus* signifieth a woolfe, and *Lupercalia*, or *Lycæa*, is the feast of wolves: now a dog naturally being an enemy to wolves, therefore at such feasts they sacrificed a dog.

Or peradventure, because dogs barke and bay at these *Luperci*, troubling and disquieting them as they run up and down the City in manner aforesaid.

Or else last of all, for that this feast and sacrifice is solemnized in the honour of god *Pan*; who as you wot well is pleased well enough with a dog, in regard of his flocks of goats.

LXIX.

What is the cause that in ancient time, at the feast called Septimontium, *they observed precisely not to use any coaches drawn with steeds, no more than those do at this day, who are observant of old institutions and do not despise them. Now this* Septimontium *is a festivall solemnity, celebrated in memoriall of a seventh mountaine, that was adjoyned and taken into the pourprise of* Rome *City, which by this meanes came to have seven hills enclosed within the precinct thereof?*

WHether was it as some Romans do imagine, for that the City was not as yet conjunct and composed of all her parts? Or if this may seeme an impertinent conjecture, and nothing to the purpose: may it not be in this respect, that they thought they had atchieved a great peece of worke when they had thus amplified and enlarged the compasse of the City, thinking that now it needed not to proceed any further in greatnesse and capacity: in consideration whereof they reposed themselves, and caused likewise their labouring beasts of draught and carriage to rest, whose help they had used in finishing of the said enclosure, willing that they also should enjoy in common with them the benefit of that solemne feast.

Or else we may suppose by this, how desirous they were that their Citizens should solemnize and honour with their personall presence all feasts of the City, but especially that which was ordained and instituted for the peopling and augmenting thereof: for which cause they were not permitted upon the day of the dedication, and festivall memoriall of it, to put any horses in geeres or harnesse for to draw; for that they were not at such a time to ride forth of the City.

LXX.

LXX.

Why call they those who are deprehended or taken in theft, pilfery, or such like servile trespasses, Furciferos, *as one would say, Forke bearers?*

IS not this also an evident argument of the great diligence and carefull regard that was in their ancients? For when the Master of the Family had surprised one of his servants or slaves, committing a lewd and wicked pranke, he commanded him to take up and carry upon his neck between his shoulders a forked peece of wood, such as they use to put under the spire of a chariot or waine, and so to go withall in the open view of the world throughout the street, yea, and the parish where he dwelt, to the end that every man from thenceforth should take heed of him. This peece of wood we in Greeke call σκῆπτρον, and the Romans in the Latine tongue *Furca*, that is to say, a forked prop or supporter: and therefore he that is forced to carry such an one, is by reproach tearmed *Furcifer*.

LXXI.

Wherefore use the Romans to tye a wisp of hey unto the hornes of kine, and other beeves, that are wont to boak, and be curst with their heads, that by the meanes thereof folke might take heed of them, and look better to themselves when they come in their way?

IS it not for that beeves, horses, asses, yea, and men become fierce, insolent, and dangerous, if they be highly kept and pampered to the full? according as *Sophocles* said:

Like as the colt or jade doth winse and kick,
In case he find his provender to prick:
Even so dost thou: for lo, thy paunch is full,
Thy cheeks be puft, like to some greedy gull.

And thereupon the Romans gave out, that *Marcus Crassus* carried hey on his horne: for howsoever they would seeme to let flie and carpe at others who dealt in the affaires of State, and Government, yet beware they would how they commerced with him as being a dangerous man, and one who carried a revenging mind to as many as medled with him. Howbeit it was said afterwards again on the other side, that *Cæsar* had plucked the hey from *Crassus* his horne: for he was the first man that oppoied himselfe, and made head against him in the mannagement of the State; and in one word set not a straw by him.

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LXXII.

What was the cause that they thought those Priests who observed bird-flight, such as in old time they called Auspices, *and now adaies* Augures, *ought to have their lanterns and lamps alwaies open, and not to put any lid or cover over them?*

MAy it not be, that like as the old Pythagorean Philosophers by small matters signified and implied things of great consequence, as namely, when they forbad their disciples to sit upon the measure Chœnix; and to stir fire, or rake the hearth with a sword; even so the ancient Romans used many ænigmes, that is to say, outward signes and figures betokening some hidden and secret mysteries; especially with their Priests in holy and sacred things, like as this is of the lampe or lanthorn, which symbolizeth in some sort the body that containeth our soule. For the soule within resembleth the light, and it behoveth that the intelligent and reasonable part thereof should be alwaies open, evermore intentive and seeing, and at no time enclosed and shut up, nor blown upon by wind. For look when the winds be aloft fowles in their flight keep no certainty, neither can they yeeld assured presages, by reason of their variable and wandering instability: and therefore by this ceremoniall custome they teach those who do divine and toretell by the flight of birds, not to go forth for to take their auspices and observations when the wind is up, but when the aire is still, and so calme, that a man may carry a lanthorne open and uncovered.

LXXIII.

Why were these Soothsayers or Augures forbidden to go abroad for to observe the flight of birds, in case they had any sore or ulcer upon their bodies?

WAs not this also a significant token to put them in mind, that they ought not to deale in the divine service of the gods, nor meddle with holy and sacred things if there were any secret matter that gnawed their minds, or so long as any private ulcer or passion setled in their hearts: but to be void of sadnesse and griefe, to be sound and sincere, and not distracted by any trouble whatsoever?

Or, because it standeth to good reason; that if it be not lawfull nor allowable for them to offer unto the gods for an hoast or sacrifice any beast that is scabbed, or hath a sore upon it, nor to take presage by the flight of such birds as are mangy, they ought more strictly and precisely to look into their own persons in this behalfe, and not to presume for to observe cœlestiall prognostications and signes from the gods, unlesse they be themselves pure and holy, undefiled, and not defective in their own selves: for surely an ulcer seemeth to be in manner of a mutilation and pollution of the body.

LXXIV.

LXXIV.

Why did King Servius Tullus *found and build a temple of little Fortune which they called in Latine* Brevis fortunæ, *that is to say, of Short fortune?*

VVAs it not thinke you in respect of his own selfe, who being at the first of a small and base condition, as being borne of a captive woman, by the favour of Fortune grew to so great an estate that he was King of *Rome*?

Or for that this change in him sheweth rather the might and greatnesse, than the debility and smallnesse of Fortune. We are to say, that this King *Servius* deified Fortune, and attributed unto her more divine power than any other, as having entituled and imposed her name almost upon every action: for not only he erected Temples unto Fortune, by the name of Puissant, of diverting ill luck, of Sweet, Favourable to the first borne and masculine; but also there is one Temple besides of private or proper Fortune: another of Fortune returned; a third of confident Fortune and hoping well; and a fourth of Fortune the virgin. And what should a man reckon up other surnames of hers, seeing there is a Temple dedicated (forsooth) to glewing Fortune, whom they called *Viscata*; as if we were given thereby to understand, that we are caught by her afar off, and even tied (as it were) with bird-lime to businesse and affaires.

But consider this moreover, that he having known by experience what great power she hath in humane things, how little soever she seeme to be, and how often a small matter in hapning or not happning hath given occasion to some either to misse of great exploits, or to archeive as great enterprises, whether in this respect, he built not a Temple to little Fortune, teaching men thereby to be alwaies studious, carefull, and diligent, and not to despise any occurrences how small soever they be.

LXXV.

What is the cause that they never put forth the light of a lampe, but suffered it to go out of the owne accord?

VVAs it not (thinke you) upon a certaine reverend devotion that they bare unto that fire as being either cosin germane, or brother unto that inextinguible and immortall fire.

Or rather, was it not for some other secret advertisement, to teach us not to violate or kill any thing whatsoever that hath life, if it hurt not us first; as if fire were a living creature: for need it hath of nourishment and moveth of it selfe: and if a man do quench it, surely it uttereth a kind of voice and schrieke, as if a man killed it.

Or certainly this fashion and custome received so usually, sheweth us that we ought not to mar or spoile, either fire or water or any other thing necessary, after we our selves have done with it, and have had sufficient use thereof, but to suffer it to serve other mens turnes who have need, after that we our selves have no imployment for it.

LXXVI.

How commeth it to passe that those who are descended of the most noble and ancient houses of Rome, *carried little moones upon their shooes.*

IS this (as *Castor* saith) a signe of the habitation which is reported to be within the body of the moone?

Or for that after death our spirits and ghosts shall have the moon under them?

Or rather, because this was a marke or badge proper unto those who were reputed most ancient, as were the Arcadians descended from *Evander*, who upon this occasion were called *Proseleni*, as one would say, borne before the moone?

Or, because this custome as many others admonisheth those who are lifted up too high, and take so great pride in themselves, of the incertitude and instability of this life, and of humane affaires, even by the example of the moone,

Who at the first doth new and young appeare,
Whereas before she made no shew at all;
And so her light encreaseth faire and cleare,
Untill her face be round and full withall:
But then anon she doth begin to fall,
And backward wane from all this beauty gay,
Untill againe she vanish cleane away.

Or was not this a wholsome lesson and instruction of obedience to teach and advise men to obey their superiours, and not to think much for to be under others: but like as the moon is willing to give eare (as it were) and apply herselfe to her better, content to be ranged in a second place, and as *Parmenides* saith,

Having an eye and due regard
Alwaies the bright Sun beames toward;

Even so they ought to rest in a second degree, to follow after, and be under the conduct and direction of another, who sitteth in the first place, and of his power, authority, and honour, in some measure to enjoy a part.

LXXVII.

Why thinke they the yeares dedicated to Jupiter, *and the months to* Juno?

MAy it not be for that of Gods invisible and who are no otherwise seen but by the eyes of our understanding: those that reigne as Princes be *Jupiter* and *Juno*; but of the visible, the Sun and Moone? Now the Sun is he who causeth the yeare, and the Moon maketh the month. Neither are we to thinke, that these be only and simply the figures and images of them: but beleeve we must, that the materiall Sun which we behold is *Jupiter*, and this materiall Moone *Juno*. And the reason why they call her *Juno*, (which word is as much to say as young or new) is in regard of the course of the Moone: and otherwhiles they surnamed her also *Juno-Lucina*, that is to say; light or shining: being of opinion that she helpeth women in travell of child-birth, like as the Moone doth, according to these verses:

By starres that turne full round in Azure skie:
By Moone who helps child-birth's right speedily.

For it seemeth that women at the full of the moon be most easily delivered of child-birth.

LXXVIII.

*What is the cause that in observing bird-flight, that which is presented on the * left hand is reputed lucky and prosperous?* * ἀριστερὰς, *sinistra.*

IS not this altogether untrue, and are not many men in an errour by ignorance of the equivocation of the word *Sinistrum*, and their manner of Dialect; for that which we in Greeke call ἀριστερὸν, that is to say, on the auke or left hand, they say in Latine, *Sinistrum*; and that which signifieth to permit, or let be, they expresse by the verbe *Sinere*, and when they will a man to let a thing alone, they say unto him, *Sine*; whereupon it may seeme that this word *Sinistrum* is derived. That presaging bird then, which permitteth and suffereth an action to be done, being as it were *Sinisterion*; the vulgar sort suppose (though not aright) to be *Sinistrum*, that is to say, on the left hand, and so they terme it.

Or may it not be rather as *Dionysius* saith, for that when *Ascanius* the son of *Æneas* wan a field against *Mezentius* as the two armies stood arranged one affronting the other in battell ray, it thundred on his left hand; and because thereupon he obtained the victory, they deemed even then, that this thunder was a token presaging good, and for that cause observed it ever after so to fall out. Others thinke that this presage and foretoken of good luck happned unto *Æneas*: and verily at the battell of *Leuctres*, the Thebans began to breake the rankes of their enemies, and to discomfit them with the left wing of their battell, and thereby in the end atchieved a brave victory; whereupon ever after in all their conflicts they gave preference and the honour of leading and giving the first charge to the left wing.

Or rather, is it not as *Juba* writeth, because that when we look toward the sun rising, the North side is on our left hand, and some will say, that the North is the right side and upper part of the whole world.

But consider I pray you, whether the left hand being the weaker of the twaine, the presages comming on that side do not fortifie and support the defect of puissance which it hath, and so make it as it were even and equall to the other?

Or rather, considering that earthly and mortall things, they supposing to be opposite unto those that be heavenly and immortall, did not imagine consequently, that whatsoever was on the left in regard of us, the gods sent from their right side.

LXXIX.

Wherefore was it lawfull at Rome, *when a noble personage, who sometime had entred triumphant into the City, was dead, and his corps burnt (as the manner was) in a funerall fire, to take up the reliques of his bones, to carry the same into the city, and there to strew them, according as* Pyrrho *the Lyparean hath hath left in writing.*

VVAs not this to honour the memory of the dead? for the like honourable priviledge they had granted unto other vallant warriours and brave captaines; namely, that not only themselves, but also their posterity descending lineally from them, might be enterred in their common market-place of the City, as for example, unto *Valerius* and *Fabricius*: and it is said, that for to continue this prerogative in force, when any of their posterity afterwards were departed this life, and their bodies brought into the market place accordingly, the manner was, to put a burning torch under them, and do no more but presently to take it away againe; by which ceremony they retained still the due honour without envy, and confirmed it only to be lawfull if they would take the benefit thereof.

LXXX.

What is the cause that when they feasted at the common charges any generall Captaine who made his entry into the City with triumph, they never admitted the Consuls to the feast; but that which more is, sent unto them before-hand messengers of purpose, requesting them not to come unto the supper?

WAs it for that they thought it meet and convenient to yeeld unto the triumpher both the highest place to sit in, and the most costly cup to drinke out of, as also the honour to be attended upon with a traine home to his house after supper? which prerogatives no other might enjoy but the Consuls only, if they had been present in the place.

LXXXI.

Why is it that the Tribune of the Commons only weareth no embroydered purple robe, considering that all other Magistrates besides do weare the same.

ISit not, for that they (to speak properly) are no Magistrates? for in truth they have no ushers or vergers to carry before them the knitches of rods, which are the ensignes of Magistracy: neither sit they in the chaire of estate called *Sella curulis*, to determine causes judicially, or give audience unto the people; nor enter into the administration of their office at the beginning of the yeare, as all other Magistrates do: neither are they put down and deposed after the election of a Dictatour: but whereas the full power and authority of all other Magistrates of State, he transferreth from them upon himselfe: the Tribunes only of the people continue still, and surcease not to execute their function, as having another place and degree by themselves in the Common-weale: and like as some Oratours and Lawyers do hold, that exception in Law is no action, considering it doth cleane contrary to action; for that action intendeth, commenceth, and beginneth a processe or sute; but exception or inhibition dissolveth, undoeth, and aboliseth the same: semblably, they thinke also, that the Tribunate was an impeachment, inhibition, and restraint of a Magistracy, rather than a Magistracy it selfe: for all the authority and power of the Tribune, lay in opposing himself, and crossing the jurisdiction of other Magistrates, and in diminishing or repressing their excessive and licentious power.

Or haply all these reasons and such like, are but words, and deyised imaginations to maintaine discourse: but to say a truth, this Tribuneship having taken originally the first beginning from the common people is great and mighty in regard that it is popular; and that the Tribunes themselves are not proud nor highly conceited of themselves above others, but equall in apparell, in port, fare, and manner of life, to any other Citizens of the common sort: for the dignity of pompe and outward shew appertaineth to a Consull or a Prætour: as for the Tribune of the people, he ought to be humble and lowly, and as *M. Curio* was wont to say, ready to put his hand under every mans foot; not to carry a lofty, grave, and stately countenance, nor to be hard of accesse, nor strange to be spoken with, or dealt withall by the multitude; but howsoever he behave himselfe to others, he ought to the simple and common people above the rest, for to be affable, gentle, and tractable: and hereupon the manner is, that the doore of his house should never be kept shut, but stand open both day and night, as a safe harbour, sure haven, and place of refuge, for all those who are distressed and in need: and verily the more submisse that he is in outward appearance, the more groweth he and encreaseth in puissance; for they repute him as a strong hold for common recourse and retreat unto all commers, no lesse than an altar or priviledged sanctuary. Moreover, as touching the honour that he holdeth by his place, they count him holy, sacred, and inviolable, insomuch as if he do but goforth of his house abroad into the City, and walke in the street, * the manner was of all to cleanse and sanctifie the body, as if it were stained and polluted.

* I suspect this place to be corrupt in the originall.

LXXXII.

What is the reason that before the Prætours, generall Captaines, and head Magistrates there be carried bundles of rods, together with hatchets or axes fastned unto them?

ISit to signifie, that the anger of the Magistrate ought not to be prompt to execution, nor loose and at liberty?

Or, because that to undo and unbind the said bundles, yeeldeth some time and space for choler to coole, and ire to asswage, which is the cause otherwhiles that they change their minds, and do not proceed to punishment?

Now forasmuch as among the faults that men commit, some are curable, others remediless: the rods are to reforme those who may be amended; but the hatchets to cut them off who are incorrigible.

LXXXIII.

What is the cause that the Romans having intelligence given unto them, that the Bletonesians, a barbarous nation, had sacrificed unto their gods a man; sent for the Magistrates peremptorily, as intending to punish them: but after they once understood, that they had so done according to an ancient Law of their Country, they let them go againe without any hurt done unto them; charging them only, that from thenceforth they should not obey such a Law; and yet they themselves, not many yeares before, had caused for to be buried quick in the place, called the Beast Market, two men and two women, that is to say, two Greeks, and two Gallo-Greeks or Galatians? For this seemeth to be very absurd, that they themselves should do those things, which they reproved in others as damnable.

May

May it not be that they judged it an execrable superstition to sacrifice a man or woman unto the gods, mary unto devils they held it necessary?

Or was it not for that they thought those people, who did it by law or custome, offended highly: but they themselves were directed thereto by expresse commandement out of the books of *Sibylla*. For reported it is, that one of their Votaries or Vestall Nuns named *Helbia*, riding on horse-back, was smitten by a thunderbolt or blast of lightning; and that the horse was found lying along all bare-bellied, and her selfe likewise naked, with her smock and petticoat turned up above her privy parts, as if she had done it of purpose: her shooes, her rings, her coife and head attire cast here and there apart from other things, and withall lilling the tongue out of her head. This strange occurrent, the soothsayers out of their learning interpreted to signifie, that some great shame did betide the sacred virgins that should be divulged and notoriously known; yea, and that the same infamy should reach also as far as unto some of the degree of Gentlemen or Knights of *Rome*. Upon this there was a servant belonging unto a certaine Barbarian horseman, who detected three Vestall Virgins to have at one time forfeited their honour and been naught of their bodies, to wit, *Æmilia*, *Licinia*, and *Martia*; and that they had companied too familiarly with men a long time; and one of their names was *Burerius*, a Barbarian Knight and Master to the said enformer. So these vestall Votaries were punished after they had been convicted by order of Law, and found guilty: but after that this seemed a fearefull and horrible accident; ordained it was by the Senate, that the Priests should peruse over the books of *Sibylla's* Prophesies, wherein were found (by report) those very Oracles which denounced and foretold this strange occurrent, and that it portended some great losse and calamity unto the Common-wealth: for the avoiding and diverting whereof, they gave commandement to abandon unto (I wot not what) maligne and devillish strange spirits, two Greeks, and two Galatians likewise; and so by burying them quick in that very place, to procure propitiation at Gods hands.

LXXXIV.

Why began they their day at midnight?

WAs it not, for that all policy at the first had the beginning of military discipline? and in war, and all expeditions the most part of worthy exploits are enterprised ordinarily in the night before the day appeare?

Or because the execution of designes howsoever it begin at the sunrising; yet the preparation thereto is made before day-light: for there had need to be some preparatives before a worke be taken in hand; and not at the very time of execution, according as *Myson* (by report) answered unto *Chilo*, one of the seven sages, when as in the winter-time he was making of a Van.

Or haply, for that like as we see, that many men at hoome make an end of their businesse of great importance, and of State-affaires; even so, they supposed that they were to begin the same at midnight. For better proofe whereof a man may frame an argument hereupon, that the Roman chiefe Ruler never made league, nor concluded any capitulations and covenants of peace after mid-day.

Or rather this may be, because it is not possible to set down determinately the beginning and end of the day, by the rising and setting of the sun: for if we do as the vulgar sort, who distinguish day and night by the sight and view of eye, taking the day then to begin when the sun ariseth; and the night likewise to begin when the sun is gone down, and hidden under our horizon, we shall never have the just Æquinox, that is to say, the day and night equall: for even that very night which we shall esteeme most equall to the day, will prove shorter than the day, by as much as the body of bigneese of the sun containeth. Againe, if we do as the Mathematicians, who to remedy this absurdity and inconvenience, set down the confines and limits of day and night, at the very instant point when the sun seemeth to touch the circle of the horizon with his center; this were to overthrow all evidence: for fall out it will, that while there is a great part of the suns light yet under the earth (although the sun do shine upon us) we will not confesse that it is day, but say, that it is night still. Seeing then it is so hard a matter to make the beginning of day and night, at the rising or going down of the sun, for the absurdities aboveaid, it remaineth that of necessity we take the beginning of the day to be, when the sun is in the midst of the heaven above head, or under our feet, that is to say, either noon-tide or mid-night. But of twaine, better it is to begin when he is in the middle point under us, which is just midnight, for that he returneth then toward us into the East; whereas contrariwise after mid-day he goeth from us Westward.

LXXXV.

What was the cause that in times past they would not suffer their wives, either to grind corne, or to lay their hands to dresse meat in the kitchin?

WAs it in memorial of that accord and league which they made with the Sabines? for after that they had ravished and carried away their daughters, there arose sharpe wars between them: but peace ensued thereupon in the end: in the capitulations whereof this one article was expresly set down, that the Roman husband might not force his wife, either to turn the quern for to grind corn, nor to exercise any point of cookery.

LXXXVI.

LXXXVI.

Why did not the Romans marry in the month of May?

IS it for that it commeth between *Aprill* and *June*? whereof the one is conſecrated unto *Venus*, and the other to *Juno*, who are both of them the goddeſſes which have the care and charge of wedding and marriages, and therefore thinke it good either to go ſomewhat before, or elſe to ſtay a while after.

Or it may be that in this month they celebrate the greateſt expiatory ſacrifice of all others in the yeare? for even at this day they fling from off the bridge into the river the images and pourtraitures of men, whereas in old time they threw down men themſelves alive? And this is the reaſon of the cuſtome now adaies, that the Prieſteſſe of *Juno*, named *Flamina*, ſhould be alwaies ſad and heavy, as it were a mourner, and never waſh nor dreſſe and trim her ſelfe.

Or what and if we ſay, it is becauſe many of the Latine Nations offered oblations unto the dead in this month: and peradventure they do ſo, becauſe in this very month they worſhip *Mercury*: and in truth it beareth the name of *Maja*, *Mercuries* mother.

But may it not be rather, for that as ſome do ſay, this month taketh that name of *Majores*, that is to ſay, ancients: like as *June* is termed ſo of *Juniores*, that is to ſay, yonkers. Now this is certaine that youth is much meeter for to contract marriage than old age: like as *Euripides* ſaith very well:

As for old age it Venus *bids farewell,*
And with old folke Venus *is not pleas'd well.*

The Romans therefore married not in *May*, but ſtaied for *June* which immediately followeth after *May*.

LXXXVII.

What is the reaſon that they divide and part the haire of the new brides head, with the point of a javelin?

IS not this a very ſign, that the firſt wives whom the Romans eſpouſed, were compelled to marriage, and conquered by force and armes.

Or are not their wives hereby given to underſtand, that they are eſpouſed to husbands, martiall men and ſouldiers; and therefore they ſhould lay away all delicate, wanton, and coſtly imbelliſhment of the body, and acquaint themſelves with ſimple and plaine attire; like as *Lycurgus* for the ſame reaſon would that the doores, windows, and roofes of houſes ſhould be framed with the ſaw and the axe only, without uſe of any other toole or inſtrument, intending thereby to chaſe out of the common-weale all curioſity and waſtfull ſuperfluity.

Or doth not this parting of the haires give covertly to underſtand, a diviſion and ſeparation, as if marriage and the bond of wedlock, were not to be broken but by the ſword and warlike force?

Or may not this ſignifie thus much, that they referred the moſt part of ceremonies concerning marriage unto *Juno*: now it is plaine that the javelin is conſecrated unto *Juno*, inſomuch as moſt part of her images and ſtatues are pourtraied reſting and leaning upon a lance or javelin. And for this cauſe the goddeſſe is ſurnamed *Quiritis*, for they called in old time a ſpeare *Quiris*, upon which occaſion *Mars* alſo (as they ſay) is named *Quiris*.

LXXXVIII.

What is the reaſon that the money employed upon plaies and publike ſhews is called among them, Lucar?

MAy it not well be that there were many groves about the City conſecrated unto the gods, which they named *Lucos*: the revenues whereof they beſtowed upon the ſetting forth of ſuch ſolemnities?

LXXXIX.

Why call they Quirinalia, *the Feaſt of fooles?*

WHether is it becauſe (as *Juba* writeth) they attribute this day unto thoſe who knew not their own linage and tribe? or unto ſuch as have not ſacrificed, as others have done according to their tribes, at their feaſt called *Fornacalia*. Were it that they were hindered by other affairs, or had occaſion to be forth of the City, or were altogether ignorant, and therefore this day was aſſigned for them to performe the ſaid Feaſt.

XC.

What is the cauſe, that when they ſacrifice unto Hercules, *they name no other God but him, nor ſuffer a dog to be ſeen, within the pourpriſe and precinct of the place where the ſacrifice is celebrated, according as* Varro *hath left in writing?*

IS not this the reaſon of naming no god in their ſacrifice, for that they eſteeme him but a demi-god; and ſome there be who hold, that whiles he lived here upon the earth, *Evander* erected an altar unto him, and offered ſacrifice thereupon. Now of all other beaſts he could worſt abide a dog, and hated him moſt: for this creature put him to more trouble all his life time than any other: witneſſe hereof the three headed dog *Cerberus*, and above all others, when *Oeonus* the ſon of *Lucymnius* was ſlaine * by a dog, he was enforced by the Hippocoontides to give the battell, in which he loſt many of his friends, and among the reſt of his own brother *Iphicles*.

* Or about a dog by the Hippocoontides.

XCI.

Wherefore was it not lawfull for the Patricians or Nobles of Rome *to dwell upon the mount Capitoll?*

MIght it not be in regard of *M. Manlius*, who dwelling there attempted and plotted to be King of *Rome*, and to uſurpe tyranny; in hatred and deteſtation of whom it is ſaid, that ever after thoſe of the houſe of *Manlii* might not have *Marcus* for their fore-name?

Or rather, was not this an old feare that the Romans had (time out of mind?) For albeit *Valerius Poplicola* was a perſonage very popular and well affected unto the common people; yet never ceaſed the great and mighty men of the City to ſuſpect and traduce him, nor the meane commoners and multitude to feare him, untill ſuch time as himſelfe cauſed his own houſe to be demoliſhed and pulled down, becauſe it ſeemed to over-look and command the common market place of the city.

XCII.

What is the reaſon, that he who ſaved the life of a Citizen in the wars, was rewarded with a Coronet made of oake braunches?

WAs it not for that in every place and readily they might meet with an oake, as they marched in their warlike expeditions?

Or rather, becauſe this manner of garland is dedicated unto *Jupiter* and *Juno*, who are reputed protectors of Cities?

Or might not this be an ancient cuſtome proceeding from the Arcadians, who have a kind of conſanguinity with oaks, for that they report of themſelves, that they were the firſt men that iſſued out of the earth, like as the oake of all other trees.

XCIII.

Why obſerve they the Vultures or Geirs, moſt of any other fowles, in taking of preſages by bird-flight?

IS it not becauſe at the foundation of *Rome* there appeared twelve of them unto *Romulus*?

Or becauſe, this is no ordinary bird nor familiar; for it is not ſo eaſie a matter to meet with an airy of Vultures; but all on a ſudden they come out of ſome ſtrange countrey, and therefore the ſight of them doth prognoſtick and preſage much.

Or elſe haply the Romans learned this of *Hercules*, if that be true which *Herodotus* reporteth: namely, that *Hercules* took great contentment, when in the enterpriſe of any exploit of his, there appeared Vultures unto him: for that he was of opinion, that the Vulture of all birds of prey was the juſteſt: for firſt and formoſt never toucheth he ought that hath life, neither killeth he any living creature, like as eagles, falcons, hauks, and other fowles do, that prey by night, but feedeth upon dead carrions: over and beſides, he forbeareth to ſet upon his own kind: for never was there man yet who ſaw a Vulture eate the fleſh of any foule, like as eagles and other birds of prey do, which chaſe, purſue and pluck in peeces thoſe eſpecially of the ſame kind, to wit, other foule. And verily as *Æſchylus* the Poet writeth:

How can that bird, which bird doth eat,
Be counted cleanly, pure, and neat.

And as for men, it is the moſt innocent bird, and doth leaſt hurt unto them of all other: for it deſtroyeth no fruit nor plant whatſoever, neither doth it harme ſo any tame creature. And if the tale be true that the Ægyptians do tell, that all the kind of theſe birds be females; that they conceive and be with young, by receiving the Eaſt-wind blowing upon them, like as ſome trees by the Weſterne wind, it is very profitable that the ſignes and prognoſticks drawn from them, be more ſure and certaine, than from any others, conſidering that of all beſides, their violence in treading and breeding time; their eagerneſſe in flight when they purſue their prey; their flying away from ſome, and chaſing of others, muſt needs cauſe much trouble and uncertainty in their prognoſtications.

XCIV.

Why ſtands the Temple of Æſculapius without the City of Rome?

IS it becauſe they thought the abode without the City more wholſome than that within? For in this regard the Greeks ordinarily built the Temples of *Æſculapius* upon high ground, wherein the aire is more pure and cleare.

Or in this reſpect, that this god *Æſculapius* was ſent for out of the City *Epidaurus*. And true it is that the Epidaurians founded his Temple; not within the walls of their City, but a good way from it.

Or laſtly, for that the ſerpent when it was landed out of the galley in the Iſle, and then vaniſhed out of ſight, ſeemed thereby to tell them where he would that they ſhould build the place of his abode.

XCV.

Why doth the Law forbid them that are to live chaſte, the eating of pulſe?

AS touching beanes, is it not in reſpect of thoſe very reaſons for which it is ſaid: That the Pythagoreans counted them abominable? And as for the cichling and cich peaſe, whereof the one

one in Greeke is called λάθυρος, and the other ἐρέβινθος, which words ſeem to be derived of *Erebus*, that ſignifieth the darkneſſe of hell, and of *Lethe*, which is as much as oblivion, and one beſides of the rivers infernall; it carrieth ſome reaſon that they ſhould be abhorred therefore.

Or it may be, for that the ſolemne ſuppers and banquets at funerals for the dead, were uſually ſerved with pulſe above all other viands.

Or rather, for that thoſe who are deſirous to be chaſte, and to live an holy life, ought to keep their bodies pure and ſlender: but ſo it is that pulſe be flatuous and windy, breeding ſuperfluous excrements in the body, which had need of great purging and evacuation.

Or laſtly, becauſe they prick and provoke the fleſhly luſt, for that they be full of ventoſities.

XCVI.

What is the reaſon that the Romans puniſh the holy Veſtall virgins (who have ſuffered their bodies to be abuſed and defiled) by no other meanes, than by interring them quick under the ground?

IS this the cauſe, for that the manner is to burne the bodies of thoſe that be dead: and to bury (by the means of fire) their bodies who have not devoutly and religiouſly kept or preſerved the divine fire, ſeemed not juſt nor reaſonable?

Or haply, becauſe they thought it was not lawfull to kill any perſon who had been conſecrated with the moſt holy and religious ceremonies in the world; nor to lay violent hands upon a woman conſecrated: and therefore they devited this invention of ſuffering them to die of their own ſelves; namely, to let them down into a little vaulted chamber under the earth, where they left with them a lampe burning, and ſome bread, with a little water and milke: and having ſo done, caſt earth and covered them aſoft. And yet for all this, can they not be exempt from a ſuperſtitious feare of them thus interred: for even to this day the Prieſts going over this place, performe (I wot not what) anniverſary ſervices and rites, for to appeaſe and pacifie their ghoſts.

XCVII.

What is the cauſe that upon the thirteenth day of December, *which in Latine they call the* Ides *of* December, *there is exhibited a game of chariots running for the prize, and the horſe drawing on the right hand that winneth the victory, is ſacrificed and conſecrated unto* Mars, *and at the time thereof, there comes one behind, that cutteth off his taile, which he carrieth immediately into the Temple called* Regia, *and therewith imbrueth the Altar with blood: and for the head of the ſaid horſe, one troupe there is comming out of the ſtreet called* Via ſacra, *and another from that which they name* Suburra, *who encounter and try out by fight who ſhall have it?*

MAy not the reaſon be (as ſome do alledge) that they have an opinion, how the City of *Troy* was ſometime won by the meanes of a woodden horſe: and therefore in the memoriall thereof, they thus puniſhed a poore horſe?

As men from blood of noble Troy *deſcended,*
And by the way with Latines *iſſue blended.*

Or becauſe an horſe is a couragious, martiall, and warlike beaſt; and ordinarily, men uſe to preſent unto the gods thoſe ſacrifices which are moſt agreeable unto them, and ſort beſt with them, and in that reſpect they ſacrifice that horſe which wan the prize unto *Mars*, becauſe ſtrength and victory are well beſeeming him.

Or rather becauſe the work of god is firme and ſtable: thoſe alſo be victorious who keep their ranke and vanquiſh them who make not good their ground but fly away. This beaſt therefore is puniſhed for running ſo ſwift, as if celerity were the maintenance of cowardiſe: to give us thereby covertly to underſtand, that there is no hope of ſafety for them who ſeek to eſcape by flight.

XCVIII.

What is the reaſon that the firſt worke which the Cenſors go in hand with, when they be enſtalled in the poſſeſſion of their Magiſtracy, is to take order upon a certaine price for the keeping and feeding of the ſacred geeſe, and to cauſe the painted ſtatues and images of the gods to be refreſhed?

WHether is it becauſe they would begin at the ſmalleſt things, and thoſe which are of leaſt diſpenſe and difficulty?

Or in commemoration of an ancient benefit received by the means of theſe creatures, in the time of the Gaules war: for that the geeſe were they who in the night ſeaſon deſcried the Barbarians as they ſcaled and mounted the wall that environed the Capitoll fort (whereas the dogs ſlept) and with their gagling raiſed the watch?

Or becauſe, the Cenſors being guardians of the greateſt affaires, and having that charge and office which enjoyneth to be vigilant and careſull to preſerve religion; to keep temples and publike edifices; to look into the manners and behaviour of men in their order of life; they ſet in the firſt place the conſideration and regard of the moſt watchfull creature that is: and in ſhewing what care they take of theſe geeſe, they incite and provoke by that example their Citizens, not to be negligent and reckleſſe of holy things. Moreover, for refreſhing the colour of thoſe images and ſtatues, it is a neceſſary peece of worke; for the lively red vermilion, wherewith they were wont in times paſt to colour the ſaid images, ſoon fadeth and paſſeth away.

XCIX.

XCIX.

What is the cauſe that among other Prieſts, when one is condemned and baniſhed, they degrade and deprive him of his Prieſthood, and chooſe another in his place: only an Augur, though he be convicted and condemned for the greateſt crimes in the world, yet they never deprive in that ſort ſo long as he liveth? Now thoſe Prieſts they call Augurs, who obſerve the flights of birds, and foreſhew things thereby.

IS it as ſome do ſay, becauſe they would not have one that is no Prieſt to know the ſecret myſteries of their religion and their ſacred rites?

Or becauſe their Augur being obliged and bound by great oaths never to reveale the ſecrets pertaining to Religion, they would not ſeem to free and abſolve him from his oath by degrading him, and making him a private perſon?

Or rather, for that this word Augur is not ſo much a name of honour and Magiſtracy, as of art and knowledge. And all one it were, as if they ſhould ſeeme to diſable a Muſician for being any more a Muſician; or a Phyſician, that he ſhould be a Phyſician no longer; or prohibite a Prophet or Soothſayer, to be a Prophet or ſoothſayer: for even ſo they, not able to deprive him of his ſufficiency, nor to take away his skill, although they bereave him of his name and title, do not ſubordaine another in his place: and by good reaſon, becauſe they would keep the juſt number of the ancient inſtitution.

C.

What is the reaſon that upon the thirteenth day of Auguſt, *which now is called the Ides of* Auguſt, *and before time the Ides of* Sextilis, *all ſervants, as well maids, as men, make holy day, and women that are wives love then eſpecially to waſh and cleanſe their heads?*

MIght not this be a cauſe, for that King *Servius* upon ſuch a day was borne of a captive woman, and therefore ſlaves and bond-ſervants on that day have liberty to play and diſport themſelves? And as for waſhing the head; haply at the firſt the wenches began ſo to do in regard of that feſtivall day, and ſo the cuſtome paſſed alſo unto their Miſtriſſes and other women free borne?

CI.

Why do the Romans adorne their children with jewels pendant at their necks, which they call Bullæ?

PEradventure to honour the memory of thoſe firſt wives of theirs, whom they raviſhed: in favour of whom they ordained many other prerogatives for the children which they had by them; and namely this among the reſt?

Or it may be, for to grace the proweſſe of *Tarquinius*? For reported it is that being but a very child, in a great battell which was fought againſt the Latines and Tuſcans together, he rode into the very throng of his enemies, and engaged himſelfe ſo far, that being diſmounted and unhorſed; yet notwithſtanding he manfully withſtood thoſe who hotly charged upon him, and encouraged the Romans to ſtand to it, in ſuch ſort as the enemies by them were put to plaine flight, with the loſſe of 16000. men whom they left dead in the place: and for a reward of this vertue and valour, received ſuch a jewell to hang about his neck, which was given unto him by the King his father.

Or elſe, becauſe in old time it was not reputed a ſhamefull and villanous thing, to love young boies wantonly, for their beauty in the flower of their age, if they were ſlaves borne, as the Comedies even at this day do teſtifie: but they forbare moſt precifely to touch any of them who were free-borne or of gentle bloud deſcended. To the end therefore man might not pretend ignorance in ſuch a caſe, as if they knew not of what condition any boies were, if they met with them naked, they cauſed them to weare this badge and marke of nobility about their necks.

Or peradventure, this might be alſo as a preſervative unto them of their honour, continence and chaſtity, as one would ſay, a bridle to reſtraine wantonneſſe and incontinency, as being put in mind thereby to be abaſhed to play mens parts, before they had laid off the markes and ſignes of childhood. For there is no apparance or probability of that which *Varro* alledgeth, ſaying, That becauſe the Æolians in their Dialect do call βυλὰ, that is to ſay, Counſell, βοὰλλα, therefore ſuch children for a ſigne and preſage of wiſdome and good counſell, carried this jewell, which they named *Bulla*.

But ſee whether it might not be in regard of the moone that they weare this device? for the figure of the moone, when ſhe is at the full, is not round as a ball or boule, but rather flat in manner of a lentile, or reſembling a diſh or plate; not only on that ſide which appeareth unto us, but alſo (as *Empedocles* ſaith) on that part which is under it.

CII.

Wherefore gave they fore-names to little infants, if they were boies upon the ninth day after their birth, but if they were girles, when they were eight daies old?

MAy there not be a naturall reaſon rendred hereof, that they ſhould impoſe the names ſooner upon daughters than ſons: for that females grow apace, are quickly ripe, and come betimes

unto their perfection in comparison of males; but as touching those prælige dayes, they take them that immediately follow the seventh: for that the seventh day after children be born is very dangerous, as well for other occasions, as in regard of the navill-string: for that in many it will unknit and be loose again upon the seventh day, and so long as it continueth so resolved and open, an infant resembleth a plant rather than any animall creature?

Or like as the Pythagoreans were of opinion, that of numbers the even were females, and the odd male; for that it is generative, and is more strong than the even number, because it is compound: and if a man divide these numbers into unities, the even number sheweth a void place between, whereas the odde hath the middle alwayes fulfilled with one part thereof: even so in this respect they are of opinion, that the even number eight, resembleth rather the female, and the uneven number nine, the male.

Or rather it is because of all numbers, nine is the first square comming of three, which is an odde and perfect number: and eight the first cubick, to wit four-square on every side like a die proceeding from two, an even number: now a man ought to be quadrat odde (as we say) and singular, yea and perfect: and a woman (unless than a die) sure and stedfast, a keeper of home, and not easily removed. Hereunto we do adjoyne thus much more also, that eight is a number cubick, arising from two as the base and foot: and nine is a square quadrangle having three for the base: and therefore it seemeth, that where women have two names, men have three.

CIII.

What is the reason, that those children who have no certain father, they were wont to tearm Spurios?

FOr we may not think as the Greeks hold, and as orators give out in their pleas, that this word *Spurius*, is derived of *Spora*, that is to say, naturall seed, for that such children are begotten by the seed of many men mingled and confounded together.

But surely this *Spurius*, is one of the ordinary fore-names that the Romans take, such as *Sextus*, *Decimus*, and *Caius*. Now these fore-names they never use to write out at full with all their letters, but mark them sometime with one letter alone, as for example, *Titus*, *Lucius*, and *Marcius*, with *T*, *L*, *M*; or with twain, as *Spurius* and *Cneus*, with *Sp.* and *Cn.* or at most with three as *Sextus* and *Servius*, with *Sex.Ser.Spurius* then is one of their fore-names which is noted with two letters *S.* and *P.* which signifie asmuch, as *Sine Patre*, that is to say without a father; for *S.* standeth for *Sine*, that is to say, without; and *P.* for *Pater*, that is to say, a father. And hereupon grew the error, for that *Sine Patre*, and *Spurius* be written both with the same letters short, *Sp.* And yet I will not stick to give you another reason, though it be somewhat fabulous, and carrieth a greater absurdity with it: forsooth they say that the Sabines in old time named in their language the name or privities of a woman, *Spurios*: and thereupon afterwards as it were by way of reproach, they called him *Spurius*, who had to his mother a woman unmarried and not lawfully espoused.

CIV.

Why is Bacchus *called with them,* Liber Pater?

IS it for that he is the author and father of all liberty unto them who have taken their wine well; for most men become audacious and are full of bold and frank broad speech, when they be drunk or cup-shotten?

Or because he it is who ministreth libations first, that is to say, those effusions and offerings of wine that are given to the gods?

Or rather (as *Alexander* said) because the Greeks called *Bacchus*, *Dionyſos Eluthenius*, that is to say, *Bacchus* the Deliverer: and they might call him so, of a city in *Bœotia*, named *Eluthera*.

CV.

Wherefore was it not the custome among the Romans, that maidens should be wedded upon any dayes of publike their feasts; but widowes might be remarried upon those dayes?

VVAs it for that (as *Varro saith*) virgins be * ill-apaid and heavy when they be first wedded; but such as were wives before, * be glad and joyfull when they marrie againe? And upon a festivall holy day there should be nothing done with any ill will or upon constraint.

Or rather, because it is for the credit and honor of young damosels, to be married in the view of the whole world; but for widowes it is a dishonour and shame unto them, to be seen of many for to be wedded a second time: for the first marriage is lovely and desirable; the second odious and abominable: for women, if they proceed to marry with other men whiles their former husbands be living, are ashamed thereof: and if they be dead, they are in mourning state of widowhood: and therefore they chuse rather to be maried closely and secretly in all silence, than to be accompanied with a long train and solemnity, and to have much adoe and great stirring at their mariage. Now it is well known that festivall holidayes divert and distract the multitude divers wayes, some to this game and pastime, others to that; so as they have no leasure to go and see weddings.

Or last of all, because it was a day of publick solemnity, when they first ravished the Sabines daughters: an attempt that drew upon them, bloudy war, and therefore they thought it ominous and presaging evill, to offer their virgins to wed upon such holidayes.

* Or, feele paine; alluding haply *ad rupturam Hymenis.*
* Or take delight and pleasure.

CVI.

Why do the Romans honour and worship fortune, by the name of Primigenia, *which a man may interpret first begotten or first borne?*

ISit for that (as some say) *Servius* being by chance born of a maid-servant and a captive, had Fortune so favourable unto him, that he reigned nobly and gloriously, king at *Rome*? For most Romans are of his opinion.

Or rather, because Fortune gave unto the city of *Rome* her first originall and beginning of so mighty an empire.

Or lieth not herein some deeper cause, which we are to fetch out of the secrets of Nature and Philosophy; namely, that Fortune is the principle of all things, insomuch, as Nature consisteth by Fortune; namely, when to some things concurring casually and by chance, there is some order and dispose adjoyned.

CVII.

What is the reason that the Romans call those who act comedies and other theatricall plaies, Histriones?

ISit for that cause, which as *Claudius Rufus* hath left in writing? for he reporteth that many yeers ago, and namely, in those dayes when *Caius Sulpitius* and *Licinius Stolo* were Consuls, there raigned a great pestilence at *Rome*, such a mortality as consumed all the stage-plaiers indifferently one with another. Whereupon at their instant prayer and request, there repaired out of *Tuscane* to *Rome*, many excellent and singular actors in this kind: among whom, he who was of greatest reputation, and had carried the name longest in all theaters, for his rare gift and dexterity that way was, called *Hister*; of whose name all other afterward were termed *Histriones*.

CVIII.

Why espoused not the Romans in marriage those women who were neer of kin unto them?

VVAs it because they were desirous to amplifie, and increase all alliances, and acquire more kinsfolk, by giving their daughters in marriage to others, and by taking to wife others than their own kinred?

Or for that they feared in such wedlock the jarres and quarrels of those who be of kin, which are able to extinguish and abolish even the very lawes and rights of nature?

Or else, seeing as they did, how women by reason of their weakness and infirmity stand in need of many helpers, they would not have men to contract in marriage, nor dwell in one house with those who were neer in bloud to them, to the end, that if the husband should offer wrong and injury to his wife, her kinsfolk might succour and assist her.

CIX.

Why is it not lawfull for Jupiters *priest, whom they name* Flamen Dialis *to handle or once touch meal or leaven.*

FOr meal, is it not because it is an unperfect and raw kind of nourishment? for neither continueth it the same that it was, to wit, wheat, &c. nor is that yet which it should be, namely bread: but hath lost that nature which it had before of seed, and withall hath not gotten the use of food and nourishment. And hereupon it is, that the poet calleth meal (by a Metaphor or borrowed speech) *Mylephaton*, which is as much to say, as killed and marred by the mill in grinding; and as for leaven, both it selfe is engendered of a certain corruption of meal, and also corrupteth (in a manner) the whole lump of dough, wherein it is mixed: for the said dough becommeth less firme and fast then it was before, it hangeth not together; and in one word the leaven of the paste seemeth to be a very putrifaction and rottenness thereof. And verily if there be too much of the leaven put to the dough, it maketh it so share and sour that it cannot be eaten, and in very truth spoileth the meal quite.

CX.

Wherefore is the said priest likewise forbidden to touch raw flesh?

ISit by this custome to withdraw him far from eating of raw things?

Or is it for the same cause that he abhorreth and detesteth meal? for neither is it any more a living animall, nor come yet to be meat: for by boyling and rosting it groweth to such an alteration, as changeth the very forme thereof: whereas raw flesh and newly killed is neither pure and impolluted to the eye, but hideous to see to; and besides, it hath (I wot not what) resemblance to an ougly sore or or filthy ulcer.

CXI.

What is the reason that the Romans have expresly commanded the same priest or Flamen *of* Jupiter, *not only not to touch a dog or cat, but not so much as to name either of them?*

TO speak of the Goat first, is it not for detestation of his excessive lust and leachery; and besides for his rank and filthy savour? or because they are afraid of him, as of a diseased creature and subject

subject to maladies? for surely, there seemeth not to be a beast in the world so much given to the falling sickness, as it is; nor infecteth so soon those that either eat of the flesh or once touch it, when it is surprised with this evill. The cause thereof some say to be the streightness of those conduits and passages by which the spirits go and come, which often-times happen to be intercepted and stopped. And this they conjecture by the small and slender voice that the beast hath: and the better to confirme the same; we do see ordinarily, that men likewise who be subject to this malady, grow in the end to have such a voice as in some sort resembleth the bleating of goats. Now, for the Dog, true it is aptly that he is not so leacherous, nor smelleth altogether so strong and so rank as doth the Goat; and yet some there be who say, that a Dog might not be permitted to come within the castle of *Athens*, nor to enter into the isle of *Delos*, because forsooth he lifteth bitches openly in the sight of every man, as if bulls, bears, and stalions had their secret chambers; to do their kind with females, and did not leap and cover them in the broad field and open yard, without being abashed at the matter.

But ignorant they are of the true cause indeed: which is, for that a Dog is by nature fell, and quarrelsome given to arre and war upon a very small occasion: in which respect men banish them from sanctuaries, holy churches, and priviledged places, giving thereby unto poor afflicted supplicants, free access unto them for their safe and sure refuge. And even so very probable it is, that this *Flamen* or priest of *Jupiter*, whom they would have to be as an holy, sacred, and living image for to flie unto, should be accessible and easie to be approached unto by humble suitors, and such as stand in need of him, without any thing in the way to impeach, to put back, or to affright them: which was the cause that he had a little bed or pallet made for him, in the very porch or entry of his house; and that servant or slave, who could find means to come and fall down at his feet, and lay hold on his knees was for that day freed from the whip, and past danger of all other punishment: say he were a prisoner with irons, and bolts at his feet that could make shift to approach neer unto this priest, he was let loose, and his gives and fetters were thrown out of the house, not at the door, but flung over the very roof thereof.

But to what purpose served all this, and what good would this have done, that he should shew himselfe so gentle, so affable, and humane, if he had a curst dog about him to keep his door, and to affright, chase and scare all those away who had recourse unto him for succour. And yet so it is, that our ancients reputed not a dog to be altogether a clean creature: for first and formost we do not find that he is consecrated or dedicated unto any of the celestiall gods: but being sent unto terrestriall and infernall *Proserpina* into the quarrefires and cross high wayes to make her a supper, he seemeth to serve for an expiatory sacrifice to divert and turn away some calamity, or to cleanse some filthy ordure, rather than otherwise: to say nothing, that in *Lacedemon* they cut and slit dogs down along the ends, and to sacrifice them to *Mars* the most bloudy god of all others. And the Romans themselves upon the feast *Lupercalia*, which they celebrate in the lustrall month of Purification, called February, offer up a dog for a sacrifice: and therefore it is no absurdity to think, that those who have taken upon them to serve the most soveraigne and purest God of all others, were not without good cause forbidden to have a dog with them in the house, nor to be acquainted and familiar with him.

CXII.

For what cause was not the same priest of Jupiter *permitted, either to touch an ivie tree, or to past thorow a way covered over head with a vine growing to a tree, and spreading her branches from it?*

IS not this like unto those precepts of *Pythagoras*: Eat not your meat from a chair: Sit not upon a measure called *Chœnix*: Neither step thou over a broom or * besom. For surely none of the Pythagoreans feared any of these things, or made scruple to do, as these words in outward shew, and in their literall sense do pretend: but under such speeches they did covertly and figuratively forbid somewhat else: even so this precept: Go not under a vine, is to be referred unto wine, and implieth this much; that is not lawfull for the said Priest to drink, for such as over-drink themselves, have the wine above their heads, and under it they are depressed and weighed down, whereas men and priests especially ought to be evermore superiors and commanders of this pleasure, and in no wise to be subject unto it. And thus much of the Vine.

* *oêsy*

As for the ivie, is it not for that it is a plant that beareth no fruit, nor any thing good for mans use, and moreover is so weak, as by reason of that feebleness it is not able to sustain it selfe, but had need of other trees to support and bear it up: and besides, with the cool shadow that it yeelds, and the green leaves always to be seen, it dazeleth, and, as it were, bewitcheth the eyes of many that look upon it: for which causes men thought that they ought not to nourish or entertain it about an house, because it bringeth no profit; nor suffer it to clasp about any thing, considering it is so hurtfull unto plants and admit it to creep upon them, while sit sticketh fast in the ground: and therefore banished it is from the temples and sacrifices of the celestiall gods, and their priests are debarred from using it: neither shall a man ever see in the sacrifices or divine worship of *Juno* at *Athens*, nor of *Venus* at *Thebes*, any wilde ivie brought out of the woods. Mary, at the sacrifices and services of *Bacchus*, which are performed in the night and darkness, it is used.

Or may not this be a covert and figurative prohibition, of such blind dances and fooleries in the night, as thebebe, which are practised by the priests of *Bacchus*? for those women which are transported with these furious motions of *Bacchus*, run immediately upon the ivie, and catching it in their hands, pluck it in pieces, or else chew in between their teeth: in so much as they speak not altogether absurdly, who say, that this ivie hath in it a certain spirit that stirreth and moveth to madnesse, turneth mens minds to fury; driveth them to extasies; troubleth and tormenteth them; and in one word maketh them drunk with wine, and doth great pleasure unto them; who are otherwise disposed and enclined of themselves to such fanatical lavishmetrics of their wit and understanding.

CXIII.

What is the reason that these Priests and Flamins of Jupiter *were not allowed, either to take upon them, or to sue for any government of State? but in regard that they be not capable of such dignities, for honour sake and in some sort to make some recompence for that defect, they have an usher or verger before them carrying a switch or rod, and a curall chaire of state to sit upon?*

I Sit for the same cause, that as in some cities in *Greece*, the sacred call dignity was equivalent to the royall majesty of a King, so they would not chuse for to enter into the priests office any such as came next to hand.

Or rather, because Priests having their functions determinate and certain, and the kings, undeterminate and uncertain, it was not possible, that when the occasions and times of both concurred together at one instant, one and the same person should be sufficient for both; for it could not otherwise be, but many times when both charges pressed upon him and urged him at once, he should pretermit the one or the other, and by that means one while, offend and fault in neglect toward God, and another while do hurt unto citizens and subjects.

Or else, considering, that in governments among men, they saw, that there was oftentimes no lesse necessity than authority: and that he who is to rule a people (as *Hippocrates* said of a Physician, who cureth many evill things, yea, and handleth many also) from the hands of his men, reapeth grief and sorrow of his own: they thought it not in policy good, that any one should arrive unto the gods, or have the charge and superintendence of sacred things; who had been either present or president at the judgements and condemnations to death of his own citizens: yea, and otherwhiles of his own kinsfolke and allies, like as it befell sometime to *Brutus*.

Demands and Questions as touching *Greek Affaires*:

That is to say,

A collection of the manners, and of divers customes and fashions of certain persons and nations of Greece: which may serve their turn very well, who reading old Authors, are desirous to know the particularities of Antiquities.

I.

Who are they that in the city Epidaurus *be called* Conipodes *and* Artyni?

THere were an hundred and fourscore men, who had the managing and government of the of the Common-weal: out of which number they chose Senatours, whom they named *Artyni*: but the most part of the people abode and dwelt in the country, and such were termed *Conipodes*, which is as much as to say, as Dusty-feet; for that when they came down to the city (as a man may conjecture) they were known by their dusty feet.

II.

What was she, who in the city of Cumes *they named* Onobatis?

WHen there was any woman taken in adultery, they brought her in to the publick market-place, where they set her down upon an eminent stone, to the end that she might be seen of all the people: and after she had stood there a good while, they mounted her upon an Asse, and so led her round about the city: which done, they brought her back again into the market-place, where she must stand as she did before upon the same stone: and so from that time forward she led an infamous and reproachfull life, called of every one by the name of *Onobatis*, that is to say, she that hath ridden upon the Asse back. But when they had so done, they reputed that stone polluted, and detested it as accursed and abominable.

There was likewise in the same city a certain office of a gaoler, whom they called *Phylaces*: and look who bare this office, had the charge of keeping the prison at all other times: only at a certain assembly and sessions of the Councell in the night season, he went into the Senate, and brought forth the Kings, leading them by the hands, and there held them still during the time that the Senate had made inquisition and decreed whether they had deserved ill and ruled unjustly or not: giving thus their suffrages and voices privily in the dark.

III.

III.

What is she whom they name in the city of Soli, Hypeccaustria?

SO call they the priestesses of *Minerva*, by reason of certain sacrifices (which she celebrateth) and other divine ceremonies and services, to put by and divert shrewd turnes, which otherwise might happen: the word signifieth as much as a chauseure

IV.

Who be they in the city Gnidos, *whom they call* Amnemones? *as also who is* Aphester *among them?*

THere are threescore elect men out of the better sort and principall citizens, whom they imployed as overseers of mens lives and behaviour, who also were consulted first, and gave their sentence as touching affaires of greatest importance: and *Amnemones* they were named, for that they were not, (as a man may very well conjecture) called to any account, nor urged to make answer for any thing that they did: unless haply they were so named, *quasi Polymnemones*, because they remembred many things and had so good a memory. As for *Aphester*, he it was who in their scrutinies demanded their opinions and gathered their voices.

V.

Who be they, whom the Arcadians and Lacedæmonians tearme, Chrestos?

THe Lacedæmonians having concluded a peace with the Tegeates, did set down expressly the articles of agreement in writing, which they caused to be engraven upon a square columne, common to them both, the which was erected upon the river *Alpheus*: in which among other covenants this was written: That they might chase the Messenians out of their countries: howbeit, lawful it should not be to make them *Chrestos*, which *Aristotle* expoundeth thus and saith: That they might kill none of the Tegeates who during the war had taken part with the Lacedæmonians.

Vide supra in quæst. Rom. 92. where this is somewhat otherwise reported.

VI.

What is he whom the Opuntians call Crithologos.

THe greatest part of the Greeks in their most ancient sacrifices use certain barley, which the citizens, of their first fruits did contribute: that officer therefore who had the rule and charge of these sacrifices, and the gathering and bringing in of these first fruits of barley, they named *Crithologos*, as one would say, the collector of the barley. Moreover, two priests they had besides, one superintendent over the sacrifices and ceremonies for the Gods; another for the divels.

VII.

Which be the clouds called Ploiades.

THose especially which are watrish and disposed to rain, and withall wandering to and fro, and carried here and there in the aire; *Theophrastus* in the fourth book of Meteors or impressions gathered above in the region of the aire, hath put it down-word for word in this manner: Considering that the cloudes *Ploiades* (quoth he) and those which be gathered thick, and are settled unmoveable, and besides very white, shew a certain diversity of matter, which is neither converted into water, nor resolved into wind.

VIII.

Whom do the Bœotians mean by this word, Platychætas?

THose whose houses joine one to another, or whose lands do border and confine together, in the Aeolique language they called so, as if they would say, being neer neighbours: to which purpose one example among many I will alledge out of our law Thesmophylacium, *&c.* ****

IX.

What is he who among the Delphians is called Hosioter, *and why name the one of they moneths* Bysios.

THey name *Hosioter* that sacrificer who offereth a sacrifice when he is declared *Hosios*, that is to say, holy: and five there be who are all their life time accounted *Hosioi*, and those do and execute many things together with their prophets, and joyne with them in divers ceremonies of divine service, and gods worship, inasmuch as they are thought to be descended from *Deucalion*. And for the moneth called *Bysis*, many have thought it to be as much as *Physius*, that is to say, the springing or growing moneth; for that then, the spring beginneth, and many plants at that time do arise out of ground and bud. But the truth is not so: for the *Delphians* never use *B.* in stead of *Ph.* like as the Macedonians do, who for *Philippus*, *Phalacros*, and *Pheronice*, say, *Bilippus Balacros*, and *Beronice*: indeed they put *B.* for *P.* and it is as ordinary with them, to say *Batein*, for *Patein*, *Bieron*, for *Pieron*: and so *Bysius*, is all one with *Pysius*, that is to say, the month in which they consult with their god *Apollo*, and demand of him answers and resolutions of their doubts: for this is the custome of the countrey, because in this moneth they propounded their demand unto the Oracle of *Apollo*, and they supposed the seventh day of the same to be his birth-day, which they

they surnamed also, *Polyphous*, not as many do imagine, because they then do bake many cakes, which are called *Phthois*, but for that it is a day wherein divers do resort unto the Oracle for to be resolved, and many answers are delivered: for it is but of late dayes that folke were permitted to consult with the Oracle when they list in every moneth; but before time the religious Priestess of *Apollo*, named *Pythia*, opened not the Oracle, nor gave answer but at one time in the yeer, according as *Callistenes* and *Alexandrides* have recorded in writing.

X.

What signifieth Physimeloin?

LIttle plants there be, which when they burgeon and shoot out first, the beasts love passing well their first buds and sprouts which they put forth; but in brouzing and cropping them, great injury they do unto the plants and hinder their grouth: when as therefore they are grown up to that height that beasts grasing thereabout, can do them no harme, they be called *Physimela*, that is as much to say, as having escaped the danger of cattell, as witnesseth *Æschylus*.

XI.

Who be they that are named Aposphendoneti?

IN times past the Eretrians held the Island Corcyra, untill *Charicrates* arrived there with a fleet from *Corinth* and vanquished them: whereupon the Eretrians took sea again, and returned toward their naturall country: whereof their fellow-citizens being advertised, such I say as stirred not but remained quiet, repelled them, and kept them off from landing upon their ground by charging them with shot from slings. Now when they saw they could not win them by any fair language, nor yet compell them by force of armes, being as they were inexorable, and besides many more then they in number, they made saile to the coasts of *Thracia*, where they possessed themselves of a place, where they repot, *Methon*, one of the predecessors and progenitors of *Orpheus*, sometime dwelt: and there having built a city, they named it *Methone*; but themselves were surnamed *Aposphendoneti*, which is as much to say, as repelled and driven back by slings.

XII.

What is that which the Delphians call, Charila?

THe citizens of *Delphos* do celebrate continually three *Enneateredes*, that is to say, feasts celebrated every ninth yeer, one after another successively. Of which, the first they name, *Septerion*; the second, *Herois*; and the third, *Charila*. As touching the first, it seemeth to be a memoriall representing the fight or combate that *Phœbus* had against *Python*: and his flight after the conflict, and pursuit after him into the valley of *Tempe*. For as some do report he fled by occasion of a certain man-slaughter and murder that he had committed, for which he sought to be purged: others say that when *Python* was wounded, and fled by the way which we call, Holy, *Phœbus* made hot pursuit after him, insomuch as he went within a little of overtaking him, and finding him at the point of death: (for at his first comming he found that he was newly dead of the wounds which he had received in the foresaid fight) also, that he was enterred and buried by his son, (who as they say) was named *Aix*: this novenary feast therefore, called *Septerion*, is a representation of this history, or else of some other like unto it. The second named *Herois* containeth (I wot not what) hidden ceremonies and fabulous secrets, which the professed priests (in the divine service of *Bacchus* called *Thyades*) know well enough: but by such other things as are openly done and practised, a man may conjecture, that it should be a certain exaltation or assumption of *Semele* up into heaven. Moreover, as concerning *Charila*, there goeth such a tale as this. It fortuned upon a time, that after much drought, there followed great famine in the city of *Delphos*, in so much as all the inhabitants came with their wives and children to the court gates, crying out unto their King, for the extream hunger that they endured. The king thereupon caused to be distributed among the better sort of them, a dole of meal, and certain pulse, for that he had not sufficient to give indifferently among them all: and when there came a little young wench, a silly orphan, fatherless and motherless, who instantly besought him to give her also some relefe; the king smote her with his shoe, and flung it at her face. The girle (poore though she was, forlorne and destitute of all wordly succour; howbeit carrying no base mind with her; but of a noble spirit) departed from his presence, and made no more adoe, but undid her girdle from her waist and hanged her self therewith. Well, the famine daily increased more and more, and diseases grew thereupon: by occasion whereof, the king went in person to the Oracle of *Apollo*, supposing to find there some meed and remedy: unto whom *Pythia* the Propheteess made this answer: That the ghost of *Charila* should be appeased and pacified, who had dyed a voluntary death. So after long search and diligent enquiry, hardly found in the end it was, that the young maiden whom he had so beaten with his shoe, was named *Charila*: whereupon they offered a certain sacrifice mixed with expiatory oblations, which they celebrate and performe from nine yeers to nine, even to this day. For at this solemnity, the king sitting in his chair, dealeth certain meal and pulse among all commers, as well strangers as citizens: and the image of *Charila* is thither brought, resembling a young girle: now after that every one hath received part of the dole, the king beateth the said image about the eares with his shoe: and the chief governess of the religious women, called *Thyades*, takes up the image, and carrieth it into a certain place full of deep caves: where after they have hung an halter about the

the neck of it,they enter it under ground in that very place where they buried the corps of *Charila*, when ſhe had ſtrangled her ſelfe.

XIII.

What is the meaning of that which they call among the Æneians, Begged-fleſh.

THe Æneians in times paſt had many tranſmigrations from place to place: for firſt they inhabited the countrey about the Plaine called *Dotion*: out of which they were driven by the Lapithæ, and went to the Æthices; and from thence into a quarter of the Province *Moloſſis*, called *Arava*, which they held,and thereof called they were Paravæ. After all this they ſeized the City *Cirrha*: wherein after they had ſtoned to death their King *Onoclus*, by warrant and commandement from *Apollo*; they went down into that tract that lieth along by the river *Inachus*, a Countrey inhabited then by the Inachians and Achæans. Now they had the anſwer of an Oracle on both ſides,to wit,the Inachians and Achæans,that if they yeelded and gave away part of their Countrey they ſhould loſe all: and the Æneians,that if they could get once any thing at their hands with their good wils, they ſhould for ever poſſeſſe and hold all. Things ſtanding in theſe termes,there was a notable perſonage among the Æneians, named *Temon*, who putting on ragged cloaths, and taking a wallet about his neck,diſguiſed himſelfe like unto a beggar,and in this habit went to the Inachians to crave their alms. The King of the Inachians ſcorned and laughed at him,and by way of diſdaine and mockery tooke up a clod of earth and gave it him; the other took it right willingly and put it up into his budget: but he made no ſemblance,neither was he ſeen to embrace this gift,and to joy therein; but went his way immediately without begging any thing elſe, as being very well content with that which he had gotten already. The Elders of the people wondring hereat, called to mind the ſaid oracle, and preſenting themſelves before the King,advertiſed him not to neglect this occurrent, nor to let this man thus to eſcape out of his hands. But *Temon* having an inkling of their deſigne, made haſte and fled apace, inſomuch as he ſaved himſelfe, by the meanes of a great ſacrifice, even of an hundred oxen which he vowed unto *Apollo*. This done, both Kings,to wit, of the Inachians and the Æneians ſent defiance one to the other,and challenged combate to fight hand to hand. The King of the Æneians *Phemius*, ſeeing *Hyperochus* King of the Inachians comming upon him with his dog, cried out, and ſaid, That he dealt not like a juſt and righteous man, thus to bring an aſſiſtant and helper with him: whereat as *Hyperochus* turned his head about, and looked back for to chaſe away his dog, *Phemius* raught him ſuch a rap with a ſtone upon the ſide of his head that he felled him to the ground, and killed him outright therewith in the very place. Thus the Æneians having conquered the countrey, and expelled the Inachians and the Achæans, adored ever after that ſtone as a ſacred thing,and ſacrificed unto it, and within the fat of the beaſt ſacrificed enwrap it very charily. Afterwards, whenſoever they have according to their vow offered a magnificent ſacrifice of an hundred oxen to *Apollo*, and killed likewiſe an oxe unto *Jupiter*: they ſend the beſt and moſt dainteſt piece of the ſaid ſacrifice unto thoſe that are lineally deſcended from *Temon*, which at this day is called among them, *The Begged fleſh*, or the *Beggers fleſh*.

XIV.

Who be thoſe whom the inhabitants of Ithaca, *named* Coliades? *and who is* Phagilus *among them?*

AFrer that *Ulyſſes* had killed thoſe who wooed his wife in his abſence, the kinſfolke and friends of them being now dead, roſe up againſt him to be revenged: but in the end they agreed on both ſides to ſend for *Neoptolemus*, to make an accord and attonement between them: who having undertaken this arbitrement, awarded that *Ulyſſes* ſhould depart out of thoſe parts, and quit the Iſles of *Cephalenia*, *Ithaca*, and *Zacynthus*, in regard of the bloudſhed that he had committed. *Item*, that the kinſfolke and friends of the ſaid wooers ſhould pay a certaine fine every yeare unto *Ulyſſes* in recompence for the riot,dammage,and havock they had made in his houſe. As for *Ulyſſes*, he withdrew himſelfe and departed into *Italy*: but for the mulct or fine impoſed upon them, which he had conſecrated unto the gods; he took order that thoſe of *Ithaca* ſhould tender the paiment thereof unto his ſon: and the ſame was a quantity of meale and of wine, a certaine number of * wax-lights or tapers, oyle, ſalt, and for ſacrifices the bigger ſort and better grown of *Phagili*: now *Phagilus*, *Ariſtotle* interpreteth to be a lambe.

* κηρία, haply honey-combs.

Moreover as touching *Eumæus*, *Telemachus* enfranchiſed him and all his poſterity; yea, and endued them with the right of free burgeoſie. And ſo the progeny of *Eumæus* are at this day the houſe and family,called *Celiadæ*,like as *Bucolii* be thoſe who are deſcended from *Philœtius*.

XV.

*What is the woodden * dog among the Locrians.*

* ξύλον not ξύον, i.e. a pillar,as the Latine interpreteth it,

LOcrus was the ſon of *Phyſcius*, who had to his father *Amphyction*. This *Locrus* had by *Cabya* a ſon named likewiſe *Locrus*: with him his father was at ſome variance; who having gathered a number of Citizens to him, conſulted with the Oracle about a place where he ſhould build a new City and people it in the nature of a Colony. The Oracle returned unto him this anſwer: That in what place a dog of wood did bite him there he ſhould found a City. And ſo when he had paſſed over to the other ſide of the ſea,and was landed,he chanced to tread as he walked along upon a brier, which in Greek is called Κυνοσβάτος, and was ſo pricked therewith, that he was conſtrained there to ſo journe certaine daies: during which time,after he had well viewed and conſidered the country,he founded

founded theſe towns,to wit, *Phyſcos* and *Hyanthia*, and all thoſe beſides, which were afterwards inhabited by the Locrians,ſurnamed *Ozola*,that is to ſay,Stinking: which ſurname, ſome ſay, was given unto theſe Locrians, in regard of *Neſſus*; others in reſpect of the great dragon *Python*, which being caſt up a land by the ſea, putrified upon the coaſt of the Locrians: others report, that by occaſion of certaine ſheeps fels and goats skins,which the men of that countrey uſed to weare; and becauſe that for the moſt part they converſed among the flocks of ſuch cattell, and ſmelled ranke, and carried a ſtrong ſtinking ſavour about them, thereupon they were cleped *Ozolæ*. And ſome there be who hold the cleane contrary,and ſay that the countrey being full of ſweet flowers,had that name of the good ſmell; among whom is *Archias* of *Amphiſſa*,for thus he writeth:

A traict with crown of grapes, full tively dight:
Senting of flowers like ſpice Mayna hight.

XVI.

What is it which the Megarians call Aphabroma?

NIſus, of whom the City *Niſæa* took the name,being King of *Megaris*,eſpouſed a wife out of *Bœotia*,named *Abrota*, the daughter of *Onchiſtus*,and ſiſter to *Megareus*, a dame of ſingular wiſdome, and for chaſtity and vertue incomparable: when ſhe was dead the Megarians for their part willingly and of their own accord mourned: and *Niſus* her husband deſirous to eternize her name and remembrance by ſome memoriall, cauſed her bones to be ſet together, and the ſame to be clad with the very ſame apparell that ſhe was wont to weare in her life time: and of her name he called that habit and veſture *Aphabroma*. And verily it ſeemeth, that even god *Apollo* himſelfe did favourize the glory of this Lady: for when the wives of *Megara* were minded many times to change theſe robes and habilliments,they were alwaies forbidden and debarred by this Oracle.

XVII.

Who is Doryxenus *among the Megarians?*

THe Province *Megaris* was in old time inhabited by certaine towns and villages; and the Citizens or Inhabitants being divided into five parts,were called Heraens,Pyraens, Megariens,Cynoſurians, and Tripodiſcans: now the Corinthians their next neighbours, and who ſpied out all occaſions, and ſought meanes to reduce the Province Megarica under their obedience, practiſed to ſet them together by the eares, and wrought it ſo, that they warred one upon another: but they carried ſuch a moderate hand, and were ſo reſpective in their wars, that they remembred evermore they were kinſfolke and of a bloud: and therefore warred after a mild and gentle manner; for no man offered any injury or violence to the husbandmen that tilled the ground on either ſide: and look whoſoever chanced to be taken priſoners, were to pay for their ranſome a certaine peece of money, ſet down between them: which ſum of money was received ever after they were delivered, and not before, becauſe no man would demand it: for look who had taken a captive in the war, he would bring him home with him into his houſe,and made him good cheere at his own table,conſult together, and then ſend him home in peace: and the party thus ſet free, when he came duly and brought his ranſome aforeſaid with him, was commended and thanked for it, yea, and continued ever after unto his dying day friend unto him who received the money: and thus inſtead of *Doryalus*, which ſignifieth a priſoner taken in war, he was called *Doryxenus*, that is to ſay, a friend made by war: for he who kept back the ſaid money, and defrauded the right maſter thereof; became all his life time infamous, not only among enemies, but alſo among his own fellow-Citizens, as being reputed a wicked, perfidious, and falſe wretch.

XVIII.

What is Palintocia *among the Megarians?*

THe Megarians when they had expelled their tyrant *Theagenes*,for a pretty while after,uſed good and moderate government in their common-wealth: but when as their flattering orators and dawbacks of the people began unto them once (as *Plato* very well ſaid) in a cup of the meere and undelayed wine of liberty, that is to ſay, commended unto them exceſſive licenciouſneſſe, they came to be exceeding ſaucy and malepert,and were utterly corrupt and marred,inſomuch as they committed all inſolent outrages that could be deviſed againſt the ſubſtantiall and wealthy burgeſſes: and among other bold parts, the poore and needy would preſume to go into their houſes, and command them for to entertaine them with great cheare, and to feaſt them ſumptuouſly: if they refuſed ſo to do,they would make no more ado,but take away perforce whatſoever they could lay hands on in the houſe,and in one word,abuſe them all moſt villanouſly. In concluſion, they made a ſtatute and ordinance, by vertue whereof it might be lawfull for them to demand back againe at the hands of thoſe uſurers, who had let them have money before time, all the intereſt and conſideration for uſe which they had paied before, and this they called *Palintocia*.

XIX.

What City or Countrey is that Anthedon, *whereof the Propheteſſe* Pythia *ſpake in theſe verſes?*

Drinke out thy wine,the lees,the dregs, and all;
Anthedon thou thy countrey canſt not call.

FOr that *Anthedon* which is in *Bœotia*, is not ſo plentifull of good wines; *Calauria* indeed as fables make report, was ſometime called *Irene*, by the name of a Lady ſo cleped, the daughter of *Neptune*

Neptune and *Melanthia*, who was the daughter of *Alpheus*; but afterwards being held and inhabited by *Anthes* and *Hyperes*, surnamed it was *Anthedonia* and *Hyperia*: for the answer of the oracle, as *Aristotle* testifieth went in this manner:

Drinke out thy wine, with lees, with dregs, and all,
Anthedon *thou thy countrey, canst not call;*
Nor Hypera *that sacred Isle, for there*
Thou might'st it drinke without dregs pure and cleere.

Thus (I say) writeth *Aristotle*: but *Musæigiton* saith, that *Anthos* being brother of *Hyperes*, was lost when he was but a very child; and when his brother *Hyperes* for to search him out, travelled and wandered to and fro all about, he came at length to *Pheres*, unto *Acastus* or *Adrastus*, where by good fortune *Anthos* served in the place of cup-bearer, and had the charge of the wine-sellar: now as they sate feasting at the table, the boy *Anthos* when he offered a cup of wine unto his brother, took knowledge of him, and said softly in his eare:

Drinke now your wine, with lees, with dregs and all;
Anthedon *you cannot your countrey call.*

XX.

What is the meaning of this by-word in Priene: *Darknesse about the oake?*

THe Samians and Prienians warred one against the other, doing and suffering harme reciprocally, but so, as the damages and losses were tollerable, untill such time as in one great battell fought between them, those of *Priene* put to the sword in one day a thousand Samians: but seven yeares after in another conflict which the Prienians had against the Milesians neere unto a place called *Δρυς*, that is to say, Oake, they lost the most valiant and principall Citizens they had; which hapned at the very time when sage *Byas* being sent Embassadour unto *Samos*, won great honour and reputation: this was a wofull day and a pittifull, and heavy calamity to all the dames of *Priene* in generall; forthere was not one of them but this common losse in some measure touched; insomuch as this by-word was taken up amongst them afterwards, in forme of a cursed malediction or solemne oath, in their greatest affaires to bind them withall, by that darknesse at the oake; for that either their fathers, brethren, husbands, or children were then and there slaine.

XXI.

What were they among the Candiots, who were called Catacautæ?

IT is reported, that certaine Tyrrhenians having ravished and carried away by force a number of the Athenians daughters and wives out of *Brauron*, at what time as they inhabited the Islands *Imbros* and *Lemnos*, were afterwards chased out of those quarters and landed upon the coast of *Laconia*, which they inhabited; where they entred into such acquaintance with the women of the Countrey, that they begat children of them; whereupon in the end they grew to be suspected and ill spoken of by the naturall inhabitants, so that they were forced to abandon *Laconia*, and to returne againe into *Candy* under the conduct of *Pollis* and his brother *Crataidas*: where, warring upon them that held the countrey, they left many of their bodies who died in sundry skirmishes lying upon the land neglected and unburied: at the first, because they had no time and leasure to interre them, by reason of the sore war which they maintained continually, and the danger that would have insued, in case they had gone to take up their bodies: but afterwards, because they abhorred to touch those dead carcasses that lay stinking and putrifying with the heat of the sun, for that they had continued so long above ground: *Pollis* therefore one of their leaders devised certaine honours, priviledges, exemptions, and immunities, to bestow partly upon the Priests of the gods, and in part upon those who buried the dead; and consecrated solemnly these prerogatives unto some terrestriall deities, to the end they might be more durable and remaine inviolate: afterwards he parted with his brother by lot. Now the one sort were named *Sacrificers*, and the other *Catacautæ*: who governed apart, with their own laws and particular discipline: by vertue whereof among other good orders and civill customes, they were not subject to certaine crimes and enormities, whereunto other Candiots are commonly given; namely, to rob, pill, and spoile one another secretly: for these did no wrong one to another; they neither did steale, nor pilfer, nor carry away other mens goods.

XXII.

What meaneth the Sepulcher of children among the Chalcidians?

COthus and *Æolus* the sons of *Xuthus* arrived at *Eubœa*, to seeke them a place of habitation; the which Isle was for the most part possessed and occupied by the Æolians. Now *Cothus* had a promise by oracle, that he should prosper in the world, and have the upper hand of his enemies, in case he bought or purchased that land: wherefore being come a shore with some few of his men, he found certaine young children playing by the sea-side; with whom he joyned, disported with them, made much of them, shewing unto them many pretty gauds and toyes that had not been before time seen in those parts: and when he perceived that the children were in love thereof, and desirous to have them; he said that he would not give them any of his fine things, unless by way of exchange he might receive of them some of their land: the children therefore taking up a little of the mould with both hands, gave the same unto him, and having received from him the foresaid gauds, went their wayes. The Æolians hearing of this, and withal discovering their enemies under saile directing their course thither, and ready to invade them, taking counsel of anger and sorrow together, killed those children: who were entombed along that great high way, by which men go from the City to the straight or frith called *Euripus*. Thus you see wherefore that place was called the Childrens Sepulchre.

XXIII.

What is he whom in Argos *they call* Mixarchagenas? *and who be they that are named Elasians?*

AS for *Mixarchagenas*, it was the surname of *Castor* among them: and the Argives beleeve verily that buried he was in their Territory. But *Pollux* his brother they reverenced and worshipped as one of the heavenly gods.

Moreover, those who are thought to have the gift to divert and put by the fits of the Epilepsie, or falling sickenesse, they name *Elasie*, and they are supposed to be descended from *Alexidas*, the daughter of *Amphiaraüs*.

XXIV.

What is that which the Argives call Encnisma?

THose who have lost any of their neer kinsfolks in blood, or a familiar friend, were wont presently after their mourning was past, to sacrifice unto *Apollo*, and thirty days after unto *Mercury*: for this they thought, that like as the earth receiveth the bodies of the dead, so doth *Mercury* the soules. To the minister of *Apollo* they give barley, and receive of him again in lieu thereof, a piece of flesh of the beast killed for sacrifice. Now after that they have quenched the former fire as polluted and defiled, they go to seek for others elsewhere, which after they have kindled, they roast the said flesh with it, and then they call that flesh, *Encnisma*.

XXV.

Who is Alastor, Aliterios *and* Palamnæus?

FOr we must not believe it is, as some bear us in hand, that they be *Aliterii*, who in time of famine, go prying and spying those who grind corn in their houses, and then carry it away by violence: but we are to think that *Alastor* is he who hath committed acts that be *Alasta*, that is to say, not to be forgotten, and the remembrance whereof will continue a long time after. And *Alitrinus* is he who for his wickednesse deserveth *ἀπέαν*, that is to say, to be shunned and avoided of all men: and such an one is otherwise called *Palamnæus*: and thus much saith *Socrates*, was written in tables of brasse.

* *ἀλαστὰ*, He saith otherwise in the end of his Treatise concerning Curiosity.

XXVI.

What should the meaning of this be, that the Virgins who accompanied the men that drive the Beefe from Ænus, *toward the City* Cassiopæa, *go all the way even unto the very borders chanting this ditty?*

Would God, return another day,
To native soil you never may?

THe Aenians being driven out of their own Country by the *Lapithæ*, inhabited first about *Æthacia*; and afterwards in the Province of *Molossis* neer unto *Cassiopæa*. But seeing by experience little good or none growing unto them out of that country, and withal finding the people adjoyning to be ill neighbours unto them, they went into the plain of *Cirrha*, under the leading of their King *Oneclus*: but being surprised there, with a wonderful drought, they sent unto the Oracle of *Apollo*; who commanded them to stove their King *Oneclus* to death, which they did: and after that put themselves in their voyage again, to seek out a land where they might settle and make their abode: and so long travelled they until at the last they came into those parts which they inhabit at this day, where the ground is good and fertile, and bringing forth all fruitful commodities. Reason they had therefore you see to wish and pray unto the gods, that they might never return again unto their ancient country, but remain there for ever in all prosperity.

XXVII.

What is the reason that it is not permitted at Rhodes *for the Herald or publick Crier, to enter into the Temple of* Oridion?

IS it for that *Ochimus* in times past affianced his daughter *Cydippe* unto *Ocridion*, but *Cercaphus* the brother of *Ochimus* being enamoured of his Neece *Cydippe*, perswaded the Herald (for in those days the manner was to demand their brides in marriage, by the means of Heralds, and to receive them at their hands) that when he had *Cydippe* once delivered unto him, he should bring her unto him: which was effected accordingly. And this *Cercaphus* being possessed of the maiden fled away with her: but in processe of time when *Ochimus* was very aged, *Cercaphus* returned home. Upon which occasion the Rhodians enacted a law, that from thence forth, there should never any Herald set foot within the Temple of *Oridion*, in regard of this injury done unto him.

XXVIII.

What is the cause that among the Tenedians, it is not lawful for a Piper, or a player of the flute to come within the Temple of Tenes : *neither is it permitted to make any mention there of* Achilles?

IS it not because when the step-mother of *Tenes* had accused him, for that he would have layen with her, *Malpus* the minstrel avouched it to be true, and most falsely bare witnesse against him: whereupon he was forced to fly with his sister unto *Tenedos*.

Furthermore it is said, that *Thetis* the mother of *Achilles*, gave expresse commandment unto her son, and charged him in any wise not to kill *Tenes*; for that he was highly beloved of *Apollo*. Wherupon she commanded one of his servants to have a careful eye unto him, and eftsoons to put him in mind of this charge that he had from her; lest haply he might forget himselfe, and at unawares take away his life: but as he overran *Tenedos*, he had a sight of *Tenes* sister, a fair and beautiful Lady and pursued her: but *Tenes* put himselfe between, for to defend and save the honor of his sister: during which conflict she escaped and got away: but her brothers fortune was to be slain: but *Achilles* perceiving that it was *Tenes*, when he lay dead upon the ground, killed his servant outright, for that being present in place during the fray, he did not admonish him according as he was commanded: but *Tenes* he buried in that very place where now his Temple standeth. Lo, what was the cause that neither a Piper is allowed to go into his Temple, nor *Achilles* may be once named there.

XXIX.

Who is that, whom the Epidamnians call Poletes.

THe Epidamnians being next neighbours unto the Illyrians, perceived that their Citizens who conversed, commerced, and traded in traffick with them, became naught, and fearing besides some practise for the alteration of State: they chose every year one of the best approved men of their City, who went to and fro to make all contracts, bargains, and exchanges, that those of *Epidamnus* might have the Barbarians, and likewise dealt reciprocally in these affairs and negotiations, that the Illyrians had with them: now this factor that thus bought and sold in their name, was called *Poletes*.

XXX.

What is that, which in Thracia they call Aræni Acta, *that is to say, the Shore of* Arænus?

THe Andrians and Chalcidians having made a voyage into *Thrace*, for to chuse out a place for to inhabit: surprized jointly together the City *Sana*, which was betrayed and delivered into their hands. And being advertised that the Barbarians had abandoned the town *Achantus*, they sent forth two spies to know the truth thereof: these spies approached the town so neer, that they knew for certain, that the enemies had quit the place and were gone. The party who was for the Chalcidians ran before to take the first possession of it in the name of the Chalcidians: but the other who was for the Andrians, seeing that he could not with good footmanship overtake his fellow; flang his dart or javelin from him which he had in his hand: and when the head thereof stuck in the City gate, he cried out alond, that he had taken possession thereof in the behalfe of the Andrians, with his javelin head. Hereupon arose some variance and controversie between these two nations, but it brake not out to open war: for they agreed friendly together, that the Erythræans, Samians, and Parians should be the indifferent Judges to arbitrate and determine all their debates and suites depending between them. But for that the Erythræans and Samians awarded on the Andrians side, and the Parians for the Chalcidians: the Andrians in that very place took a solemn oath, and bound the same with imprecations, curses, and maledictions, that they would never either take the daughters of the Parians in marriage, or affiance their own unto them: and for this cause they gave this name unto the place, and called it the Shore or Bank of *Arænus*, where as before it was called, the Port of the *Dragon*.

XXXI.

Why do the wives of the Eretrians at the solemn feast of Ceres, *roast their flesh meat, not at the fire, but against the Sun, and never call upon her by the name of* Calligenia?

IT is for that the Dames of *Troy* whom the King led away captive, were celebrating this feast in this place: but because the time served to make saile, they were enforced to haste away and leave their sacrifice un, erfect and unfinished?

XXXII.

Who be they whom the Milesians call Ainautæ?

AFter that the tyrants *Thoas* and *Damasenor*, had been defeated, there arose within the City two factions that maintained their several sides: the one named *Plontis* and the other *Cheiromachæ*. In the end, that of *Plontis* (who were indeed the richest and mightiest persons in the City) prevailed, and having gotten the upper hand, seised the soveraign authority and government: and because when they minded to sit in consultation of their weightiest affairs, they went a ship-boord, and lanched into the deep a good way off from the land: and after they had resolved and decreed what to do, returned back again into the haven, therefore they were surnamed *Ainautæ*, which is as much to say, as alway sailing. *What*

XXXIII.

What is the cause that the Chalcidians name one place about Pyrsophion; *The assembly of lusty gallants?*

NAuplius (as the report goeth) being chased and pursued by the Achæans, fled for refuge like an humble suppliant to the Chalcidians: where partly he answered to such imputations which were laid against him, and in part by way of recrimination, recharged them with other misdemenors and outrages: whereupon the Chalcidians being not purposed to deliver him into their hands, and yet fearing lest by treachery and privy practise he should be made away and murdered, allowed him for the guard of his person, the very flower of the lustiest young gallants in all their City, whom they lodged in that quarter where they might always converse and meet together, and so keep *Nauplius* out of danger.

XXXIV.

What was he who sacrificed an Ox unto his Benefactor.

THere hovered sometime a ship of certain men of war, or rovers, and anchored about the coast of *Ithacestia*, within which there was an old man who had the charge of a number of earthen pots, containing Amphors a piece, with pitch in them: now it fortuned that a poor mariner or barge man named *Pyrrhias*, who got his living by ferrying and transporting passengers, approached the said ship, and delivered the old man out of the Rovers hands, and saved his life, not for any gaine that he looked for, but only at his earnest request, and for very pure pity and compassion: now in recompence hereof, albeit he expected none, the old man pressed instantly upon him to receive some of those pots or pitchers aforesaid: the Rovers were not so soon retired and departed out of the way, but the old man seeing him at liberty, and secure of danger, brought *Pyrrhias* to these earthen vessels, and shewed unto him a great quantity of Gold and Silver mingled with the Pitch: *Pyrrhias* hereby growing of a sudden to be rich and full of money, entreated the old man very kindly in all respects, otherwise, and besides sacrificed unto him a beese: and hereupon, as they say, arose this common proverb: No man ever sacrificed an Ox unto his Benefactor but *Pyrrhias*.

XXXV.

What is the cause that it was a custom among the maidens of the Bottiæans in their dancing, to sing, as it were, the faburden of a song: Go we to Athens.

THe Candiots by report upon a vow that they had made, sent the first born of their men unto *Delphos*; but they that were thus sent, seeing they could not find sufficient means there to live in plenty, departed from thence to seek out some convenient place for a Colony to inhabit: and first they setled themselves in *Japigia*, but afterwards arrived to this very place of *Thracia*, where now they are, having certain Athenians mingled among them: for it is not like that *Minos* had caused those young men to be put to death whom the Athenians had sent unto him by way of tribute, but kept them to do him service: some therefore of their issue, and descended from them, being reputed natural Candiots, were with them sent unto the City of *Delphos*: which is the reason that the young daughters of the Bottiæans in remembrance of this their original descent went singing in their festival dances: Go we to *Athens*.

XXXVI.

What should be the reason that the Eliens wives, when they chant hymns to the honour of Bacchus, *pray him to come unto them,* βοὸς ποδὸς, *that is to say, with his Bull foot: for the hymn runneth in this forme: Please it thee right worthy Lord* Bacchus *to come unto this holy maritime Temple of thine, accompanied with the Graces,* * *running I say to this Temple with an Ox or Beese foot: then for the faburden of the Song, they redouble; O worthy Bull; O worthy Bull?*

* Saw, not Saw.

IS it for that some name this god, The son, or begotten of a Cow; and others tearm him Bull; or is the meaning of βοὸς ποδὸς, with thy great foot, like as *Homer* when he called *Juno* or any other βοῶπιν, signifieth her to have a big and large eye, and by the Epithet βοηγενὲς, meaneth one that bragg-eth and boasteth of great matters.

Or rather because the foot of a Beese doth no harm, howsoever horned beasts otherwise be hurtful and dangerous: therefore they invocate thus upon him, and beseech him to come loving and gracious unto them.

Or lastly, for that many are perswaded, that this is the god who taught men first to plow the ground and sow corn.

XXXVII.

Why have the Tangræans a place before the City called Achilleum? *for it is said, that* Achilles *in his life time bare more hatred than love unto this City, as who ravished and stole away* Stratonice, *the Mother of* Poemander, *and killed* Acestor *the Son of* Ephippus.

POEmander the father of *Ephippus*, at what time as the Province of *Tanagra*, was peopled and inhabited by towns and villages only, being by the Achæans besieged in a place called *Stephon*, for that he would not go forth with them to war, abandoneth the said Fort in the night time,

and went to build the City *Pæmandria*, which he walled about. The Architect or Master builder *Polycritus* was there, who disprailed all his work, and derided it, in so much as in a mockery hee leapt over the trench; whereat *Pæmander* took such displeasure, and was so highly offended, that he meant to fling at his head a great stone, which lay there hidden of old upon the nightly sacrifices of *Bacchus*. But *Pæmander* not knowing so much, pulled it up by force, and threw it at him; and missing *Polycritus*, hit his son *Leucippus*, and killed him outright. Hereupon according to the Law and Custom then observed, there was no remedy but needs he must depart out of *Bœotia*, in manner of an exiled man, and so as a poor suppliant and stranger to converse, wandring abroad in another country, which was neither safe nor easie for him to do at that time, considering that the Achæans were up in arms and entred into the country of *Tanagra*. He sent therefore his son *Ephippus* unto *Achilles* for to request his favour; who by earnest supplications and prayers prevailed so much, that he entreated both him, and also *Tlepolemus* the son of *Hercules*; yea, and *Peneleus* the son of *Hippalmus*, who were all of their kindred: by whose means *Pæmander* had safe conduct, and was accompanied as far as the City of *Chalcis*, where he was assoiled, absolved and purged by *Elpenor*, for the murder which he had committed. In remembrance of which good turn by those Princes received, he ever after honoured them, and to them all erected Temples; for which that of *Achilles* continueth unto this day, and according to his name is called *Achilleum*.

XXXVIII.

Who be they, whom the Bœotians call Psoloes, *and who be* Æolies.

THe report goeth that *Leucippe*, *Arsinoe* and *Alcathie*, the daughters of *Minyas*, being enraged and bestraight of their right wits, longed exceedingly to eat mans flesh, and cast lots among themselves, which of them should kill their own children for that purpose. So the lot falling upon *Leucippe*, she yeelded her son *Hippasus* to be dismembred and cut in pieces; by occasion whereof, their husbands simply arrayed, and in mourning weeds for sorrow and griefe were called *Psoloei*, as one would say, foul and smoaky; and the women ἀπαυθεῖς, that is to say, distracted and troubled in their minds, or Οἰονοΐδες: so as even this day the Orchomenians, call those women who are descended from them by those names: and every second year during the festival days called *Agrionia*, the Priest of *Bacchus* runneth after them with a sword drawn in his hand, courting and chasing them: yea, and lawful it is for him to kill any one of them that he can reach and overtake. And verily in our days *Zoilus* the Priest killed one; but such never come to any good after: for both this *Zoilus* himself upon a certain little Ulcer or sore that he had, fell sick; and after he had a long time pined away and consumed therewith, in the end died thereof; and also the Orchomenians being fallen into publick calamities, and held in general for condemned persons, translated the Priesthood from that race and linage, and conferred it upon the best and most approved person they could chuse.

XXXIX.

What is the cause that the Arcadians stone them to death who willingly & of purpose enter within the pourprize and precincts of Lycæum: *but if any come into it of ignorance and unawares, them they send to* Eleutheræ?

AS for these, may it not be that they are held free and absolved who do it upon ignorance: and by reason of this their absolution this manner of speech arose, to send them to *Eleutheræ*, which signifieth Deliverance: much like as when we say thus, ἐς ἀμαθίαν χώρει: that is to say, into the region of the secure; or thus, ἴθι εἰς ἀγαθοῦ Δαίμονος, that is to say, thou shalt go to the Manour of the Pleasant. Or haply it alludeth to the tale that goeth in this wise: that of *Lycaons* sons there were but two only, to wit, *Eleuther* and *Lebadus*, who were not partakers of the horrible crime, that their Father committed in the sight of *Jupiter*, but fled into *Bœotia*: in token whereof, the Lebadians enjoy still their burgeosie in commune with the Arcadians: and therefore to *Eleuthera* they send those, who against their wills or unawares are entred within that pourprise consecrate unto *Jupiter*, into which it is not lawful for any man to go.

Or rather, as *Architemus* writeth in his Chronicles of *Arcadia*, for that there were some who being ignorantly entred into the said place, were delivered and yeelded unto the Phliasians, who put them over to the Megarians, and from the Megarians they were carried to *Thebes*; but as they were transported and conveyed thither, they were stayed about *Eleuthera*, by means of violent rain terrible thunder, and other prodigious tokens; by occasion whereof, some would have the City to take the name *Eleuthera*.

Moreover, whereas it is said that the shadow of him who cometh within the precinct of *Lycæum*, never falleth upon the ground: it is not true, howbeit it goeth generally current, and is constantly beleeved for an undoubted truth. But is it not think you, for that the air turneth presently into dark clouds and looketh obscure and heavy (as it were) when any enter into it: or because, that whosoever cometh into it incontinently, suffereth death. And you know what the Pythagoreans say, namely that the souls of the dead cast no shadow nor wink at all.

Or rather for that it is the Sun that maketh shadows, and the law of the countrey bereaveth him that entereth into it, of the sight of the Sun: which covertly, and enigmatically they would give us to understand under these words: For even he who cometh into this place is called *Elaphos*, that is to say, a Stag; and therefore *Cantharion* the Arcadian, who fled unto the Elians of his owne accord to side with them, at what time as they warred upon the Arcadians; and as he passed with his booty that he had gotten, went through this sacred place: when after the war was ended, he returned to *Lacedæmon*; was by the Lacedæmonians delivered up to the Arcadians, by direction and commandment of the Oracle, which enjoined them to render the Stag.

XL.

What is that Demi-god in Tanagra, *known by the name of* Eunostus? *And what is the reason that women may not enter within the Grove dedicated unto him?*

THis *Eunostus* was the son of *Elieus*, the son of *Cephisus* and *Scias*; so named of *Eunostia* a certain Nymph that nourished and brought him up: who being fair and just withal, was also chast, continent, and of an austere life. Howbeit the report goeth, that one of the daughters of *Collonus* named *Ochna*, being his Cozen-german became enamoured upon him: but when she had tempted him, and assayed to win his love: *Eunostus* repulsed and rejected her with reproachfull tearms, and went his way intending to accuse her unto her brethren: which the maiden suspecting, and fearing, prevented him and slandered him first before her brethren *Ochemus*, *Leon*, and *Bucolus*, whom she incensed against *Eunostus*, that they would kill him, as one who by force had deflowred their sister. These brethren then having lien in ambush for the young man, murdered him treacherously; for which fact *Elieus* cast them in prison; and *Ochna* her selfe repenting of that which she had done, was much troubled and tormented in mind therefore, being desirous besides to deliver her selfe from the griefe and agony which she endured by reason of her love, and withal pitying her brethren imprisoned for her sake, discovered the whole truth unto *Elieus*; and *Elieus* again unto *Collonus*: by whose accord and judgement, these brethren of *Ochna* fled their Country and were banished: but she cast her selfe voluntarily down headlong from an high rock, according as *Myrtis* the Poetresse hath left in verse. And this is the cause, that both the Temple of *Eunostus*, and also the Grave about it remained ever after, inaccessible, and not to be approached by women: insomuch as many times when there happen any great Earthquakes, extraordinary droughts, and other fearful and prodigious tokens from Heaven, the Tanagrians make diligent search and inquisition, whether there have not been some one woman or other, who secretly hath presumed to come neer unto the said place. And some have reported (among whom was one *Clidamus* a noble and honorable personage) that they met with *Eunostus* upon the way, going to wash and cleanse himselfe in the Sea, for that there was one woman who had been so bold as to enter into his Sanctuary. And verily *Diocles* himselfe in a Treatise that he made of Demi-gods, or such worthy men as had been deified, maketh mention of a certain Edict, or Decree of the Tanagrians, touching those things which *Clidamus* had related unto them.

XLI.

How cometh it that in the country of Bœotia, *the river that runneth by* Eleon, *is called* Scamander?

DEimachus the son of *Eleon*, being a familiar companion with *Hercules*, was with him at the Trojan war: during the time whereof, continuing as it did very long, he enterained the love of *Glaucia* the daughter of *Scamander*, who was first enamoured of him, and so well they agreed together, that in the end she was with child by him. Afterwards it fortuned, so that in skirmish with the Trojans he lost his life: and *Glaucia* fearing that her belly would tell tales and bewray what she had done, fled for succour unto *Hercules*, and of her own accord declared unto him, how she had been surprised with love, and what familiar acquaintance there had passed between her and *Deimachus* late deceased. *Hercules* as well in pity of the poor woman, as for his own joy and contentment of mind, that there was like to remain some issue of so valiant a man, and his familiar friend beside, had *Glaucia* with him to his ships: and when she was delivered of a fair son, carried her into the country of *Bœotia*, where he delivered her and her son into the hands of *Eleon*. The child then was named *Scamander*, and became afterwards King of that Country; who surnamed the river *Inachus* after his own name *Scamander*, and a little rivulet running thereby, *Glaucia*, by the name of his Mother: as for the fountain *Aciduſa* it was so called according to his wives name; by whom hee had three daughters, who are even unto this day honoured in that country, and called by the name of the Virgins.

XLII.

Whereupon arose this proverbial speech, ἄλλα κυκλεῖ, *that is to say, these things shall stand or prevail?*

DIao the Captain General of the Tarentines, being a right valiant and hardy warriour, when as the Citizens by their voices and suffrages denied a sentence which he had delivered as the Herald or Crier proclamed and published with a loud voice that opinion which prevailed, lifting up his own right hand himself: Yea, but this (quoth he) shall carry it away when all is done. Thus *Theophrastus* reporteth this narration: but *Apollodorus* relateth moreover in his *Rhytinus*, that when the Herald had proclamed thus ἄλλαι πλείους, that is to say, these be more in number, meaning the voices of the people; Yea, but (quoth he) ἄλλαι βελτίους, that is to say, these be better; and in so doing, confirmed the resolution of those who were in number the fewer.

XLIII.

Upon what occasion was the City of the Ithacesians, named Alalcomenæ ?

MOst writers have recorded, that *Anticlia* being yet a Virgin, was forced by *Sisyphus*, and conceived *Ulysses*. But *Hister* of *Alexandria* hath written moreover in his Commentaries, that she being given in marriage unto *Laertes*, and brought into the City *Alalcomenium* in *Bœotia*, was delivered there of *Ulysses*; and therefore he (to renew the memory of that City where he was born, and which was the head City standing in the heart of the Country) called that in *Ithaca* by the name thereof.

XLIV.

Who be they in the City Ægina, *which are called* Monophagi ?

OF those Æginets, who served in the Trojan war many died in fight, howbeit more were drowned by means of a tempest in their voyage at sea. But those few who returned were welcomed home, and joyfully received by their kinsfolk and friends: who perceiving all their other fellow Citizens to mourn and be in heavinesse, thought this with themselves, they ought not to rejoyce nor offer sacrifice unto the gods openly, but in secret: and so, every man apart in his private house, entertained those who were escaped and came home safe with feasts and banquets: and served at the table in their own persons, unto their fathers, their brethren, cozens and friends, with admiring any stranger whatsoever: in imitation whereof they do yet every year sacrifice unto *Neptune* in secret assemblies, which sacrifices they call *Thyasi*; during which solemnity they do feast one another privately for the space of sixteen days together with silence, and there is not a servant or slave there present to wait at the board: but afterwards for to make an end of their feasting, they celebrate one solemn sacrifice unto *Venus*. And thus you may see why they be called *Monophagi*, that is to say, Eating alone, or by themselves.

XLV.

What is the cause that in the Country of Caria, *the image of* Jupiter Labradeus *is made, holding alofe in his hand an Ax, and neither a Scepter nor a Thunder-bolt, or Lightning ?*

FOr that *Hercules* having slain *Hippolite* the Amazon, and among other arms of hers won her battel Ax, and gave it as a present unto *Omphale*: this Ax, all the Kings that raigned in *Lydia* after *Omphale*, carried as an holy and sacred monument; which they received successively from hand to hand of their next progenitors, untill such time as *Candaules* disdaining to bear it himselfe, gave it unto one of his friends to carry, afterwards it chanced that *Gyges* put himselfe to arms against *Candaules*, and with the help of *Arcelie*, who brought a power of men to aid him out of *Mylet*, both defeated him, and also killed that friend of his from whom he took away the said Ax, and put the same into the image of *Jupiters* hand, which he had made. In which respect he surnamed *Jupiter*, *Labradeus*, for that the Lydians in their language called an Ax *Labra*.

XLVI.

Wherefore do the Trallians *call the Pulse* Ervil Catharter, *that is to say, the Purger: and use it more then any other in their expiatory sacrifices of Purification ?*

IS it for that the Minyans and Lelegians, having in old time disseized the said Trallians of their Cities and Territories, inhabited and occupied the same themselves? but the Trallians made head afterwards, and prevailed against them, insomuch as those Lelegians who were neither slain in battel, nor escaped by flight, but either for feebleneſſe, or want of means otherwise to live, remained still, they made no reckoning of, whether they died or lived: enacting a law, that what Trallian soever killed either a Lelegian or Minyan, he should be absolved and held quit, in case he payed unto the next kinsfolk of the dead party, a measure called *Medimnie*, of the said *Ervil*.

XLVII.

What is the reason that it goeth for an ordinary by-word among the Elitans to say thus; To suffer more miseries and calamities then Sambicus ?

THere was one *Sambicus* of the City *Elie*, who by report having under him many mates and complices at command, brake and defaced sundry images and statues of brasse within the City *Olympia*, and when he had so done, sold the brasse and made money of it: in the end he proceeded so far as to rob the Temple of *Diana* surnamed *Episcopos*, that is to say, a vigilant patroneſſe and superinterdant. This Temple standeth within the City *Elis*, and is named *Aristarchium*. After this notorious sacrilege he was immediately apprehended, and put to torture a whole year together, to make him for to bewray and reveal all his companions and confederates: so as in the end he died in these torments, and thereupon arose the said common proverb.

XLVIII.

What is the reason that at Lacedæmon *the monument of* Ulysses, *standeth close to the Temple of the* Leucippidæ.

HErgias one of the race descended from *Diomedes*, by the motion and instigation of *Temenus* induced, robbed out of *Argos* the renowned image of *Minerva*, called *Palladium*, and that

that with the privity and assistance of *Leager* in this sacrilege: now this *Leager* was one of the familiars and inward companions of *Temenus*: who being fallen out afterwards with *Temenus*, in a fit of anger, departed to *Lacedæmon* with the said *Palladium*: which the Kings there received at his hands right joyfully, and placed it neer unto the Temple of the *Leucippides*: but afterwards they sent unto the Oracle at *Delphos*, to know by what means they might keep and preserve the said image in safety: the Oracle made this answer, that they should commit the keeping of it unto one of them who had stollen it away: whereupon they built in the very place a monument in memorial of *Ulysses*, wherethey shrined *Palladium*: and besides, they had the more reason so to do, because in some sort *Ulysses* was allied to their City, by his wives side, Lady *Penelope*.

XLIX.

What is the reason that the Chalcedonian Dames have a custom among them, that whensoever they meet with any men that be strangers unto them, but especially if they be Rulers or Magistrates, to cover and hide one of their cheeks.

THe men of *Chalcedon* warred sometime against their neighbours the Bithynians, provoked thereto by all light injuries and wrongs that might minister matter and occasion thereof: insomuch as in the days of King *Zeipetus* who raigned over the Bithynians, they assembled all their forces, and with a puissant power (beside of the Thracians, who joined to aid them) they invaded their country with fire and sword, spoiling all before them: until in the end King *Zeipetus* gave them battel neer unto a place named *Phalium*, where they lost the day, as well in regard of their presumptuous boldnesse, as of the disorder among them, insomuch as there died of them in fight 8000. men. Howbeit utterly they were not defeated, for that *Zeipetus* in favour of the Bizantines, was contented to grow unto some agreement and composition. Now for that their City was by this means very much dispeopled and naked of men, many women there were among them, who were constrained to be remarried unto their enfranchised servants, others to aliens and strangers comming from other Cities: but some again, chusing rather to continue widows still and never to have husbands, then to yeeld to such marriages, followed their own causes themselves what matter soever they had to betried or dispatched in open court before the Judges or publick Magistrates: only they withdrew one part of their vaile, and opened their face on one side: the other wives also who were married again, for modesty and womanhood, following them as better women then themselves, used the same fashion also, and brought it to be an ordinary custome.

L.

Wherefore do the Argives drive their Ewes unto the sacred grove of Agenor, *when they would have the Rams to leap them ?*

IS it not for that *Agenor* whiles he lived, was very expert and skilful about Sheep; and of all the Kings that ever were among them, had the most and faireſt flocks of them ?

LI.

Why do the Argives Children, at a certain festival time that they keep, call one another in play and sport Ballachrades ?

IS it because, the first of that nation, who were by *Inachus* brought out of the mountains into the plain and champion country, made their chiefe food (by report) of wild hedge-Pears ? Now these chock-Pears, some say, were found in *Peloponnesus*, before they were seen in any other part of *Greece*, even whiles that region was called *Apia*. And hereupon also it came that these wild Pears commonly called *Achrades*, changing their name into *Apioi*.

LII.

What is the cause that the Eliens, when their Mares be hot after the Horse, lead them out of their own confines to be covered by the Stalions ?

IS it for that *Oenomaus* was a Prince, who of all others loved best a good race of Horses, and took greatest pleasure in these kind of beasts; and cursed with all manner of execrations, those Stalions which covered his Mares in *Elis* ? and therefore they fearing to fall into any of these maledictions, avoid them by this manner.

LIII.

What was the reason of this custom among the Guosians, that those who took up any money at interest, snatched it and ran away with all.

WAs it to this end, that if they should deny the debt, and seem to defraud the Usurers, they might lay an action of felony, and violent wrong upon them: and the other by this means might be more punished ?

LIV.

What is the cause that in the City of Samos *they invocate* Venus *of* Dexicreon.

IS it for that, that when in times past the women of *Samos* were exceedingly given to enormious wantonnesse and leachery, so that they brake out into many lewd acts: there was one *Dexicreon*, a Mountebank or cousening jugler, who by (I wot not what) ceremonies and expiatory sacrifices, cured them of their unbridled lust ?

Or

Or because this, *Dexicreon* being a Merchant-venturer who did traffick and trade by sea, went into the Isle of *Cyprus*; and when he was ready to load or charge his ship with merchandize, *Venus* commanded him to fraight it with nothing else but water, and then immediately to hoise up saile: according to which he did, and having put a great quantity of water within his vessel, he let saile and departed. Now by that time they were in the main sea, they were very much becalmed, so as for want of a gale of wind many days together, the rest of the mariners and merchants a ship-boord, thought verily they should all die for very thirst: whereupon he sold unto them his water which he had aboord, and thereby gat a great quantity of Silver; of which afterwards he caused to be made an image of *Venus*, which he called after his own name, *Doxicreon* his *Venus*. Now if this be true, it seemeth that the goddesse purposed thereby, not only to enrich one man, but to save also the lives of many.

LV.

How cometh it to passe, that in the Isle of Samos, *when they sacrifice unto* Mercury *surnamed* Charidotes, *it is lawfull for whosoever will, to rob and rifle all passengers?*

BEcause in times past according to the commandment and direction of a certain Oracle, the ancient inhabitants departed out of *Samos* and went into *Mycale*, where they lived and maintained themselves for ten years space by piracy and depredation at sea; and afterwards being returned again into *Samos*, obtained a brave victory against their enemies.

LVI.

Why is there one place within the Isle Samos *called* Panæma?

IS it for that the Amazones to avoid the fury of *Bacchus*, fled out of the Ephesians country into *Samos* and there saved themselves? But he having caused ships to be built and rigged, gathered together a great fleet, and gave them battel, where he had the killing of a great number of them about this very place, which for the carnage and quantity of blood-shed there, they who saw it, marvelled thereat, and called it *Panæma*. But of them who were slain in this conflict, there were by the report of some, many that died about *Phlœon*, for their bones are there to be seen. And there be that say, that *Plœon* also clave in sunder, and became broken by that occasion; their cry was so lond, and their voice so piercing and forcible.

LVII.

How commeth it that there is a publick hall at Samos, *called* Pedetes?

AFter that *Damoteles* was murdered, and his monarchy overthrown, so that the Nobles or Senators *Geomori*, had the whole government of the State in their hands; the Megarians tooke arms, and made war upon the Perinthians (a Colony drawn & descended from *Samos*) carrying with them into the field, fetters and other irons, to hang upon the feet of their captive prisoners: the said *Geomori* having intelligence thereof, sent them aid with all speed, having ten Captains, manned also and furnished thirty ships of war; whereof twain ready to saile, caught fire by lightning, and so consumed in the very mouth of the Haven: howbeit the foresaid Captains followed on in their voyage with the rest, vanquished the Megarians in battel, and took six hundred prisoners: Upon which victory, being puffed up with pride, they intended to ruinate the Oligarchy of those noble men at home, called *Geomori*, and to depose them from their government: and verily those rulers themselves ministred unto them occasion, for to set in hand with this their design; namely by writing unto them, that they should lead those Megarians prisoners, fettered with the same gyves which they themselves had brought: for no sooner had they received these letters, but they did impart and shew them secretly unto the said Megarians, perswading them to band and combine with them, for to restore their City unto liberty. And when they devised and consulted together about the execution of this complotted conspiracy: agreed it was between them to knock the rings off or lockers of the fetters open, and so to hang them about the Megarians legs, that with leather thongs they might be fastened also to their girdles about the waste, for fear that being slack, as they were, they should fall off and be ready to drop from their legs as they went. Having in this wise set forth and dressed these men, and given every one of them a sword, they made all the haste they could to *Samos*; where being arrived and set a land, they led the Megarians through the market place to the Senate house, where all the Nobles called *Geomori* were assembled and sat in consultation: hereupon was the signal given, and the Megarians fell upon the Senators, and massacred them every one. Thus having received the freedom of the City, they gave unto as many of the Megarians as would accept thereof, the right of free Burgeoise: and after that built a fair Town Hall, about which they hung and fastened the said bolts and fetters of irons, calling it upon this occasion *Pedetes*, that is to say, the Hall of Fetters.

LVIII.

What is the reason that in the Isle of Coos, *within the City* Antimachia, *the Priest of* Hercules *being arrayed in the habit of a woman, with a Miter on his head, beginneth to celebrate the sacrifice?*

HErcules being departed from *Troy* with six ships, was overtaken with a mighty tempest, and with one ship alone (for that all the other was lost) were cast by the winds upon the Isle of *Coos*, and

and landed at a place called *Lacetes*: having saved nothing else but his armour and the men that were with him in the ship: where finding a flock of sheep, he desired the shepherd who tended them, to give him a Ram. The shepherds name was *Antagoras*; who being a lusty tall and strong man, would needs challenge *Hercules* to wrestle with him, upon this condition, that if *Hercules* could overthrow him and lay him along on the ground, the Ram should be his. *Hercules* accepted the offer; and when they were close at hand gripes, the Meropians, certain inhabitants of the Isle came in to succour *Antagoras*, and the Greeks likewise to aid *Hercules*, in such sort, as there ensued a sharp and cruel fight: wherein *Hercules* finding himselfe to be overlaid and pressed with the multitude of his enemies, retired and fled (as they say) unto a Thracian woman, where for to hide and save his life, he disguised himselfe in womans apparel. But afterwards having gotten the upper hand of those Meropians, and being purged, he espoused the daughter of *Alciopus*, and put on a fair robe and goodly stole. Thus you may see whereupon his Priest sacrificeth in that very place where the battel was fought; and why new married spouses being arrayed in the habit of women, receive their brides?

L.

Whereof cometh it, that in the City Megara, *there is a linage or family named* Hamaxocylysta?

IN the time that the dissolute and insolent popular State of government, called *Democratie* (which ordained that it might be lawful to recover and arrest all moneys paid for interest and in consideration of use, out of the Usurers hands, and which permitted sacrilege) bare sway in the City: it hapned there were certain pilgrims, named *Theori* of *Peloponnesus*, sent in commission to the Oracle of *Apollo* at *Delphos*, who passed thorow the Province of *Megaris*, and about the City *Ægiri*, neer unto the lake there, lay and tumbled themselves upon their Chariots here and there, together with their wives and children, one with another as it fell out: where certain Megarians, such as were more audacious then the rest, as being thorowly drunk, full of insolent wantonnesse and cruel pride, were so lusty as to overturn the said Chariots, and thrust them into the lake: so as many of the said *Theori* or Commissioners were drowned therein. Now the Megarians (such was the confusion and disorder in their government in those days) made no reckoning at all to punish this injury and outrage: but the counsel of the *Amphyctiones*, because the pilgrimage of these *Theori* was religious and sacred, took knowledge thereof and sate upon an Inquisition about it; yea, and chastised those who were found culpable in this impiety: some with death, others with banishment: and hereupon the whole race descending from them, were called afterwards *Hamaxocylysta*.

The Paralels, or a brief Collation of Roman Narrations; with the semblable reported of the Greeks.

In the Margin of an old Manuscript Copy, these words were found written in Greek: *This Book was never of* Plutarchs *making, who was an excellent and most learned Author; but penned by some odd vulgar writer, altogether ignorant both of* *Poetry, *and also of* Grammar.

* Or Learning.

MAny do think, that ancient Histories be but Fables and Tales devised for pleasure. For mine own part having found many accidents in our days, semblable unto those occurrents which in times past fell out among the Romans in their age: I have collected some of them together; and to every one of those ancient Narrations, annexed another like unto it, of later time, and therewith alledged the Authors who have put them down in writing.

L. *Dayus* Lieutenant General under the King of *Persia*, being come down into the plain of *Marathon* within the country of *Attica*, with a puissant power of three hundred thousand fighting men, there pitched his camp, and proclamed war upon the inhabitants of those parts. The Athenians making small account of this so great a multitude of Barbarians, sent out nine thousand men, under the conduct of these four Captains; namely, *Cynegyrus*, *Polyzelus*, *Callimachus*, and *Miltiades*. So they struck a battel, during which conflict, *Polyzelus* chanced to see the vision of one represented unto him surpassing mans nature, and thereupon lost his sight and became blind: *Callimachus* wounded through divers parts of his body with many pikes and javelins, dead though he was, stood upon his feet: and *Cynegyrus*, as he stayed a Persian ship which was about to retire back, had both his hands smitten off.

Asdrubal the King being possessed of *Sicily*, denounced war against the Romans: and *Metellus* being chosen Lord General by the Senate, obtained a victory in a certain battel against him: in which battel *L. Glauco* a Noble man of *Rome*, as he held the admiral-ship of *Asdrubal* lost both his hands: as *Aristides* the Milesian writeth in the first Book of the Annals of *Sicily*, of whom *Diodorus Siculus* hath learned the matter and subject Argument of his History.

2. *Xerxes*

2. *Xerxes* being come to lie at anchor neer the Cape *Artemisium* with five hundred thousand fighting men, proclamed war upon the people of that country: whereat the Athenians being much astonied, sent as a spy (for to view and survey his forces) *Agesilaus* the brother of *Themistocles*; albeit his father *Neocles* had a dream in the night, and thought that he saw his son dismembred of both his hands; who entring the camp of the Barbarians in habit of a Persian, slew *Mardonius* one of the Captains of the Kings *corps de guard*, supposing he had been *Xerxes* himselfe: and being apprehended by them that were about him, was brought tied and bound before the King, who was then even ready to offer sacrifice upon the Altar of the Sun: into the fire of which Altar, *Agesilaus* thrust his right hand, and endured the force of the torment, without crying or groaning at all; whereupon the King commanded him to be unbound: and then said *Agesilaus* unto him: Wee Athenians be all of the like mind and resolution, and if you will not believe me, I will put my left hand also into the fire: whereat *Xerxes* being mightily afraid, caused him to be kept safely with a good guard about him. This writeth *Agatharsides* the Samian, in his second Book of the Persian Chronicles.

Porsena King of the Tuscans, having encamped on the farther side of the river *Tyber*, warred upon the Romans, and by cutting off the victuals and all provision that was wont to be brought to *Rome*, distressed the said Romans with famine: and when the Senate hereupon was wonderfully troubled: *Mutius* a noble man of the City (taking with him four hundred other brave Gentlemen of his own age, by commission from the Consuls, in poor and simple array) passed over the River: and casting his eye upon the Captain of the Kings guard, dealing among other Captains, victuals and other necessaries, supposing he had been *Porsena*, killed him: whereu; on he was presently taken and brought before the King, who put his right hand likewise into the fire, and enduring the pains thereof whiles it burned, most stoutly, seemed to smile thereat and said: Thou barbarous King, lo how I am loose and at liberty even against thy will: but note well this besides, that we are foure hundred of us within thy camp that have undertaken to take away thy life: with which words *Porsena* was so affrighted, that he made peace with the Romans: according as *Aristides* the Milesian writeth, in the third Book of his Story.

3. The Argives and the Lacedæmonians, being at war one with another about the possession of the country *Thyreatis*, the *Amphictyones* gave sentence that they should put it to a battel, and look whether side won the field, to them should the land in question appertain. The Lacedæmonians therefore chose for their Captain *Othryades*: and the Argives, *Thersander*: when the battel was done, there remained two only alive of the Argives, to wit, *Agenor* and *Chromius*, who carried tidings to the City, of victory. Mean while, when all was quiet, *Othryades* not fully dead, but having some little life remaining in him, bearing himself, and leaning upon the trun. hions of broken lances, caught up the targets and shields of the dead, and gathered them together, and having erected a Trophee; he wrote thereupon with his own blood: To *Jupiter* Victor and Guardian of Trophees. Now when as both those parties maintained still the controversie about the land, the *Amphictyones* went in person to the place to be eye-judges of the thing, and adjudged the victory on the Lacedæmonians side: this writeth *Chrysermus* in the third book of the Peloponnesiack History.

The Romans levying war against the Samnites chose for their chief Commander *Posthumius Albinus*, who being surprized by an ambush within a straight between two mountains, called *Furcæ Caudinæ*, a very narrow passe, lost three of his Legions, and being himself deadly wounded, fell and lay for dead: howbeit about midnight, taking breath, was quick again, and somewhat revived, he arose, took the targets from his enemies bodies that lay dead in the place, and erected a Trophee, and drenching his hand in their blood, wrote in this manner: The Romans, to *Jupiter* Victor, Guardian of Trophees, against the Samnites: but *Marius* surnamed *Gurges*, that is to say, the glutton, being sent thither as general Captain, and viewing upon the very place, the said Trophee so erected: I take this gladly (quoth he) for a sign and presage of good fortune; and thereupon gave battel unto his enemies and won the victory, took their King prisoner, and sent him to *Rome*, according as *Aristides* writeth in his third Book of the Italian History.

4. The Persians entred *Greece* with a puissant army of 500000. men: against whom *Leonidas* was sent by the Lacedæmonians with a band of three hundred, to guard the straights of *Thermophyle*, and impeach his passage: in which place as they were merry at their meat, and taking their refection; the whole main power of the Barbarians came upon them. *Leonidas* seeing his enemies advancing forward, spake unto his own men and said: Sit still sirs and make an end of your dinner hardly, so as you may take your suppers in another world: so he charged upon the Barbarians and notwithstanding he had many a dart sticking in his body, yet he made a lane through the presse of the enemies until he came to the very person of *Xerxes*, from whom he took the Diadem that was upon his head, and so died in the place. The Barbarians King caused his body to be opened when he was dead, and his heart to be taken forth, which was found to be all over-grown with hair; as writeth *Aristides* in the first Book of the Persian History.

The Romans warring against the Carthaginians, sent a company of three hundred men under the leading of a Captain named *Fabius Maximus*, who bad his enemies battel, and lost all his men: himselfe being wounded to death, charged upon *Annibal* with such violence, that he took from him the regal Diadem or Frontal that he had about his head, and so died upon it, as writeth *Aristides* the Milesian.

5. In

5. In the City of *Celæne* in *Phrygia*, the earth opened and clave asunder; so as there remained a mighty chink, with a huge quantity of water issuing thereout, which carried away and drew into the bottomlesse pit thereof, a number of houses with all the persons great and small within them. Now *Midas* the King was advertised by an Oracle, that if he cast within the said pit the most precious thing that he had, both sides would close up again, and the earth meet and be firm ground. So he caused to be thrown into it a great quantity of gold and silver: but all would do no good. Then *Anchurus* his son, thinking with himselfe, that there was nothing so precious as the life and soul of man, after he had lovingly embraced his father, and bid him farwel, and withal taken his leave of his wife *Timothea*, mounted on horseback, and cast himselfe horse and all into the said chink. And behold, the earth immediately closed up: whereupon *Midas* made a golden Altar, of *Jupiter Idæus*, touching it only with his hand. This Altar about that time, when as the said breach or chink of earth was, became a stone: but after a certain prefixed time passed, it is seen all gold: this writeth *Callisthenes* in his second Book of Transformations.

The river *Tybris* runneth through the midst of the market place at *Rome*, for the anger of *Jupiter Tarsius* caused an exceeding great chink within the ground, which swallowed up many dwelling houses. Now the Oracle rendered this answer unto the Romans, that this should cease in case they flung into the breach some costly and precious thing: and when they had cast into it both gold and silver, but all in vain: *Curtius* a right noble young Gentleman of the City, pondering well the words of the Oracle, and considering with himselfe that the life of man was more precious then gold, cast himselfe on horseback into the said chink, and so delivered his Citizens and Countrimen from their calamity: this hath *Aristides* recorded in his fourtieth Book of Italian Histories.

6. *Amphiaraus* was one of the Princes and Leaders that accompanied *Polynices*: and when one day they were feasting merrily together, an Eagle soaring over his head, chanced to catch up his javelin and carry it up aloft in the air, which afterwards when she had let fall again, stuck fast in the ground and became a lawrel. The morrow after, as they joined battel, in that very place, *Amphiaraus* with his chariot was swallowed up within the earth: and there standeth now the City *Harma*, so called of the chariot: as *Trismachus* reporteth in the third book of his Foundations.

During the wars which the Romans waged against *Pyrrhus* King of the Epirotes, *Paulus Æmylius* was promised by the Oracle that he should have the victory, if he would set up an altar in that very place where he should see one Gentleman of quality and good mark, to be swallowed alive in the earth, together with his chariot. Three days after *Valerius* **Conatus*, when in a dream he thought that he saw himselfe adorned with his Priestly Vestments (for skilful he was in the art of divination) led forth the army, and after he had slain many of his enemies, was devoured quick within the ground. Then *Paulus Æmylius* caused an Altar to be reared and won the battel, wherein he took alive an hundred and threescore Elephants carrying Turrets upon their backs, whom he sent to *Rome*. This Altar useth to give answer as an Oracle about that time that *Pyrrhus* was defeated: according as *Critolaus* writeth in the third Book of the Epirotick History.

* Or *Tarquatus*.

7. *Pyraichmes* King of the Eubœans, whom *Hercules* being yet but a young man vanquished, and tying him between two horses, caused his body to be plucked and torn in pieces: which done, he cast it forth for to lie unburied: now the place where this execution was performed, is called at this day, *Pyraichmes* his horses, situate upon the River *Heraclius*: and whensoever there be any horses watered there, a man shall sensibly hear a noise as if horses neighed: thus we find written in the third book entituled, *Of Rivers*.

Tullus Hostilius King of the Romans, made war upon the Albans, who had for their King *Metius Sufetius*: and many times he seemed to retire and lie off, as loth to encounter and join battel; insomuch as the enemies supposing him to be discomfited, betook themselves to mirth and good cheer: but when they had taken their wine well, he set upon them with so hot a charge that he defeated them: and having taken their King prisoner, he set him fast tied between two steeds and dismembred him, as *Alexarchus* writeth in the fourth Book of the Italian Histories.

8. *Philip* intending to force and sack the Cities of *Methone* and *Olynthus* as he laboured with much ado to passe over the River *Sandanus*, chanced to be shot into the eye with an arrow by an Olynthian, whose name was *Aster*, and in it was this verse written:

Philip *beware; have at thine eye:*
Aster *this deadly shaft lets flie.*

Whereupon *Philip* perceiving himselfe to be overmatched, swam back againe unto his own company, and with the losse of one eye escaped with life, according as *Callisthenes* reporteth in the third Book of the Macedonian Annals.

Porsena King of the Tuscans lying encamped on the other side of *Tybris*, warred upon the Romans: and intercepted their victuals which were wont to be conveighed to *Rome*, whereby he put the City to great distresse in regard of famine: but *Horatius Cocles* being by the common voice of the people chosen Captain, planted himself upon the wooden bridge, which the Barbarians were desirous to gain and for a good while made the place good, and put back the whole multitude of them pressing upon him to pass over it; in the end finding himself overcharged with the enemies, he commanded those who were ranged in battel-ray behind him, to cut down the bridge; mean while he received the violent charge of them all, & impeached their entrance, until such time as he was wounded in the eye with a dart; whereupon he leapt into the river, and swam over unto his fellows: thus *Tacitus* reporteth this narration in the third Book of Italian Histories.

9. There

9. There is a tale told of *Icarius*, by whom *Bacchus* was lodged and entertained, as *Eratosthenes* in *Erigone* hath related in this wise. *Saturn* upon a time was lodged by an husbandman of the country, who had a fair daughter named *Entoria*: her he deflowred and begat of her four sons, *Janus*, *Hymnus*, *Faustus*, and *Felix*; whom he having taught the manner of drinking Wine, and of planting the vine, enjoyned them also to impart that knowledge unto their neighbours, which they did accordingly: but they on the other side, having taken upon a time more of this drink then their usual manner was, fell asleep, and slept more then ordinary: when they were awake, imagining that they had drunk some poyson, stoned *Icharius* the husbandman to death: whereat his Nephews or Daughters children took such a thought and conceit, that for very griefe of heart, they knit their necks in halters, and strangled themselves. Now when there was a great pestilence that raigned among the Romans, the Oracle of *Apollo* gave answer, that the mortality would stay, in case they had once appeased the ire of *Saturn*; and likewise pacified their ghosts, who unjustly lost their lives. Then *Lutatius Catulus*, a noble man of *Rome*, built a Temple unto *Saturn*, which stoudeth neer unto the mount *Tarpeius*, and erected an Altar with four faces; either in remembrance of those four Nephews above said, or respective to the four seasons and quarters of the yeer; and withal instituted the month January. But *Saturn* turned them all four into Stars, which be called the forerunners of the Vintage: among which that of *Janus* ariseth before others, and appeareth at the feet of *Virgo*, as *Critolaus* testifieth in his fourth Book of *Phænomena*, or Apparitions in the Heaven.

10. At what time as the Persians overran *Greece*, and wasted all the Country before them: *Pausanias* general Captain of the Lacedæmonians, having received of *Xerxes* five hundred talents of gold, promised to betray *Sparta*: but his treason being discovered, *Agesilaus* his Father pursued him into the Temple of *Minerva*, called *Chalciœcos*, whither he fled for sanctuary: where he caused the doors of the Temple to be mured up with brick, and so famished him to death. His mother tooke his corps, and cast it forth to dogs, not suffering it to be buried: according to *Chrysermus* in the second Book of his Story.

The Romans warring against the Latins, chose for their Captain *Publius Decius*. Now there was a certain Gentleman of a noble house, howbeit poor, named *Cassius Brutus*, who for a certain sum of money which the enemies should pay unto him, intended in the night season to set the gates of the City wide open for them to enter in. This treachery being detected, he fled for sanctuary into the Temple of *Minerva*, surnamed *Auxiliaria* where *Cassius* his Father, named also *Signifer*, shut him up and kept him so long, that he died for very famine: and when he was dead, threw his body forth, and would not allow it any sepulture: as writeth *Chronymus* in his Italian Histories.

11. *Darius* King of *Persia* having fought a field with *Alexander* the Great, and in that conflict lost seven of his great Lieutenants and Governors of Provinces, besides 502. war-chariots armed with trenchant sithes, would notwithstanding bid him battel again; but *Ariobarzanes* his son, upon a pitiful affection that he carried to *Alexander*, promised to betray his father into his hands; whereat his father took such displeasure and indignation, that he caused his head to be smitten off. Thus reporteth *Areiades* the Gnidian in his third Book of Macedonian Histories.

Brutus being chosen Consul of *Rome* by the general voice of the whole people, chased out of the City, *Tarquinius Superbus* who raigned tyrannically; but he retiring himselfe unto the Tuscans, levied war upon the Romans. The sons of the said *Brutus* conspiring to betray their father, were discovered, and so he commanded them to be beheaded: as *Aristides* the Milesian writeth in his Annals of *Italy*.

12. *Epaminondas* Captain of the Thebanes warred against the Lacedæmonians: and when the time was come that Magistrates should be elected at *Thebes*, himselfe in person repaired thither, having given order and commandment in the mean while unto his son *Stesimbrotus*, in no wise to fight with the enemy. The Lacedæmonians having intelligence given them, that the father was absent, reproached and reviled this young Gentleman, and called him coward: wherewith he was so galled, that he fell into a great fit of choler, and forgetting the charge that his father had laid upon him, gave the enemies battel, and atchieved the victory. His father upon his return, was highly offended with his son, for transgressing his will and commandment: and after he had seen victorious Crown upon his head, caused it to be strucken off, as *Ctesiphon* recordeth in the third Book of the Bœotian Histories.

The Romans during the time that they maintained war against the Samnites, chose for their general captain, *Manlius* surnamed Imperiosus: who returning upon a time from the camp to *Rome*, for to be present at the election of Consuls, straightly charged his son not to fight with the enemies in his absence. The Samnites hereof advertized, provoked the young gentleman with most spitefull and villanous tearms, reproaching him likewise with cowardize: which he not able to endure, was so far moved in the end, that he gave them battel and defeated them: but *Manlius* his father when he was returned, cut him shorter by the head for it: as testifieth *Aristides* the Milesian.

13. *Hercules* being denied marriage with the Lady *Iole*, took the repulse so neer to heart, that he forced and sacked the City *Oechalta*. But *Iole* flung her selfe headlong down from the wall into the trench under it: howbeit so it fortuned that the wind taking hold of her garments as she fell, bare her up so, as in the fall she caught no harm, as witnesseth *Nicetas* of *Madea*.

The Romans whiles they warred upon the Tuscans, chose for their Commander *Valerius Torquatus*; who having a sight of *Clusia* their Kings daughter, fancied her, and demanded her of him in marriage:

marriage: but being denied and rejected, he wan the City, and put it to the saccage. The Lady *Clusia* flung herself down from an high tower; but through the providence of *Venus*, her habillements were so heaved up with the wind, that they brake the fall, and albeit she light upon the ground, she escaped alive. Then the Captain beforenamed, forced her and abused her body: in regard of which dishonor and vilany offered unto her, by a general decree of all the Romans, confined he was into the isle of *Corsica*, which lieth against *Italy*: as witnesseth *Theophilus* in the third Book of his Italian History.

14. The Carthaginians and Sicilians, being entred into league, banded themselves against the Romans, and prepared with their joynt forces to war upon them; whereupon *Metellus* was chosen Captain, who having offered sacrifice unto all other Gods and Goddesses, left out onely the Goddess *Vesta*; who thereupon raised a contrary wind to blow against him in his voyage. Then *Cajus Julius*, the Southsayer said unto him, that the wind would lie, in case before he embarked and set sail, he offered in sacrifice his own daughter unto *Vesta*. *Metellus* being driven to this hard exigent, was constrained to bring forth his daughter to be sacrificed; but the Goddess taking pitty of him and her, instead of the Maiden substituted a yong Heifer, and carried the Virgin to *Lavinium*, where she made her a Religious Priestress of the Dragon, which they worship and have in great reverence within that City: as writeth *Pythoclis* in his third Book of Italian affairs.

In like manner is the case of *Iphigenia*, which hapned in *Aulis* a City of *Bœotia*: reported by *Merillus* in the third Book of Bœotian Chronicles.

15. *Brennus* a King of the Galatians or Gallo-Greeks, as he forrayed and spoiled *Asia*, came at length to *Ephesus*, where he fell in love with a yong Damsel, a Commoners daughter; who promised to lie with him, yea and to betray the City unto him, upon condition that he would give unto her carquanets, bracelets, and other jewels of gold, wherewith Ladies are wont to adorn and set out themselves. Then *Brennus* requested those about his person to cast into the lap of this covetous wench, all the golden jewels which they had; which they did in such quantity, that the Maiden was overwhelmed undersheu quick, and pressed to death with their weight: as *Clitopho* writeth in the first Book of the Galatian History.

Tarpeia a Virgin, and yong Gentlewoman of a good house, having the keeping of the Capitol, during the the time that the Romans warred against the Albanes, promised unto their King *Tatius*, for to give him entrance into the Castle of Mount *Tarpeius*, if in recompence of her good service, he would bestow upon her such bracelets, rings, and carquanets, as the Sabine Dames used to wear when they trimmed up themselves in best manner: which when the Sabines understood, they heaped upon her so many, that they buried her quick underneath them: according as *Aristides* the Milesian reporteth in his Italian History.

16. The inhabitants of *Tegea* and *Phenea* two Cities, maintained a lingring war one against the other so long, until they concluded in the end to determine all quarrels and controversies by the combat of three Brethren, twins, of either side. And the men of *Tegea* put forth into the field for their part, the sons of their Citizens, named *Reximachus*: and those of *Phinea* for themselves, the sons of *Damostratus*. When these Champions were advanced forth into the plain, to perform their devoir, it fortuned that two of *Reximachus* his sons were killed outright in the place; and the third, whose name was *Critolaus*, wrought such a stratagem with his three concurrents, that he overcame them all: for making semblance as though he fled, he turned suddenly back, and slew them one after another, as he espied his advantage, when they were singled and severed asunder in their chase after him. At his return home with this glorious victory, all his Citizens did congratulate and rejoyce with him, onely his own sister named *Demodice*, was nothing glad therefore, because one of the brethren, whom he had slain, was espoused unto her, whose name was *Demoticus*. *Critolaus* taking great indignation hereat killed her out of hand. The mother to them both sued him for this murther, and required justice; howbeit he was acquit of all actions and indictments framed against him: as writeth *Demaratus* in the second Book of Arcadian acts.

The Romans and the Albanes having warred a long time together, chose for their Champions to decide all quarrels, three brethren twins, both of the one side and the other. For the Albanes were three *Curiatii*, and for the Romans as many *Horatii*. The combate was no sooner begun, but those of *Alba* laid two of their adversaries dead in the dust; the third helping himself with a feigned flight, killed the other three one after another, as they divided asunder in pursuit after him; for which victory, all other Romans made great joy; onely his own sister *Horatia* shewed her self nothing well pleased herewith, for that to one of the other side she was betrothed in marriage: for which he made no more ado, but stabbed his sister to the heart: this is reported by *Aristides* the Milesian, in his Annales of *Italy*.

17. In the City *Ilium*, when the fire had taken the Temple of *Minerva*, one of the Inhabitants named *Ilus* ran thither, and caught the little Image of *Minerva* named *Palladium*, which was supposed to have fallen from heaven, and therewith lost his sight, because it was not lawful that the said Image should be seen by any man; howbeit afterwards when he had appeased the wrath of the said Goddess, he recovered his eye sight again: as writeth *Dercyllus* in the first Book of Foundations.

Metellus a Nobleman of *Rome*, as he went towards a certain House of pleasure that he had neer unto the City, was stayed in the way by certain Ravens that flapped and beat him with their wings:

At which ominous accident being astonied, and presaging some evil to be toward him, he returned to *Rome*; and seeing the Temple of the Goddess *Vesta* on fire, he ran thither and took away the petty Image of *Pallas*, named *Palladium*, and so likewise suddenly fell blinde; howbeit afterwards being reconciled unto her, he got his sight again: this is the report of *Arijtides* in his Chronicle.

18. The Thracians warring against the Athenians, were directed by an Oracle, which promised them victory, in case they saved the person of *Godrus* King of *Athens*; but he disguising himself in the habit of a poor labourer, and carrying a bill in his hand, went into the camp of the enemies, and killed one, where likewise he was killed by another, and so the Athenians obtained victory: as *So.* writeth in the second Book of Thracian affairs.

Publicus Decius a Roman, making war against the Albaner, dreamed in the night, and saw a vision which promised him, that if himself dyed, he should adde much to the puissance of the Romans: whereupon he charged upon his enemies where they were thickest arranged: and when he had killed a number of them, was himself slain. *Decius* also his son, in the war against the Gauls, by that means saved the Romans; as saith *Arijtides* the Milesian.

19. *Cyanippus* a Siracusian born, sacrificed upon a time unto all other gods, but unto *Bacchus*: whereat the god being offended, hunted him with drunkenness: so as in a dark corner he disloured forcibly his own daughter, named *Cyane*: but in the time that he dealt with her, she took away the ring off his finger, and gave it unto her nourse to keep, for to testifie another day who it was that thus abused her. Afterwards the pestilence reigned sore in those parts: and *Apollo* gave answer by Oracle, that they were to offer in sacrifice unto the gods that turned away calamities, a godless and incestuous person: All others will not whom the Oracle meaned; but *Cyane* knowing full well the will of *Apollo*, took her father by the hair, and drew him per-force to the altar, and when she had caused him to be killed, sacrificed her self after upon him: as writeth *Dositheus* in the third Book of the Chronicles of *Cicily*.

While the feast of *Bacchus* called *Bacchanalia* was celebrated at *Rome*, there was one *Aruntus*, who never in all his life had drunk wine, but water onely, and always despised the power of god *Bacchus*: who to be revenged of him, caused him one time be so drunk, that he forced his own daughter *Medullina*, and abused her body carnally; who having knowledge by his ring, who it was that did the deed, and taking to her a greater heart then one of her age, made her father one day drunk, and after she had adorned his head with Garlands and chaplets of flowers, led him to a place called the altar of *Thunder*, where with many tears she sacrificed him who had surprized her, and taken away her virginity, as writeth *Arijtides* the Milesian in the third Book of Italian Chronicles.

20. *Erechtheus* warring upon *Eumolpus*, was advertised that he should win the victory, if before he went into the field he sacrificed his own daughter unto the gods: who when he had imparted this matter unto his wife *Phraxithea*, he offered his daughter in sacrifice before the battel; hereof *Euripides* maketh mention in his Tragedy *Erechtheus*.

Marius maintaining war against the Cimbrans, and finding himself too weak, saw a vision in his sleep, that promised him victory, if before he went to battel, he did sacrifice his daughter named *Calpurnia*: who seeing the good of the weal publike, and the regard of his Countreymen, before the natural affection to his own blood, did accordingly, and won the field; and even at this day, two Altars there be in *Germany*, which at the very time and hour that this Sacrifice was offered, yeld the sound of Trumpets, as *Dorotheus* reporteth in the third Book of the Annales of Italy.

21. *Cyampus* a Thessalian born, used ordinarily to go on hunting; his wife a yong Gentlewoman entertained this fancy of jealousie in her head, that the reason why he went forth so often, and stayed so long in the forrest, was because he had the company of some other woman whom he loved: whereupon she determined with her self to lie in espial: one day therefore she followed and traced *Cyanippus*, and at length lay close within a certain thicket of the forest, waiting and expecting what would fall out and come of it. It chanced that the leaves and branches of the shrubs about her stirred; the hounds imagining that there was some wilde Beast within, seized upon her, and so tare in pieces this yong Dame (that loved her husband so well) as if she had been a savage Beast. *Cyanippus* then seeing before his eyes, that which he never would have imagined or thought in his minde, for very grief of heart killed himself: as *Parthenius* the Poet hath left in writing.

In *Sybaris* a City of *Italy*, there was sometime a yong Gentleman named *Æmilius*, who being a beautiful person, and one who loved passing well the game of hunting, his wife who was yong also, thought him to be enamored of another Lady; and therefore got herself close within a thicket, and chanced to stir the boughs of the shrubs and bushes about her. The hounds thereupon that ranged and hunted thereabout, light upon her, and tare her body in pieces; which when her husband saw, he killed himself upon her: as *Clytomimus* reporteth in his second Book of the Sybaritick History.

22. *Smyrna* the daughter of *Cerynas* having displeased and angred *Venus*, became enamored of her own father, and declared the vehemence of her love unto her nourse. She therefore by a wily device went to work with her Master, and bare him in hand that there was a fair Damsel, a neighbors daughter, that was in love with him, but abashed and ashamed to come unto him openly, or to be seen at all with him. The Master believed this, and lay with her; but one time above the rest, desirous to know who she was with whom he accompanied, called for a light; and so soon as he knew

knew it was his own daughter, he drew his sword, and followed after this most vilanous and incestuous filth, intending to kill her: But by the providence of *Venus*, transformed she was into a Tree, bearing her name, to wit, Myrtle; as *Theodorus* reporteth in his Metamorphoses or Transmutations.

Valeria Tusculanaria, having incurred the displeasure of *Venus*; became amorous of her own father, and communicated this love of hers unto her nourse: who likewise went cunningly about her Master, and made him believe that there was a yong Maiden, a neighbors childe, who was in fancy with him, but would not, in regard of modestie, be known unto him of it, nor be seen when she should frequent his company. Howbeit her father, one night being drunk, called for a candle: but the Nourse prevented him, and in great haste wakened her: who fled thereupon into the Countrey great with childe; where she cast her self down from the pitch of a steep place, yet the fruit of her womb lived: for notwithstanding that fall she did not miscarry, but continued still with her great belly; and when her time was come, delivered she was of a son, such an one as in the Roman language is named *Sylvanus*, and in Greek *Ægipanes*. *Valerius* the father took such a thought thereupon, that for very anguish of minde he threw himself down headlong from a steep rock: as recordeth *Arijtides* the Milesian in the third Book of Italian Histories.

23. After the destruction of *Troy*, *Diomedes* by a tempest was cast upon the coast of *Libya*, where reigned a King named *Lycus*: whose manner and custom was to sacrifice unto his own father god *Mars*, all those strangers that arrived, and were set a land in his Countrey. But *Callirrhoe* his daughter casting an affection unto *Diomedes*, betrayed her father, and saved *Diomedes* by delivering him out of Prison. And he again not regarding her accordingly, who had done him so good a turn, departed from her, and sailed away: Which indignity she took so neer to the heart, that she hanged her self, and so ended her days: This writeth *Juba* in the third Book of the Libyan History.

Calpurnius Crassus a Nobleman of *Rome*, being abroad at the wars together with *Regulus*, was by him sent against the Massilians, for to seize a strong Castle, and hard to be won, named *Gareton*; but in this service being taken Prisoner, and destined to be killed in sacrifice unto *Saturn*, it fortuned that *Bystia* the Kings daughter fancied him, so as she betrayed her father, and put the victory into her lovers hand; but when this youg Knight was retired and gone, the Damsel for sorrow of heart cut her own throat: as writeth *Hesianax* in the third Book of the Libyan History.

24. *Priamus* the King of *Troy*, fearing that the City would be lost, sent his yong son *Polydorus* into *Thrace*, to his son in law *Polymester*, who married his daughter, with a great quantity of gold: *Polymester* for very covetousness, after the destruction of the City, murdered the childe, because he might gain the gold: but *Hecuba* being come into those parts, under a colour and pretence that she should bestow that gold upon him, together with the help of other Dames Prisoners with her, plucked with her own hands both eyes out of his head: witness *Euripides* the Tragedian Poet.

In the time that *Hannibal* over-ran and wasted the Countrey of *Campania* in *Italy*, *Lucius* **Imbrax* bestowed his son *Rustius* for safety, in the hands of a son in law whom he had, named *Valerius Gestius*; and left with him a good sum of money. But when this Campanian heard that *Annibal* had won a great victory, for very avarice he brake all laws of nature, and murdered the childe: The father *Thrymius* as he travelled in the Countrey, lighting upon the dead corps of his own son, sent for his son in law aforesaid, as if he meant to shew him some great treasure; who was no sooner come, but he plucked out both his eyes, and afterwards crucified him; as *Arijtides* testifieth in the third Book of his Italian Histories. *Or, *Thrymius*.

25. *Æacus* begat of *Psamatha* one son named *Phocus*, whom he loved very tenderly: but *Telamon* his brother not well content therewith, trained him forth one day into the Forest a hunting, where having rouzed a wilde Bore, he launced his javelin or Bore-spear against the childe whom he hated, and so killed him: for which fact, his father banished him; as *Dorotheus* telleth the tale, in the first Book of his Metamorphoses.

Cajus Maximus had two sons, *Similius* and *Rhesus*: of which two, *Rhesus* he begat upon *Ameria*, who upon a time as he hunted in the chase, killed his brother, and being come home again, he would have perswaded his father that it was by chance, and not upon a propensed malice that he slew him: but his father when he knew the truth, exiled him: as *Aristotle* hath recorded in the third Book of Italian Chronicles.

26. *Mars* had the company of *Althea*, by whom she was conceived and delivered of *Meleager*: as witnesseth *Euripides* in his Tragedy *Meleager*.

Septimius Marcellus, having married *Sylvia*, was much given to hunting, and ordinarily went to the Chase: then *Mars* taking his advantage, disguising himself in the habit of a shepherd; forced this new wedded wife, and gat her with childe; which done, he bewrayed unto her who he was, and gave her a lance, or spear, saying unto her, That the generosity and descent of that issue which she should have by him, consisted in that lance: now it hapned that *Septimius* slew *Tusquinus*: and *Mamercus* when he sacrificed unto the gods for the good encrease of the fruits upon the earth, neglected *Ceres* onely; whereupon she taking displeasure for this contempt, sent a great wilde Bore into his Countrey: Then he assembled a number of Hunters to chase the said Beast, and killed him; which done, the head and the skin he sent unto his espoused wife: *Scimbrates* and *Muthias*

her Uncles by the Mother side, offended hereat, would have taken all away from the Damosel: But he took such displeasure thereat, that he slew his Kinsmen; and his Mother for to be revenged of his Brethrens death, buried the cursed spear: as *Menylus* reporteth in the third Book of the Italian Historics.

27. *Telamon* the sone of *Æacus* and *Endeis*, fled by night from his father, and arrived in the Isle of *Eubœa*, * * The father perceiving it, and supposing him to be one of his Subjects, gave his daughter to one of his guard, for to be cast into the Sea; but he for very commiseration and pitty, sold her to certain Merchants; and when the ship was arrived at *Salamis*, *Telamon* chanced to buy her at their hands, and she bare unto him *Ajax*; witness *Aretados* the Gnidian, in the second Book of his Insular affairs.

Lucius Trocius had by wife *Patris*, a daughter named *Florentia*: her *Calphurnius* a Roman deflowred, whereupon he commanded the yong maid-childe which she bare, to be cast into the sea; but the Souldier who had the charge so to do, took compassion of her, and chose rather to sell her unto a Merchant; and it fortuned so, that the ship of a certain Merchant arrived in *Italy*, where *Calphurnius* bought her, and of her body begat *Contruscus*.

28 *Æolus* King of *Tuskan*, had by his wife *Amphithea* six daughters, and as many sons; of whom *Macareus* the yongest, for very love deflowred one of his sisters, who when the time came brought forth a childe; when this came once to light, her father sent unto her a sword, and she acknowledging the fault which she had committed, killed herself therewith, and so did afterwards her brother *Macareus*: as *Softratus* reporteth in the second Book of the Turcan story.

Papyrius Volucer, having espoused *Julia Pulchra*, had by her six daughters, and as many sons; the eldest of whom named *Papyrius Romanus*, was enamored of *Canulia*, one of his sisters, as she was by him with childe; which when the father understood, he sent unto her likewise a sword, wherewith she made away herself; and *Romanus* also did as much: thus *Chrisippus* relateth in the first Book of the Italian Chronicles.

29. *Aristymus* the Ephesian, son of *Demostratus*, hated women, but most unnaturally he had to do with a she-Ass, which when time came, brought forth a most beautiful maid-childe, sirnamed *Onoscelis*: as *Aristotle* writeth in the second Book of his Paradoxes, or strange Accidents.

Fulvius Stellus was at war with all women, but yet he dealt most beastly with a Mare, and she bare unto him after a time, a fair daughter, named *Hippona*; and this is the Goddess forsooth that hath the charge and overseeing of Horses and Mares: as *Agesilaus* hath set down in the third Book of Italian affairs.

30. The Sardians warred upon a time against the Smyrneans, and encamped before the walls of their City; giving them to understand by their Ambassadors, that raise their siege they would not, unless they sent unto them their wives to lie withal: The Smyrneans being driven to this extremity, were at the point to do that which the enemies demanded of them: but a certain waiting-maiden there was, a fair and well favoured Damosel, who ran unto her master *Philarchus*, and said unto him, that he must not fail, but in any case chuse out the faireſt Wenches that were maid-servants in all the City, to dress them like unto Citizens wives, and free born women, and so to send them unto their enemies in stead of their Mistresses, which was effected accordingly; and when the Sardians were wearied with dealing with these Wenches, the Smyrneans issued forth, surprized and spoiled them; Whereupon it cometh, that even at this day, in the City of *Smyrna* there is a solemn Feast named *Eleutheria*; upon which day, the maid-servants wear the apparel of their Mistresses which be free-women: as saith *Dositheus* in the third Book of Lydian Chronicles.

Antepomarus King of the Gaul, when he made war upon the Romans, gave it out flatly, and said, that he would never dislodge and break up his Camp, before they sent unto them their wives, for to have their pleasure of them: but they by the counsel of a certain chamber-maid, sent unto them their maid-servants: The Barbarians meddled so long with them, that they were tired, and fell sound asleep in the end: then *Rhotana* (for that was her name who gave the said counsel) took a branch of a wilde fig-tree; and mounting up to the top of a rampier wall, gave a signal thereby to the Consul, who sallied forth and defeated them: Whereupon there is a Feastival-day of chambermaids; for so saith *Aristides* the Milesian, in the first Book of the Italian History.

31. When the Athenians made war upon *Eumolpus*, and were at some default of victuals, *Pyrander*, who had the charge of the munition, and was Treasurer of the State (for to make spare of the provision) diminished the ordinary measure, and cut men short of their allowances: the inhabitants, suspecting him to be a Traytor to his Countrey in so doing, stoned him to death; as *Calistratus* testifieth in the third Book of the Thracian History.

The Romans warring upon the Gauls, and having not sufficient store of victuals, *Cinna* abridged the people of their Ordinary measure of corn: the Romans suspecting thereupon that he made way thereby to be King, stoned him likewise to death: witness *Aristides* in his third Book of Italian Historier.

32. During the Peloponnesiack war, *Pisistratus* the Orchomenian, hated the Nobles, and affected men of base and low degree; whereupon the Senators complotted and resolved among themselves to kill him in the Councel-house, where they cut him in pieces, and every one put a gobbet of him in his bosom, and when they had so done, they scraped and cleansed the floor where his blood

blood was shed. The common people having some suspicition of the matter rushed into the Senate-house: But *Thesimachus* the Kings youngest son, who was privy to the foresaid Conspiracy, withdrew the multitude from the common place of Assembly; and assured them that he saw his Father *Pisistratus* carrying a more stately Majestie in his countenance, then any mortal man, ascending up with great celerity the top of mount *Piseus*, as *Theophilus* recordeth in the second of his Peloponnesiacks.

In regard of the Wars so neer unto the City of *Rome*, the Roman Senate cut the people short of all their allowances in corn: whereat *Romulus* being not well pleased, allowed it them again, rebuked, yea, and chastised many of the great men; who thereupon banded against him, and in the middest of the Senate house made him away among them, cut him in pieces, and bestowed every man a slice of him in his bosom. Whereupon, the people ran immediately with fire in their hands to the Senate house, minding to burn them all within; but *Proculus* a Nobleman of the City assured them, that he saw *Romulus* upon a certain high mountain, and that he was bigger then any living man, and become a very god. The Romans believed his word (such authority the man carried with him) and so retired back; as *Aristobulus* writeth in the third Book of his Italian Chronicles.

33. *Pelops* the son of *Tantalus* and *Eurianassa*, wedded *Hippodamia*, who bare unto him *Atreus* and *Thyestes*: but of the Nymph *Danais* a Concubine, he begat *Chrysippus*, whom he loved better then any of his legitimate sons; him *Laius* the Theban being inamored, stole away by force; and being attached and intercepted by *Atreus* and *Thyestes*, obtained the good grace and favour of *Pelops* to enjoy him, for his loves sake. Howbeit, *Hippodami* perswaded her two sons *Atreus* and *Thyestes* to kill him, as if she knew that he aspired to the Kingdom of their Father: which they refusing to do, she her selfimployed her own hands to perpetrate this detestable fact; for one night, as *Laius* lay sound asleep, she drew forth his sword, and when she had wounded *Chrysippus* as he slept, she left the sword sticking in the wound: Thus was *Laius* suspected for the deed, because of his sword; but the youth being now half dead, discharged and acquit him, and revealed the whole truth of the matter: whereupon *Pelops* caused the dead body to be entered, but *Hippodamia* he banished; as *Dositheus* recordeth in his Book *Pelopide*.

Hebius Tolieix having espoused a wife named *Nuceria*, had by her two children: but of an infranchised Bond-woman he begat a son named *Phemius Firmus*, a childe of excellent beauty, whom he loved more dearly then the children by his lawful wife. *Nuceria* detesting this base son of his, solicited her own children to murder him; which when they (having the fear of God before their eyes) refused to do, she enterpized to execute the deed her self. And in truth she drew forth the sword of the Squires of the body in the night season, and with it gave him a deadly wound, as he lay fast asleep: the foresaid Squire was suspected and called in question for this fact, for that his sword was there found; but the childe himself discovered the truth: His father then commanded his body to be buried, but his wife he banished; as *Dositheus* recordrd in the third Book of the Italian Chronicles.

34. *Theseus* being in very truth the natural son of *Neptune*, had a son by *Hippolite* a Princess of the Amazones, whose name was *Hippolytus*; but afterwards married again, and brought into the house a Stepmother named *Phædra*, the daughter of *Minos*: who falling in love with her son in law *Hippolytus*, sent her nourse for to sollicite him: but he giving no ear unto her, left *Athens*, and went to *Troezen*, where he gave his minde to hunting. But the wicked and unchaste woman seeing her self frustrate and disappointed of her will, wrote forewd letters unto her husband against this honest and chaste yong Gentleman, informing him of many lies, and when she had so done, strangled her self with an halter, and so ended her days. *Theseus* giving credit unto her letters, besought his father *Neptune* of the three requests, whereof he had the choice; this one, nemely, to work the death of *Hyppolitus*, *Neptune* to satisfie his minde, sent out unto *Hippolytus*, as he rode along the Sea-side, a monstrous Bull, who so affrighted his Coach-horses, that they overthrew *Hippolytus*, and so he was crushed to death.

Comminius Super the Laurentine, having a son by the Nymph *Ægeria*, named *Cuominius*, espoused afterwards *Gidica*, and brought into his house a step-mother, who became likewise amorous of her son in law; and when she saw that she could not speed of her desire, she hanged herself, and left behinde her certain letters devised against him, containg many untruths. *Comminius* the father having read these slanderous imputations within the said letters, and believing that which his jealous head had once conceived, called upon *Neptune*, who presented unto *Comminius* his son, as he rode in his Chariot, a hideous Bull; which set his Steeds in such a fright, that they fell a flinging, and so haled the yong man, that they dismembred and killed him: as *Dositheus* reporteth in the third Book of the Italian History.

35. When the pestilence raigned in *Lacedemon*; the Oracle of *Apollo* delivered this answer, That the morality would cease, in case they sacrificed yeerly, a yong Virgin of Noble blood. Now when it fortuned that the lot one yeer fell upon *Helana*, so that she was led forth all prepared, and set out ready to be killed; there was an Eagle came flying down, caught up the sword which lay there, and carried it to certain droves of Beasts, where she laid it upon an Hiefer; whereupon ever after they forbear to sacrifice any more Virgins; as *Aristodemus* reporteth in the third Collect of Fables.

The plague was sore in *Falerii*, the contagion thereof being very great, there was given out an Oracle, That the said affliction would stay and give over, if they sacrificed yeerly a yong maiden unto *Juno*: and this superstition continuing always still, *Valeria Luperca* was by lot called to this sacrifice: now when the sword was ready drawn, there was an eagle came down out of the air, and carried it away; and upon the altar where the fire was burning laid a wand, having as one end in manner of a little mallet: as for the sword, she laid upon a yong Heifer, feeding by the Temple side; which when the yong Damsel perceived, after she had sacrificed the said Heifer, and taken up the mallet, she went from house to house, and gently knocking therewith all those that lay sick, raised them up; and said to every one, Be whole, and receive health: whereupon it cometh that even at this day this mysterie is still performed and observed; as *Aristides* hath reported in the 919. Book of his Italian Histories.

36. *Phylonome* the daughter of *Nyctimus* and *Arcadia*, hunted with *Diana*; whom *Mars* disguised like a Shepherd, got with childe. She having brought forth two Twins, for fear of her father threw them into the River *Erymanthus*; but they by the providence of the gods, were carried down the stream without harm or danger, and at length the current of the water cast them upon an hollow oak, growing up on the bank side, whereas a she-Woolf having newly kennelled had her den. This Woolf turned out her whelps into the River, and gave suck unto the two Twins abovesaid: which when a shepherd named *Tyliphus* once perceived, and had a sight of, he took up the little Infants, and caused them to be nourished as his own children, calling the one *Lycastus*, and the other *Parrasius*, who successively reigned in the Realm of *Arcadia*.

Amulius bearing himself insolently and violently like a Tyrant, to his brother *Numitor*: first killed his son *Æmitus* as they were hunting; then his daughter *Sylvia* he cloistered up as a religious Nun to serve *Juno*. She conceived by *Mars*; and when she was delivered of two Twins, confessed the truth unto the Tyrant; who standing in fear of them, caused them both to be cast into the River *Tybris*; where they were carried down the water unto one place, whereas a she-Woolf had newly kennelled with her yong ones: and verily her own whelps she abandoned and cast into the River, but the Babes she suckled. Then *Faustus* the shepherd chancing to espy them, took them up and nourished as his own; calling the one *Remus*, and the other *Romulus*: And these were the founders of *Rome* City: According to *Aristides* the Milesian in his Italian Histories.

37. After the destruction of *Troy*, *Agamemnon*, together with *Cassandra*, was mudered; but *Orestes* who had been reared and brought up with *Strophius*, was revenged of those murderers of his father: as *Pyrander* saith in his four Book of the Peloponnesian History.

Fabius Fabricanus, descended lineally from that great *Fabius Maximus*, after he had won and sacked *Tuxium*, the capital city of the Samnites, sent unto *Rome* the Image of *Venus* Victorese, which was so highly honored and worshipped among the Samnites. His wife *Fabia* had committed adultery, with a fair and well favored yong man, named *Petronius Valentinus*, and afterwards treacherously killed her husband. Now had *Fabia* his daughter saved her brother *Fabricianus*, being a very little one, out of danger, and sent him away secretly to be nourished and brought up. This youth when he came to age, killed both his mother and the adulterer also; for which act of his, acquit he was by the doom of the Senate: as *Dositheus* delivereth the story in the third Book of the Italian Chronicles.

38. *Busiris* the son of *Neptune*, and *Anippe* daughter of *Nilus*, under the colour of pretended hospitality, and courteous receiving of strangers, used to sacrifice all passengers; but Divine justice met with him in the end, and revenged their death: For *Hercules* set upon him and killed him with his club; as *Agathon* the Samian hath written.

Hercules as he drave before him through *Italy*, *Geryons* kine, was lodged by King *Faunus* the son of *Mercury*, who used to sacrifice all strangers and guests to his father: but when he means to do so unto *Hercules*, was himself by him slain; as written *Dercyllus* in the third Book of the Italian Histories.

39. *Phalaris* the Tyrant of the Agrigentines (a merciless Prince) was wont to torment and put to exquisite pain such as passed by or came unto him: and *Perillus* (who by his profession) was a skilful Brass-founder, had framed an Heifer of brass, which he gave unto this King, that he might burn quick in it the said strangers. And verily in this one thing did this Tyrant shew himself just; for he caused the Artificer himself to be put into it: and the said Heifer seemed too low, whiles he was burning within; as it written in the third Book of Causes.

In *Ægesta* a City of *Sicilie*, there was sometime a cruel Tyrant, named *Æmilius Censorinus*, whose manner was to reward with rich gifts those who could invent new kindes of Engines to put men to torture: so there was one named *Arruntius Paterculus*, who had devised and forged a Brazen-horse, and presented it unto the foresaid Tyrant, that he might put into it whom he would. And in truth the first act of justice that ever he did was this, that the party himself, even the maker of it gave the first handsel thereof; that he might make tryal of that torment himself, which he had devised for others. Him also he apprehended afterwards, and caused to be thrown down headlong from the hill *Tarpeius*. It should seem also that such Princes as reigned with violence, were called of him *Æmylii*: for so *Aristides* reporeth in the fourth Book of Italian Chronicles.

40. *Euenus* the son of *Mars* and *Sterope*, took to wife *Alcippe* daughter of *Oenomaus*, who bare unto him a daughter, named *Marpissa*, whom he minded to keep a Virgin still; but *Apharcus* seeing her, carried her away from a dance, and fled upon it. The father made suit after, but was not able to recover her: for very anguish of minde, he cast himself into the River of *Lycormus*, and thereby was immortalized: as saith *Dositheus* in the fourth Book of his Italian History.

Anius

Anius King of the Tuskans, having a fair daughter, named *Salia*; looked straightly unto her that she should continue a Maiden: but *Cathetus* one of his Nobles, seeing this Damosel upon a time as she disported her self, was enamored of her, and not able to suppress the furious passion of his love, ravished her, and brought her to *Rome*. The father pursued after; but seeing that he could not overtake them, threw himself into the River, called in those days *Pareusius*, and afterwards of his name *Anio*. Now the said *Cathetus* lay with *Salia* and of her body begat *Salius* and *Latinus*; from whom are descended the noblest Families of that Countrey: as *Aristides* the Milesian, and *Alexander Polihistor* write, in the third Book of the Italian History.

41. *Egestratus*, an Ephesian born, having murdered one of his kinsmen, fled into the City *Delphi*, and demanded of *Apollo* in what place he should dwell: who made him this answer, That he was to inhabit there, whereas he saw the Peasants of the Countrey dancing, and crowned with Chaplets of Olive-Branches. Being arrived therefore at a certain place in *Asia*, where he saw the rural people crowned with Garlands of Olive leaves, and dancing; even there he founded a City, which he called *Elees*: as *Pythocles* the Samian writeth in the third Book of his Georgicks.

Telegonus the son of *Ulysses* by *Circe*, being sent for to seek his father, was advised by the Oracle to build a City there, where he should find the rustical people and husbandmen of the Countrey, crowned with Chaplets, and dancing together: when he was arrived therefore at a certain coast of *Italy*, seeing the Peasants adorned with boughs and branches of the wilde Olive tree, passing the time merrily, and dancing together: he built a City, which upon that occurrent he named *Prineste*; and afterwards the Romans altering the letters a little, called it *Preneste*: as *Aristotle* hath written in the third Book of the Italian History.

The Lives of the Ten Orators.

The Summary.

IN these Lives compendiously described, Plutarch sheweth in part, the Government of the Athenian Commonweal, which flourished by the means of many learned persons; in the number of whom we are to reckon those under written; namely, Antipho, Andocides, Lysias, Isocrates, Isæus, Æschines, Lycurgus, Demosthenes, Hyperides, and Dinarchus: but on the other side he discovereth sufficiently the indiscretion of certain Orators, how it hath engendred much confusion, ruined the most part of such Personages themselves, and finally overthrown the publike estate: which he seemeth expressly to have noted and observed, to the end that every one might see, how dangerous (in the management of State affairs) he is, who hath no good parts in him but only a fine and nimble tongue. His meaning therefore is, that lively vertue indeed should be joyned unto eloquence: mean while, we observe also the lightness, vanity and ingratitude of the Athenian people in many places: and in the divers complexions of these ten men here depainted: evident it is, how much availeth in any person, good instruction from his infancy, and how powerful good Teachers be, for to frame and fashion tender minides unto high matters, and important to the weal-publike. In perusing and passing through this Treatise, a man may take knowledge of many points of the ancient popular Government, which serve very well to the better understanding of the Greek History; and namely, of that which concerneth Athens: As also by the recompences both demanded, and also decreed in the behalf of vertuous men, we may perceive and see among the imperfections of a people which had the Soveraignty in their hands, some moderation from time to time: which ought to make us magnifie the wisdom and providence of God, who amid so great darkness, hath maintained so long as his good pleasure was, so many States and Governments in Greece, which afterwards fell away and came to nothing, so as at this present that goodly Countrey is become subject, and made tral to the most violent, wicked and wretched Nacion under heaven.

The Lives of the ten Orators.

ANTIPHON.

Antipho the son of *Sophilus*, and born in the Borough and Corporation of *Rhamnus*, was brought up as a Scholar under his own father, who kept a Rhetorick School; whereunto *Alcibiades* also (by report) was wont to go and resort when he was a yong Boy, who having gotten sufficiency of speech and eloquence, as some think by himself (such was the quickness of his wit, and inclination of his nature) he betook himself to affairs of State: and yet he held a School nevertheless, where he was at some difference with *Socrates* the Philosopher in matter of Learning and Oratory, not by way of contention and emulation, but in manner of reprehension, and findfault with some points; as *Xenophon* testifieth in the first Book of his Commentaries, as touching the deeds

and

and sayings of *Socrates*. He penned Orations for some Citizens at their request for to be pleaded and pronounced in Judicial Courts: and as it is given out by some, was the first who gave himself to this course, and professed so to do: for there is not extant one Oration written in manner of a Plea, by any Orators who lived before his time, no, nor by those that flourished in his days (for it was not the manner and custom to compose Orations for others) *Themistocles* (I mean) *Pericles* & *Aristides*; notwithstanding that the time presented unto them many occasions, yea and meer necessities so to do: neither was it upon their insufficiency, that they thus abstained, as it may appear by that which Historians have written of every one of these men abovementioned. Moreover, if we look into the most ancient Orators whom we can call to minde, to wit, *Alcibiades*, *Critias*, *Lysias* and *Archinous*, who have written one and the same stile, and exercised the same form and manner of pleading; it will be found that they all conversed and conferred with *Antiphon*, being now very aged and far stept in years: for being a man of an excellent quick and ready wit, he was the first that made and put forth the Institutions of Oratory; so as, for his profound knowledge he was surnamed *Nestor*. And *Cecilius* in a certain Treatise which he compiled of him, conjectureth, that he had been sometime Schoolmaster to *Thucydides* the Historigrapher; for that *Antipho* is so highly commended by him. In his Speeches and Orations he is very exquisite and full of perswasion, quick and subtil in his inventions: in difficult matters very artificial, assailing his adversary after a covert manner; turning his words and sayings respective to the Laws, and to move affections withal, aiming always to that which is decent and seemly, and carrying the best apparance and shew with it.

He lived about the time of the Persian war, when *Gorgias Leontinus* the great Professor in Rhetorick flourished, being somewhat yonger then he was; and he continued to the subversion of the popular State and Government, which was wrought by the 400 Conspirators, wherein himself seemeth to have had a principal hand, for that he had the charge and command of two great Gallies at Sea, and was besides a Captain, and had the leading of certain Forces: during which time he won the victory in divers Battels, and procured unto them the ayd of many Allies: also he moved the yong and lustie able man of war to take arms; he rigged, manned, and set out sixty Gallies, and in all their occasions was sent Ambassador to the Lacedemonians, when as the City *Eetiona* was fortified with a wall: but after that those 400 beforesaid were put down and overthrown, he was together with *Archiptolemus* one of the 400. accused for the Conspiracy, condemned and adjudged to the punishment which is due unto Traytors. His corps was cast forth without sepulture; himself and all his posterity registred for infamous persons upon record: and yet some there be who report, that he was put to death by the thirty Tyrants, and namely among the rest, *Lysias* testifieth as much in an Oration which he made for *Antiphoes* daughter; for a little daughter he had, unto whom *Calleschrus* made claim in right for his wife: and that the thirty Tyrants were they who put him to death, *Theopompus* beareth witness in the fifteenth of his Philippicks. But more modern surely was this man, and of a later time, yea and the son of * *Lysidonides*, of whom *Crasinus* maketh mention, as of no wicked man in his Comedy called *Pytine*. For how should he who before was executed by those 400. return to life again in the time of the thirty Usurpers or Tyrants: but his death is reported otherwise, namely, that being very aged, he sailed into *Cicily*, when as the Tyrannie of the former *Denys* was at the highest: and when the question was proposed at the table, which was the best brass? as some said this, and others that: He answered, that for his part he thought that brass was best, whereof the statues of *Harmodius* and *Aristogiton* were made: which when *Denys* heard, he imagining that the speech imported thus much covertly, as to set on the Syracusians, for to attempt some violence upon his person, commanded him to be put to death. Others report, that the said Tyrant gave order that he should be made away, upon indignation that he skoffed at his Tragedies.

* or, Simonides.

There be extant in this Orators name threescore Orations; whereof as *Cecilius* saith, five and twenty are untruly reported to be his. Noted he is, and taxed by *Plato* the Comical Poet, together with *Pysander*, for avarice and love of money. It is said moreover, that he composed certain Tragedies alone, and others with *Dionysius* the Tyrant, who joyned with him. At the same time also when he gave his minde unto Poetry, he devised the art of curing the griefs and maladies of the minde, like as Physicians pretend skill for to heal the diseases and pains of the body. *Certes*, having built a little house at *Corinth* in the Market-place, he set up a bill on the gate, wherein he made profession, That he had the skill to remedy by words those who were vexed and grieved in spirit: and he would demand of those who were amisse, the causes of their sorrow, and according thereto, to apply his comforts and consolations. Howbeit afterwards supposing this art and profession to be too base and mean for him, he turned his study to Rhetorick, and taught it. Some there be who attribute unto *Antipho* the Book of *Glaucus* the Rhegine as touching Poets; but principally is that Treatise commended which he made unto *Herodotus*; as also that which is dedicated to *Erasistratus* touching the Idea's; and the Oration of Message which he penned for his own self; and another against *Demosthenes* the Captain, which he named *Paramomon*, for that he charged him to have broken the Laws. Also another Oration he wrote against *Hippocrates* the General Commander, and caused him to be condemned for his contumacy, in that he failed to answer at the day assigned for his tryal, that very yeer when *Theopompus* was Provost of the City, under whom the four hundred Conspirators and Usurpers of the common-weal were put down and overthrown. Now the decree of the Senate, by vertue whereof ordained it was, That *Antiphon* should be judicially tryed and condemned, *Cecilius* hath put down in these terms. The one and twentieth day of Prytaneia, when *Demonicus* of *Alopece*, was Secretary or Publike Notary, *Philostratus*

lostratus of *Pellene* Chief Commander, upon the proposition or bill preferred by *Andron*: The Senate hath ordained as touching these persons; namely, *Archirtolemus*, *Onomacles* and *Antiphon*, whom the Captains have declared against; that they went in ambassage unto *Lacedemon*, to the loss and detriment of the City of *Athens*, and departed from the Camp, first in an enemies ship, and so passed by land by *Decelia*; that their bodies should be attached and cast into prison, for to abide justice and punishment according to law. *Item*, that the Captains themselves, with certain of the Senate, to the number of ten, such as it pleased them to chuse and nominate, should make presentment, and give in evidence, that upon the points alledged and proved, judgement might pass according. *Item*, that the *Thesmothetes* should call for the said persons judicially, the very next morow after they were committed and convent them before the Judges, after that they be chosen by lot: when and where they should accuse the Captains, with the Orators abovesaid, of Treason; yea, and whosoever else would come in, he should be heard. *Item*, when sentence is concluded and pronounced against them, then the judgement of condemnation shall be executed according to the form and tenure of the law established, in case of Traytors. Under the instrument of this decree, was subscribed the condemnation of Treason in this manner: Condemned there were of Treason, *Archiptolemus* the son of *Hippodamus* of *Agryle*, present; *Antiphon* the son of *Sophilus*, of *Rhamus*, likewise present; and awarded it was by the Court, that these two should be delivered over into the hands of the eleven Executors of Justice; their goods to be confiscate, the dism whereof to be consecrate unto the Goddess *Minerva*; their houses to be demolished and pulled down to the very ground; and upon the borders of the plots wherein they stood, this Superscription to be written: *Here stood the houses of* Archiptolemus *and* Antiphon, *two Traytors of the State* ***. Also, that it might not be lawful to enter to bury the body of *Archiptolemus*, and of *Antiphon* within the City of *Athens*, nor in any part belonging to their Dominion or Territory. That their memory should be infamous, and all their posterity after them, as well Bastards as Legitimate: and that whosoever adopted any one of *Archiptolemus* or *Antiphons* children for his son, himself should be held infamous. Finally, that all this should be engrossed and engraven in a column of brass, wherein also should be set down the Sentence and Decree which passed as concerning *Phrynichus*.

Andocides. II.

Andocides was son of that *Leagoras*, who sometime made a peace between the Athenians and the Lacedemonians; born in the Tribe of *Cydathene* or *Thurie*, descended from a Noble House, and as *Hellanicus* saith, even from *Mercury*; for the race of the *Ceryces* that is, Heraults pertaineth unto him; and therefore chosen he was upon a time with *Glaucon*, for to go with a fleet of twenty sail, to aid the Corcyreans, who warred upon the Corinthians. But after all this, accused he was of impiety and irreligion; for that he with others had mangled and defaced the Images of *Mercury*, that stood within the City: Also for that he had trespassed against the holy mysteries and sacred ceremonies of *Ceres*; in as much as being before time a wilde youth, and loosely given, he went in a mask one night, and brake certain Images of the god *Mercury*; whereupon (I say) he was judicially convented. And because he would not deliver and bring forth to be examined upon torture, that servant of his, whom his accusers called for, he was held attaint and convict of that crime which was laid so his charge; yea, and for the second imputation charged upon him very deeply suspected: for which also he was called into question, not long after the setting forth of the great *Armada* at sea which went into *Sicily*, when the Corinthians had sent certain Ægesians and Leontines, into the City of *Athens*, unto whom the Athenians privately were to yield aid and succour, in the night season they brake all the Images of *Mercury* which stood about the Market-place; as *Cratippus* saith. Well, being suspected for offending against the sacred mysteries of *Ceres*, and thereupon judicially called to his answer, he escaped judgement of condemnation, and was acquit; so that he would discover and declare the delinquents and offendors indeed. Now having employed his whole study and endeavor thereabout, he wrought so, that he found out those who were faulty as touching the sacred mysteries aforesaid, among whom was his own father. As for all the rest, when they were convicted, he caused them to be put to death; onely his fathers life he saved, although he was already in prison; promising withal that he would do much good service unto the common-weal, wherein he failed not of his word. For *Leagoras* accused many who had robbed and embezelled the Cities Treasure, and committed other wicked parts, by the means whereof he was absolved.

Now albeit *Andocides* was in great name and reputation for managing the affairs of commonweal; yet nevertheless he set his minde to traffick and merchandize at sea; whereby he got amity, and entred into league of hospitality, with many Princes and great Potentates, but principally with the King of *Cyprus*: and it was then, that he stole and carried away a Citizens childe, the daughter of *Aristides*, and his own Neece, without the privity and consent of her friends, and sent her closely for a present to the said King of *Cyprus*: but when he was upon the point to be called in question judicially for this fact, he stole her privily away again out of *Cyprus*, and brought her home to *Athens*. Hereupon the King of *Cyprus* caused hands to be laid upon him, where he was kept in prison; but he brake loose, and escaped to *Athens*, at the very time when the four hundred Conspirators and Usurpers governed the State: and being by them cast into prison, he got away again when the said Olygarchie was dissolved. Howbeit he was driven out of the City, when the thirty Tyrants ruled

all

all, and usurped their Government. During which time of his exile, he abode in the City of *Elis*: but when *Thrasibulus* and his adherents returned into the City, he also repaired thither, and was sent in an ambassage to *Lacedemon*; where being taken again in a trip, he was for his ill demeanor banished.

All these premises appear evidently by his Orations which he hath written; for in some of them we finde how he answereth to those imputations which were charged upon him for violating of the foresaid holy mysteries: in others, he generally craveth for the favour of the Judges, and standeth upon the tearms of mercy: there is an Oration also of his extant, as touching the appeaching or discovery of those, who were faulty for those sacred ceremonies; as also his Agologie or defence against *Pheax*, and concerning peace. He flourished at the very same time that *Socrates* the Philosopher was in so great name. But born he was in the *78 Olympias, that yeer wherein *Theagenides* was Provost or Chief Ruler of *Athens*; so that by this computation, he must needs be more ancient then *Lysias* by some hundred yeers. There was one of the *Hermes* that carried his name, and was called *Hermes* of *Andocides*, for that this Image being dedicated by the Tribe or Lineage *Ægeis*, stood neer unto the house where *Andocides* dwelt. This *Andocides* defrayed the charges of a solemn round dance in the name of the line or kinred *Ægeis*, which contended for the prize in the honor of *Dithyrambicus* at the feast of *Bacchus*: where having obtained the victory, he consecrated a Trefcet, and set it up an high, just against *Porinus Selinus*.

*Or rather 68.

His stile is plain and simple, without all art, bare and naked without any figures whatsoever.

Lysias. III.

Lysias the son of *Cephalus*, the son of *Lysianias*, who had likewise for his father *Cephalus*, born in *Syracuse*, but he went to dwell at *Athens*, partly for the affection that he bare to the City, and in part through the perswasion of *Pericules* the son of *Xantippus*, who being his friend and guest, perswaded him thereto; and the rather, for that he was a mighty man there, and exceeding rich: or as some thinks he came to *Athens*, by occasion that he was banished out of *Syracuse*, at what time as the City was tyrannically oppressed by *Gelon*: so he arrived at *Atheus* that yeer, wherein *Philocles* was Provost next after *Phrasicles*, in the second yeer of the 82. Olympias: at his first coming brought up he was, and taught with the noblest Athenians; but after that the City sent out the colony of *Sybaris*, which afterwards was named *Thurii*, he went with his eldest brother *Polemarchus* (for he had besides him two other brethren, *Eudemus* and *Brachillus*, their father being now departed this life) to have his part set out and alloted unto him out of his fathers lands, being not fifteen yeers old, that very year when as *Praxiteles* was Provost: where he remained, and was instructed by *Nicias* and *Tisias*, two Syracusans. Now having bought him an house, with the portion of land which fell unto his share, he lived there, in state of a Citizen, and was called to government of common-weal, when his lot came, for the space of 63 years, until the time that *Clearchus* was Provost of *Athens*: but the year next following, when *Callias* was Provost, namely, in the 92 Olympias, when as the Sicilians and Athenians fought a field, by reason whereof many of their Allies stirred and revolted, and especially those who dwelt in *Italy*, and coasted thereupon, accused he was to have favored the Athenians, and sided with them, and thereupon was banished with three other. Now being arrived at *Athens*, in the yeer wherein *Callias* was Provost next after *Cleocritus*, while the four hundred Usurpers were possessed of the State, he there rested: but after the naval battel was stricken neer to a place called the Goats Rivers, when as the thirty Tyrants had the administration of the common-weal in their hands, banished he was from thence for the space of seven yeers, lost his goods and his brother *Polemarchus*; himself escaped with life narrowly out of the house at a postern-gate, or back-door; in which house he had been beset with a full purpose that he should end his life there: and then he retired himself to the City *Megara*, where he abode. When as those of *Phila* had made a re-entry into the City, and chased out the Tyrants; for that he shewed himself (above all others) most forward in this enterprize, as having contributed (for the exploiting of this service) two thousand dragmes weight in silver, and two hundred targuets; and being sent besides with *Herman*, waged three hundred and two Souldiers, and wrought so effectually with *Thrasylaus* the Elian, his friend and old host, that he helped him unto certain talents of silver: in regard whereof, *Thrasibulus* (upon his return and re-entry into the City) proposed unto the people, That for and in consideration of these good services, the right of free Burgesie should be granted unto him. This hapned in the yeer of the Anarchy, when there was no Provost elected, next before the Provostship of *Euclides*. This was granted and ratified by the people; onely there was one *Archinus* stood up, and impeached the proceeding thereof, as being against the law, because it was proposed unto the people, before it was consulted upon in the Senate: so the foresaid Decree was annulled and revoked. Thus being disappointed of his right of Burgesie, he remained nevertheless (during his life) as a Citizen, and enjoyed the same rights, franchises and priviledges that other Burgesses did; and so dyed in the end, when he had lived the space of fourscore and three yeers, or as some say, threescore and sixteen; and as others write, fourscore: so that he lived to see *Demosthenes* a childe. It is said, that he was born the yeer that *Philocles* was Provost. There go in his name four hundred Orations; of which number (according to *Dionysius*, and *Cecilius*) two hundred and thirty be of his own making indeed: in the pronouncing of all which, he failed but twice, and had the foil. There is extant also, that very Oration which he made against *Archinus*, in the maintenance and defence of the said Decree; by vertue whereof, the right of Burgesie was

was given unto him: also another, against the thirty Tyrants. Apt he was to perswade; and in those Orations which he gave out to others, very brief and succinct. There be found likewise of his making, certain introductions to Rhetorick, and speeches delivered publikely before the people: Letters-missive, Solemn Praises, Funeral Orations, Discourses of Love; and one defence of *Socrates*, which directly seemed to touch the Judges to the quick. His stile was thought to be plain and easie, howbeit inimitable. *Dionysius* in one Oration which he made against *Neæra*, saith, That he was enamored of one *Metaneira*, a servant with *Neæra*; but afterwards he espoused and took to wife the daughter of his brother *Brachyllus*. *Plato* himself maketh mention of him in his Book, entituled, *Phædrus*, as of an Orator passing eloquent, and more ancient then *Isocrates*: *Philiscus*, who was familiar with *Isocrates*, and the companion of *Lysias*, made an Epigram upon him, whereby it appeareth, that he was more ancient (as also is evident by that which *Plato* hath said) and the Epigram is to this effect:

Now shew Callippes *daughter, thou*
that art so eloquent;
If ought of witty spirit thou hast,
and what is excellent:
For meet it is that thou shouldst bring,
some little Lysias *forth*
To blaze his sabers name abroad,
for vertuous deeds of worth.
Who (now transform'd, and having caught
a body strange to see
In other worlds for Sapience
should now immortal be)
My loving heart to friend now dead,
likewise to notifie;
And to declare his vertuous life
unto posteritie.

He composed likewise an Oration for *Iphicrates*, which he pronounced against *Harmodius*; as also another wherein he accused *Timotheus* of treason, and both the one and the other he overthrew: but afterwards when *Iphicrates* took upon him again to enquire into the doings of *Timotheus*, calling him to account for the revenues of the State which he had managed, and set in hand again with this accusation of treason, he was brought into question judicially, and made answer in his own defence by an oration that *Lysias* penned for him. And as for himself, he was acquit of the crime, and absolved; but *Timotheus* was condemned and fined to pay a great sum of money. Moreover, he rehearsed in the great Assembly and Solemnity at the Olympick Games, a long Oration, wherein he perswaded the Greeks, that they should be reconciled one to another, and joyn together for to put down the Tyrant *Dionysius*.

Isocrates. IV.

Isocrates was the son of one *Theodorus* an Erechthian, a man reckoned in the number of mean Citizens, one who kept a sort of servants under him, who made Flutes and Haultboyes; by whose workmanship he became so rich, that he was able to bring up and set out his children in worshipful manner. For other sons he had besides, to wit, *Telesippus* and *Diomnestus*; and also a little daughter unto them. Hereupon it is that he was twitted and flouted by the Comical Poets *Aristophanes* and *Stratis*, in regard of those flutes. He lived about the 86. Olympias, elder then *Lysimachus* the Myrrhinusian by two and twenty yeers, and before *Plato* some seven yeers. During his childhood, he had as good bringing up as any Athenian whatsoever, as being the disciple and scholar of *Prodicus* the Chian, of *Gorgias* the Leontine, of *Tysias* the Syracusian, and *Theramenes* the professed Rhetorician; who being at the point to be apprehended and taken by the thirty Tyrants, and flying for refuge to the altar of *Minerva* the Counseller, when all other friends were affrighted and amazed: onely *Isocrates* arose and shewed himself for to assist and succor him, and at the first continued a long time silent. But *Theramenes* himself began and prayed him to desist; saying, that it would be more dolorous and grievous unto him, then his own calamity, in case he should see any of his friends to be troubled and endangered for the love of him. And it is said, that he helped him to compile certain Institutions of Rhetorick, at what time as he was maliciously and falsly slandered before the Judges in open Court: which Institutions are gone under the name and title of *Boton*.

When he was grown to mans estate, he forbare to meddle in State matters, and in the affairs of the common-weal; as well for that he had by nature a small and feeble voyce, as because naturally he was fearful and timorous; and besides, his estate was much impaired, by reason that he lost his patrimony in the war against the Lacedemonians. It appeareth that to other men he had been assistant in counsel, and giving testimony for them in places of judgement: but it is not known that he pronounced above one onely Oration, to wit, περὶ ἀντιδόσεως, that is to say, concerning counterchange of goods. And having set up a publike School, he gave himself to the study of Philosophy, and to write; where he composed his Panegyrique Oration, and certain others of the Deliberative kinde:

and

and those that he wrote himself, some he read, some he penned for others; thinking thereby to exhort and stir up the Greeks to devise and perform such duties as beseemed them to do. But seeing that he missed of his purpose and intention, he gave over that course, and betook himself to keep a School: first, as some say, in *Chios*, having nine Scholars that came unto him; where when he saw that his Scholars paid him down in money his Minervals for their schooling, he wept, and said, I see well now that I am sold unto these youths. He would confer willingly with those that came to devise and talk with him, being the first that put a difference between wrangling Pleas, or contentious Orations, and serious politick Discourses of common-weal, in which he rather employed himself. He ordained Magistrates in *Chios*, erecting the same form of Government there, which was in his own Country. He gathered more silver together by teaching School, then ever any Professor in Rhetorick or School-master was known to have done; so that he was well able to defray the charges of a Galley at Sea. Of Scholars he had to the number of one hundred, and among many others, *Timotheus* the son of *Conon*; with whom he travelled abroad, and visited many Cities: He penned all those Letters which *Timotheus* sent unto the Athenians; in regard whereof he bestowed upon him a Talent of silver, the remainder of that money due by composition from *Samos*. There were besides of his Scholars *Theopompus* the Chian, and *Ephorus* of *Cumes*: *Asclepiades* also, who composed Tragical matters and arguments; and *Theodectes*, who afterwards wrote Tragedies (whose Tomb or Sepulchre is as men go toward *Cyamite*, even in the sacred way or street that leadeth to *Eleusis*, now altogether ruinate and demolished: in which place he caused to be erected and set up the statues of famous Poets, together with him; of all whom there remaineth none at this day but *Homer* alone;) also *Leodamus* the Athenian; *Lacritus* the Law-giver unto the Athenians, and as some say, *Hyperides* and *Iseus*. And it is said, that *Demosthenes* also came unto him, whiles he yet taught a Rhetorick School, with an earnest purpose to learn of him, using this speech: that he was not able to pay him a thousand drachmes of silver, which was the onely price that he made and demanded of every Scholar; but means he would make to give him two hundred drachms, so he might learn of him but the fift part of his skill, which was a proportionable rate for the whole; unto whom *Isocrates* made this answer: We use not, *Demosthenes*, to do our business by piece meal; but like as men are wont to sell fair fishes all whole; even so will I, if you purpose to be my Scholar, teach and deliver you mine Art full and entire, and not by halfs or parcels.

He departed this life the very yeer that *Chæronides* was Provost of *Athens*; even when the news came of the discomfiture at *Cheronea*, which he heard being in the place of *Hippocrates* publike exercises: and voluntarily he procured his own death, in abstaining from all food and sustenance the space of four days, having pronounced before this abstinence of his, these three first verses which begin three Tragedies of *Euripides*:

1. *King* Danus, *who fifty daughters had.*
2. Pelops, *the son of* Tantalus, *when he to* Pisa *came.*
3. Cadmus *whilom, the City* Sidon *left.*

He lived 98. yeers, or as some say, a full hundred, and could not endure for to see *Greece* four times brought into servitude: the yeer before he dyed, or as some write, four yeers before, he wrote his Panathenaick Oration: as for his Panegyrick Oration, he was in penning it ten yeers, and by the report of some, fifteen, which he is thought to have translated and borrowed out of *Gorgias* the Leontine and *Lysias*: and the Oration concerning the counterchange of goods, he wrote when he was fourscore yeers old and twain: but his Philippick Oration he set down a little before his death: when he was far stepped in yeers, he adopted for his son *Aphareus*, the yongest of the three children of *Plathane* his wife, the daughter of *Hippias* the Orator, and professed Rhetorician. He was of good wealth, as well for that he called duely for money of his Scholars, as also because he received of *Nicocles* King of *Cypres*, who was the son of of *Euagoras*, the sum of twenty talents of silver for one Oration which he dedicated unto him: by occasion of this riches, he became envyed, and was thrice chosen and enjoyned to be the Captain of a Galley, and to defray the charges thereof: for the two first times he feigning himself to be sick, was excused by the means of his son; but at the third time he rose up and took the charge, wherein he spent no small sum of money. There was a Father, who talking with him about his son whom he kept at School, said, That he sent with him no other to be his Guide and Governor, but a slave of his own: unto whom *Isocrates* answered, Go your ways then, for one slave you shall have twain. He entred into contention for the prize at the solemn Games which Queen *Artemisia* exhibited at the Funerals and Tomb of her husband *Mausolus*: But this enchomiastical Oration of his which he made in the praise of him, is not extant: Another Oration he penned in the praise of *Aelane*; as also a third in the commendation of the counsel *Areopagus*. Some write, that he dyed by abstaining nine days together from all meat: others report but four; even at the time that the publike obsequies were solemnized for them who lost their lives in the battel at *Chæronea*. His adopted son *Aphareus* composed likewise certain Orations: entered he was together with all his linage, and those of his blood, neer unto a place called *Cynosarges*, upon a bank or knap of a little hill on the left hand, where were bestowed, the son and father *Theodorus*; their mother also and her sister *Anaco*, Aunt unto the Orator; his adopted son likewise *Aphareus*, together with his Cosin-Germain *Socrates*, son to the aforesaid Aunt *Anaco* *Isocrates* mothers sister: his brother *Theodorus*, who bare the name of his Father, his Nephews, or children of his adopted Son *Aphareus*, and his natural *Theodorus*: moreover, his Wife *Plathane*

Plathane mother to his adopted son *Aphareus*: upon all these bodies there were six tables or tombs erected of stone, which are not to be seen at this day: but there stood upon the tomb of *Isocrates* himself, a mighty great ram engraven, to the height of thirty cubits, upon which there was syren or mere-maid seven cubits high, to signifie under a figure his milde nature and eloquent stile: there was besides neer unto him, a table conteining certain poets and his own scool-masters: among whom was *Gorgias* looking upon an astrological sphære, and *Isocrates* himself standing close unto him: furthermore, there is erected a brasen image of his in *Eleusin*, before the entrie of the gallery *Stoa*, which *Timotheus* the son of *Conon* caused to be made, bearing this epigram or inscription:

Timotheus *upon a loving mind,*
And for to honour mutuall kindnesses,
This image of Isocrates *his friend,*
Erected hath unto the goddesses.

This statue was the handy-work of *Leochares*. There go under his name threescore orations; of which five and twenty are his indeed, according to the judgement of *Dionysius*: but as *Cecilius* saith, eight and twenty; all the rest are falsly attributed unto him. So far was he off from ostentation, and so little regard had he to put forth himself and shew his sufficiency, that when upon a time there came three unto him, of purpose to hear him declame and discourse, he kept two of them with him, and the third he sent way, willing him to return the next morrow: For now (quoth he) I have a full theater in mine auditory. He was wont to say also unto his scholars and familiars: That himself taught his art for ten pounds of silver; but he would give unto him that could put into him audacity, and teach him good utterance, ten thousand. When one demanded of him how it was possible that he should make other men sufficient orators, seeing himself was nothing eloquent. Why not (quoth he) seeing that whet-stones which can not cut at all, make iron and steel sharp enough and able to cut. Some say, that he composed certain books as touching the art of the Rhetorick; but others are of opinion, that it was not by any method, but exercise onely, that he made his scholars good orators; this is certain, that he never demanded any many of naturall Citizens born, for their teaching. His manner was to bid his scholars to be present at the great assemblies of the City, and to relate unto him what they heard there spoken and delivered. He was wonderful heavy and sorrowful out of measure for the death of *Socrates*, so as the morrow after he mourned and put on black for him. Again, unto one who asked him what was Rhetorick? he answered: It is the art of making great matters of small, and small things of great. Being invited one day to *Nicocreon* the tyrant of *Cypres*; as he sat at the table, those that were present, requested him to discourse of some theame; but he answered thus: For such matters wherein I have skill the time will not now serve; and in those things that fit the time, I am nothing skilful. Seeing upon a time *Sophocles* the tragical Poet, following wantonly and hunting with his eye, a young fair boy; he said: O *Sophocles* an honest man ought to contain not his hands onely, but his eyes also. When *Ephorus* of *Cumes* went from his school *non proficiens*, and able to do nothing, by reason whereof his father *Demophilus* sent him again with a second salary or minerval; *Isocrates* smiled thereat, and merrily called him *Diphoros*, that is to say, bringing his money twice; so he took great pains with the man, and would himself prompt him, and give him matter and invention for his declamatory exercise.

Inclined he was and naturally given unto the pleasures of wanton love; in regard whereof he used to lie upon a thin and hard short mattress, and to have the pillow and bolster under his head perfumed, and wet with the water of saffron. So long as he was in his youth he married not; but being now striken in age and grown old, he kept a quean or harlot in his house, whose name was *Lagisca*, by whom he had a little daughter, who died before she was married, when she was about twelve years old. After that, he espoused *Plathane*, the wife of the Rhetoritian * *Gorgias*, who had three children before, of whom he adopted *Aphareus* for his own son, as hath been said before, who caused his statue to be cast in brass, and erected it neer unto the image of *Jupiter Olympius*, as it were upon a colume, with this Epigram:

* *Hippias.*

This portraict of Isocrates *in brass,*
His sonne adopted, Aphareus, *who was,*
Erected hath to Jupiter, *in view.*
Of all the world thereby to make a shew,
That unto gods he is religious,
And honoureth his father vertuous.

It is said, that whiles he was but a young boy, he ran a course on horse-back; for he is to be seen all in brass in the castle or citadel of the city, sitting and riding his horse, in form and proportion of a boy within the tenise Court of those Priests of *Minerva*, which attend there, to carry the sacred secrets, not to be revealed, as some have reported. In all his life time there were two only suits commensed against him: the former, for the exchange of his goods, being challenged and provoked by *Megaclides*; for the triall whereof, he appeared not personally at his day, by reason of sickness: the second action was framed against him by *Lysimachus*, for the exchange of his goods, with charge to defray the expenses of maintaining a galley at sea: in which process he was cast, and forced to set out a galley at sea: There was also a painted image of his in the place called *Pompeium*. And *Aphareus* composed verily orations, though not many, both judicial and also deliberative. He made also tragedies, to the number of seven and thirty; whereof there be two which were contradicted. And he

he began to have his works openly heard in publick place, from the year wherein *Lysistratus* was Provost, unto that year wherein *Sosicles* was in place; to eight and twenty years: in which time he caused six civil places to be acted, and twice gained the prize of victory, having set them forth by a principal Actor or Player, named *Dyonisius*: and by other Actors he exhibited two more, of the Lenaick kind, that is to say, full of mirth to move laughter.

There were the statues also to be seen within the Citadel, of the mother of *Isocrates* and of *Theodorus*, as also of *Anaco* her sister; of which, that of his mother is yet extant; and it standeth neer unto the image of *Hygia*, that is to say Health; onely the inscription is changed: but the other of *Anaco* is not to be found. This *Anaco* had two sons, *Alexander* by *Cœnes*, and *Usicles* by *Lysias*.

Isæus. V.

Isæus was born in *Chalcis*: and being come to *Athens*, he studied the work of *Lysias*, whom he did so neerly imitate, as well in the apt couching of his words, as in the witty device and subtility of his inventions; that if a man were not very well practised and perfect in the stile and manner of witting of these two Orators, hardly she should be able to discern many of their Orations, and distinguish one from another. He was in greatest name, about the time of Peloponnensiack war, as may be conjectured by his Orations; and continued unto the Reign of King *Philip*. He gave over his publick school, and went to teach *Demosthenes* privately at home, for the sum of ten thousand drachmes of silver; whereby he became very famous: and as some say, he it was that composed for *Demosthenes* certain exhortatory Orations. He left behind him three score and four Orations going in his name; whereof fifty are his indeed: also some particular introductions of his own, and rules of Rhetorick. He was the first who began both to form and to turn the sense of his stile unto the politck management of affairs; a thing that *Demosthenes* doth most of all imitate. Of this Orator, *Theopompus* the comicall Poet maketh mention in his *Theseus*.

Aeschines. VI.

Aeschines was the son of *Atrometus*, (a man who being banished in the time of the thirty tyrants, was a means to aid the people, and to set up the popular state again) and his mothers name was *Glaucothea*. He was of the borough or tribe *Cothocis*: so that his parents were neither for nobility of race, nor yet for wealth and riches renowned in the City: but being young, and of a lusty and able constitution, he fortified and confirmed the same more by bodily exercise: and finding himself to have a strong brest and cleer voice; thereupon afterwards he made profession to act Tragœdies, but (as *Demosthenes* said of him by way of reproach) he went after others, and could never proceed higher than to act the third and last parts in the solemnities of the Bacchanale playes under one *Aristodemus*. When he was but a boy, he taught petties the letters; namely to spel and read together with his Father: and being of some growth, he served as a common souldier in the wars. The Scholar and Auditor he was (as some think) of *Isocrates* and *Plato*; but according to *Cecilius*, of *Leodamus*. Being entred into the managing of State affairs, and that not without credit and reputation; because he made head and sided against the faction of *Demosthenes*, employed he was in many embassages; and namely unto King *Philip*, for to treat of peace: for which, accused he was by *Demosthenes*, and charged to have been the cause that the Nations of the Phocæans was rooted out, and for that he kindled war between the Amphyctions and the Amphissians, what time as he was chosen one of the deputies to be present in the assembly or diet of the Amphyctions, who made also an haven, whereby it hapned withal, that the Amphyctions put themselves into the protection of *Philip*, who being wrought by *Æschines*, took the matter in hand, and conquered all the territory of *Phocis*: howbeit, through the port and favourable countenance of *Eubulus* the son of *Spintharus* a Probalusian, who was of great credit and reputation among the people, and spake in his behalf, he escaped, and was found unguilty, and carried it by thirty voices; although others say, that the Orators had penned their orations, and were at the point to plead; but upon the news of the overthrow at *Cheronea*, which impeached the proceeding of the Law, the matter was not called for, nor the cause pleaded.

A certain time after, when King *Philip* was dead, and his son *Alexander* gone forward in his expedition into *Asia*, he accused *Ctesiphon* judicially, for that he had passed a decree contrary unto the Laws, in the honour of *Demosthenes*; but having on his side not the fift part of the suffrages and the voices of the people, he was banished out of *Athens*, and fled to *Rhodes*, because he would not pay the fine of a thousand drachmes, in which he was condemned, upon his overthrow at the bar. Others say, that over and beside, he was noted with infamy, because he would not depart out of the City; and that he retired himself to *Ephesus* unto *Alexander*. But upon the decease of *Alexander*, when there was great trouble towards, he returned to *Rhodes*, where he kept a school, and began to teach the art of Rhetorick. He read other whiles unto the *Rhodians* (and that with action and gesture) the oration which he had pronounced against *Ctesiphon*; whereat, when all the hearers marvelled, and namely, how possibly he could be cast, if he acted such an oration: You would never wonder at the matter (quoth he) my Masters of *Rhodes*, if you had been in place and heard *Demosthenes*

Demosthenes impleading against it. He left behind him a school at *Rhodes*, which afterwards was called the *Rhodian* school. From thence he failed to *Samos*, and when he had stayed at mein the Isle, within a while after, he died. A pleasant and sweet voice he had, as may appear both by that which *Demosthenes* hath delivered of him, and also by an oration of *Demochares*.

There be found four orations under his name; one against *Timarchus*; another as touching false embassage; and a third against *Ctesiphon*, which in truth be all three his: for the fourth entituled *Doliaca*, was never penned by *Æschines*. True it is indeed, that appointed and commanded he was to plead judicially the causes of the people of *Delos*: but he pronounced no such oration; for that *Hyperides* was chosen in stead of him, as saith *Demosthenes*. And by his own saying two brethren he had *Aphobus* and *Demochares*. He brought unto the *Athenians* the first tidings of the second victory which they obtained at *Tamyne*, for which he was rewarded with a Crown. Some give it out that *Æschines* was scholar to none, and never learned his Rhetorick of any Master; but being brought up to writing, and a good pen-man, he became a Clark or notary; and so grew up to knowledge of himself by his own industry, for that he ordinarily conversed in judicial Courts, and places of judgement. The first time that ever he made publike speech before the people, was against King *Philip*; and having then audience with great applause and commendation, he was presently chosen embassador, and sent to the *Arcadians*; whither when he was come, he raised a power of ten thousand men against *Philip*. He presented and indited *Timarchus* for maintaining a brothel house; who fearing to appear judicially, and to have the cause heard, hung himself, as after a sort *Demosthenes* in some place saith. Afterwards elected he was to go in embassage unto *Philip* with *Ctesiphon* and *Demosthenes*, about a treaty of peace, wherein he carried himself better than *Demosthenes*. A second time was he chosen the tenth man in an Embassage, for to go and conclude a peace upon certain capitulations and covenants; for which service he was judicially called to his answer and acquit, as hath been said before.

Lycurgus. VII.

Lycurgus was the son of *Lycophron*, the son of *Lycurgus*; him I mean whom the thirty tyrants did to death, by the procurement and instigation of one *Aristodemus* that came from *Bata*; who having been treasurer Generall of *Greece*, was banished during the popular Government. Of the borough or Tribe he was named *Buta*, and of the family or house of the *Eteobutades*: At the beginning, the scholar he was of *Plato* the Philosopher, and made profession of Philosophy: but afterwards being entred into familiar acquaintance with *Isocrates*, he became his scholar, and dealt in affairs of State where he wan great credit, as well by his deeds as words; and so put in trust he was with the mannagement of the Cities revenues: for Treasurer General he was the space of fifteen years; during which time, there went thorow his hands fourty millions of talents, or as some say, fourscore millions six hundred and fifty talents. And it was the Orator *Stratocles* who preferred him to this honour, by propounding him unto the people. Thus I say at the first was he himself chosen Treasurer in his own name; but afterwards he nominated some one of his friends; and yet nevertheless managed all, and had the whole administration of it in his own hands; for that there was a Statute enacted and published, that none might be chosen to have the charge of the publick treasure above five years. He continued alwayes an Overseer of the City works both Winter and Summer: and having the office and charge committed unto him provision of all necessaries for the wars, he reformed many things that were amiss in Common-wealth. He caused to be built for the City four hundred gallies. He made the common Hall or place for publick exercises in *Lyceum*, and planted the same round about with trees: He reared also the wrestling Hall, and finished the theater which is at the Temple of *Bacchus*, being himself in person to oversee and direct the workmen. He was reputed a man of such fidelity and so good a conscience, that there was committed upon trust into his hands, to the summe of two hundred and fifty talents of silver, by divers and sundry private persons to be kept for their use. He caused to be made many fair vessels of gold and silver to adorn and beautifie the City: as also sundry images of Victory in gold. And finding many publick works unperfect and half done, he accomplished and made an end of them all: as namely the Arsenals, the common Halls of armor and other utensiles and implements, serving for the Cities uses. He founded a wall round about the spacious cloister, called *Panathenaike*, which he finished up to the very cope and battilments; yea and laid level and even, the great pit or chink in the ground; for that one *Dinius*, whose plot of ground it was, gave away the property which he had in it unto the City, in favour especially of *Lycurgus*, and for his sake. He had the charge and custody of the City, and commission to attache and apprehend malefactors, whom he drove all quite out of the City: insomuch that some of the Orators and subtile sophisters would say, that *Lycurgus* dipt not his pen in black ink, but in deadly blood, when he drew his wits against malefactors: in regard of which benefit unto the Common-weal, so well beloved he was of the people, that when King *Alexander* demanded to have had him delivered into his hands, the people would not forgo him. But when as King *Philip* made war upon the *Athenians* the second time, he went in embassage with *Polyeuctus* and *Demosthenes*, as wel into *Peloponnesus*, as to other States and Cities. All this time he lived in good estimation among the *Athenians*, reputed evermore for a just and upright man, in such sort that in all Courts of justice, if *Lycurgus* said the word, it was held for a great prejudice and good foredom in his behalf,

for whom he spake. He proposed and brought in certain Laws; the one to this effect, that there should be exhibited a solemnity of playes or comedies at the feast *Chytræ*, wherein the Poets should do their best, and strive a vie within the theatre for the prize; and whosoever obtained victory, should therewith have the right and freedome of Burgesse, a thing that before was not lawfull nor granted unto Poets; and thus he brought unto use and practise again, a solemn game which he had discontinued. Another, that there should be made at the publick charges of the City, statues of brass for the Poets *Æschylus*, *Sophocles* and *Euripides*; that their tragœdies should be exemplified and engrossed fair, for to be kept in the chamber of the City; and that the publick notary of the City should read them unto the players, for otherwise unlawful it was to act them. A third there was, that no Citizen nor any other person resident and an inhabitant within the City of *Athens*, should be permitted, to buy any prisoners taken in war, such as were of free condition before, to make them slaves, without the consent of their first Masters. *Item*, that within the haven *Pyræeum*, there should be exhibited a solemn play or game unto *Neptune*, consisting of round dances, no fewer than three: and that unto those who won the first prize, there should be given for a reward no fewer than ten pound of silver; and to the second, eight at the least; and to the third, not under six, according as they should be adjudged by the Umpires. *Item*, that no dame of *Athens* might be allowed to ride in a Coach to *Eleusin*; for fear that the poor might be debased by the rich, and herein reputed their inferiors: but in case any of them were so taken riding in a Coach, she should be fined and pay six thousand drachmæ: now when his own wife obeyed not his Law, but was surprized in the manner by Sycophants and Promoters, he himself gave unto them a whole talent, with which afterwards when he was charged and accused before the people: You see yet (quoth he) my Masters of *Athens*, that I am overtaken for giving, and not for taking silver.

He met one day as he went in the street, a publican or farmer of the forein taxes and tribute for the City, who had laid hands upon the Philosopher *Xenocrates*, & would have led him to prison in all haste, because he paid not the duties imposed upon strangers; for which he gave the publican a rap on the head with the rod or walking staff which he had in his hand, and recovered the Philosopher out of his clutches; which done, he cast the said officer himself into prison for his labour, as having committed a great indignity unto such a personage: a few dayes after, the same Philosopher meeting with the children of *Lycurgus*: I have (quoth he unto them) my good children rendred thanks unto your father, and that right speedily, in that he is so praised and commended of all men for succouring and rescuing me. He proposed and published certain publick decrees, using the help herein of one *Euclides* an Olynthian, who was thought to be a very sufficient man in framing and penning such acts; and albeit he was a wealthy person, yet he never wore but one and the same kind of garment both winter and summer, yea, and the same shooes he went in every day, what need soever was. He exercised himself continually in declaming both night and day, for that he was not so fit to speak of a sudden and unprovided. Upon his bed or pallet where he lay, he had onely for his covering a sheepes skin, fell and all, and under his head a boulster, to the end that the sooner and with more ease, he might awake and go to his study. There was one who reproached him, for that he paid his money still unto sophisters and professed Rhetoricians, for teaching him to make orations: But (quoth he) again, if there were any would promise and undertake to profit my children and make them better, I would give him willingly not onely a thousand deniers, but the one moity of all my goods. Very bold he was and resolute to speak his mind franckly unto the people, and to tell them the truth plainly, bearing himself upon his nobility; insomuch as one day when the *Athenians* would not suffer him to make a speech in open audience, he cryed out with a loud voice; O whippe of *Corfu*, how many talents art thou worth? Another time, when some there were who called *Alexander* God: and what manner of God may he be (quoth *Lycurgus*) out of whose temple whosoever go, had need to be sprinkled and drenched all over with water to purifie themselves.

After he was dead, they delivered his children into the hands of the eleven Officers for execution of justice, for that *Thrasicles* had framed an accusation, and *Menesachmus* endicted them; but upon the letters of *Demosthenes*, which in the time of his exile he wrote unto the Athenians, advertising them that they were ill spoken of about *Lycurgus* his children, they repented themselves of that which they had done, and let them go: and verily *Democles* the scholar of *Theophrastus* justified them, and spake in their defence. Himself and some of his children were buried at the Cities charges, over and against the Temple of *Minerva Pæonia*, within the Orchard or Grove of *Melanthius* the Philosopher: and found there be, even in these our dayes, certain tombes with the names of *Lycurgus* and his children written thereupon. But that which is the greatest thing that soundeth most to the praise of his Government, he raised the revenues of the Common-weal unto twelve hundred talents, whereas before they amounted but unto three-score. A little before he died, when he perceived death to approach, he caused himself to be carried into the Temple of *Cybele* the great mother of the gods, and into the Senate-house, desirous there to render an account of his whole administration of the Common-weal: but no man was so hardy as to come forth and charge him with any unjust and wrongful dealing, save onely *Menesachmus*; now after he had fully answered those imputations which he charged upon him, he was carried home again to his house, where he ended his dayes; reputed all his life time for a good and honest man, commended for his eloquence, and never condemned in any suit, notwithstanding many actions and accusations were framed against him.

Three

Three children he had by *Calisto*, the daughter of *Abron*, and sister to *Calæus*, the son also of *Abron*, of the burrough *Bata*, who was Treasurer of the camp during the wars that year wherein *Cherondas* was Provost; of this affinity and alliance, *Dinarchus* maketh mention, in that oration which he made against *Pastius*. He left behinde him these children, *Abron*, *Lycurgus*, and *Lycophron*; of whom *Abron* and *Lycurgus* died without issue; but *Abron* after he had with good reputation and credit, managed State matters, changed this life: and *Lycophron* having espoused *Calistomacha*, the daughter of *Philippus Axienes*, begat a daughter named *Galesto*, married afterwards to *Cleombrotus*, the son of *Dimocrates*, an *Acharnanian*, who by her had a son named *Lycophron*, whom *Lycophron* the grand-father adopted for his own son; and he departed this life without children: after the decease of this *Lycophron*, *Callisto* was remarried unto *Socrates*, unto whom she bare a son, named *Symmachus*; who begat *Aristonymus*; and of *Aristonymus* came *Charmides*, whose daughter was *Philippe*, and she bare a son, to wit, *Lysander Medius*, who became an interpreter also, one of the *Eumolpides*: of him and of *Timothea* the daughter of *Glaucus* descended *Laodamia* and *Medius*, who held the Priesthood of *Neptune Erechtheus*: *Philippa* also a daughter, who afterwards was a religious priestesse, devoted to *Minerva*; for before time, had *Diocles* the Melitean espoused her, and she bare him a son named likewise *Diocles*, who was a Colonel of a regiment of footmen; and he took to wife *Hediste* the daughter of *Abron*, of whose body he begat *Philippide* and *Nicostrata*; and *Themistocles* the torch-bearer son of *Theophrastus* married *Nicostrata*, by whom he had *Theophrastus* and *Diocles*, notwithstanding he was Priest unto *Neptune Erechtheus*.

There be found of this Orators penning, fifteen orations. Crowned he was many times by the people: and ordained there were for him divers statues and images, whereof there was one all of brass, according to a publike decree of the City, standing in the street *Ceramicum*, that year when *Anaxicrates* was Provost; under whom there was allowed unto himself and his son *Lycurgus*, as also to his eldest Nephew, table and diet in *Prytanneum*, by vertue of the same decree of the people: howbeit, after the decease of *Lycurgus*, *Lycophron* his eldest son made sute by law for this gift and donation. He pleaded also many times for matters of Religion, and accused *Autolycus* the Senator, and one of the nigh Court *Areopagus*, *Lysicles* also the Captain, and *Demades* the son of *Demius*, together with *Menesachmus*, and many others, whom he overthrew and caused to be condemned every one. Moreover, he called judicially into question *Diphilus*, for that he took away out of the mettal mines, those middle posts or props which supported the weight of earth bearing upon them, by which means he enriched himself, directly against the Laws: and whereas the penalty of this crime was death, he caused him to be condemned. He distributed out of his goods, unto every Citizen of *Athens* fifteen drachmes, or as some say, one *mna*, or pound of silver: for the totall sum of his wealth amounted unto an hundred and threescore talents. He accused likewise *Aristogiton*, *Cleocrates*, and *Autolycus*, for that being no better then slaves, they carried themselves like men of free condition. This *Lycurgus* was surnamed *Ibis*, that is to say, the black Stork: and men commonly would say to *Lycurgus*, *Ibis*, like as to *Xenophon*, *Nycteris*, that is to say, the Howlet. The most ancient of this house, were descended from *Erectheus*, the son of the Earth and of *Vulcane*; but the neerest, from *Lycomedes* and *Lycurgus*, whom the people honoured with publick funerals and obsequies. And this descent of their race, is drawn from those who were Priests of *Neptune*, and set down in a full and perfect table, which hangeth up in the Temple *Erechthium*, and was painted by *Ismenias* the *Chalcidian*; where also stand certain statues of wood, as well of *Lycurgus* as of his children, to wit, *Abron*, *Lycurgus* and *Lycophron* which sometimes were made by *Timarchus* and *Cephisodorus* the sons of *Praxiteles* the imager. He who set up and dedicated the painted table before said, was *Abron*, unto whom by order of hereditary succession, fell the Priesthood, but he gave over his right thereto voluntarily unto his brother *Lycophron*: this is the reason that he is painted giving a three-forked mace unto his brother. Now this *Lycurgus* having caused to be engraven upon a square pillar, a brief of his whole administration of the common-weal, caused it to be planted just before the wrestling hall, for every man to see it that would. Neither could any man be found so hardy, as to accuse him for robbing the State, or inverting any thing to his own use. He proposed unto the people, that there should be a coronet given unto *Neoptolemus* the son of *Anticles*, and a statue besides, for that he undertook and promised to gild (all over) the altar of *Apollo* in the market place, according to the commandment and direction of the oracle. He demanded also, that honour should be decreed for *Enonymus* the son of *Diotimus*, whose father was *Diopithes*, in that year wherein *Cteficle* was Provost.

Demosthenes. VIII.

Demosthenes the son of *Demosthenes* and of *Cleobule* the daughter of *Gylon*, of the linage or tribe of *Pæania*, being left an orphan by his father, at the age of seven years, together with a sister five years old; during the time of orphanage kept with his mother a widow, and went to school unto *Isocrates*, as some say, or as most men give out, to *Isæus* the *Chalcidian* the disciple of *Isocrates*, who lived in *Athens*: he imitated *Thucydides* and *Plato* the Philosopher, in whose school there be that say he was first brought up: but as *Hegesias* the *Magnesian* reporteth, being advertised that *Callistratus* the son of *Empædes*, an *Aphidnean* and famous Orator, who had been Captain and Commander of a Troop of horsemen, and who had dedicated an altar to *Mercury* surnamed *Agoraios*, that is to say, the Speaker, was to make a solemn oration unto the people, craved leave of his Tutor and Schoolmaster, that he might go to hear him: and no sooner had he heard him speak, but he was in love with his eloquence.

But as for this Orater, he heard him but a while, even until he left the City; for banished he was. Now after that he was departed into *Thrace*, by which time *Demosthenes* grew to be a young man, then began he to frequent the company of *Isocrates* and *Plato*: howbeit, afterwards he took home into his house *Isæus*, whom he entertained the space of four years, and exercised himself in the imitation of his stile, or (as *Cresibius* reporteth in his treatise of Philosophy) he wrought so, that by the means of *Callias* the Syracusian, he recovered the Orations of *Zethus* the Amphipolitane, and by the help of *Charicles* the Charistian, he got them also of *Alcidamus*, and those he gave himself wholly to imitate. But in process of time, when he was come to mans estate, and past a ward, seeing that his tutors and guardians allowed him not sufficiently out of his living and patrimony, he called them to account for their guardianship, that year wherein *Timocrates* was Provost of *Athens*. Now three tutors or Governors he had, to wit, *Aphobus*, *Theripedes*, *Demophon aliás Demea*, whom he charged more then the rest, being his uncle by the mothers side; he layed actions upon them of ten talents apiece, and so much he demanded of them by Law: he overthrew them all; but he could not come by ought of that wherein they were condemned: for neither recovered he mony nor favour of the one or the other. * * * * When *Aristophon* was now so aged, that he could not take pains nor attend to set out the solemn dances and shews, for which he was chosen commissary and overseer, he gave over his place, and *Demosthenes* in his room was substituted the master of the said dances: and for that in the open theater, as he was busie in his office about setting out and ordering the dances, *Medias* the Anagyrasian, gave him a box of the ear with his fist, he sued him in an action of battery: howbeit, he gave over his sute for the sum of three thousand drachmes of silver, which *Midias* payed him. This is reported of him, that being a young man, he retired himself apart into a certain cave, where he gave himself unto his book, having caused his head to be shaven the half of it, because he might not go abroad to be seen, and so leave his book: also, that he lay upon a very straight and narrow bed, for that he would the sooner arise, and with more ease: and there he exercised and forced himself to frame his speech better: but for that he had an ill grace with him, ever as he spake, to shake and shrink up his shoulder, he remedied that, by sticking up a broch or spit, or as some say, a dagger, to the floor over head, that for fear of pricking his shoulder, he might forget this evil custome that he had in his gesture: and according as he profited and proceeded forward in the art, he caused a mirror to be made just as big as himself, before which he used to declaim, that thereby he might observe the evil gestures or illavoured faces that he made when he spake, and learn to reform and amend them; also, he used otherwhiles to go down to the water side, to the haven *Phalerium*, for to exercise himself in declaming, even when the surging waves of the sea did beat upon the banks, to the end that he might at no time after be troubled nor put out and driven to an extasie, with the noise and clamour of the people when he should speak before them: but for that naturally he was short-winded, and his breath commonly failed him, he bestowed upon *Neoptolemus* a famous actor or stage-player, ten thousand drachmes of silver, to teach him for to pronounce long periods and sentences with one breath, and not taking his winde between.

When he began to enter into the management of the publike State, finding that the Citizens were divided into two factions; the one siding and taking part with King *Philip*; the other speaking and pleading still for their liberties and fredom, he chose to join with that which was opposite in all their doings unto *Philip*; and all his life time he continued counselling and perswading the people to succour those who were in danger to fall under the hands of *Philip*: communicating his counsels in the administration of State affairs, and devising evermore with *Hyperides*, *Nausicles*, *Polyeuctus*, and *Diotimus*: and therefore he drew into league and confederacy with the men of *Athens*, the *Thebanes*, *Eubœans Corrycœans*, *Corinthians*, *Bœotians*, and many others besides. One day he chanced to be out and his memory to fail him, so that he was hissed at by the people in a great assembly of the City: for which disgrace he was out of heart, and ill appaid, insomuch as in great discontentment he went home to his house; where by the way, *Eunomus* the Thrasian, being now an ancient man, met with him, who cheered up *Demosthenes*, and comforted him all that he could: but most of all *Andronicus* the stage player; who said unto him: That his orations were as good as possibly might be, only he was wanting somewhat in action; and thereupon rehearsed certain places out of his oration, which he had delivered in that frequent assembly: unto whom *Demosthenes* gave good ear and credit, whereupon he betook himself unto *Andronicus*; insomuch as afterwards when he was demanded the question which was the first point of eloquence, he answered, Action; which the second, he made answer, Action; and which was the third, he said, Action, still. Another time he put himself forth to speak in open audience of a great assembly, and was likewise whistled at, and driven out of countenance; for speaking some words that favoured too much of lusty youthfulness; so that he was flouted by the comicall Poets, *Antiphanes* and *Timocles*, who used to twit him with these termes:

* i. *Aeschylapius.*

* μὰ ἀσκλήπιον, nor ἀσκλήπιον.

* πηγὰς, or ξύλα, the last syllable but twain.

Μὰ γῆν, μὰ κρήνας, μὰ ποταμὸς, μὰ νάματα.

That is to say,

By the earth, by the fountains, by rivers, floods, and streams.

For having sworn in this manner before the people, he raised a stir and hurli-burly among them. He took his oath another time by the name of *Asclepius*, which he founded aloft with accent in the * second syllable; and although he did this upon error in *Prosodia*, yet he maintained and proved

proved that he had pronounced the word aright; for that *Æsculapius* was θεὸς ἤπιος, that is to say, a milde and gracious god: and for this manner of swearing was often times troubled; but after he had frequented the school of *Eubulades* the Milesian, and a Logician, he corrected and amended all. Being one day at the solemnity of the Olympian games, and hearing *Lamachus* the Terinæan how he rehearsed an encomiastical oration in the praise of King *Philip*, and of *Alexander* his son; namely, how they invaded and over-ran the Thebanes and Olynthians, he came forward, and standing close unto him, on the contrary side, alleadged testimonies out of antient Poets, importing the commendation of Thebanes and Olynthians both, for the brave exploits by them atchieved; which when *Lamachus* heard, he gave over and would not speak a word more, but slipt away as soon as he could out of the assembly. King *Philip* himself would say unto them who related unto him the concions and orations that he made against him: Certes, I believe verily, that if I had heard him with mine own ears pleading in this wise, I should have given the man my voice, and chosen him captain to make war upon my self. And much to the same purpose the said *Philip* was wont to liken the orations of *Demosthenes* unto souldiers, for the warlike force that appeared in them; but the speeches of *Isocrates* he compared to fensers or sword-players, for the delightful shew and flourish that they made.

Being now thirty-seven years old, counting from *Dexitheus* to *Callimachus*, in the time of whose Provostship the Olynthians by their embassage required aid of the Athenians, for that they were sore plagued with the war that King *Philip* levied against them; he perswaded the people to send them succour: but in the year following, wherein *Plato* changed this life, King *Philip* utterly destroyed the Olynthians. *Xenophon* also the disciple of *Socrates*, had a knowledge of *Demosthenes*, either in his prime when he began to rise and grow up, or else in the very flour and best of his time; for *Xenophon* wrote his Chronicles as touching the acts and deeds of the Greeks, and specially of those affairs which passed about the time of the battel at *Mantinea*, or a little after, namely, in that year when *Charicles* was Provost; and *Demosthenes* somewhat before that, had given his tutors and guardians the overthrow at the bar. When as *Æschines* upon his condemnation was fled toward *Athens*, there to live in exile; *Demosthenes* being advertised thereof, made after him on horse-back; whereupon *Æschines* imagining that he should be taken prisoner, fell down at his feet, and covered his face, but *Demosthenes* willed him to arise and stand up, gave him comfortable words, and besides, put a talent of silver into his hands. He gave counsel unto the Athenians to entertain a certain number of mercenary souldiers, strangers in the isle of *Thasos*, and to this effect he sailed thither as Captain with the charge of a great galley under his hand: He was chosen another time chief purveior of corn, and being accused for demeaning himself baldly, and purloining the Cities money, he cleared himself and was acquit. When *Philip* had forced the City *Elatia*, and was master of it, *Demosthenes* abandoned the said City, together with those who had fought in the battel of *Chæronea*; whereupon is thought that he forsook his colours and fled; now as he made haste away, there chanced a bramble to take hold of his cassock behinde, whereat he turned back and said unto the bramble: Save my life and take my ransome. Upon his target he had for his mot or device. *Good fortune.* And verily he it was that made the Oration at the funerals of those who lost their lives in the said battel.

After this he applied his minde, and bent all his chief care to the reparations of the City, and being chosen commissary for repairing the walls, he laid out of his own (besides the defraying of the Cities money) an hundred pounds of silver: over and above that, he gave ten thousand for to be employed in the setting out of shewes, games, and playes; which done, he embarked himself in a galley, and sailed up and down from coast to coast, for to levy money of the allies and confederates; for which good services he was crowned many times: first by the means and motion of *Demoteles*, *Aristonicus*, and *Hyperides*; who propounded that he should be honoured with a coronet of gold, and last of all, at the instant sute of *Ctesiphon*: which decree was empeached and blamed, as contrary to the Laws by *Diodotus* and *Æschines*: against whom he defended and maintained it so well, that he carried it clean away; so as his accuser had not the fifth part of the suffrages and voices of the people on his side.

Afterwards when *Alexander* was passed onward his voyage into *Asia*, and *Harpalus* fled into *Athens* with a great sum of mony: at the first he would not suffer him to be entertained and kept safely; but after he was once arrived and set aland, and that he had received of him a thousand good pieces of gold, called *Darike*; then he changed his note and sung another song: for when the Athenians were minded to deliver the man into the hands of *Antipater*, he withstood them, and withal set down under his hand writing, that his mony was laid up safe in the Citadel; the summe whereof he had declared already unto the people, whereas *Harpalus* had specified it to be seven hundred and fifty talents or somewhat above, as saith *Philocharus*. But after this when *Harpalus* had broken prison, wherein he should have been kept, until some messenger and news came directly from *Alexander*, and was escaped and retired, as some say, to *Candie*, or as others, to *Tenarus* in *Laconia*; *Demosthenes* was called into question for corruption, bribery, and taking his money; for that he neither declared the just quantity and summe of coin that thither was brought, nor the negligence of those who had the custody of it and him: thus I say was he brought to his answer judicially by *Hyperides*, *Pytheus*, *Menesechmus*, *Hymeræus*, and *Patrocles*, who followed the sute so hard, that they caused him to be condemned in the High Court and chamber of *Areopagus*: and thus condemned he went into exile, being not able to pay five fold; for charged he was to have taken thirty talents:

talents: others say that he would not abide the issue of judgement, and therefore went voluntary before the day of triall into banishment. After this time the Athenians sent *Polyeuctus* in embassage to the communalty of the Arcadians, for to divert and withdraw them from the league and confederacy to the Macedonians: but when *Polyeuctus* could not perswade them to revolt; *Demosthenes* came upon them and shewed himself to second the motion, where he spake so effectually, that he prevailed with them: for which service he was highly admired, and thereby wan such favour and reputation, that after a certain time, by vertue of a publick decree, he was called home again out of exile, and a galley was set out of purpose to bring him back to *Athens*: and the Athenians moreover ordained, that whereas he owed unto the State thirty talents, in which he was condemned, he should cause an altar to be built unto *Jupiter* the Saviour, in the port *Pyreum*, and in so doing be held acquit and discharged. This decree was propounded by *Demon* the Phæanian his cousen Germain.

By this means he returned to the politick mannaging of affairs as before. Now when as *Antipater* was straightly besieged by the Greeks, and enclosed within the City *Limia*, whereupon the Athenians offered sacrifices for the good and joyfull tidings thereof, he chanced to let fall a word in talking with *Agesistratus*, a familiar friend of his, and to say that he was not of the same mind and opinion with other, as touching the State: For I know full well (quoth he) that the Greeks are skilfull and able both to run a short carriere, and good to make a skirmish for a spurt and away; but to hold a long race, and to continue the war unto the end, they can never abide. But afterwards when *Antipater* had won *Pharsalus*, and threatned the Athenians to lay siege unto their City, unless he would deliver into his hands those Orators who had inveighed against him: *Demosthenes* for fear of himself, left the City of *Athens*, and fled first into the Isle *Ægina*, for to put himself within the liberties and franchises of the temple or sanctuary, called *Æacium*: but afterwards being affraid that he should be fetched out from thence by the ears, he passed over into *Calauria*: where having in diligence that the Athenians were resolved and had concluded to deliver those Orators, and himself principally among the rest; he rested as a poor distressed suppliant within the temple of *Neptune*: and when there came unto him thither *Archias* the pursuvant, surnamed *Phygadotheres*, that is to say, the hunter of Fugitives who was a disciple and sectary of *Anaximenes* the Philosopher, perswading him to arise, and that no doubt he should be reckoned one of the friends of *Antipater*; he answered thus: When you play a part in a tragœdy, you cannot make me believe that you are the man whom you represent; no more shall you perswade me now to give ear unto your counsel: and when the other laid hands on him and would have drawn him forth by violence, those of the City would not suffer him; then said *Demosthenes* unto them: I fled not unto *Calabria* for my safety, and with any intention to save my life, but to convince the Macedonians of their impiety and violence, even against the gods; and with that he called for writing tables, and wrote this dystichon; as saith *Demetrius* the Magnesian, which the Athenians afterwards caused to be set as an Epigram over the statue:

Had thy good heart Demosthenes,
met with as good an hand:
The Greeks of Macedonian sword,
should never have had command.

This image of his standeth neer unto the purprise or cloister, wherein is erected the altar of the twelve gods, and made it was by the hands of *Polyeuctus*: but as some say, this was found written withal: *Demosthenes* to *Antipater* greeting. *Philocharus* saith, that he died of poyson which he drank: but *Satyrus* the historiographer reporteth, that the pen was poisoned wherewith he began to write his Epistle, and chancing to put it into his mouth, so soon as ever he tasted thereof, died: *Eratosthenes* writeth otherwise, namely that he standing in fear a long time of the Macedonians, was provided of poison, which he carried within a little ring or bracelet that he wore about the wrist of his arm: and there be again who say, that he killed himself by holding his wind so long, that he was overcome and stifled withal; last of all, others write that he carried a strong poison within the collet of his signet, which he tasted, and died thereof, ***two and twenty.

When King *Philip* was dead, he came abroad wearing a fair and rich new robe, although but a while before he had buried his own daughter, so glad was he of the death of that Macedonian King. He aided the Thebanes also when they warred with *Alexander*, and all other Greeks he encouraged as much as possibly he could at all times; and therefore *Alexander* after he had destroyed the City of *Thebes*, demanded of the Athenians for to have him, menacing them if they would not deliver him into his hands. And when the said King warred upon the Persians, and required of the Athenians their shipping, *Demosthenes* opposed himself and denied it: For who is able to say (quoth he) that he will not use the same shippes even against our selves that send them. He left behind him two sonnes by one wife, the daughter of one *Heliodorus* a principall Citizen. One daughter he had, who died before she was married, being but yet a young child. A sister also he had, who being married unto *Laches* the Leuconian his nephew or sisters sonne, bare *Demochares*, a valiant man in warre, and besides, for policy and eloquence inferiour to none in his time. There is an image of his to be seen at this day, standing within the common hall of the City, called *Prytaneum*, on the right hand as men do enter in and go toward the altar. The first man he was who made an oration to the people with a sword by his side girded over his robe: for in that habit it is said,

said, that he delivered a speech unto the Citizens, when *Antipater* came to demand their Orators: but afterwards, the *Athenians* both ordained allowance of diet in the *Prytaneum* for the kinred of *Demosthenes*, and also set up a statue for himself when he was dead, in the Market place, that very year when *Gorgias* was Provost, at the sute of *Demochares* his nephew or sisters son, who required these honours for his Uncle: yea, and afterwards, *Laches* the sonne of *Demochares* a *Leuconian*, made sute for the like honours for himself, the year that *Pitharatus* was Provost; which was ten years after; namely; his statue for to stand in the market place, allowance of diet in the palace *Prytaneum*, as well for himself as for the eldest alwayes of his house and linage in every descent, with a priviledge of the highest room or uppermost place at all solemn fights and games. And these decrees as touching them both, are registred, and to be seen engrossed upon record. As for the image of *Demochares*, whereof we have already spoken, it was transported into the Palace or Hall of the City named *Prytaneum*.

There be extant orations which be his indeed; to the number of threescore and five. Some say, that he lived a dissolute and riotous life, and that he would not stick to go in womans apparel, to banquet, to be one ordinarily in all masks and mommeries; whereupon he was surnamed *Batalus*: though others there are, who say that this was the name of his nourse, and that thereupon he was so tearmed by way of flouting speech or nick-name. *Diogenes* the dogged Cynick, spied him one day in a Tavern; whereat *Demosthenes* was abashed, and retired more inward into the house: Nay (quoth *Diogenes* to him) the more you draw or shrink backward, the further still you go into the Tavern. The same *Diogenes* said to him upon a time, when he was disposed to scoff: That in words he was a Scythian, that is to say, a rough *Tartarian* and a brave Warrior; but in war, a fine and delicate burgess of *Athens*. He took gold of *Ephialtes* also, being one of the Orators who went in embassage to the King of *Persia*, and brought with him a great sum of money secretly to distribute among the Orators of *Athens*, to this end, that they might stir coals, and blow the fire, to kindle war against *Philip*: and it is said, that he for his part had at one clap of the King, three thousand daricks. He caused one *Anaxilus* of the City of *Orea*, to be apprehended, who had otherwise been his familiar friend; and being cast into prison, put him to be examined by torture, as a spie; and albeit he confessed nought, yet he sued out a writ or decree that he should be committed into the hands of the eleven executioners of justice. One day when he meant to make a speech in the full assembly of the people, they were not willing to hear him: Why (quoth he unto them) it is but a short tale that I purpose to tell unto you: which when they heard; they gave him audience willingly: and then began he in this maner: There was not long since (quoth he) a young man who hired an Ass in the time of Summer, from this City to *Megara*: now when it was noon time of the day, and the Sun exceeding hot, both the one and the other, as well the owner of the ass as he who hired him, would needs have the benefit of the ass shade, and stand under it, but they hindred and impeached one another; for the owner said that he had let to hire, his Ass, but not the shadow of him: the other again who hired him, pleaded that the Ass, shadow and all was in his power. Having thus begun his tale, he came down and went his way: the people then called him back, and prayed him to tell the tale out, and make an end thereof: Why my masters (quoth he) how is it, that you are so desirous that I should tel you a tale of the shadow of an Ass, and will not give me the hearing when I am to speak unto you of your affaires of great importance? *Polus* the famous actor and stage-player made his boast upon a time, that in two daies wherein he played his part, he had gotten a whole talent of silver: And I (quoth he) have gained five in one day, for holding my peace and keeping silence. His voice upon a time, when he made a speech unto the people, failed him: whereupon his audience being not well pleased, and himself somewhat troubled he said aloud unto them: You are to judge players by their pleasant and strong voice; but Orators by their good and grave sentences. *Epicles* seemed to upbraid and reproch him, for that he was alwayes musing and premeditating: I would be ashamed (quoth he unto him) if being to speak before so great an assembly of people, I should come unprovided. It is written of him, that he never put out his lamp, that is to say, that he never ceased studying how to file and polish (as it were) his orations, untill he was fifty years old. He said of himself, that he drank nothing but fair water. *Lysias* the Orator had knowledge of him: and *Isocrates* saw him to manage the affairs of State, until the battel of *Chæronea*, yea, and some also of the Socraticall Orators. The most part of his orations he pronounced **ex tempore* and of a sudden, as having a ready and pregnant wit, and one who naturally was fitted to speak. The first that ever proposed and put up a bill unto the people, that he should be crowned with a coronet of gold, was *Aristonicus* the Anagyrasian the son of *Nicophanes*; and *Diondus* did second the motion with an oath.

* How agreeth this with that which went a little before? I suppose this is falsified in by some other

Hyperides. IX.

Hyperides the son of *Glaucippus*, who was the son of *Dionysius* of the burrough *Colyttea*, had a son who bare the name of his father *Glaucippus*, an Orator who composed certain orations and he begat another Orator, named *Alphinus*. He was at one time the scholar of *Plato* the Philosopher, of *Lycurgus* and of *Isocrates*. He dealt in the State at what time as *Alexander* the Great intended the affaires of *Greece*, and he crossed him as touching those captains which he demanded of the *Athenians*, as also about the Gallies which he required to have. He advised the people not to cast and discharge those souldiers which were entertained at *Tenara*, who had for their captain, *Chares*,

Chares, and whose friend particularly he was. He pleaded ordinarily at the first as an advocate for his fee; and was suspected to have received to have received part of that money with *Ephialtes* brought out of *Persia*. Chosen he was the Captain of one great Galley, at what time as King *Philip* went to lay siege unto the City *Byzantium*: and sent he was to aid the *Byzantines*. The very same year he took the charge of defraying the expenses of the solemn dances; whereas the rest of the Captains were exempt from all publick offices for that year. He passed a decree, that certain honours should be done unto *Demosthenes*; and when the said decrees was by *Diondas* repealed, as made against the laws, and himself thereupon accused, yet found he was unguilty, and thereupon acquit. Friend he was to *Demosthenes*, *Lysicles* and *Lycurgus*; howbeit, in this amity he continued not unto the end: for after that *Lysicles* and *Lycurgus* were dead, when *Demosthenes* was once called in question for taking money of *Harpalus*, he alone (for that his hands onely were free of bribery) was nominated and picked out from the rest, to frame an accusation against him, because they were all thought culpable in the same fault, and so he judicially accused him: but himself was charged by *Aristogiton* for publishing acts contrary to the Laws, after the battel at *Cheronea*, namely; That all the inhabitants and dwellers in *Athens*, should be Burgesses of the City; that all slaves should manumized and made free; that all sacred and holy reliques; that women and children should be bestowed within the Port or Havan *Piræum*: howbeit, absolved he was, and went cleer away. And when some there were who found fault with him, and marvelled how he should be so negligent and overseen, as not to know so many laws which were directly opposite to the said decrees; he made this answer: If (quoth he) the arms of the *Macedonians* and the battel of *Cheroneæ*, had not dazzled and dimmed my sight, I had never written nor proposed such an edict. But certain it is, that after this, *Philip* being affrighted, gave the *Athenians* leave to take up the bodies of their dead that lay in the field, which before he had denied unto the heralds that came of purpose unto him out of *Lebadia*.

Afterwards, upon the desaiture at *Granon*, when he was demanded by *Antipater*, and the people resolved to deliver him into his hands, he forsook the City, and fled into the Isle of *Ægina*, with other persons who likewise were condemned; where meeting with *Demosthenes*, he desidered him to hold him excused, for that he had by constraint accused him. And when he minded to depart from thence, surprized he was by one *Archias* (surnamed **Phygadotheres**, a man born in the City of *Thurii*, and who at the first was a professed stage-player, but then imployed in the service and aid of *Antipater*: so he was apprehended perforce within the Temple of *Neptune*; notwithstanding he held the image of the said god in his armes; and from thence brought to *Corinth* before *Antipater*; where being set upon the rack, and put to torture, he bit his tongue off with his own teeth, because he would not discover the secrets of the City, and so ended his dayes the ninth day of the month *October*: howbeit, *Hermippus* saith, that as he went into *Macedonie*, he had his tongue cut out of his head, and his dead corps was cast forth unto the beasts of the field without sepulture: yet one *Alphinus* his cousin germain, or as some say, the cousin of *Glaucippus* his son obtained licence (by the means of *Philopithes* a certain Physitian) to take up his body, who burnt the same in a funeral fire; the ashes and bones whereof, he carried to *Athens* afterwards, among his kinsfolk and friends, contrary to the orders and decrees set down, both by the *Macedonians* and the *Athenians*: for by vertue thereof they were not only banished but interdicted, so as they might not be interred within their own Country. Others say, that he was carried unto the City *Cleonæ* with others, where he died; and that his tongue was cut, and afterwards, himself murdred in manner aforesaid. Howbeit, his kinsmen and friends gathered up his bones when his corps was burnt, and buried them amongst his parents and progenitors before the gates called *Hippades*, according as *Hellodorus* hath recorded in the third book of his monuments. But his sepulchre at this day is quite demolished, and no token remaineth thereof to seen.

He had a singular name above all other Orators, for speaking before the people; insomuch, as some have ranged him even above *Demosthenes*. There go in his name, threescore and seventeen orations; of which, two and fifty are truly attributed unto him, and no more. Given he was exceeding much to the love of women, which was the cause that his drove his two son out of his house, and brought in thither *Myrrhina* the most sumptuous and costly courtisan in those dayes: and yet in *Pyræum* he kept *Aristagora*, and at *Eleusin* (where his lands and possessions lay) he had another at command, namely, *Philte* a *Thebane* born, who cost him twenty pounds weight of silver. His ordinary walk was every day thorow the fish market. And when the famous Courtesan *Phryne* (whom he loved also) was called into question for Atheism and impiety, inquisition was made after him likewise; and so he was troubled with her and for her sake, as it should seem: for, so much he declareth himself in the beginning of his oration; now when the was at the very point to be codemned, he brought the woman forth in open Court before the judges, rent her clothes, and shewed unto them her bare brest; which the judges seeing to be so white and fair, in regard of her beauty very absolved and dismissed her.

He had very closely and secretly framed certain accusatory declarations against *Demosthenes*, yet so, as they came to light in this manner: for when *Hyperides* lay sick, it fortuned that *Demosthenes* came one day to his house for to visit him, where he found a book drawen full of articles against him; whereat when he was much offended, and took it in great indignation, *Hyperides* made him this answer: So long as you are my friend, this shall never hurt you; but if you become mine enemy, this

this shall be a curb to restrain you from enterprizing any thing prejudicial unto me. He put up a bill unto the people, that certain honours should be done unto *Jolas*, who gave unto *Alexander* the cup of poyson. He sided with *Demosthenes*, and joined in the raising of the Lamiack war, and made an admirable oration at the funerals of those who lost their lives therein. When King *Philip* was ready to embark and pass over into the Isle *Eubœa*, whereupon the *Athenians* were in great fear and perplexity; he gathered together in a small time a Fleet of fourty sail, by voluntary contribution, and was the first man who for himself and his son rigged and set forth two gallies of war. When there was a controversie in Law between the *Athenians* and *Delians* to be decided, unto whether of them appertained by right the superintendance of the Temple at *Delos*, and that *Æschynes* was chosen to plead the cause, the counsel of *Areopagus* elected *Hyperides*; and his oration as touching this matter is at this day extant, entituled *The Deliaque oration*. Moreover, he went in embassage to *Rhodes*, where there arrived other Embassadors in the behalf of *Antipater*, whom they highly praised, as a good, milde, and gracious Prince: True it is (quoth *Hyperides* unto them again) I know well that he is good and gracious, but we have no need of him to be our Lord and Master how good and gracious soever he be. It is said, that in his orations he shewed no action nor gesture at all: his manner was onely to set down the case and lay open the matter plainly and simply, without troubling the judges any otherwise than with a naked narration. Sent he was likewise unto the *Elians* for to defend the cause of *Calippus*, one of the champions at the sacred games, unto whom this imputation was laid, that by corruption he had carried away the prize, and indirectly obtained the victory. He opposed himself also against the gift which was ordained in the honour of *Phocion*, at the instant sute of *Midias* of *Anagyra*, the son of *Midias*, the year wherein *Xenius* was Provost, the 27. day of the moneth of May; and in this cause he was cast and had the overthrow.

Dinarchus. X.

Dinarchus the son of *Sosrates* or *Sostratus*, born as some think in the Country of *Attica*, or as others would have him, in *Corinth*, came to *Athens* very young, at what time as King *Alexander* the Great, passed with his Army into *Asia*; where he dwelt, and frequented the lecture of *Theophrastus*, who succeeded *Aristotle* in the Peripatetick school: he conversed also with *Demetrius* the *Phalerian*, and took his time especially to enter into the the administration of State affairs, after the death of *Antipater*, when the great Orators and States-men were some dead and made away, others banished and driven out of the City: and being besides friended and countenanced by *Cassander*, he grew in short time to be exceeding rich, exacting and taking mony for his orations, of those at whose request he composed them. He banded against the most renowned Orators in his time; not by putting himself forth to come in open place to speak before the people (for no gift nor grace he had therein) but by penning orations for those who made head against them. And namely when *Harpalus* had broken prison and was fled, he composed divers accusatory declarations against all such as were suspected to have taken money of him, and those he delivered into the hands of their accusers to be pronounced accordingly. Long time after, being accused himself to have communicated, conferred, and practised with *Antipater* and *Cassander*, about the time that the haven *Munichia* was surprised by *Antigonus* and *Demetrius*, who placed there a garrison in that year when *Anaxicrates* was Provost of the City, he sold most part of his goods, and made mony, and when he had done, fled out of the way to *Chalcis*, where he lived as it were in exile the space will neer of 15. years; during which time, he gathered great riches, and became very wealthy, and so returned again to *Athens*, by the means of *Theophrastus*, who procured both him and other banished persons to be recalled and restored: he abode then in the house of one *Proxenus* his familiar friend; where being now very aged, and besides weak-sighted, he lost his gold that he had gotten together; and when *Proxenus* his host would have given information thereof, and seemed to make Inquisition, *Dinarchus* called him into question judicially for it; and this was the first time that ever he was known to speak & plead personally at the bar. This oration of his is now extant, and there are besides in mens hands threescore and four more acknowledged all to be his, and yet some of these are to be excepted, as namely, that against *Aristogiton*. He did imitate *Hyperides*, or as some think *Demosthenes* in regard of that pathetical spirit in moving affections, and the emphatical force with appeareth in his stile. Certainly in his figures and exornations he followeth him very evidently.

Decrees proposed unto the people of Athens.

Demochares the son of *Laches*, of the burough *Leucon*, demandeth for *Demosthenes* the sonne of *Lemosthenes* of the burough of of *Pæania*, a statue of brass to be set up in the market place or common Hall of *Athens*; also allowance of diet in the palace *Prytaneum*, and the first place or seat in all honourable assemblies for himself, and the eldest of his house in every descent

descent for ever; for that he the said *Demosthenes* hath alwaies been a benefactor to the City, and given counsel unto the people of *Athens*, in many of their honourable affairs to their behoof; for that he hath at all times exposed his goods to the service of the common-weal, and namely, of his liberal and bountiful minde contributed eight talents of silver, and maintained one galley of war, at what time the people freed and delivered the isle *Eubœa*: and another, when captain *Cephisodo us* set out his voyage into *Hellespont*; as also a third when *Chares* and *Phocion* were sent as captains to *Byzantium* by the people. *Item*, for that with his own money he ransomed and redeemed many Citizens taken prisoners and captives in *Pydne*, *Methone* and *Olynthus* by King *Phillip*. *Item*, for that he defraied at his own proper cost and charges, the publick playes and dounces when the tribe of the *Pandionides* failed to furnish the officers and wardens appointed thereto. *Item*, for that he armed many poor Citizens who had not wherewith to set themselves forth to the wars. *Item*, for that being chosen by the people one of the Acdiles or Commissaries, for repairing the City walls, he laid out of his own purse to the value of three talents of silver, over and besides then thousand drachms which of his own money he employed, in casting of two trenches about *Pyræum*. *Item*, that after the disasterous battel of *Charonea*, he gave out of his own stock one talent; and another to buy corn with all in time of a dearth and great famine. *Item*, for that by his effectual remonstrances, fair perswasions, holesome counsels, and good demerits, he had induced the *Thebanes*, *Eubœans*, *Corinthians*, *Megarians*, *Achians*, *Locrians*, *Bizantines*, and *Massenians*, to enter into a league as well offensive as defensive with the people of *Athens*. *Item*, for that he levied a power of ten thousand footmen well armed, and a thousand horsemen, over and above the contribution of monies, by the people and their allies. *Item*, for that being embassador, he had perswaded the associates and confederates of *Athens*, to make a contribution of money to the sum of five hundred talents and above, toward the wars. *Item*, for that he empeached the *Peloponnensians* for aiding King *Alexander* against the *Thebanes*; for which service he parted with his own silver, and went personally in embassage. As also in regard of many other good deserts, and worthy exploits by him atchieved: in consideration likewise of much wise counsel and advice, which he hath given unto the people, and of his politick government and managing of State affairs, wherein he hath carried himself as well, yea and much better than any in his time: for the perservation of the liberty and maintenance of the authority of the people. Over and besides, in that he was banished out of his countrey by certain seditious usurpers, who for the time suppressed the authority of the people: and finally lost his life in *Calauria*, in the quarrel of the said people, and for the love and good will that he alwaies bare affectionately unto the commonalty of *Athens*, there being sent of purpose from *Antipater* certain souldiers to apprehend him. Notwithstanding, which present danger wherein he stood, being now in the hands of his enemies, yet persisted he firm and fast in his hearty affection alwaies unto the people; insomuch as he never did any deed, nor let fall any word prejudiciall to his Country, or unbeseeming the honour of the people, as neer as he was unto his death. *Subscribed, that very year when* Pytharatus *was Provost.*

Laches the son of *Demochares*, of the borough *Leucon*, demandeth in free gift of the Senate and people of *Athens*, for *Demochares* the son of *Laches*, of the tribe or borough *Leucon*, one statue of brass to be erected in the market place: also his table and diet in the palace or City Hall *Prytaneum* for himself, and for him that shall be the eldest of his house in every descent for ever; as also the privilege of presidence or first seat at all solemn sights and publick plaies: for that he hath alwaies been a benefactor and good counseller unto the people of *Athens*, as having deserved well of the commonweale in these particulars; (as well in those things which he hath penned, proposed and negotiated in his embassage, as in the administration of common-weal, in that he hath caused the walls of the City to be built, made provision of harness and armor, as well offensive as defensive; of fabricks and engines of battery, and of artillery with shot to be discharged out of them; in that he hath well fortified the City during the wars with the Beotians which continued for the space of four years: for which good service done, banished he was and chased out of the City by the tyrants, who oppressed the liberty and authority of the people: and in that being restored again and called home by an honourable decree of the said people, when *Diocles* was Provost, he was the first man who restrained the administration and management of those who made spare of their own goods, and sent embassages unto *Lysimachus*: in that also he levied for the good of the common-wealth at one time thirty talents, and at another a hundred talents of silver; in that he moved the people by a bill preferred unto them, for to send an embassage to King *Ptolemæus* in *Ægypt*; by means whereof they that went that voyage, brought back with them fifty talents of silver for the people. *Item*, in that being sent embassador to *Antipater*, he received thereby twenty talents of silver, which he brought unto the people into the City of *Eleusin*, where he practised and perswaded with them to receive the same. *Item*, in that he suffered banishment, because he was a protector and defender of the popular State, never siding nor taking part with any faction of the usurpers; nor bearing Office or Magistracy in Common-weal, after that the said popular State was put down and abolished. *Item*, in that he only in his time, of all those who meddled in the affairs of State, never studied nor intended alteration, and to reduce his Countrey unto any another kind of Government, but popular. *Item*, in that by his politick counsel and administration he hath put in safety and security all judgements passed; all Laws enacted, all decrees concluded; yea and the goods and substance of all the *Athenians*: finally, in that he hath gone about and attempted nothing prejudicial unto the popular Government, either in word or deed.

Lycophron

Lycophron the son of *Lycurgus*, of the Burrough or Commonalty of *Buta*, hath presented this request: That he might be allowed his diet in the Palace *Prytaneum*, according to the free gift granted before time to his father *Lycurgus* by the people, in that year wherein *Anaxicrates* was Provost of the City, and the tribe *Antiochis* President of *Prytaneum*: which *Stratocles* the son of *Euthydemus*, of the Burrough *Diomeia*, proposed it in this form: Forasmuch as *Lycurgus*, the son of *Lycophron* of *Buta*, hath received of his Ancestors (as it were) from hand to hand a certain hereditary love and affection to the people of *Athens*, and his Progenitors likewise, *Diomedes* and *Lycurgus*, both during their lives were esteemed and highly honored by the people; and after their death, had this honor done unto them in testimony of their virtue and valor, as to be enterred at the publike charges of the City, in that conspicuous street called *Ceramicum*: considering also that *Lycurgus* himself (whiles he managed the affairs of the State) enacted many good and wholesome Laws for his Countrey, and being Treasurer-General of all the Cities Revenues, by the space of fifteen years, during that time, had the receit and laying out of the Publick moneys, to the sum of eighteen thousand and nine hundred talents: and for that many private mens stocks were put into his hands upon trust, for the confidence they had in him, in regard of his fidelity; in regard also, that he hath disbursed and layed forth of his own moneys at sundry times, and upon divers occasions, for the benefit of the City and Commonalty, as much as amounteth in all, to six hundred and fifty talents: for that likewise in all his imployments, having been ever found most trusty, just and loyal, and to carry himself as an honest man and good Citizen, he hath been many times crowned by the City: moreover, in this respect, that having been chosen by the people the Receiver of Finances, he gathered together a great mass of money, and brought the same into the common chest within the Citadel, and besides, provided ornaments for the goddess *Minerva*, to wit, images of victory all of beaten gold, vessels to carry in procession both of gold and silver, besides other jewels of fine gold for the service and worship of the said goddess, and namely, to the number of one hundred *Canephoræ*; that is to say, Virgins carrying paniers or baskets with sacred Reliques upon their heads. *Item*, for that being elected Commissary for the Munitions and Provisions necessary for the wars, he brought into the Citadel a great number of Armours and Weapons, and among the rest, fifty thousand shot; rigged and set afloat four hundred Galleys, some new built, others repaired and trimmed: over and besides, for that finding certain of the City works unperfect, to wit, the Arcenal, the Armory and the Theatre of *Bacchus*, he caused them to be made up, and withal, finished both the Cirque or running place *Panathenaicum*, and also the empaled Park for publike exercise, and built the *Lycium* likewise, and adorned the City with many fair buildings and publike edifices: whereas also, King *Alexander* the great, having already subdued all *Asia*, and intending generally to be Commander over all *Greece*, demanded to have *Lycurgus* delivered up into his hands, for that he onely stood in his way, and crossed his designs, the people would not deliver him for any fear they had of *Alexander*: and for that being oft times called judicially to his answer, and to render an account of his Government and Administration in a free City, and governed by a popular State, he was always found innocent and unreproveable, not tainted with any bribery, nor spotted with corruption and taking gifts for to pervert justice all his life time. To the end therefore, that all men might know that they who are well affected to the maintenance of liberty and popular Government be highly accounted of by the people whiles they live, and that after their death the City is willing to render unto them immortal thanks; in a good and happy hour, let it be ordained by the people, that *Lycurgus* the son of *Lycaphron* of *Buta*, be honored for his vertue and righteousness; and that the people erect his statue all of brass in the Market-steed, unless it be in some place where the trade expresly forbiddeth it to stand. *Item*, that there be allowance of diet in the *Prytaneum*, to the eldest of his house in every descent for ever. Also, that the Decrees by him proposed, shall be ratified and engrossed by the publick Notary of the City, yea, and engraven in pillars of stone, and set up in the Citadel neer unto the offerings consecrated unto the goddess *Minerva*: and for the engraving of the said pillars, the treasury of the City shall defray fifty drachmes of silver out of those moneys which are allowed for the City decrees.

Of three sorts of Government, Monarchy, Democraty and Oligarchy.

AS I devised with my self, and purposed to put question to for to be decided by this judicious company, a matter which yesterday I discoursed of before you; me thought that I heard politick vertue in a true vision indeed (and not in the vain illusion of a dream) thus to say unto me:

The Golden base and ground that now belongs
Unto our work, is layed with sacred songs.

I have already layed the foundation of a Discourse, perswading and exhorting to the management of State affairs, if now we can proceed to build upon it the Doctrine fit for such an exhortation, which is a due debt unto *Atticus*: for meet it is and requisite, that after a man hath received an admonition inciting him to deal in Politick matter of common-weal,

there should consequently be given unto him and sounded in his ears the precepts of policy; the which he observing and following, may (as much as lieth in man to perform) be profitable to the commonweal; and withal, in the mean time manage his own private business, both in safety, and also with such honor as is just and meet for him.

First and formost therefore, we are to consider and discourse of one point; which as it is a very material precedent unto all that shall be said, so it dependeth, and is necessarily to be inferred of that which hath been delivered already; namely, what maner of policy and government is best: for as there be many sort of lives in particular men; so there are of people in general: and the life of a people or commonalty, is the Politick State and Government thereof. Necessary it is therefore, that we declare which is simply the best; that a man of State may chuse it from among the rest: or at leastwise, if that be impossible, take that which most resembleth the best. Now there is one signification of this word *Politia*, that is to say, Policy, which is as much as Burgeosie, that is to say, the indowment and enjoying of the right and priviledges of a City: as for example, when we say that the Megarians (by a publike Ordinance of their City) gave unto *Alexander* the great, their *Politia*, that is to say, their Burgeosie: and when he seemed to laugh at this offer and grant of theirs, they made him answer again, That they had never decreed this honor to any, but first to *Hercules*, and now to himself: which speech of theirs he so admired, that he accepted of their gift, reputing it honorable, because it was so rare. Also the life of a Politick person, who administreth State-affairs, is called Policy; according to which sense and acceptation of the word, we commend the Policy of *Pericles* and *Bias*, that is to say, their maner of Government; but contrariwise, we discommend that of *Hyperbolus* and *Cleon*. Moreover, others there be, who call some one worthy act or memorable deed tending to the good of the common-weal, by the name of Policy: as for example, the contribution of money, the final ending and dissolution of war, and the publishing or declaration of some notable decree: in which signification we use commonly to say, Such a man hath this day been the author of a good Policy, if haply he have done and effected some worthy things, importing the weal-publick. Over and above all these significations before specified, there is another; namely, the order and state of a City and Commonwealth, by which are managed and administred all the affairs thereof: and according to this sense we say, there he three sorts of Policies, Monarchy; that is to say, Royalty, that is to say, Seignory; and Democraty, that is to say, Popular Authority: of which three *Herodotus* maketh mention in the third book of his History, comparing them together; and it seemeth that these be the most general, for all others be (as it were) the depravations and corruptions of these, according to want or excess, like as it falleth out in accords and consonances of musick, when the first and principal strings or notes are stretched over high, or let down to low: and so he divided these three Governments among those Nations which had the largest Empire, and greatest Dominion: for the Persians held the Monarchy and absolute Royalty, for that their King had plenary power in all things, not subject to be called unto account by any person whatsoever. The Spartians or Lacedemonians, maintained a grave and severe counsel, consisting of some few, and those the best and principal personages of the City, who managed and dispatched all affairs. The Athenians embraced a popular Government, living under their own laws, free, and without all mixture whatsoever. Now of these States and Governments, when they be faulty and out of order, the transgressions, exorbitations and excesses, be called Tyrannies, lordly oppressions of the mightier, and unbridled rule, or licentious mis rule rather of the multitude: to wit, when the Prince in his absolute Royalty taketh upon him insolent pride, to commit wrong and outrage unto whom he list: when some few Senators, or Rulers, in their Seignory enter into an arrogant and presumptuous Lordliness, whereby they contemn and oppress all others: also when the multitude in their popular isonomy, run into Anarchy, unrulines, disobedience, tearms of equality, and unmeasurable liberty: and in one word, when all these sorts of Government fall to rash and witless folly: like as therefore a skilful and harmonical Musician can make use of all kinde of instruments, framing and accommodating himself by art and cunning unto every one, striking each one according as he knoweth the quality and nature thereof, to give the sweetest and most pleasant sound: howbeit, if he follow the counsel of *Plato*, will pass by the Fiddels, Rebecks, Dulcimers, the many stringed Psalteries or Virginals, the Vials likewise and the triangled Harps, preferring before all others the Lute and Citheron or Bandora: even so a good Politician, will handle with dexterity the Laconick Seignory, and manage well enough *Lycurgus* his Oligarchy, applying and fiting his companions in Government, who have equal authority unto himself, gently drawing and reducing them by little and little unto the bent of his bow; semblably, he will carry himself with wisdom and discretion in the popular State, as if he had to deal with an instrument of many sounds, and as many strings, letting down and remitting some matters, setting up and extending other things in the Goverment, as he seeth his time, giving ease and liberty, and again, carrying a hard hand and a rigorous, as one who knoweth when to resist and withstand stoutly any proceedings: But if he were put to his choice, among these musical instruments, as it were, of a politick Government; certes, if he be ruled by *Plato*, he would never chuse any other but that Regal and Princely *Monarchia*, which onely is able to maintain that direct, absolute and * lofty note (indeed) of vertue, and not suffer it either by force of necessity, or upon affectionate favor and grace, to frame it self to gain and profit; for other Governments after a sort as they be ruled by a Politician, so they rule him, and as he leadeth them, so they carry him, for that he hath no assured power over those, from whom he hath his authority, but oftentimes he is enforced to exclaim and resound these verses of *Æschylus*

Æschylus the Poet, which *Demetrius Poliorcetes* was wont to alledge unto Fortune, after that he had lost his Kingdom:

Thou mad'st me bud and burgen fresh
at first, but now at last,
Thou seem'st my lovely bloom to burn,
and beauty for to blast.

A Breviary of the Comparison between *Aristophanes* and *Menander*.

The Summary.

HE *preferreth* Menander *an excellent Comical Poet, in all respects before* Aristophanes, *who is here described and depainted in his colours. Then examineth he in particular, what he had said before in generality. He considereth the stile, disposition, uniformity, and artificial contriving of* Menanders *Comedies, shewing that* Aristophanes *in comparison of him, was no better then a counterfeit buzzerer, a crafty and prating companion, ignorant, audacious, and intollerable unto all: having written his Comedies not to be read of any honest men, but onely for lewd and dissolute persons.*

A Brieviary of the Comparison between Aristophanes *and* Menander.

TO speak in general, and summarily, he preferreth *Menander* by many degrees before *Aristophanes*; but to come unto particularities, see what he addeth moreover: The stile of *Aristophanes*, and his manner of language is unsavory and unpleasant, counterfeit, base and mechanical, whereas in *Menander* there is no such thing to be seen. And verily a gross, ignorant, and unlettered Idiot may take pleasure and be delighted in *Aristophanes* his speeches; but a learned man will soon be displeased and discontented therewith. I mean, his *Antitheta* or opposite terms; his clauses ending alike, and his allusions to names, which *Menander* useth but now and then to good purpose, and with great reason and judgement, being therein very spary, wary, and religious: whereas the other ever and anon abuseth them hand over head, and out of season, without all grace or life to commend them. Praised he is (forsooth) for these cold jests; namely, when he saith, That he had drenched over head and ears the Treasurers, who were not, ταμίαι, but λαμίαι. Also, this fellow doth breath out, either malice or slanderous calumniation. Again, here is one that liveth for his belly, his entrals and his guts. Likewise, even for very laughter, I shall break out a laughing. Moreover, what shall I do to thee thou unhappy damned pitcher, and banished? semblably, you women, here I shall make you wilde and savage evils, like as I am my self, who have been fed among wilde and savage worts: but these curled tresses and frisled hairs surely have devoured my breast: lastly,

Come bring him hither his targuet round,
with Gorgons *hideous head:*
But give me here my cake as round,
as buckler in his stead.

Besides many other bald jests of the like sort: for there is in the composition and texture of his words, that which is Tragical and Comical both; proud and insolent; base also and lowly, dark and mystical, and anon plain and familar; swelled, puft up and lofty; but afterwards, vanity, lightness, and lothsome scurrility, enough to overturn a mans stomach. Now there being in his writings such diversity, difference, and dissimilitude; yet giveth not he to every person that which is proper and beseeming. As for example, he attributeth not unto a King, a high and lofty language; to an Orator, eloquent and pithy speech; to a woman, a plain and simple tongue; to an ignorant and unlettered Commoner, base and lowly words; to a busie Barriter, or pragmitical Merchant, shrewd and odious terms: but he alloteth unto every person at a venture whatsoever attributes come first to hand; so that a man cannot know nor discern by any speech, whether he be a son or a father that speaketh, a Countrey Peasant or a Citizen; a god or an old woman, or some demi-god: whereas the stile and phrase of *Menander* is so uniform, so consonant, and like it self, that howsoever it be conversant in sundry maners, and divers passions, howsoever it be accommodate to all sorts of persons, yet it seemeth still one and the same, and to keep the semblance in common and familiar words, and such as are always in use. And if perhaps otherwhiles according to the matter and present occasion offered, there be required some extraordinary narration or strange bruit and unexpected noise; he setteth a work and openeth (as it were) all the holes of his pipe; but presently and with a seemly grace he reduceth

and compoſeth his voice to the natural ſtate again. Now albeit there be in all Arts and Myſteries excellent Artiſans; yet was there never known any Shoo-maker to make a ſhooe; nor Artificer a mask or viſour; nor Taylor a robe or garment, that would fit at one time a man and woman both; a yong youth, an aged perſon, and a varlet: but *Menander* hath ſo framed his phraſe and ſpeech, that proportionate it is and ſuitable to all natures and ſexes, to each ſtate and condition, yea, and to every age, and this was he able to perform and do in his very youth, when he began to write: for then dyed he, when he entred into his flower and beſt time, either of compoſing or ſetting out and publiſhing his works at ſuch an age, when as the ſtile (as *Ariſtotle* ſaith) is come to the very growth and height in them who make profeſſion to pen or write ought. And if a man would conſider the firſt Comedies of *Menanders* making, and confer them with thoſe in the midſt, and which he made in his latter end, a man thereby may ſoon know how much he would have added to theſe in other, if he had lived longer: for that of them who put forth their works to be ſeen and read, ſome write to the capacity of the multitude and vulgar ſort, others for men of mark and underſtanding; and hardly is a man able to name the Author, who can skill how to obſerve that which is meet and befitting two kindes of people. As for *Ariſtophanes* he is neither pleaſing unto the common ſort, nor acceptable to men of worth and judgement; but his poeſie may be likened unto an old, ſtale, and overworn Whore, who forſooth would counterfeit and honeſt married wife; for as the people cannot endure his arrogancy, ſo men of account and quality, deteſt his intemperance and malicioufneſs; whereas *Menander* on the contary ſide, with a good and ſeemly grace, ſatisfieth and contenteth all, ſerving as a Lecture, a knowledge and exerciſe common to Theaters, Schools, Sports, Paſtimes, Feaſts, and Bankets, ſhewing thereby, that is poeſie is one of the goodlieſt things that ever *Greece* brought forth; making it appear what a gay matter, and how puiſſant is the dexterity of ſpeech and language, paſſing throughout, with an attractive grace, which it is impoſſible to eſcape, raviſhing and winning every mans ear and underſtanding, who hath the knowledge of the Greek tongue. For wherefore ſhould a learned man take pains to go unto the Theater, but for *Menanders* ſake? when are the Theaters frequented and full of great Clerks, but when there is a masked ſhew before of acting his Comedies? And at Banquets, for whom doth the table make room, or *Bacchus* give place more juſtly then for *Menander*? And as for Philoſophers, great Scholars and Students, like as Painters when they have wearied their eyes with looking upon freſh, lively and bright colours, turn them to thoſe that are verdant and green; as namely, upon herbs and flowers for to recreate and refreſh their ſight; even ſo *Menander* is he who entertained their mindes and ſpirits (as it were) in a fair medow full of lovely and pleaſant flowers, where their is ſhade, freſh and cool air, with milde and comfortable winds. What is the reaſon that the City of *Athens* at this day is furniſhed with many ſingular Actors and Players of Comedies? even becauſe the Comedies of *Menander* are ſo full of many graces and pleaſant conceits, ſo ſavory, as if they ſprang forth of the very ſea, out of which *Venus* herſelf was born: whereas the conceits and jeſts of *Ariſtophanes* are bitter and ſharp withal, carrying with them a mordicative quality which doth bite, ſting and exulcerate wherſoever they light. And verily, I wot not wherein lieth that lively dexterity which is ſo highly commended in him; whether in his words and phraſes, or in the perſonages and actors? Certes, thoſe things which he doth imitate and counterfeit, encline always to the worſe part: his cunning caſts and conveyances are nothing civil and gentle, but ſhrewd and malicious: the ruſticity in clowns that he reſembleth, is not natural, but affected and fooliſh: his merry jeſts to move laughter, are nothing jocond, but rather ridiculous, and to be derided: his amorous parts be not lovely and delectable, but wanton and diſſolute. In ſum, it ſeemeth this man wrote not his poſie to be read of any honeſt and ſober perſon; for his filthy and laſcivous terms are meet for leacherous folk, and thoſe which are given over to all looſeneſs, like as his bitter and ſpiteful ſpeeches, for envious and malicious perſons.

Narrations of Love.

The Summary.

IN this Diſcourſe, Plutarch *relateth five Tragical Hiſtories, which ſhew the pittiful accidents that befel certain perſons tranſported with the inordinate and irregular affection of Love; leaving thereby unto the Reader a fair and clear mirror wherein to behold the judgements of God upon thoſe that abandon themſelves to be carried away by intemperance and looſeneſs.*

Narrations of Love.

IN the City *Aliartos*, ſituate within *Bœotia*, there was ſometime a yong maiden of excellent beauty, named *Ariſtoclea*, and the daughter ſhe was of *Theophanes*: and two yong Gentlemen there were, that made ſuit unto her in way of mariage, to wit, *Straton* an Orchomenian, & *Calliſthenes* of *Aliartos* aforeſaid. Now was *Straton* the richer of the twain, & far more enamored of the damſel; for ſeen her he had when ſhe waſhed herſelf in the fountain of *Ereyn*, which is in *Lebadia*, againſt the time that ſhe was to carry

carry in proceſſion to *Jupiter*, ſirnamed King, a ſacred Panier, as the maner was of the *Canephoræ* to do. But *Calliſthenes* had the vantage of him, and was deeper in love, for that he was beſides neer of kin unto the Virgin. So *Theophanes* her father being doubtful what to do (for he ſtood in fear of *Straton*, as one, who for wealth and noble parentage went well-neer beyond all the Bœotians) reſolved at length to refer the choice unto the Oracle of *Jupiter Trophonius*: but *Straton*, who was born in hand by thoſe of the houſe about *Ariſtoclea*, that ſhe inclined more unto him, labored earneſtly, that the matter might be put unto the election of the Damſel herſelf: Whereupon, when *Theophanes* the father demanded of her in the face of the world, whom ſhe loved better, and would chuſe to be her husband; ſhe preferred *Calliſthenes*: whereat *Straton* ſhewed himſelf immediately not a little diſcontented for this repulſe and diſgrace; but two days after, he came unto *Theophanes* and *Calliſthenes*, pretending, and ſaying, that he would not fall out with them, but was deſirous ſtill of their good favor and friendſhip, however his ill fortune had envied him the marriage of the yong Virgin. They approving well of this ſpeech, and taking his words in very good part, invited him as a gueſt to the wedding-feaſt: mean while, he provided himſelf of a good number of his friends, and beſides, no ſmall troop of ſervants, whom he diſpoſed ſecretly in their houſes here and there, againſt the time that this maiden (after the cuſtom and maner of the Countrey) ſhould go down to a certain fountain named *Ciſſoeiſa*, there to ſacrifice unto the Nymphs before her marriage day: now as ſhe paſſed by, thoſe who lay in ambuſh came all running forth from every ſide, and ſeized upon her body, but *Straton* himſelf principally, who drew and hal'd the Damſel unto him as hard as he could: *Calliſthenes* again on the other ſide, for his part (as became him) held her faſt, and ſo did they about him: thus the ſilly maiden was tugged and pulled to and fro ſo long between them, that before they were aware, dead ſhe was among them in their hands: upon which ſtrange occurrent, what became of *Calliſthenes*, it is not known, whether he preſently made away himſelf, or fled into voluntary exile; for he was no more ſeen: as for *Straton*, in the very ſight of all men, there in the place, he killed himſelf upon the very body of the eſpouſed Virgin.

2. There was one named *Phidon* a Peloponneſian, aſſiſting the ſeignory of all *Peloponneſus*, and being deſirous that the City of *Argos* his native ſeat ſhould be Lady over all others, layed an ambuſh firſt, for the Corinthians, to intrap them: for he ſent an embaſſage unto *Corinth*, to demand a levy of a thouſand yong men, that were the luſtieſt and moſt valorous Gallants of the whole City. The Corinthians ſent them accordingly, under the conduct of one of their Captains, named *Dexander*. Now the purpoſe of this *Phidon* was, to ſet upon this troop, and kill them every one, to the end that he might thereby enfeeble the Corinthians, and make the City ſerve his own turn (as a ſtrong Bulwark moſt commodiouſly ſeated) to command and ſubdue all *Peloponneſus*. This deſign of his he communicated unto certain of his friends for to be put in execution accordingly; among whom there was one named *Abron*, who being a familiar friend unto *Dexander*, revealed unto him the conſpiracy: Whereupon the ſaid Regiment of a thouſand yong men (before they were charged by the ſaid ambuſh) retired themſelves, and recovered *Corinth* in ſafety. Then *Phidon* beſtirred himſelf to finde out the man who had thus betrayed and diſcovered his plot: which *Abron* fearing, withdrew himſelf to *Corinth*, taking with him his wife, children, and his whole family, where he ſettled and remained in a Village named *Meliſſa*, belonging to the Territory of that City: There begat he a ſon, whom of the very place which he inhabited, he named *Meliſſus*; and this *Meliſſus* in proceſs of time had a ſon of his own, called *Actæon*, who proved the moſt beautiful, and withal, the modeſteſt Lad of all other youths and ſpringals of his age; in regard whereof, many there were enamored of him; but among the reſt, one eſpecially, named *Archias*, deſcended lineally from the noble race of *Hercules*, and for wealth, credit, and authority, the greateſt perſon in all *Corinth*. This *Archias*, ſeeing that by no fair means and perſwaſions he could prevail with yong *Actæon*, and win his love, reſolved with himſelf to uſe violence, and forcibly to raviſh and carry away this fair Boy: ſo he came upon a time (as it were) to make merry, unto the houſe of *Meliſſus* his father, accompanied with a great train of friends, and attended upon with a good Troop of his own houſhold-ſervants, where he gave the attempt to have away the Boy by force: but the father with his friends made reſiſtance; the neighbors alſo came forth to reſcue, and did all what they could, to hold and keep the youth with them: but what with the one ſide, and what with the other, poor *Actæon* was ſo pulled and tugged, that between them he loſt his life; which done, all the reſt went their ways and departed; but *Meliſſus* the father brought the dead corps of his childe into the Market-place of the Corinthians, preſented it there unto them, and demanded juſtice to be done upon thoſe who had committed this foul outrage. The Corinthians made no greater a matter of it, but onely ſhewed, that they were ſorry for his miſhap; and ſo he returned home as he came without effect, attending and waiting for the ſolemn Aſſembly at the Iſthmick-games; where being mounted up to the top of *Neptunes* Temple, he cryed out againſt the whole race of the *Bacchiadæ*, and withal, rehearſed by way of commemoration, the beneficence of his father *Abron* unto them, and when he had called for vengeance unto the gods, he threw himſelf down headlong among the Rocks, and brake his neck. Not long after there fell out to be a great drought, and the City was ſore viſited with famine, inſomuch as the Corinthians ſent unto the Oracle, for to knovv by vvhat means they might be delivered from this calamity: Unto whom the God made this anſwer, That the wrath of *Neptune* was the cauſe of all their miſery, who would by no means be appeaſed until they had revenged *Actæons* death: which *Archias* hearing (who was himſelf one deputed to this embaſſage)

baſſage, he was not willing to return again to *Corimb*, but croſſed over the ſeas into *Sicily*, where he founded and built the City *Syracuſa*, and there he begat two daughters, *Ortygia* and *Syracuſa*, but in the end was himſelf treacherouſly murdered by one *Telephus*, whom in his youth he had abuſed as his minion, and who having the conduct of a ſhip had ſailed with him into *Sicilie*.

3. A poor man named *Scedaſus* who dwelt in *Leuctra*, a village within the Territory of the Theſpians, had two daughters, the name of the one was *Hippo*, and of the other *Miletia*, or as ſome write, clepid they were, *Teeano* and *Enippe*. Now this *Scedaſus* was a bounteous and kinde perſon, yea, and a good fellow in his houſe, and courteous to all ſtrangers, notwithſtanding he had but ſmall ſtore of goods about him. So there fortuned to viſit him two yong men of *Sparta*, whom he friendly and lovingly entertained; who being fallen into fancy with his two daughters, had thus much power yet of themſelves, that in regard of their father *Scedaſus*, and his kindeneſs unto them, they attempted nothing prejudicial unto the honeſt pudicity of the virgins for that time; but the next morning took their leave, and went directly toward the City of *Delphos*, unto the Oracle of *Apollo Pythius*, for to that purpoſe expreſly took they this journey and pilgrimage: after that they had conſulted with the God about ſuch matters as they came for, they returned back again into their own Countrey; and as they paſſed thorow *Bœotia*, took *Scedaſus* houſe by the way, there for to lodge; who at that time was not at *Leuctra*, but gone forth: howbeit his daughters according to their courteous bringing up, and their uſual maner of entertainment, received theſe two gueſts into the houſe, who ſeeing their opportunity, and that they were alone, forced and defloured the ſilly maidens: and after this deed, ſeeing them exceedingly offended and angry for this villany offered unto them, ſo as by no means they would be appeaſed, they proceeded farther, and murthered them both, and when they had ſo done, threw them into a certain blinde pit, and ſo departed. *Scedaſus* being returned home, found all things elſe in his houſe ſafe and found as he left them, onely his two daughters he could not meet with, neither wiſt he what to ſay or do, until ſuch time as a Bitch that he had began to whine and complain, running one while to him, and another while training him as it were to the pit ſide, whereupon at length, he ſuſpected that which was, and ſo drew forth the dead bodies of his two daughters; underſtanding moreover by his neighbors, that the day before they had ſeen going into his houſe thoſe two yong men of *Lacedemon*, who not long before had been lodged with him; he doubted preſently that they were thoſe who had committed this crime, and namely, when he called to minde that the firſt time they came, they did nothing but praiſe the maidens, ſaying, That they reputed them moſt happy, whoſe fortune ſhould be to eſpouſe them for their wives. Well, to *Lacedemon* he went, for to conſer with the *Ephori* about this matter; and by that time that he entred within the Territory of *Argos*, he was benighted, ſo that he took up his lodging in a common Inn or Hoſtelry; within which he found another poor old man, born in the City *Oreum*, within the Province *Heſtiæa*, whom when *Scedaſus* heard to ſigh and groan grievouſly, yea and to fall a curſing of the Lacedemonians, he demanded what the Lacedemonians had done unto him, that he fared thus againſt them; the old man ſet tale an end, and ſaid, That a ſubject he was of the Spartans, and that when one *Ariſtodemus* was ſent as Governor from the State of *Sparta*, into the City *Oreum*, he had dealt very cruelly, and committed many outrages and enormities: For being (quoth he) wantonly fallen in love with a ſon of mine, and ſeeing that he would not frame nor be induced to ſatisfie his will, he aſſayed to enforce him, and by violence to hale him out of the publike wreſtling place, where he exerciſed himſelf with other his feers and companions: The Warden of the exerciſes impeached the ſaid Governor, with the aſſiſtance of many yong men, who ran into the reſcue, in ſuch ſort, as for that preſent *Ariſtodemus* retired without effect; but the next morrow having ſet out and manned a Galley of purpoſe, he came with a ſecond charge, and carried away my childe; and no ſooner was he rowed from *Oreum*, to the other ſide of the water, but he offered to abuſe his body; which when the youth would in no wiſe abide, nor yield unto, he made no more ado but cut his throat, and killed him outright in the place; which done, he returned back to *Oreum*, where he feaſted his friends, and made great cheer: This accident was I ſoon advertiſed of (quoth the old man) whereupon I went and performed the laſt duty unto my ſon; and ſolemnized his funeral; and ſo immediately put my ſelf upon my journey toward *Sparta*, where I complained unto the *Ephori*, or Lords Controulers, declaring unto them the whole fact, but they gave no ear unto me, nor made any reckoning of my grievance. *Scedaſus* hearing this tale, was ill apaid and troubled in his minde, imagining that the *Spartans* would make as little account of him; and therewith to requite his tale, related for his part likewiſe unto the ſtranger, his own caſe; who thereupon gave him counſel, not ſo much as once to go unto the *Ephori*, but to return immediately back into *Bœotia*, and to erect a Tomb for his two daughters. Howbeit, *Scedaſus* would not be ruled by him, but held on his journey forward to *Sparta*, and opened his griefe unto the Lords Controulers beforeſaid; and when he ſaw that they took ſmall heed of his words, he addreſſed himſelf to the Kings of *Sparta*; yea, and afterwards to ſome particular Burgeoſies of the City, unto whom he declared the fact, and bewailed his own infortunity. But ſeeing that all booted not, he ran up and down the ſtreets of the City, ſtretching forth his hands up to heaven, and to the Sun, and ſtamping upon the ground with his feet, calling upon the furies of hel to be revenged, and at laſt killed himſelf. But in proceſs of time the Lacedemonians paid deerly for this their injuſtice: for when they were grown to that greatneſs, that they commanded all *Greece*, and had planted their Gariſons in every City; firſt *Epaminondas* the Theban cut the throats of thoſe Souldiers who lay in Garriſon at *Thebes*; whereupon the Lacedemonians made war upon the Thebanes, who went out with a power

power to encounter them as far as to the village of *Leuctra*, taking that place for a good preſage unto them; for that before time they had been there delivered out of ſervitude, what time as *Amphytion* chaſed by *Sthenelus*, fled and retired himſelf unto the City of *Thebes*; where finding them ſubdued by the Chalcidians, and made their tributaries: After he had ſlain *Chalcodon* the King of the Eubeans, he eaſed the Thebanes of the tribute which they before had paid. So it fortuned, that the Lacedemonians were diſcomfited and defeated, neer unto the very ſame Monument or Tomb of the ſaid two daughters of *Scedaſus*. It is reported moreover, that a little before this battel, *Scedaſus* appeared in a viſion or dream unto *Pelopidas*, one of the Captains of the Thebane Army, who had been altogether diſcouraged with certain ſigns and foretokens, which he judged and interpreted to portend ill; whom *Scedaſus* willed to take a good heart, for that the Lacedemonians were thither come, for to ſuffer that puniſhment which they owed to him and his daughters; adviſing him withal, the day before he encountered with the Lacedemonians, to facrifice a yong white ſole or colt, which he ſhould finde ready even before the Sepulchre of his two daughters. And then *Pelopidas*, whiles the enemies lay yet encamped at *Tegea*, ſent before unto *Leuctra*, for to enquire of the ſaid Tomb; and being enformed thereof by the inhabitants of the Countrey, advanced forward boldly with his Army, and won the field.

4. *Phocus*, a Bœotian born (for deſcended he was from *Gleiſas*) had a daughter named *Callirrhoe*, a maiden of ſingular beauty, and ſurpaſſing honeſty and ſobriety withal. So there were to the number of thirty yong Gentlemen, the nobleſt and beſt reputed of all *Bœotia*, who were all ſuiters unto her in the way of marriage. But *Phocus* her father made always ſome delay or others; and found means to put off ſtill from day to day, as fearing leſt he ſhould be forced. At laſt ſeeing how he was overpreſſed with theſe inſtant wooers; he requeſted them to refer the election of him that ſhould be her husband unto the Oracle of *Apollo*. The yong men taking indignation at theſe words and anſwer of his, fell upon him, and ſlew him: but in this affray and tumult, the yong maiden eſcaped, and ran thorow the fields into the Countrey: but the yong luſty ſuiters made after and purſued her; and ſhe lighting upon certain husbandmen, who were laying together and piling up of wheat upon a floor in a rick, by the means of them ſaved herſelf; for the ſaid husbandmen hid her within the corn, ſo as they paſſed by who followed in chaſe after her. Thus having eſcaped this danger, ſhe expected the ſolemn feaſt and general aſſembly, called *Pambœotia*, for that all the Bœotians met together: then came ſhe to the City of *Coronea*, and there in habit and form of a ſuppliant, ſhe ſate before the altar of *Minerva Itonia*; where ſhe related unto all comers the enormous wickedneſs and miſchief committed by her woers, rehearſing them every one by name, and ſhewing in what Countrey each one was born. The Bœotians took pity of the Damſel, and were highly diſpleaſed and incenſed againſt thoſe yong Gentlemen: which they hearing, fled into the City *Orchomenus*, but the Orchomenians would not receive them: by occaſion whereof they meant to put themſelves within *Hippotæ*, a pretty Town neer unto *Helicon*, ſituate between *Thebes* and *Coronea*, which gave them entertainment. Then ſent the Thebanes unto the inhabitants thereof certain perſons, to call upon them for to deliver up the murderers of *Phocus*, that they might receive juſtice accordingly: but when they would not yield ſo to do, the Thebanes with other Bœotians, gathered an Army, and went againſt them, under the leading of *Phœdus*, who at that time was the chief ruler of *Thebes*, and laid ſiege unto the ſaid Town, which being otherwiſe ſtrongly fortified, was in the end forced for want of water: where they ſtoned to death the murderers; brought the inhabitants unto bondage and ſlavery; raſed their walls, overthrew their dwelling houſes, and divided their whole territories among the Thebanes and Coronæans. The report goeth, that over night before that this Town of *Hippotæ* was won, there was a voyce heard from the mount *Helicon* of one eſſoons iterating theſe words: *Here I am, here I am*; which voyce the thirty wooers knew all very well to be the ſpeech of *Phocus*. Alſo the ſame day that they were ſtoned, it is ſaid that the Monument or Tomb of this old man, which ſtood at *Gleiſas*, flowed and ran with ſaffron. Thus when *Phœdus* the Captain, and Ruler of the Thebanes, returned from war with victory, news came unto him that his wife was delivered of a daughter; which he taking to be a good preſage, named her thereupon *Nicoſtrata*.

5. *Alcippus*, a Lacedemonian born, eſpouſed a Lady named *Democrita*; by whom he was the father of two daughters, who always both giving counſel unto the City for the beſt things, and alſo ready in perſon to ſerve, and execute the ſame in all occurrences preſented, for the good of his Countrey, incurred the envy and emulation of his concurrents in the Government of the State, who with falſe ſurmiſes and ſlanderous imputations, went about to ſeduce the *Ephori*, buzzing into their heads, how this *Alcippus* would overthrow the laws, and change the whole State and Commonwealth of *Sparta*: inſomuch as they baniſhed him out of his Countrey, and would not ſuffer his wife with her daughters to follow him: and that which worſe is, they did confiſcate his goods, to the end that his daughters might have no portions to beſtow them for their advancement in marriage. And notwithſtanding that divers yong men in regard of their fathers vertue, made means for to marry theſe maidens without any dowry, yet his adverſaries wrought ſo cunningly, that they paſſed an act and publike Edict, forbidding expreſly, that any man ſhould ſeek unto them for marriage: for they alledged and pretended that their mother *Democrita* had often times made her prayers unto the Gods, that her daughters might quickly bring forth children who might be revenged for the injury done unto their father. *Democrita* then perceiving how on every ſide ſhe was hardly beſted and driven to a ſtraight, obſerved her time, and waited a certain ſolemn and feſtival day, which the Dames of the City, with their daughters, virgins, with their maid-ſervants likewiſe, and little children, did celebrate: on which day, the

wives

wives of Magistrates and men of honor, watched and passed the whole night by themselves in a great and spacious hall. When this day was come, she girded herself with a dagger or skein under her clothes, and taking her daughters with her, when night came, went into the Temple; and observing the opportunity of the time, when all the said dames were busie in their divine service, and hard at their devotions in the hall abovesaid, when all the ways and passages were shut up, she brought a great deal of wood which was provided for the sacrifice, and piled the same against the doors, and so set it on fire. But when their husbands came running for to help from all parts, *Democrita* killed her two daughters and herself upon them. The Lacedemonians not knowing upon whom to discharge their anger, caused the dead bodies of *Democrita* and her two daughters to be thrown without the confines and liberties of their Territory: for which act of theirs, God being highly displeased, sent (as the Chronicles do record) a great earthquake among the Lacedemonians.

Whether Creatures be more wise, they of the Land, or those of the water.

The Summary.

IN this Treatise and Discourse, affording (among other things) much pleasure in the reading, Plutarch *bringeth in two yong Gentlemen,* Aristotimus *and* Phœdimus, *who in the presence of a frequent company plead the cause of living creatures:* Aristotimus *in the first place, for them of the land; and* Phœdimus *in the second, for those of the water: the drift and conclusion of whose pleas cometh to this point; that without resolving unto whom the prize ought to be adjudged, one of the company inferreth that the examples alledged both of the one side, and of the other, do prove that those creatures have some use of reason. Moreover, we may distinctly divide this book into three principal parts: the first containeth a conference between* Soclarus *and* Autobulus, *who gave ear afterwards unto the others: for* Soclarus *taking occasion to speak of a written discourse recited in the praise of hunting, commendeth this exercise, and preferreth it before combats of Sword-players and Fencers; which* Autobulus *will in no wise approve, but holdeth that this war against beasts, (schooleth (as it were) and traineth men to learn for to kill one another afterwards. And for that some entrance and access there was to be given unto the principal disputation, of the intelligence and knowledge which is in brute beasts, they do examine the opinion of the Stoicks, who bereave them of all understanding, passion and pleasure: which opinion of theirs being at large debated, is afterward refuted; with this resolution, that man excelleth beasts in all subtilty and quickness of wit, in justice and equity meet for civil society; and yet beasts, although they be more dull and heavy then men, are not therefore void of all discourse and natural reason. Then* Autobulus *confirmeth this by the consideration of horses and dogs enraged: a sufficient testimony that such creatures before time had reason and understanding.* Soclarus *opposeth himself against such a confirmation, in the behalf of the Stoicks and Peripateticks: whereupon* Autobulus *distinguisheth of the arguments, and inclining partly to the side of the* Pythagoreans, *sheweth what maner of justice or injustice we ought to consider in the carriage of men toward beasts. And then come the two yong Gentlemen abovenamed in place; where* Aristotimus *taking in hand the cause of Land-beasts, discourseth at large thereupon, which is the second part of this present treatise. True it is, that all the beginning of his plea is defective and wanting: howbeit, that which remaineth and is extant, sheweth sufficiently the careful industry of our author in searching into the History of nature, and examples drawn out thereof, as also out of an infinite number of books, to passing good purpose. Well then,* Aristotimus *sheweth in the first place, that the hunting of Land-beasts, is a far nobler and more commendable exercise then that of the water: and coming then to the point, namely, to the use of reason, which consisteth in the election and preference of one thing before another, in provisions, forecasts, and prerogatives in affections, as well those which be milde & gentle, as the other which are violent; in diligence and industry in arts and sciences, in hardiness, equity, temperance, courage and magnanimity, he proveth al this to be (without comparison) far more in land-creatures then in the other: for the proof and verifying whereof, he produceth bulls, elephants, lions, mice, swallows, spiders, ravens, dogs, bees, geese, cranes, herons, pismires, wolves, foxes, mules, partridges, bares, bears, urchins, and divers sorts besides of four footed beasts: of fowls likewise, insects, worms and serpents; all which are specified in particular afterwards: In the last part,* Phœdimus *making some excuse that he was not well prepared, taketh in hand nevertheless, the cause of fishes; and in the very entrance, declareth, that notwithstanding it be an hard matter to shew the sufficiency of such creatures, which are so divided and severed from us; yet notwithstanding, produce he will his proofs and arguments drawn from certain and notable things, recommending fishes in this respect, that they are so wise and considerate (as he sheweth by examples) being not taught, nourished, nor any ways framed and trained by man, like as most part of land-beasts be; and yet by the way he proveth by eels, lampreys and crocodiles, that fishes may be made tame with men, and how our ancients esteemed highly the institution of such mute creatures: after this he describeth their natural prudence, both in defending themselves, and also in offending and assailing others, alledging infinite examples to this purpose: as the skill and knowledge they have in the Mathematicks, their amity, their fellowship, their love, their kinde affection to their yong ones: alledging in the end divers histories of dolphins love unto men; whereupon* Soclarus *taking occasion to speak, inferreth that these two pleaders agree in one point, and if a man would joyn and lay together their arguments, proofs, and reasons, they would make head passing well and strongly against those, who would take from beasts, both of land and water, all discourse of reason.*

Whether

Whether Creatures be more wise, they of the Land, or those of the water:

AUTOBULUS.

LEonidas, a King of *Lacedemon,* being demanded upon a time what he thought of *Tyrtæus*: I take him to be (quoth he) a good Poet, to whet and polish the courages of yong men; for that by his verses he doth imprint in the hearts of yong Gentlemen an ardent affection, with a magnanimous desire to win honor and glory, in regard whereof, they will not spare themselves in battels and fights, but expose their lives to all perils whatsoever: Semblably, am I greatly afraid my very good friends, lest the discourse as touching the praise of hunting, which was read yesterday in this company, hath so stirred up and excited beyond all measure our yong men, who love the game so well, that from henceforth they will think all other things but accessaries and by-matters, or rather make no account at all of other exercises, but will run altogether unto this sport, and minde none other besides, considering that I finde my self now a fresh more hotly given, and youthfully affectionate thereunto then mine age would require, insomuch as according to the words of dame *Phædra* in *Euripides*:

All my desire is now to call
And cry unto my hounds in chase,
The dapple Stag and Hinde withal,
To hunt and follow hard at trace.

So neer unto the quick did that discourse touch me, alledging such a number of proper and pithy reasons.

SOCLARUS

True it is that you say, O *Autobulus*, for methought that therein he stirred up and awakened his singular eloquence and skill in Rhetorick, which some time he had discontinued, and which lay asleep; to gratifie (as I take it) those yong Gentlemen who were present in place, and withal to solace and disport himself among them; but that which pleased me most was this, When he represented unto our eyes by way of comparison, Sword-fencers fighting at sharp one with another to the utterance; alledging this for one of his reasons, wherefore he principally commended hunting, in that it diverteth and calleth away a certain affection that we have either naturally engraffed, or else acquired by use and custom to take pleasure in seeing men at sword's-point enter into combat for life and death one against another, and turneth it especially hither, yielding unto us a fair, pure, and innocent spectacle of artificial cunning, conjoyned with hardiness and courage, guided with reason, against brutish force and witless strength: and in so doing, giveth us to understand, that this sentence of *Euripides* is worthy to be praised, when he saith,

Small is mans strength and puissance corporal;
His wit is great, and prudence natural;
It tames all fish beneath in sea so deep,
And wily beasts aloft on earth that keep.

AUTOBULUS.

And yet my good friend *Soclarus*, some there be who hold, that this inflexible rigor and savage impassibility of not being moved at all with pity, came from hence into mens hearts, namely, from the custom of killing of beasts in chase, and of learning not to have in honor the sight of bloodshed, and of the grievous wounds of beasts which they received, but to take delight in seeing them to dye, and to be cut in pieces: and like as in the City of *Athens*, when it was reduced under the tyrannie of the thirty Usurpers, the first man whom they put to death was a Sycophant, of whom it was said then, that he had well deserved it, and was rightly served; and so they said by a second and a third: but from thence they went forward by little and little, until they came to lay hold upon honest men, and in the end spared not the best and most vertuous Citizens: even so he that killed at first a Bear, or a Wolf, was highly commended, and thought to have done a very good deed; and an Ox or Swine that had eaten some things provided for a Sacrifice or Oblation to the gods, was condemned as fit and worthy to dye: hereupon Stags and Hindes, Hares also and Goats, which men began already to eat, invited also the flesh of Sheep, yea, and in some places of Dogs and Horses to the table. But they who taught first to dismember, and cut in pieces for meat, a tame Goose, a house Dove, and familiar Pigeon, a dunghil Cock, or domestical Hen of the roust, and that not for to satisfie and remedy the necessity of hunger, as do those Weezils and Cats, and but onely for pleasure, and to feed a dainty tooth, surely have confirmed and strengthened all that bloodiness and savage cruelty which was in our nature, and made it altogether inflexible and immoveable without any compassion: but contrariwise enfeebled and dulled for the most part all natural mildness and humanity; whereas on the other side, the Pythagoreans would have men to accustom themselves to use gentleness even towards beasts, as an exercise of pity and mercy to men: for custom, which traineth us familiarly by little and little to any passion and affection, hath a wondrous efficacy,

to

to set a man forward thereunto. But I wot not how, being entred into speech, we have forgotten our selves; and not kept us to that which was begun yesterday; and should be continued and held on this day: for yesterday as you know very well, having agréed upon this, That all sorts of living creatures have in them some little discourse and reason, we gave good occasion and matter of a learned and pleasant disputation, unto our yong Gentlemen, who love hunting so well, namely, as touching the wit and wisdom of beasts, whether there be more in them of the land, or those of the sea? which question we are, as I take it, this day to decide, in case *Aristotimus* and *Phædimus* hold on still, and persist in their defiances and challenges, which yesterday they gave one another; for the one of them undertook unto his friends and companions, to maintain that the earth bringeth forth beasts of more sense, capacity and understanding; and the other contrariwise promised as much in the behalf of the water.

SOCLARUS.

That they do, *Autobulus*, they are of the same minde still to dispute it out, and here they will be anon for this very purpose; for I saw them in the morning betimes, addressing and making themselves ready: but if you think it good, before this combat begin, let us go in hand again with that which yesterday should have been handled, and was not; partly for that the time and place served not thereto; or rather because the matter wat proposed unto them at the Table, and among the cups of wine, which went merrily about, and not treated of in good earnest and sadness indeed: for one there was, who seemed after a pragmatical sort to resound on the adverse part not impertinently, as if he came out of the Stoicks School; thus much, That like as mortal is opposite to immortal, corruptible unto uncorruptible, and corporal to incorporal; even so, confess we ought, that reasonable is contrary to unreasonable; so that if one of them be, the other ought likewise of necessity to be, and that this onely couple of contraries among so many other, ought to be left defectuous or unperfect.

AUTOBULUS.

And what is he, friend *Soclarus*, who will say, that it we admit in nature, that which is reasonable to subsist and have being; we should not likewise allow that which is unreasonable: for (no doubt) it is, and that in great measure, namely in all creatures which have no life nor soul: neither need we to seek farther for any other opposition unto that which is reasonable; for whatsoever is without life and soul, is incontinently opposite unto that which together with soul, hath the use of understanding and reason: and if any one there be who maintaineth, that nature for all this is not unperfect, in that every substance having soul is either reasonable or unreasonable: another will say unto him likewise, that a nature endued with life and soul, is not defective, namely in that, either it hath imagination, or else is without; it is either sensitive, or else hath no sense; to the end that it may have on either side these two oppositions or privations, making counterpoise one against another, about one and the same kinde, as two contrary branches arising out of one stem or trunk. And if he think him to be absurd, who demandeth that it should be granted unto him, that of a nature endued with soul, one branch should be sensitive, and another senseless; for that he thinketh that every nature which hath a soul is incontinently both sensitive, and also imaginative: yet for all this shall he have no more apparance to require that one should suppose this unto him for to be true; namely, that whatsoever hath soul, should be either reasonable or unreasonable, discoursing with those men, who held opinion that nothing hath sense, but the same hath understanding withal; and that there is not one kinde of animal creatures, but it hath some manner of opinion and discourse of reason, like as it hath sense and natural appetite: for nature, who as men say, and that right truly, maketh all things for some cause, and to some end, hath not made a living creature sensitive, onely and simply to have a passive sense: but whereas there be a number of things proper and agreeable to it, and as many again for them, contrary; it could not possibly endure and continue the minute of an hour, if it knew not how to fit it self with one, and to take heed and beware of the other. So it is therefore, that sense giveth unto every animal creature the knowledge of them both indifferently: but the discretion which accompanieth the said sense, in chusing, receiving, and pursuing after that which is profitable; or refusing, rejecting and flying from that which is hurtful and pernicious: there is no apparance at all of reason to induce us to say, that those creatures have, if they had not withal some mean faculty and aptitude natural, to discourse, judge, conceive, comprehend, retain and remember: as for those creatures verily, from which you take altogether the gift of expectance, remembrance, election, provision, and preparation aforehand: and moreover, the faculty of hoping, fearing, desiring and refusing; good they have none at all of their eyes, of their ears, or any other sense, apprehension or imagination, in case there be no use thereof: and far better it were for them, that they were clean destitute and quite deprived of such faculties, then to suffer travel, pain and sorrow, and have not wherewith to put by and repel such inconveniences: and yet there is a discourse extant of the natural Philosopher *Strato*, shewing by plain demonstration, that impossible it is to have any sense at all, without some discourse of reason: for many time we run over the letters in Books and Writings with our eyes; yea, and we hear the sound of words with our eare, without conceiving and comprehending either the one or the other, but they fly and pass away, when as our minde is otherwise occupied: but afterwards when the minde is come again to it self and united it, it runneth and pursueth after the same, and gathereth every thing together again which was scattered: In regard whereof it was not said amiss in old time:

The minde it is, that doth both hear and see:
As for the rest, full deaf and blinde they bee.

As

As if the motion and passion about the eyes and eare, caused no sense at all, if the minde and understanding were away. And therefore *Cleomenes* King of *Lacedemon*, being one day at a feast in *Egypt*, where there was rehearsed at the table a pretty Acroame, or ear-delight, which pleased the company very well; being demanded the question what he thought of it? and whether he judged it not very well penned and set down? As for that (quoth he) I report me unto you that heard it, and I refer it to your judgement; for my part, my minde was all the while in *Peloponnesus*. And therefore necessary it is, that every creature which hath sense, should likewise be endued with discourse of reason and understanding, considering that by our understanding we come to sense. But set the case that the senses have no need at all of the understanding, to exercise their functions and operations: but when the sense hath done her part, in discerning that which is proper and familiar unto a living creature, from it that is contrary and adverse unto it, it passeth away and is gone. What is it then that remembreth and calleth to minde? what is it that seareth things noisome and offensive, and contrariwise desireth those which be good and wholesome? what is it that seeketh means to compass and get things when they are not present? what is it that deviseth and prepareth offensive sorts and retracts, yea, and engines to catch and take? or contrariwise, shifts and policies to escape nets and grins layed for them, when they are as the point to be caught and surprized? and yet* these men say as much as this comes to, when ever and anon in all their Introductions they dull our ears, and make our heads ake again with their * That is definitions; for they define *πρόθεσιν*, that is to say, a project or deliberate purpose, to be a design of bringing some what to effect; *ἐπιβολὴν*, that is to say, endeavor, to be an appetite or desire before an appetite; *παρόρμὴν*, that is to say, provision, to be an action before action; *μνήμην*, that is to say, remembrance or memory, to be the comprehension of a proposition affirmative or negative, already past; whereof the present truth was otherwise comprized by the sense: for of all these faculties, there is not so much as one reasonless (I mean) not proceeding from the discourse of reason: and yet they all concur, and are to be found in every living creature: and even so verily, they define *νόησιν*, that is to say, intelligences, to be notions laid up apart and reserved within; but *διανοήσεις*, that is to say, cogitations, to be notions still in motion: as for passions, they confessing and defining them all in generality to be evil judgements, and false opinions, a wonder it is how they pass over so many effects and motions which are to be found in brute beasts; some proceeding from anger and choler, others again from fear: and besides all this, envy (I may tell you) and jealousie; when as they themselves (believe me) stick not to punish their horses, and beat their dogs, when they do a fault; not rashly and in vain, but considerately, for to correct them, and make them wiser, working thereby and imprinting in them a displeasure with themselves proceeding from pain, which we call repentance: as touching other pleasures and delights, that which passeth and is received by the eare, they term it (forsooth) *κήλησιν*, that is to say, an enchantment; that which cometh by the eye, *γοητείαν*, that is to say, bewitching: and they use both the one and the other against wilde beasts; for certain it is, that Stags and Horses do joy in the sound of Whistles, Flutes and Hauboys: also men call forth Crabfish, Crevisses and grampels out of their holes perforce, with burning torches and light fire-brands: moreover, it is said, that the fish *Alosa* hearing men to sing, to clap their hands, or otherwise to make a noise, will arise out of the water, and come abroad: likewise, the horn owl or bustard is (as it were) enchanted with the beholding of men dancing together in his sight, and so far overtaken he is with the delight thereof, that whiles he thinketh to counterfeit their jestures, stirring and moving his shoulders according to the measures with them, he suffereth himself (like a fool) to be taken by the fowler. As for those who of these matters speak so foolishly and absurdly, saying, that beasts rejoyce not, are not angry, nor fearful; and namely, that the* Nightingale doth not study, meditate and prepare against her singing; that the Bee hath no memory; but that the Swallow seemeth onely to make provision by a kinde of Providence; that the Lyon is (as it were) angry; and the Hinde given as though she were afraid: I wot not what answer they will make to those who shall urge them to this, that they may aswel say, that the same creatures neither see nor hear, but seem onely (as it were) to hear and see, and to have a voyce; and in one word, that they live not at all, but seem to live: for I assure you (in my judgement) these are no more repugnant to evidence and daily experience then the other.

ph παρεσκευάσθαι, read κεκ. dora in this sense, that the Swallow doth not prepare before hand: for Pliny also commendeth her Industry in artificial building.

SOCLARUS.

I think no less (O *Autobulus*) and therefore range me among those of your opinion in this point. But to compare the maners, lives, actions, behaviours and conversations of men, with those of beasts, and to affirm that beasts herein sort with us: besides, that I see in this, great indignity derogatory to mans worthiness, I doubt much, and cannot conceive how nature hath given unto them the beginning of vertue, which is reason, and unto which reason is referred and doth aim, confidering they cannot attain unto the end: and besides, there is not one of them all that sheweth any sign of tending thereto, of progress therein, or of desire and appetite that way.

AUTOBULUS.

Yea, but this (my good friend *Soclarus*) is no strange and absurd thing with these men, I mean the Stoicks: for notwithstanding that they put down the natural love and affection which we have to the issue of our own bodies begotten, for the foundation of civil society and of justice, and see the same in brute beasts very evident and puissant, yet for all that, they flatly and stoutly deny that they have any part of justice in them. And that which more is, Mules are not without all the instruments of generation; for nature hath given to the males generative members, and to the females the parts fit for conception; yea, and in the use of these members and instruments they have the same delight and

pleasure

pleasure which other creatures have; howbeit, they never speed, nor attain to the end of generation. Consider again on the other side, whether it were not a ridiculous absurdity for such Philosophers as they would seem to be, to affirm and maintain, that *Socrates* and *Plato*, and such men as they, were no less vicious then any vile slave or wicked wretch in the world, but that all were foolish, witless, lascivious and unjust alike (because forsooth, all sins with them be equal) and then to lay the blame and fault in the fource and beginning of vertue, that is to say, Reason, as being not pure nor perfect in brute beasts to the accomplishment of vertue: as if this were not some defect and imbecillity of reason, seeing they confess themselves that there is an imperfection in the use of reason, of which all beasts be full: for we see in many of them, that there is cowardize, intemperance, injustice and malice. Now he who affirmeth, that whatsoever is not apt and fitted by nature, to receive reason aright and in ample maner, is simply not capable of reason: first he doth as much as if he maintained, that neither the Ape is capable of ill-favored deformity, nor the Tortoise of slow pace, because the one of them is nor susceptible of beautiful favor, nor the other of swiftness and good footmanship. Again, he doth not see and mark the difference between reason perfect, and simple reason; for reason simply proceedeth from nature, but honest, vertuous, and perfect reason cometh by industry, study, diligence and teaching; which is the cause that all creatures endued with a sensitive soul, are capable and susceptible of a kinde of discipline and learning by the means of this faculty of discourse and reason: marry this absolute and right reason indeed which we affect and seek for, and is nothing else but sapience and wisdom, they are not able to name any one man that ever attained unto it. Like as therefore a difference there is between sight and sight, between flight and flight; for Hawks see otherwise then Grashoppers do, Eagles also and Partridges flie not alike; even so all creatures endued with reason, have not the like vivacity, pomptitude and nimbleness of reason, as to reach up to the highest pitch and perfection thereof: for we may observe in some beasts many evident tokens of just society, of valor, of witty industry in their provision and dispose: and contrariwise in others as many signs of insociable violence and injustice, of cowardize and sottishness, as witnesseth that which now moveth the contention & debate betwren our yong Gentlemen; for as if they both supposed there was a difference in this behalf, some of them maintain, that naturally the beasts of the land are proceeded farther in vertue; and others contrariwise affirm, the same of those in the sea and waters; a thing very evident, whosoever will compare Storks with the river Horses; for those do nourish and feed their fathers who engendered them, whereas those do kill them, because they might ride and cover their mothers: as also who will but confer Cock Doves with Partridges; for Doves do often times squash and mar the eggs, yea, and otherwhiles kills the Hens when they cove or sit, because they are not willing during that time to be troden; whereas the male Patridges take upon them part of the care and pain in sitting upon the eggs, and in their turn do keep them warm, that they chill not; yea, and that which more is, they be the first that bring meat in their bills unto the little ones newly hatched; and if haply the dam range abroad, tarry forth too long out of the nest, the male beats and pecks her with his bill, drives her home to her eggs and yong birds. As for *Antipater* who reproacheth and rebuketh both Asses and Sheep for their filthiness, and being so negligent in keeping themselves clean, he hath forgotten (I wot not how) to speaks of Ounces and Swallows: for the Ounces seek a by-place by themselves apart, where to bestow their urine, and by all means hide and conceal that fine stony substance, called *Lyncurium*, which is engendred of it: and the Swallows teach their yong ones to turn their tails so, as they may meut out of their nests. Moreover, why say we not that one tree is more ignorant or untaught then another, like as we hold, and that truly, that a Sheep is more dull of capacity then a Dog? or that this herb is more fearful then that, like as we affirm very well, that a Stag is more timorous, or rather less valorous then a Lyon: and as in things which are unmoveable, we never say, that one is more slow then another; nor among such things as yield no sound at all, that this hath a smaller or bigger voice then that; Semblably, it is never said, that there is less wit, more dulness, and greater intemperance in such or such things, unless it be in that kinde, whereof all by nature are endued with the gift of reason, and of prudence in some measure, which puissance and faculty being given to some more, and to others less, is that which maketh all the difference that we see. Yea marry, but there is no comparison, will some man say, betwren men and beasts; so infinirely surpasseth he them in fineness of wit, in justice and equity, beseeming civil society, that it is wonderful. And even so (my good friend) there be many which in bigness and strength of body, in swiftness of feet, in quickness of eye-sight, and subtility, of hearing out-go all the men in the world, and leave them far behinde, and yet for all this, we are not to infer and conclude that man is blinde, that he is impotent of hand and foot, or otherwise deaf: neither hath nature deprived us altogether of big arms and bodies, or of strength both in the one and the other, although in comparison of the Elephant and the Camel, our force and bulk of body is nothing: after the same maner may we speak of beasts; if their discourse and understanding be more gross, if their wit be more dull then ours, it followeth not thereupon, that they have neither reason nor natural wit: for without all question, both they have, feeble though they be and troubled, like as an eye is otherwhiles weak, dim, and muddy: and were it not that I certainly expect, and that among our yong men who are studious, learned, and very well seen in the Books of our ancient Writers, that they will alledge an infinite number of examples, the one from the land, and the other out of the sea; I could not contain my self, but recite and alledge here before you an innumerable sort of proofs and arguments, as well of the natural subtility of beasts, as of their docility, which the beautiful and famous City of *Rome* hath afforded unto us to draw and lade up abundantly by

by whole scuppets and buckets full (as they say,) from the stately theaters of their Emperors, and the princely games exhibited there.

But let us leave this matter fresh and entire for those young men, thereby to embellish their discourse, and set out their eloquence: mean while, I would gladly examine and consider one point with you, now that we are at leisure. For I suppose, that in every part and natural power or faculty of our body, there doth befal some proper defect, some maime or malady, as namely, in the eye, blindness; in the leg, lameness; in the tongue, stutting and stammering; and that which is proper to one member, is not incident unto another: for we use not to say, that a thing is become blinde, which never had power by nature to see, nor lame, which was not ordained to go; neither was there ever man who would say, that a thing stammered which never had tongue, or muffled and wharled, which naturally yieldeth no voice at all: and even so we cannot (to speak properly and truly) term that foolish, furious, or enraged, which by course of nature is not capable of understanding, discourse and reason: for impossible it is, that a part may be said to be interessed, affected or prejudiced in a thing, which never had an aptitude or natural power, that might receive diminution, privation, mutilation, or otherwise some infirmity: and yet I doubt not, but you have otherwhiles seen dogs run mad; and for mine own part I have known horses enraged; and there be moreover, who affirm that kine and other beeves will be horn-wood, yea and foxes as well as dogs; but the example of dogs whereof no man makes doubt, may suffice to prove and bear witness, that this kind of beast hath reason and understanding, and the same not in small measure to be contemned, but when it chanceth that it is troubled and confounded, then comes upon them that disease which is called rage and madness. For, that at such a time we cannot perceive in them, that either their sight or their hearing is altered: but like as he that should give out of a man, who is over-charged with a melancholike humour, or given to rave and go beside himself, that his understanding is not transported and out of order, that his discourse of reason is not out of the way, nor his brains broken, or memory corrupt; were very absurd: for that the ordinary custome and behaviour of such foolish and bestraught persons sufficiently conwinceth, that they are past themselves, and have lost the discourse of reason; even so, whosoever thinketh that mad dogs suffer any other passion, then a confusion and perturbation of that part in them, which before time was wont to imagine, discourse and remember, in such sort, that when they be thus surprized with rage, they are so foolish and sottish, as they know not their best friends, who were wont to make much of them, but flie those places of their feeding and bringing up, which they used most to haunt and to converse in, and do not so much as discern, but oversee that which is presented plain before them: this man (I say) seemeth obstinately to strive against the truth, and not to comprehend that which daily experience doth shew.

SOCLARUS.

Certes, your conjecture in mine opinion is very good, and you are in the right: but the Stoicks and Peripateticks stifly stand against all this, and impugne it with tooth and nail, saying: That justice cannot have any other breeding and beginning; and that impossible it is to maintain that there is any justice in the world, if it be confessed that all beasts are any wayes capable of reason: for that necessary it is, either that we do injury in not sparing them; or in case we make no use of them for our food, that impossible it were for us to live; or else our life should remain distitute of such things as well it may not miss and be without. In sum, that we were to live in some sort a savage and beast-like life, if we should reject the profits and commodities which they afford. For I pass by infinite thousands and millions of the Troglodyts and Nomades, that know no other feeding, but of flesh onely and nothing else: but as for us who seem to lead a milde, civil, and more gentle life, what work were there left for us to do upon the land? what business have we at Sea? what skill or art should we exercise among the mountains? what ornament or beauty would there be in our life, if we were taught this once as a true lesson, that we ought to respect all beasts, and use all equity towards them, as being reasonable creatures as we are, and made of the same mould that we be? Certes, it were very hard to say; and therefore there is no answer to assoil this doubt; no medicine or salve to heal this sore; no device to undo this knot, and difficulty, which taketh away, either all civility, or else all justice out of mans life, unless we keep that ancient limit and law, whereby God having separated (according as *Hesiodus* saith) sundry natures) sundry natures, and distinguished every kind a part by it self.

To fishes, beasts and feathered fowles, hath granted power and might,
One of another for to feed, because they have no right.
To men alone, he justice gave therein to take delight.

Given (I say) he hath justice unto them for to exercise among themselves: and as for other living creatures, as they cannot deal justly with us; so it is certain that we cannot use injustice to them: and look whosoever reject this conclusion and resolution, have left no other use, nor so much as a simple way whereby justice may enter and come among us.

AUTOBULUS.

Now truly my friend, you have said this very well, and even according to the mind and hearts desire of these men: howbeit we are not to give and grant unto these Philosophers (as the manner is to tie about those women who have hard travel, some *Ocytocium*, or medicinable drogue, to cause them for to have more speedy and easie deliverance) this device to hang upon them, that they may with ease and without all pain, bear and bring forth justice unto us; seeing that in the main and most important points of all Philosophy, they would not allow *Epicurus* so small a thing, and so vile, as to decline

one only atome, or indivisible body never so little aside, for to make way for the stars, for living creatures, and fortune to come into the world, and that thereby our free will might be saved: for they ought either to prove by demonstration, that which is doubtfull, or to suppose that which of it self is manifest; and not to take this article as touching beasts, for to establish justice, seeing that it is neither confessed and granted unto them, nor they otherwise do prove it: for another path-way there is to bring in justice among men, which is nothing so slippery, dangerous, and full of steep downfalls, nor that which leadeth thorough the subversion and overthrow of things most evident; even that which my son and one of your familiar friends (*Soclarus*) having learned of *Plato*, doth shew and teach those who will not obstinately contest, but follow reason and learn: for that man is not altogether clear and void of injustice, in using beasts, and dealing with them as he doth, *Heraclitus* and *Empedocles* receive as an undoubted truth, complaining in many places, and reproaching nature, as if she were under necessity, and a very war, having in her nothing that is simple, pure, sincere, and unmixed, but performing all her operations by many unjust accidents and passions; seeing they hold that even her generation proceeded from injustice, namely, by conjunction of mortall with immortal, and in that the thing which is engendred thereof, rejoiceth to dismember unnaturally, that which engendred it: but haply all this may seem too bitter and exceeding sharp: well, there is another gentle means, and easie remedy of this inconvenience, which doth not quite bereave beasts of all use of reason, and saveth justice in those who use them as they ought; which mean and indifferent way being in times past brought in by wise men, was afterwards rejected, and wholly destroyed by a conspiracy of gourmandise and fleshly pleasure together; howsoever *Pythagoras* would have recovered it again, by teaching men how they might make use and commodity of beasts, and yet do them no wrong nor injury; for they who punish and put to death those wilde beasts, which have no society nor fellowship at all with man, but rather do him much hurt and dammage, commit no injustice; no more than they who make them tame and familiar, training them up to their use, and imploying them in services, whereunto they are by nature most fit:

The race of horse and asses for to breed,
With bulls encrease, which in the fields do feed.

whom *Prometheus* in a tragœdie of *Æschylus*, saith he bestowed upon us,

To serve and drudge in stead of us,
And do our works laborious.

Neither do they any wrong, who make use of dogs to keep their flocks of goats and sheep: nor they who milk goats and sheep, and shear their fleeces for the wool, especially if they give them pasturage: for it can not be said, that men can not live, or their life is utterly undone, if they have not their platters of fish, or their livers of geese, or if they cut not beeves and goats into pieces for to serve up at their feasts: or if for their idle disport in theatres, or to take their pleasure in chase and hunting, they put not some to the combat and force them to fight whether they will or no; and kill others which have no defence of their own, nor any means to make resistance: for he who needs will have his delights and pastimes, ought in all reason (as I think) to make himself merry, and solace his heart with those that can play and disport together with him; and not to do (as *Bion* said) like to little children, who joy in throwing stones at frogs, and make a game of it; mean while, the poor frogs have no pleasure in this their game, for they are sure to die for it in good earnest; even so we are not either to hunt or fish for any delight that we have in the pain, and much less in the death of other creatures: no more to take a pleasure in driving or taking them away from their whelps and young ones, a pitiful sight to behold; for they be not they that commit injustice, who use beasts, but such as misuse them unmercifully and cruelly, without any respect and commiseration.

SOCLARUS.

Stay a while, good *Autobulus*, and put off this invective of yours unto another time; for now I see comming towards us neer at hand, a crew of young Gentlemen, all great hunters and lovers of the game, whom it were neither an easie matter to drive off unto another day, neither is it needful to provoke and offend them.

AUTOBULUS.

True it is that you say, and I like your admonition: but as for *Eubiotus*, I know very well, and my nephew *Ariston*; the two sons also of *Dyonisius* a Citizen of *Delphos*, to wit, *Æcides* and *Aristotimus*, yea, and after them, *Nicander* the son of *Euthydamus*,

All skilful hunters (in good faith)
Upon the land (as Homer *saith)*

and therefore (no doubt) they will side every one with *Aristotimus*, and take his part; whereas contrariwise, the others who be Islanders, and were born along the sea side, I mean *Heracleon* of *Megara*, and *Philoxenus* of the Ile *Eubœa*,

Who cunning are upon the Seas,
And therein much themselves do please.

Loe, how they accompany your friend *Phædimus*, and are ready to stand with him:

As for Tydides *there, 'tis hard to say,*
To whether side he will in judgement sway.

I mean that same *Optatus*, our fellow and companion in years,

Who of wilde beasts on mountains slain,
and fishes caught in Sea,
With many first fruits and essayes,
to testifie his prea,
Hath often duly honoured.
Diana goddess bright,
Who cleped is Agrotera,
and is Dictynna *hight.*

for lo, how he commeth directly towards us, as one who will not range himself to one side more than to another. How say you, *Optatus*, do we not conjecture well, that you mean to be an indifferent arbitrator or common umpire between these two young Gentlemen.

OPTATUS.

Very well guessed of you *Autobulus*, I purpose so indeed; for long since was the Law of *Solon* repealed and abolished, by vertue whereof, they were punished who in a civil sedition joyned not to the one side nor to the other.

AUTOBULUS.

Come hither, therefore, and sit by us, that if we have need of any testimonies, we trouble not the books of *Aristotle* with dripping and turning over their leaves; for that we will refer our selves and stand to that which you shall say, as justly and truly delivered, in regard of your great knowledge and experience.

SOCLARUS.

How now my Masters, you two Gentlemen, are you agreed between your selves of the order, who who shall begin first to speak?

PHÆDIMUS.

Yes *Soclarus*, we are at a point for that now, although we were long enough debating about it; for in the end (to use the very words of *Euripides*)

Lot, Fortunes child, hath this case tried,
As one ordain'd doubts to decide.

and hath appointed that the land-beasts cause should be pleaded before theirs of the sea.

SOCLARUS.

Well then it is time (*Aristotimus*) that both you begin to speak, and we also to hear.

* * * * * * * * * * *

In this place a great defect and breach there is in the Greek originall, which cannot be made up and supplied without the help of some ancient copie, not yet extant.

The bar and the hall is for them that plead. But these destroy the spawn within the wombe, by running upon their females when they be great and near the time of casting the same. And one kind there is of spotted mullets, called thereupon *Perdiæ*, which feed upon their own slime and glutinous substance that proceedeth from themselves. As for the poulpe or polyp fish, he eateth and gnaweth himself, sitting still all Winter

In house full cold, without fire-light,
In wofull bale and wretched plight.

so idle is he, or so blockish and senseless, or else so gluttonous, or rather subject to all these vices together: which is the reason that *Plato* also in his book of Laws, forbiddeth ectsoons young men to set their minds upon fishing in the Sea, or rather he detesteth it in them, as an abominable thing, if they should take a love thereto. For no exercise there is of hardiness and valour; no proof of wit or trial of wisdom; no imployment of strength, swiftness or activity of body in combats and fights with the wide mouthed sea-pikes, with congres or guilt-heads, like as there is in hunting upon the land, where the fierce and courageous beasts exercise the fortitude of those who encounter them, and stirring up their animosity to enter upon dangers: the wily and crafty, whet and sharpen the wits of such as set upon them, causing them to look about and bestir themselves every way with great circumspection: and the swift and light-footed, trie the able, nimble, and painful bodies of those who have them in chase: in all which respects hunting is reputed an honest and commendable exercise: whereas contrariwise, fishing hath nothing in it to commend the game, and make it honourable; neither shall you ever find my good friend, any one of the gods, desirous to be called *Congrocolonus*, that is to say, the conger killer; as *Apollo* gloried to be named *Lycoctonus*, that is to say, the killer of wolves: nor any of them delighted in the name of *Triglobolus*, that is to say, the striker of barbels: like as *Diana* joyed in the epithit of *Elaphobolos*, that is to say, a shooter at stags and hinds: and no marvell, considering that it is more laudable for a Gentleman to take in chase a wilde Boar, a stag, a fallow deer, a roe buck, yea, and it were but an hare, then to buy any of these with his money: but surely it is more for his credit and reputation to go into the fish market as a cater to exchange his coin for a tunny, a lobstar, or the *Amia*, then to be seen fishing for them: for the cowardise, blockishness, stupidity, want of shifts and means in fishes, either offensive, or defensive, cause the taking of them to be dishonest, discommendable, unlovely, and illiberal.

In summe, forasmuch as the proofs and arguments which Philosophers alledge, to shew that beasts have some discourse and use of reason, are drawn from their projects, their elections in

preferring one thing before another, their provisions and forecastr, their memories, their affections, their tender care of their young ones, their thankfulness to those who have done them good, their hatred and rankor against them who have done them a shrewd turne: their industry to find out things necessary for them; the evident appearence of vertues in them, to wit, of fortitude; sociable equity and communion, temperance and magnanimity: Let us consider these maritime sea creatures, whether they have any one at all of these parts, or if there be any little shew thereof, it is so dark and obscure, that unneth or hardly it can be perceived, how diligent soever we be in searching after it; whereas in these terrene beasts, and such as the land breedeth, a man may conceive, yea and plainly see most cleer, evident, and assured examples of each, of the qualities before said. First and foremost, behold I pray you the first setting out, the preparatives and flourishes as it were, that buls and boars make against their combat, how they raise and cast up the dust with their feet all about them, as also how these whet and sharpen their tusks; the Elephants likewise for that one of their two teeth wherewith they root in the earth, or pluck up and cut such matter as they feed upon, is ordinarily thereby worn dull and blunt, they use it onely for these purposes, but the other they keep and reserve always sharp pointed and keen edged, for to serve their turnes when they are to fight; the lion when he goeth in the forrest, marcheth evermore with his paws drawn in close and turned round, hiding his cleyes and nailes within, for fear lest being worn with going, their points should be dull and blunt, as also because he would give no light by his tracts to the hunters that follow in chase; for hardly and with much ado shall you trace a lion by his foot, the print of his claws is so small that it cannot be seen, whereby they that are full upon their footing, yet miss of him, and wander a contrary way.

Ye have heard I am sure of the Ichnewnon or rat of *India*, how he prepares himself against he should fight with the crocodile, no less then a legionarie souldier armed at all pieces, in compleat harness, such a deal of mud, and the same hardned and baked in manner of a crust, hath he all over his body, as it were a good curace of proof.

What provision and preparation the swallows or martines make against their breeding and laying time, we daily see; namely, how in building of their nests, they lay first as a ground-work underneath, good sticks, stiff straws, and sound bents, and those they enterlace afterwards with others that be more gentle and pliable; and if they see that their nests had need of some gluttinous mud to glue and sodder all together, what do they? marry they flie floting so close to the water of some river, lake, or the sea, that lightly they dip their wings therewith, so that they may be onely wet, and in no wise heavy and overcharged with moisture, then they role and bathe themselves in the dust, by which means they close up, binde, and knit as with parget or plastre, all chinks and breaches, and whatsoever was not well compact and united together in their nests: as for the form and figure thereof, they make them not cornered nor yielding many sides and faces, but even and smooth as possible may be, and the same round as a ball; for surely this kind of workmanship is most durable without, and of greatest capacity within, and such as giveth least hold unto other beasts abroad that lie in wait to destroy them.

The cobwebs that spiders weave, which serve for patterns, as well for our women to make their webs of cloth, as for fishers to knit and work their nets, are in many respects very admirable: first in regard of the fine threads, and the subtile weaving thereof, which are not distinct one from another, nor ranged after the order of the warps and woofe in our artificial webs upon the loom, but are continued and run all into one, in manner of a thin filme, kell, and skin, united and sodred as one would say, with I wot not what gluttinous humidity mingled among, after an invisible and imperceptible manner; then the tincture and colour thereof, which maketh it seem afar off like unto some thick or duskish air, to the end that it self might the less be perceived; but principally and above all, the very governing, conduct, and mannaging of this fabrick and device made by her-self, surpasseth; namely, when some flie or small creature is gotten within the compass of this toil and entangled, to see how immediately she perceiveth it, and can skill quickly to pull in and draw the net; no hunter and fowler in the world, be he never so cunning, more nimble, for to enclose the prey: all which because we daily see in our continual experience presented unto our eyes, we believe and know to be true; otherwise we would hold all to be fables: like as we think that to be a tale of the crows and ravens in *Barbary*, who when they are very thirsty, and the water settled so low where they should drink, that they cannot reach unto it, cast stones into it for to make it rise so high, as they may easily meet with it. And verily upon a time, I marvelled my self very much when I saw a dog within a ship, while the marriners were out of the way, to cast little stones into an earthen pot, which was nothing neer full of oyle, how he should discourse and reason thus in his mind, that the lighter things, as namely oyle, must needs mount up and be driven aloft, when the weightier such as the stones were, went down to the bottom. As much may be said of the Bees of *Candi*, and the geese of *Cilicia*. As for the Bees, being to double a point or cape lying into the sea, which is much exposed to the winds, they ballase themselves with small grit or pretty stones, for to be able to endure the weather, and not be carried away against their wills with the wind through their lightness otherwise. And the geese aforesaid being affraid of the eagles, which have their airies upon the high rocks, at what time as they should pass over the mountain *Taurus*, take every one within their bils a good big stone, thereby to stop and muzzle (as it were) their mouths, that being by nature clamorous and given much to gagling, they might

make no noise nor crie at all during their flight, and so in silence and safety both, get beyond the said hill. The very order that cranes keep in their flying is wonderful and memorable: for when the air is troubled and the wind aloft, they flie not as they use to do when it is fair weather and calm, either all afront, or in manner of the half moon or croissant: but presently at their first setting out, they cast themselves into a triangle with the point forward, thereby to cut and pierce the wind that bloweth before and about them, to the end that their rank thus ranged and set in order, might not possibly be broken: afterwards when they are alighted and settled upon the ground; look whose course and charge it is to watch all night, stands upright upon one leg, and in the foot of the other claspes a stone and holds it up a loft; for the continual straining of themselves to hold the said stone, keepeth them that long they cannot sleep: and when once they chance to let go their hold, the stone falling upon the rock, quickly awaketh her that let it fall. So that after I had seen this, I did not greatly wonder at *Hercules*; if he putting his bow under his arm hole, and clipping it hard with his mighty strong arm.

Holding full fast in his right hand,
His massie club, asleep doth stand.

neither marvelled I much at him who first devised the means how to open an oyster close and hard shut, when I beheld once the crafty subtilty of herons: for the heron when he hath swallowed down an oyster, or other shell fish, all whole and fast shut, although it put him to some trouble, yet he endureth for a time and keepeth it within his craw or gister, untill he perceive that it is mollified and relaxed by the natural heat of his body, then casteth he it up againg by vomit, findeth it gaping and wide-open, and so picketh out of it the good meat therein.

As touching the industrious provision and care of house-keeping which is in pismires, to discourse thereof in particular, and exquisitely to deliver the same, were a very hard piece of work, if not impossible; and to pass the same over in silence, argueth supine negligence: for look throughout the whole history of nature, you shall not find so small a mirror again for to represent greater things and more beautiful, being (as it were) a most pure and cleer drop, wherein appeareth most apparently the full resemblance of entire vertue. Here may be seen lovely friendship and civil society: here sheweth it self the very image of valour and prowesse, with painful patience and industry: here may a man behold many seeds of continence, many sparks of wisdom, and as many of righteousnes *Gleanthes* the Philosopher, although he maintaineth not that beasts have any use of reason, made report nevertheless that he was present at the sight of such a spectacle and occurent as this. There were (quoth he) a number of ants which went toward another ants hole, that was not their own, carrying with them the corps of a dead ant; out of which hole, there came certain other ants to meet them on the way (as it were) to parl with them, and within a while returned back and went down again; after this they came forth a second, yea a third time, and retired accordingly until in the end they brought up from beneath (as it were a ransom for the dead body) a grub or little worm; which the others received and took upon their shoulders, and after they had delivered in exchange the aforesaid corps, departed home: moreover, it is worth the observation, although it be a thing daily seen of every man, what courtesie and civility they use in meeting one another, how those who be light and carry nothing, willingly give way unto such as be charged and loaden; and suffer them to pass: likewise how they gnaw asunder and divide piece meal such burdens, as they being single, cannot bear whole, to the end that the same may be carried and transported from place to place by more in number. *Aratus* in his prognosticks setteth this down for a sign of rain toward, when they bring forth their seeds and grains, and lay them abroad to take the air:

When ants make hast with all their egs aload,
Forth of their holes to carry them abroad.

And yet there be some who in this place write not ὠά, that is to say, eggs, but ὠα, as if they would say, their goods, to wit, the fruits or seeds which they have gathered and laid up for their provision, when they perceive them to begin to mould or be fusty, or fear that they will corrupt and putrifie. But that which surpasseth all other prudence, policy and wit, is their caution and prevention which they use, that their wheat or other corn may not spurt and grow. For this is certain, that dry it cannot continue alwayes nor sound and uncorrupt, but it will in time wax soft, resolve into a milky juice, when it turneth and beginneth to swell and chit: for fear therefore that it become not a generative seed, and so by growing, loose the nature and property of food for their nourishment, they gnaw that end thereof or head, where it is wont to spurt and bud forth. For mine own part, I do not admit or believe all that which some do anatomize of their caves and holes: who give out that there is not one direct and straight way leading down thereinto, nor the same easie and ready for any other creatur to pass through; but there be certain secret allies, blinde-pathes, crooked turnings, and hollow cranks, which meet all at the end in three holes or concavities; whereof the one forsooth is the common hall for them to meet altogether: the second is their cellar or ambry for their victuals and provision; and the third a by-room where they bestow their dead.

Well, I think it not amiss nor impertinent, if next after pismires, I bring forth upon the stage before you the Elephants, to the end that we may know the nature of this wit, and intelligence which now is in question, as well in the greatest beasts as the smallest creatures, and see how as it appeareth in the one, so it is not defective or wanting in the other. Other men I am sure do make a wonder at that which the Elephant learneth, and is taught, whose docility is exhibited unto us in the theaters, by his sundry sorts of gestures, and changes in dauncing, such as for their variety and exquisite elegancy

it were very hard for men with all their memory, perfection of wit, and exercise, to remember, to express, and perform accordingly: but I for my part, me thinks, do see more clearly and evidently the prudence and sagacity of this beast, in the passions, affections, and motions which he hath of himself without teaching, as being more simple, sincere, and natural; for not long since at *Rome* there were a number of them trained and exercised against the solemnity of their games and playes, in certain strange stations, intricate motions, and hard turnings round, to go, to come, to stand, and wheel about in a trice: but among them, there was one more dull, blockish, grosse, and slow, then the rest, both in conceiving, and also in retaining; by reason whereof, he being ever and anon reproached and rated with shamefull words, yea, and many times beaten well for his untowardnesse, was found otherwhiles alone by himself in the night, repeating as it were and conning his lessons by moonshine, labouring hard for to express and attain unto that which he had been taught. *Agnon* writeth, that before this time, in *Syriæ* there was an Elephant kept and nourished in a private mans house, whose Governour had allowed unto him from his master, a certain measure of barly every day for his provender; but there was not a day went over his head, wherein he robbed and deceived him not of the one half; it fortuned, that one time above the rest the master of the house would needs see the Elephant served, then his Governour powred out before him his full allowance, even the whole measure that was his due; but the Elephant casting an unhappy and untoward eye at him, divided his barly with the snout of his trunk, and put a part the one moity thereof, shewing the best way he could devise unto his master, the wrong that the governor aforesaid had done unto him: He reporteth likewise of another, who seeing that his keeper blended earth and stones among his barley, to make the measure to seem compleat; spied his time and came unto the pottage pot standing over the fire, wherein was flesh a seething for dinner, and filled it up with ashes.

Another being provoked and misused at *Rome*, by certain little boyes, who with their bodkins and penknives used to prick and punch his snout or trunk; caught up one of them by the middle, and held him up in the air, so as it was thought he would have crushed and squeezed the guts out of his belly; they that saw the manner of it, took up a great cry incontinently for fear of the poor boy, but the Elephant set him down softly again upon the ground, in the very place where he caught him up, and doing him no hurt at all passed by; judging it a sufficient chastisement for so little a child, that he was only put in a fright: Thus much of tame and trained Elephants. As for those which are savage, and live in the wild fields at their liberty, wonderful things be reported of them, and namely as touching their passage over rivers; for the youngest and least of them all, exposing himself to hazard for the rest, leadeth the way, and wadeth first thorough; the other seeing him landed upon the bank on the other side, make this account, that if the least and lowest of their herd be tall enough to surmount the depth of the channel, they which are biger & higher, have no cause to fear any thing, but that they also may get over in safety.

And since I am fallen into this argument, and proceeded so far into it, me thinks I should not forget one example of *Reinard*, for the affinity and conformity it hath with this device last rehearsed: Those who have invented fabulous tales make report, that during the great deluge, *Deucalion* used to let forth a dove out of the ark, to know what weather it was like to be abroad; for if she returned soon again, she brought news of tempest and rain, but if she flew clean away, and came no more back, she shewed thereby that it was calm and fair weather.

But true it is that the Thracians even at this day when they purpose to pass over a river frozen all over with ice, take a fox with them for their guide, to sound the way before them, whether the ice be strong enough and able to bear; the fox goes gently before, and layeth his ear close to the ice, and if by the noise of the water running underneath and coming unto his ear, he guesseth that the ice is not thick nor frozen deep, but thin and weak, he maketh a stay, and returneth if a man will let him: contrariwise, if he perceive by his ear no noise at all of water running under the ice, he passeth forward confidently: Surely we cannot say that this is only an exquisite quickness in the sense of hearing, without any discourse of reason, but without all question a kind of syllogism or reasoning, by consequence drawn from that natural sence in this sort: that which soundeth stirreth; that which stirreth is not frozen or congealed; that is not congealed, must needs be liquid; and whatsoever is liquid, yieldeth, and is not able to hold, *ergo*, &c.

The *Logicians* hold that the hound meeting with a quarferry or cross way divided into many paths, useth a kind of argumentation or reasoning, which is called a disjunct proceeding from the enumeration of many parts; and in this manner discourseth with himself: It must needs be that the beast in chase, passed by one of these three wayes: but this way it went not, nor yet the way; therefore it cannot chuse, but this way he took, for the scent of the nostrils yieldeth him no other inteligence, then of the premisse: and it was the discourse of reason, which gave him to understand the necessity of the consequence or conclusion, inferred upon the said premisses and suppositions. Howbeit, the dog hath need of no such testimony of *Logicians*, for false it is and counterfeit, because it is the smell it self and scent of the nose, which by the tract of the foot and the fluxion of the odour coming from the beast, sheweth him which way it fled, bidding farewel to these propositions either disjunct or conjunct, neither careth it for that enumeration of parts; but by many other effects, passions, functions, offices and actions which proceed neither from the sense of seeing nor of smelling, but onely from intelligence and discourse of reason, by which they are evidently performed, a man may sufficiently perceive and comprehend what is the nature of a dog, whose continence, obedience, sagacity, patience and pains-taking in chase, if I should now discourse upon, I should but make my self ridiculous unto you, who see the same daily, and have experience

experience and practise thereof continually. But this one example will I alledge unto you; namely, that during the civil wars at *Rome*, when a Roman Citizen was murdered, the murderers could never cut off his head, until they environed his dog round, and stabbed him to death, who guarded his masters body, and fought most fiercely for him. King *Pyrrhus* as he travelled by the way, met with a dog who kept the dead corps of his master lately slain, and understanding by the inhabitants of the place, that he had continued three daies already, and never stirred from thence, nor yet eat or drunk ought, he commanded the body to be interred, led the dog away with him, and made much of him: certain dayes after, there hapned a muster or generall review to be made of the souldiers, who shewed themselves and passed before the King sitting in his chair of state, and having the said dog hard by him, who never quetched nor stirred all the whiles, until he had a sight of those persons who murdered his master; upon whom he ran immediately, baying and barking at them with open mouth and in great anger, efsoons running back and making toward *Pyrrhus*; insomuch as not only the King, but all those who were about his person, entred into great suspition that those parties were they who had killed his master; whereupon they were apprehended, put in prison, and judicially brought to their answer upon the point, and together with other presumptions and light evidences inferred against them, they were so hardly urged, that they confessed the fact, and suffered punishment accordingly. The like (by report) did the dog of learned *Hesiodus*, who detected the sons of *Ganyctor* the Naupactian, of murder committed upon the person of his master. But that which our fathers saw themselves with their own eyes, whiles they were students at *Athens*, is more evident than all that hath been said already. And this it was: A certain fellow had by stealth entred into the Temple of *Æsculapius*, and stollen from thence the fairest and goodliest jewels both of gold and silver among the oblations there, which were most portable, and thinking that he was not espied by any creature, made means to get away again secretly. The dog which kept the said Temple, and was named *Capparus*, did his best to bark and bay; but seeing none of the sextanes and wardens of the Church to come for all that, pursued the Church-robber as he fled away; and notwithstanding that he flung stones at him, yet gave not he over his pursute, but traced him hard at heels all the night. When day light was come; he would not approach neer unto him, but kept aloof, followed him with his eye and never lost the sight of him; and notwithstanding that he cast him bread and other meat, he would none: so the night following the thief laid him down to sleep, the dog likewise kept all night hard by him; and the morrow morning when he took his way again, the dog likewise arose and went after. Met he any passengers or waifaring men, he would fawn upon them and wag his tail; contrariwise he barked eagerly at the thief, and was ready to flie upon him. They who had the charge to follow with huy and cry, being informed thus much by the Travellers whom they met, as also of what bigness, colour and haire the dog was, continued their chase more willingly, and made such hot pursute that they overtook the fellow at *Crommyon*, and from thence brought him to *Athens*. The dog he marched before them all and lead them the way, as jocound, pleasant, and gamesome as possibly could be, as taking great joy that this Church-robber had been the game and prey that he had hunted and gotten. The *Athenians* when they heard the truth of this matter related unto them, ordained that the said dog should have a certain measure of corn allowed him at the Cities charges for his bread, and gave an especiall charge to the Priests of that temple, to have a care of him so long as he lived: following herein the kindness and liberallity of their ancestors, which they extended in times past to a mule. For what time as *Pericles* caused to be built the Temple of *Minerva*, named *Hecatompedon*, within the castle of the City, there were, as is ordinary for such buildings, conveyed thither daily stones, timber, and other stuff in carts and wagons drawn with beasts. Now when many of those mules which before time had willingly and painfully served, were now for very age discharged and sent away to pasture: one there was among the rest, who every day would come into the high broad street *Ceramicum*, and go before those draught beasts which drew up stones to the mount, yea and accompany them, as if he encouraged and hartned them to labour and travel. The people of *Athens* commending and admiring the good heart and industrious mind of the beast, gave order by a publick decree for his maintenance and keeping at the Cities cost; no less then they would have done for an old bruised soulder, who now was past service. And therefore we must say, that those Philosophers who hold: That there is no communion nor society of justice between us and bruit beasts, say true, if they restrain their speech unto those creatures onely, which live in the sea and deep bottomless waters, with whom indeed we can have no fellowship at all of good will, love and affection, as being beasts far remote from all gentleness, sweet converse, and good nature: and therefore *Homer* speaking unto a man, who seemed to be inhumane, cruel and unsociable, said elegantly thus:

The blackish blew sea I think well,
Engendred thee, thou art so fell.

as if he would thereby give us to understand, that the sea brings forth no creature that is milde, lovely, meek and gentle: but he that should say as much and apply the former proposition unto the land-beasts, were himself cruel and savage; if I say, he denied that there was no reciprocal commerce of amity and justice between King *Lysimachus* and his dog *Hyrcanus*, who remained continually alone about his corps when he was dead; yea and at the time that it was burned in the funeral fire, leapt into it and was consumed into ashes with him for company. And reported it is, that there was another dog named *Actius*, did no less which *Pyrrhus* kept, I mean not the king of that name, but another private person: for

for after his master was dead, he would never stir from the body; and when the corps was carried forth in a couch upon the biere, he leapt upon it and was born withall: and finally sprung himself into the fire and was burnt with him.

When King *Porus* was sore wounded in a battel against King *Alexander* the Great; the Elephant upon whose back he rode and fought, drew forth with his trunk right gently for fear of doing harm, many darts, arrows and javelins wherewith he was shot; and albeit himself was grievously hurt, yet never fainted he and gave over before he perceived that his Lord the King was ready to reel and sink down, by reason of the effusion of blood which he had lost: and then fearing that he would fall from on high to the ground, he gently couched and yielded with his body downward to the earth, that he might alight with ease and without all danger.

King *Alexanders* horse called *Bucephalus*, all while he was bare without his saddle and caparison, would well enough abide that his keeper should mount upon his back: was he trapped once and richly set out with the Kings royal furniture, harness, and ornament, he would suffer none to sit him but *Alexander* alone. And if others came neer him, and went about to get upon his back, he would run a front upon them snuffing, snorting and neighing, rising up all afore at them; and if they made not good haste to retire behind him and fly, he would be sure to have them under his feet and trample over them. I know full well that you think these examples are hudled together in a confused variety; but surely it is no easie matter to find any action of these noble beasts, which representeth one bare vertue and no more: for together with their kindness and natural love there is to be seen a certain desire of honour: amid their generosity a man may perceive a kind of industrious sagacity and wisedom; neither is their wit and subtilty void of courage and magnanimity: howbeit, if men be disposed to distinguish and separate one from another by themselves the dogs do represent an example of a mild and gentle nature, together with an haughty courage and high mind, namely when they pass by and turn aside from those that submit themselves before them, according to that which *Homer* saith in one place:

The dogs ran forth with open mouth,
they cryed and bark't amain:
Ulysses *wife his staffe let fall,*
and stirred not again.

For their manner is not to fight any longer against those who humbly fall down prostrate, or shew any semblance of lowly suppliants. Certes, the report goeth of a principall *Indian* dog, who being for a singularity above all other, sent to fight a combat before King *Alexander* the Great, when there was let loose at him first a stag, then a wild boar, and afterwards a beare made no reckoning of them, nor deigned once to stir out of his place nor rise up: but when he saw a lion presented unto him, then incontinently he stood upon his feet, and addressed himself to the combat; shewing evidently that he esteemed the lion alone worthy to fight with him, and disdained all the rest. As for those here among us which are wont go hunt hares, if they themselves chance to kill them with fair play in the open field, they take pleasure to tear them in pieces; they lick and lap their blood full willingly: but if the hare being out of heart and in despair of her self, as many times it falleth out, employ all the force and strength that she hath in one course for all, and run her self out of breath, so as her wind is now clean gone, and she dead withall; the hounds finding her so, will not once touch her, but they keep a wagging of their tailes round about her body, as if they would say, it is not for greedines of hares flesh, but an earnest desire to winne the prize in running, that we hunt thus as we do.

As touching the craft and subtilty which is in beasts; forasmuch as there be infinit examples thereof, overpass I will the wily pranks of foxes, wolves, cranes and jayes: for common they be and every man teeth them: onely produce I will the testimony of wise *Thales*, the most ancient of the seven sages, who by report was not least admired for his skill and cunning, in that he discovered right well the craftiness in a beast, and went beyond it. There was a company of mules that had salt a load, and were carrying it from one place to another; and as they passed through the foord of a river, one of them chanced to fall under his burden into the water: the salt in his sack by this means taking wet, melted and resolved into water for the most part of it, in such sort as the mule having recovered himself upon all four, found that he was well lightned of his load, and presently conceived what was the reason; which gave so deep an impression in his memory, that ever after, as often as he was to go thorow a river, he would be sure to stoup and couch his body low; first leaning of one side, and then of another, purposedly and for the nonce to wet and drench the bags on his back which had salt in them. *Thales* hearing of this unhappy and shrewd wit of the mules commanded the muliter to fill the sacks with the same weight of wool and spundges, instead of salt; to lay them upon his back, and so to drive him with the rest. The mule left not his old wont; but when he perceived that he was overcharged now with water besides his ordinary load of wool and spunges, he took himself in the manner, and found that his craft now stood him in small stead, but did him hurt; whereupon, ever after, he would go upright whensoever he waded, and was very carefull that none of his packs or carriages should once (though full against his will) touch the water.

Partridges have another kind of subtilty and craft by themselves, and the same proceedeth from a certain natural love and motherly affection to their young birds, whom, when they are yet so feeble that they cannot flie and make shift for themselves being pursued, they teach to cast themselves on their

their backs, with their heels and bellies upward, and to hold either a clot of earth or some lock of straw or such like stuff, to cover and shadow their bodies withal: mean while, the old rowens turn those that follow in chase another way, drawing them toward themselves in flying to and fro just before them, even at their feet, seeming (as it were) by little and little to retire, and making as though they were scarce able to arise from the earth, and as if they were ready to be taken, untill such time as they have trained the fowlers far from their little ones.

The hares when they have kindled, and be afraid of the hunters, return to their formes, and carry their leverets, some one way and some another, so as many times there is an arpent or good acre of ground distance between them, to the end that if either hound or hunter should come upon them, they might not be all in danger at once to be taken; and they themselves run up and down backward and forward in divers places, crossing this way and that way, leaving their tracts very confused, and in the end take one great leap as far as ever they can, from their foresaid footing, and spring unto their form, where they rest and take their repose.

The bear being surprized with a certain drowsie disease, called *Pholia*, before she be altogether so heavily benummed and stupified therewith, that she cannot well stir, maketh clean the cave into which she meaneth to retire her self: and when she is to go down into it, all the way besides which is toward it, she treadeth very lightly, bearing her self (as it were) upon her tiptoes: and being come neer it, she turnes upon her back, and so eicheth forward her body as well as she can into her den.

Of red deer, the hynds commonly calve neer unto high-way sides, where ravenous beasts, such as live by prey, do not ordinarily haunt. The stags when they perceive themselves to be far, well fleshed, and good venison, seek blinde corners to hide themselves in, for the better security of their lives, as not trusting then to their heels and swift running.

The land-urchins are so wise and wary in defending and saving themselves, that they have thereby given occasion of this proverb:

A thousand wiles and mo,
of crafty fox there are:
The urchin one doth know,
and that is singular,

for when the urchin perceiveth Renard coming toward him,

All of a lump, as round as bur or ball,
His body lies, with pricks beset withal:
No means she hath, for thorny bristles thick,
To bite, to pinch, or touch him to the quick.

and yet more ingenious is their forecast and providence for the feeding of their little ones; for in Autumn, a little before vintage time, you shall have an urchin or hedge-hog get under a vine, and with his feet shake the stock untill the grapes from their branches be fallen upon the ground, then he rouleth himself round like a foot-ball among them, and catcheth them up with his sharp pricks; insomuch as when we stood all of us sometime to behold the manner of it, it seemed as if a cluster of grapes had been quick, and so crept upon the ground; so beset went he and covered all over with grapes: then so soon as he is gotten into his hole or nest, he offereth them unto his young ones to eat, to take from him and lay up for store. This hole hath two faces or prospects; the one regardeth the south, the other looketh into the North. When they foresee change and alteration of weather, like as skilful ship-masters turn their sailes according to the time; even so, they shut up that hole or entrie which standeth in the wind, and set open the other; which when one of the City *Cyzicum* had once observed and learned, he got a great name and reputation of a weather wise man, as if he foreknew of himself by some singular gift, and could foretell from which coast the wind would blow.

As touching social love and fidelity, accompanied with wit and understanding, the Elephants as King *Juba* writeth, shew unto us an evident example: for they that hunt them are wont to dig deep trenches, and thatch them over with a thin coat of light straw or some small brush. Now when one of the heard chanceth to fall into a trench, for many of them use to go and feed together, all the rest bring a mighty deal of stones, rammel wood, and whatsoever they can get, which they fling into the ditch for to fill it up, to the end that their fellow may have means thereby to get up again. The same writer recordeth also that Elephants use to pray unto the gods, to purifie themselves with the sea water, and to adore the sun rising, by lifting up their trunked snout into the air (as if it were their hand) and all this of their own accord and untaught. And to say a truth of all beasts the Elephant is most devout and religious, as K. *Ptolemeus Philopater* hath well testified: for after he had defaited *Antiochus*, and was minded to render condign thanks unto the gods for so glorious a victory, among many other beasts for sacrifice, he slew four Elephants: but afterwards being much disquieted and troubled in the night with fearful dreams, and namely, that God was wroth and threatned him for such an uncouth and strange sacrifice; he made means to appease his ire by many other propitiatorie oblations, and among the rest, he dedicated unto him four Elephants of brass, instead of those which were killed: no less is the sociable kindness and good nature which lions shew one unto another; for the younger fore which are more able and nimble of body, lead forth with them into the chase for to hunt and prey those that be elder and unweldy; who when they be weary, sit them down and rest, waiting for the

other;

other; who being gone forward to hunt if they meet with game and speed, then they all set up a roaring note altogether, much like unto the bellowing of bulls, and thereby call their fellows to them; which the old Lions hearing, presently run unto them, whereby they take their part, and devour they prey in common.

To speak of the amatorious affections of brute beasts, some are very savage and exceeding furious: others more milde, and not altogether unlike unto the courting and wooing used between man and woman, yea, and I may say to you, smelling somewhat of wanton and venerious behaviour: and such was the love of an Elephant, a counter suter or corrivall with *Aristophanes* the Grammarian, to a woman in *Alexandria*, that sold chaplets or garlands of flowers: neither did the Elephant shew less affection to her than the man, for he would bring her alwayes out of the fruit market, as he passed by, some apples, pears, or other fruit, and then he would stay long with her, yea, and otherwhiles put his snout, as it were his hand, with her bosome under her parles, and gently feel her soft paps and white skin about her fair brest.

A dragon also there was enamoured upon a young maiden of *Ætolia*: it would come to visit her by night, creep along the very bare skin of her body, yea, and winde about her without any harm in the world done unto her, either willingly or otherwise, and then would gently depart from her by the break of day; now when this serpent had continued thus for certain nights together ordinarily; at the last the friends of the young damosel removed her, and sent her out of the way a good way off; but the dragon for three or four nights together came not to the house, but wandred and sought up and down here and there as it should seem for the wench; in the end, with much ado, having found her out, he came and clapsed her about, not in that milde and gentle manner as before time, but after a rougher sort; for having with other windings and knots bound her hands and armes fast unto her body, with the rest of his tail he flapped and beat her legs, shewing a gentle kind of amorous displeasure and anger, yet so, as it might seem he had more affection to pardon, than desire to punish her.

As for the goose in *Ægypt* which fell in love with a boy; and the goat that cast a fancy to *Glauce* the minstrel wench: because they are histories so well known, and in every mans mouth: for that also I suppose you are weary already of so many tedious tales and narrations, I forbear to relate them before you: but the merles, crows, and perroquents of popinjaies, which learn to prate, and yield their voice and breath to them that teach him, so pliable, so tractable and docible, for to form and express a certain number of letters and syllables as they would have them, me thinks they plead sufficiently, and are able to defend the cause of all other beasts, teaching us as I may say, by learning of us, that capable they be not only of the inward discourse of reason, but also of the outward gift uttered by distinct words, and an articulate voice: were it not then a meer ridiculous mockery, to compare these creatures with other dumb beasts which have not so much voice in them, as will serve to howle withall, or to express a groan and complaint? but how great a grace and elegancy there is in the natural voices and songs of these, which they resound of themselves, without learning of any masters, the best musicians and most sufficient poets that ever were do testifie, who compare their sweetest canticles and poems unto their songs of swans and nightingale: now, forasmuch as to teach, sheweth greater use of reason; then to learn we are to give credit unto *Aristotle*, who saith: that brute beasts are indued also with that gift, namely, that they teach one another: for he writeth that the nightingale hath been seen to train up her young ones in singing; and this experience may serve to testifie on his behalf, that those nightingales sing nothing so well, which are taken very young out of the nest, and were not fed nor brought up by their dams; for those that be nourished by them, learn withal, of them to sing, and that not for mony and gain, nor yet for glory, but because they take pleasure to sing well, and love the elegance above the profit of the voice: and to this purpose report I will unto you a story which I have heard of many, as well *Greeks* as *Romans*, who were present and eye witnesses: There was a Barber within the City of *Rome*, who kept a shop over against the Temple, called *Grecostrises*, or *Forum Græcum*, and there nourished a pie, which would so talk, prate, and chat, as it was wonderfull, counting the speech of men and women, the voice of beasts, and sound of musicall instruments, and that voluntarily of her self without the constraint of any person, onely she accustomed her self so to do, and took a certain pride and glory in it, endeavouring all that she could to leave nothing unspoken, or not expressed: now it hapned that there were solemnized great funerals of one of the wealthiest personages in the City, and the corps was carried forth in a great state, with the sound of many trumpets that marched before; in which solemnity, for that the manner was that the pomp and whole company should stand still and rest a time in that very place, it fell out so, that the Trumpeters who were right cunning and excellent in their Art, stayed there, sounding melodiously all the while: the morrow after this, the pie became mute and made no noise at all, nor uttered not so much as her naturall poice which she was wont to do, for to express her ordinary and necessary passions; insomuch, as they who before time wondred at her voice and prating, marvelled now much more at her silence, thinking it a very strange matter to pass by the shop and hear her say nothing; so as there grew some suspition of others professing the same art and trade, that they had given her some poison: howbeit, most men guessed that it was the violent sound of the trumpets which had made her deaf, and that together with the sense of hearing, her voice also was utter extinct: but it was neither the one nor the other; for the truth was this, as appeared afterwards: she was in a deep study,

study, and through meditation retired within her self, whiles her minde was buhe and did prepare her voice like an instrument of musick, for imitation; for at length her voice came again and wakened (as it were) all on a sudden, uttering none of her old notes nor that which she was accustomed before to parl and counterfeit; onely the sound of trumpets she resembled, keeping the same periods, the same stops, pauses and strains; the same changes, the same reports, and the same times and measures: a thing, that confirmeth more and more that which I have said before; namely, that there is more use of reason in teaching of themselves, than in learning by another. Yet can I not contain my self, but I must needs in this place recite unto you one lesson that I my self saw a dog to take out, when I was at *Rome*: This dog served a player who professed to counterfeit many persons, and to represent sundry gestures; and among other pretty tricks which his master taught him, answerable to divers passions, occasions and occurrents represented upon the stage, his master made an experiment on him with a drogue or medicine which was somniferous indeed and sleepy, but must be taken and supposed deadly; who took the piece of bread wherein the said drogue was mingled, and within a little while after he had swallowed it down, he began to make as though he trembled, quaked, yea and staggered, as if he had been astonied, in the end he stretched out himself, and lay as stiff as one stark dead, suffering himself to be pulled, haled, and drawn from one place to another, like a very block, according as the present argument and matter of the play required; but afterwards, when he understood by that which was said and done, that his time was come, and that he had caught his hire, then began he at the first to stir gently by little and little, as if he had newly revived or awakened, and started out of a dead sleep, and lifting up his head, began to look about him to and fro; at which object all the beholders wondred not a little; afterwards he arose upon his feet, and went directly to him unto whom he was to go, very jocund and merry: this pageant was performed so artificially, I cannot tell whether to say or naturally, that all those who were present, and the Emperor himself (for *Vespasian* the father was there in person, within the theater of *Marcellus*) took exceeding great pleasure, and joyed wonderfully to see it.

But peradventure we may deserve well to be mocked for our labour, praising beasts as we do so highly, for that they be so docible and apt to learn, seeing that *Democritus* sheweth and proveth, that we our selves have been Apprentices and scholars to them in the principall things of this life; namely, to the spider, for spinning, weaving, derning and drawing up a rent; to the swallow, for architecture and building; to the melodious swan and shrill nightingale, for vocal musick, and all by way of imitation. As for the Art of physick, and the* three kinds thereof, we may see in the nature of beasts, the greatest and most generous part of each of them: for they use not only that, which ordained drogues and medicines to purge ill humours out of the body, seeing that the tortoises take origan; weasels, rue, when they have eaten a serpent; dogs also when they be troubled with choler of the gall, purge themselves with a certain herbe, thereupon called dogs-grass; the dragon likewise if he finde his eyes to be dim, cleanseth, scoureth, and dispatcheth the cloudiness thereof with fenel; and the bear so soon as she is gon out of her den, seeketh out the first thing that she doth, the wilde herb called *Aron*, that is to say, wake-robin, for the acrimony and sharpness thereof openeth her bowels when they are grown together, yea, and at other times finding her self upon fulness, given to loth and distaste all food, she goes to find out ants nests, where she sits her down lilling out the tongue which is glib and soft, with a kind of sweet and slimy humour, untill it be full of ants and their egges, then draweth she it again, swalloweth them down, and thereby cureth her lothing stomack. Semblably it is said, that the *Ægyptians* having observed their bird *Ibis*, which is the black stork, to give her self a clister of sea water, by imitation of her, did the like by themselves. Certain it is, that their Priests use to besprinkle, purifie and hollow themselves with that water out of which she hath drunk; for let any water be venemous, or otherwise hurtful and unholsome, the *Ibis* will none of it: but also some beasts there be, which feeling themselves ill at ease, are cured by diet and abstinence; as namely wolves and lions, when they have devoured too much flesh, and are cloyed or glutted therewith, they lie me down, take their ease, cherishing and keeping themselves warm.

It is reported likewise of the tygre, that when a young kidde was given unto her, she fasted two dayes, according to the diet which she useth, before she touched it, and the third day being very hungry, called for other food, ready to burst the cage wherein she was enclosed, and forbear to eat the said kid, supposing that now she was to keep it with her, as a familiar and domesticall companion. Nay, that which more is, recorded it is, that elephants practise the feat of Chyrurgerie; for standing by those that are wounded in a battel, they can skill of drawing out tronchions of speeres, javelin heads, arrows and darts out of their bodies, with such dexterity and ease, that they will neither tear and hurt their flesh, nor put them to any pain whatsoever. The goats of *Candy* when they be shot into the body with arrows or darts, fall to eat the herb *Dictamus*, and thereby thrust them out, and make them fall off with facility, and by this means they have taught women with child, that this herb hath a property to cause abortive birth, and the child in their wombe to miscarry: for the said goats are no sooner wounded, but they run presently to this herb, and never seek after any other remedy. Wonderful these things are (no doubt) howbeit less miraculous, when we consider the natures of beasts, how they be capable of Arithmetick, and have the knowledge of numbring and keeping account; as the kine and oxen about *Susa*; for appointed they be there to water the Kings gardens, drawing up water in buckets with a device of wheels that they turn about in manner of a windle; and every one of them for their part must draw up an hundred buckets in a day; so many they will do just,

* φαρμακα. Pharmaca. χειρουργικη. Chirurgick.

just, but more you shall not get of them, neither by fair means nor foul; for no sooner have they performed their task, but presently they give over, and impossible it is to force them any farther then their account: notwithstanding triall hath been made; so justly and exactly they both know, and also keep the reckoning, as *Cteſianus* the Guidian hath left in writing. As for the *Lybians* they mock the *Ægyptians*, for reporting this of their beast called *Oryx*, asia great singularity, that he setteth up a certain cry that very day and hour, when as the star named by them *Sothe*, and by us the Dog, or *Sirius* doth arise: for they give out, that with them all their goats together, at the very instant when the said star mounteth up within their horizon with the sun, will be sure to turn and look into the east: and this they hold to be an infallible sign of the revolution of that star, agreeing just with the rules and observations of the Mathematicians. But to close up and conclude at length this discourse, that it may come to an end, let us (as it were) take in hand the sacred anchor, and for a finall conclusion knit up all with a brief speech of their divinity and prophetical nature. For certain it is, that one of the greatest, most noble and ancient parts of divination or soothsaying, is that which being drawn from the flight and singing of birds, they call Augury: and in truth the nature of these birds being so quick, so active, so spiritual, and in regard of that agility and nimbleness very pliable, and obsequent to all visions and fantasies presented, offereth it self unto God, as a proper instrument to be used and turned which way he will; one while to motion, another while into certain voices, layes and tunes, yea and into divers and sundry gestures: now to stop and stay, anon to drive and put forward, in manner of the winds; by means whereof he impeacheth and holdeth back some actions and affections, but directeth others unto their end and accomplishment. And this no doubt is the reason that *Euripides* termeth all birds in generall the heraulds and messengers of the gods: and particularly *Socrates* said, that he was become a fellow servitor with the swans: semblably, among the Kings, *Pyrrhus* was well pleased when as men called him the Eagle, and *Antiochus* took as great pleasure to be called the Sacre or the Hauk. Whereas contrariwise, when we are disposed to mock, to flout, or to reproch those that be dull, indocible and blockish, we call them fishes. To be short, an hundred thousand things there be that God doth shew, foretell and prognosticate unto us by the means of beasts, as well those of the land beneath, as the fowls of the air above. But who that shall plead in the behalf of fishes or water-creatures, will not be able to alledge so much as one: for, deaf they be all and dombe; *blind also for any fore-sight or providence that they have, as being cast into a baleful place, and bottomless gulf, where impious Atheists and rebellious Titans or Giants against God are bestowed; where they have no sight of God, no more than in hell where damned souls are; where the reasonable and intellectual part of the soul is utterly extinct, and the rest that remaineth, drenched or rather drowned (as a man would say) in the most base and vile sensuall part, so as they seem rather to pant then to live.

HERACLEON.

Pluck up your brows, good *Phædimus*, open your eyes, awake your spirits, and bestir your self in the defence of us poor Ilanders and maritime inhabitants: for here we have heard not a discourse Iwis merrily devised to pass away the time, but a serious plea premeditate and laboured before hand, a very Rhetorical declamation which might beseem well to be pronounced at the bar in judicial Court, or delivered from a pulpit and tribunal before a publick audience.

PHÆDIMUS.

Now verily, good sir *Heracleon*, this a meer surprize and a manifest ambush laid craftily of set purpose; for this brave Orator (as you see) being yet fasting and sober himself; and having studied his oration all night long, hath set upon us at the disadvantage, and altogether unprovided, as being still heavy in the head, and drenched with the wine that we drank yesterday. Howbeit, we ought not now to draw back and recule for all this: for being as I am an affectionate lover of the Poet *Pindarus*, I would not for any good in the world, hear this sentence of his justly alledged against me.

When games of prize and combats once are set,
Who shrinketh back, and doth pretend some let,
In darkness hides and deep obscurity,
His fame of vertue and activity.

for at great leisure we are all, and not the dances onely be at repose, but also dogs and horses, cast-nets, drags, and all manner of nets besides: yea and this day there is a generall cessation given to all creatures as well on land as in the sea, for to give ear unto this disputation. And as for you my masters here, have no doubt, nor be you afraid; for I will use my liberty in a mean, and not draw out any Apology or counterplea in length, by alledging the opinions of Philosophers; the fables of the *Ægyptians*: the headless tales of the Indians or Lybians, without proof of any testimonies: but quickly come to the point, and look what examples be most manifest and evident to the eye, and such as shall be testified and verified by all those Marriners or Travellers that are acquainted with the Seas, some few of them I will produce. And yet verily in the proofs and arguments drawn from creatures above the ground, there is nothing to empeach the sight, the view of them being so apparent and daily presented unto our eye, whereas the sea affordeth us the sight of a few effects, within it and those hardly and with much ado (as it were) by a glaunce and glimmering light, hiding from us the most part of the breeding and feeding of fishes: the means also that they use, either to assail one another or to defend themselves, wherein I assure you there be actions of prudence, memory, society, and equity not a few, which because they are not known, it cannot chuse but our discourse as touching this argument will be less enriched and enlarged with examples, and so by consequence the cause more hardly defended and maintained.

Over

Over and besides, this advantage have land beasts, that by reason of their affinity as it were, and daily conversation with men, they get a tincture, as one would say from them, of their manners and fashions, and consequently enjoy a kind of nurture, teaching, discipline, and apprentising by imitation; which is able to dulce, allay, and mittigate all the bitternes and austerity of their nature, no less than fresh water mingled with the sea, maketh it more sweet and porable: likewise all the unsociable wildeness, and heavy unweldiness therein, it stirreth up, when the same is once moved and set on foot by the motions that it learneth by conversing with men: whereas on the other side the life of sea-creatures being far remote and devided by long and large confines from the frequentation of men, as having no help of any thing without, nor any thing to be taught it by use and custome, is altogether solitary and by it self, as nature brought it forth, so it continueth and goeth not abroad; neither mingled nor mixed with forrein fashions, and all by reason of the place, which they inhabit, and not occasioned by the quality of their own nature, for surely their nature conceiving and retaining within it self as much discipline and knowledge as it is possible for to attain unto and apprehend, exhibiteth unto us many tame and familiar eeles (which they call sacred) that use to come to hand; such as are among the rest, those in the fountain *Arethusa*, besides many other fishes in divers places, which are very obeisant and obsequious when they be called by their names, as is reported of *Marcus Crassus* his lamprey, for which he wept when it was dead; and when *Domitus* upon a time reproached him for it, by way of mockery in this wise: Were not you the man who wept for your lamprey when it was dead; he came upon him presently in this manner: And were not you the kind and sweet husband who having buried three wives never shed tear for the matter? the crocodiles not only know the voice of the Priests when they call unto them, and endure to be handled and stroked by them, but also yawn and offer their teeth unto them to be picked and cleansed with their hands, yea and to be skowred and rubbed all over with linnen clothes. It is not long since that *Philinus* a right good man and well reputed, after his return from his voyage out of *Ægypt*, where he had been to see the Countrey recounted unto us, that in the City of *Anteus* he had seen an old woman lying asleep on a little pallet together with a crocodile, who very decently and modestly couched close along by her side. And it is found in old records, that when one of the Kings called *Ptolomei*, called unto the sacred crocodile, it would not come nor obey the voice of the Priests, notwithstanding they gently prayed and intreated her; a sign thought to be a prognostick and presage of his death, which soon after ensued: whereby it is plain that the kind and generation of these water beasts, is neither incapable, nor deprived of that sacred and highly esteemed science of divination and foretelling future things; considering that even in the Country of *Lycia*; between the Cities of *Phellos* and *Myra*, that is, a village called *Sura*, where I hear say, the inhabitants use to sit and behold the fishes swimming in the water, like as in other places they observe birds flying in the air, marking their lying in wait and ambush, their scudding away and pursute after them; whereby according to a certain skill that is among them, they can foretell future things to come. But this may suffice to shew and declare that their nature is not altogether estranged from us, nor unsociable.

As touching their proper wit, and natural prudence, wherein there is no mixture at all borrowed from other, this is in general, a great argument thereof, that there is no creature that swimmeth or liveth in the waters, except those which stick to stones, and cleave to rocks, that is so easie to be caught by man, or otherwise to be taken without trouble, as Asses are by Wolves; Bees by the birds *Meropes*; Grashoppers by Swallows; or Serpents by Stags, who were so easily caught up by them; in Greek they took the name ἔλαφοι, not ἀπὸ τῆς ἐλαφρότητος, that is to say, of lightness: but ἀπὸ τῆς ἐλαίου τὰ ὄφεις, that is to say, of drawing up a Serpent out of his hole. The sheep calleth as it were the Woolf, by the foot; like as by report the Leopard allureth unto him the most part of Beasts, who are willing to approach him for the pleasure they take in his smell, and above all others the Ape. But sea creatures generally all, have a certain inbred sagacity, a wary perceivance before hand, which maketh them to be suspicious and circumspect, yea, and to stand upon their guard against all forelaying; so that the art of Hunting and catching them is not a small piece of work, and a simple cunning; but that which requireth a great number of engins of all sorts, and asketh wonderfull devices, and subtil slights to compass and go beyond them; and this appeareth by the experience of such things, as we have daily in our hands: For first and formost the cane or reed of which the angle rod is made, fishers would not have to be big and thick, and yet they had need of such an one as is tough and strong, for to pluck up and hold the fishes, which commonly do mightily fling and struggle when they be caught; but they chuse rather that which is small and slender, for fear lest if it cast a broad shadow, it might move the doubt and suspicion that is naturally in fishes; moreover the line they make not with many water knots, but desire to have it as plain and even as possibly may be without any roughness, for that this giveth as it were some den untiation unto them of fraud and deceit: they take order likewise that the hairs which reach to the hook, should seem as white as possibly they can devise, for the whiter they be, the less are they seen in the water, for the conformity and likeness in colour to it: as for that which the Poet *Homer* saith:

Down right to bottom of the sea,
like plumbe of leade she went,

* Κέρας.

That peiſeth down the fiſhers hook,
and holds the line extent;
*Which paſſing through tranſparent * horn,*
that rural Ox head bare,
To greedy fiſhes ſecretly
brings death ere they be ware.

Some miſunderſtanding theſe verſes, would infer thereupon, that men in old time uſed the hairs of an Ox tail to make their lines withal, ſaying that this word κέρας, which commonly in Greek is taken for an horn, ſignifieth in this place hair; and that hereupon κερκοῦσθαι is derived, which betokeneth to sheer or cut hair; and κερκε, that is to ſay, ſheering or clipping; as alſo, that from hence it is that *Archilochus* tearmeth a dainty and wanton Minion, who taketh delight in tricking and trimming the hair, and wearing a peruke curiouſly ſet, κερκωπιδέων. But ſurely, this their collection is not true, for they uſed, as we do, the hair of horſe tails, to make their angle-lines withal, chuſing thoſe that grow either on Stone-horſes or Geldings, and not of Mares, for that ever and anon they wet their tails with ſtaling, and by that means the hairs of them are tender, and apt to break. And *Ariſtotle* himſelf writeth, that in thoſe verſes above cited, there is no deep matter that requireth ſuch an exquiſite and curious ſcanning; for that (in truth) fiſhers uſe to overcaſt the line neer unto the hook with a piece of horn, for fear leſt fiſhes when they have ſwallowed down the hook, ſhould with their teeth bite or fret a two the line. And as for the hooks, they uſe thoſe that be round, for to take Mullets, and the fiſhes *Amiæ*, becauſe they have narrow mouthes; for very wary they are to avoid the longer and ſtraiter kinde; yea, and many times the Mullet ſuſpecteth the round hook, ſwimming round about it, and ſlurring with the tail the bait and meat that is upon it, and never lins flapping, until he have ſhaken it off, and then devoureth it: but ſay, he cannot ſpeed that way, he draws his mouth together, and with the very edge and utmoſt brim of his lips he nibleth about the bait, until he have gnawn it off. The wide mouthed Sea-Pike, when he perceiveth that he is caught with the hook, ſheweth herein more valor and animoſity then the Elephant; for he plucketh not out of another the dart or arrow ſticking the body; but maketh means to deliver himſelf from the ſaid hook, ſhaking his head, and writhing it to and fro, until he have enlarged the wound, and made it wider; enduring moſt ſtoutly and reſolutely the dolour to be thus rent and torn, and never gives over, until he have wreſted and wrung the hook out of his body. The Sea-Fox, will not many times come neer unto an hook, he reculeth back, and is afraid of ſome deceitful guil; but ſay that he chance to be ſurprized, quickly he maketh ſhift winde himſelf off again: for ſuch is his ſtrength, agility, and ſlippery moiſture withal, that he will turn himſelf upſide down with his tail upward, in ſuch ſort, that when by overturning his ſtomach all within is come forth, it cannot chuſe but the hook looſeth the hold which it had and falleth forth.

Theſe examples do ſhew a certain intelligence, and withal a witty and ready execution of that which is expedient for them, as need and occaſion requireth. But other fiſhes there be, which beſides this induſtrious ſagacity in ſhifting for themſelves, do repreſent a ſociable nature and loving affection one unto another; as for example, the *Anthiæ* and *Scari*: for when the *Scarus* hath ſwallowed down an hook, other of his fellows come leaping about him, and gnaw the line aſunder; and if peradventure there be any of them gotten within a net, and entangled, their companions give them their tails without, which they hold as faſt as they can with their teeth, and the other lie pulling and haling of them, until they have drawn them forth. As for the *Anthiæ*, they come to reſcue and ſuccor one of their one kinde with more audacity, for putting the line againſt their back, they ſet to it the ridge-bone, which is ſharp toothed in maner of a ſaw, and with it they endeavor to file and ſaw it twain. And verily, there is not a creature living on the land (as far as we know) that hath the heart and courage to aid their fellows being in danger of life, neither Bear, Bore, Lyon, nor Leopard. Well may thoſe gather altogether in heaps, which are of the ſame kinde, and run one with another round about the cirque or ſhew-place within the Amphitheaters: but to reſcue or ſuccor one another, neither know they the means how, nor have the courage to do it: for they fly and leap backward as far as ever they can poſſibly from one that is hurt or killed in their ſight: As for that ſtory, my good friend, that alledge of the Elephants, that they caſt into the ditch or trench whereinto one of their company is fallen, all that ever they can get and gather together, thereby to make a bank, that he may raiſe himſelf upon, and ſo get forth, it is very ſtrange, and far fet: and becauſe it cometh out of the books of King *Juba*, it would ſeem to command us (as it were) by a Royal Edict, to give credit thereto. But ſay it were true, there be examples of Sea-creatures enough to prove that for ſociable kindneſs and prudence withal, there be many of them which give no place to the wiſeſt of all thoſe which the land affordeth; but as touching their communion and fellow-ſhip, we will treat thereof apart, and that anon.

To return unto our fiſhers: perceiving as they do, that the moſt part of fiſhes ſcorn the line and hook, as ſtale devices, or ſuch as be diſcovered, they betake themſelves to fine force, and ſhut them up within great caſting nets, like as the Perſians uſe to ſerve their enemies in their wars, making this account, that if they be encloſed once within thoſe nets, they are theirs ſure enough, as if no diſcourſe of reaſon in the world, no wit and policy whatſoever will ſerve them to eſcape: for with hoop-nets or caſt-nets are Mullets caught, and the *Iulides*, the *Marmiri* alſo, the *Sargi*, Sea-Gogeon, and the wide mouthed Pikes: but ſuch as plunge themſelves down to the bottom of the water, called thereupon βολίτικα, ſuch

ſuch as are the barbel, the guilheads, and the ſcorpions of the ſea, thoſe they uſe to catch and draw up with great drags and ſweepnets. And verily this kind of net *Homer* calleth *Panagra*, which is as much to ſay, as catching and ſwooping all afore it. And yet as cunningly deviſed as theſe engines be, the ſea-dogs have devices to avoid the ſame, as alſo the wide mouthed *labrax*; for when he perceiveth that the ſaid ſweepnet is a drawing along the bottom, he ſetteth all his ſtrength to, ſcrapeth in the earth, and patteth it ſo, as he maketh an hole therein; and when he hath thus digged (as it were) as deep a trench as will hide him againſt the incurſion of the net, then he coucheth himſelf cloſe within it, waiting untill the net be glided over him and paſt. The dolphin, if he be ſurprized, and perceive that he is incloſed and claſped within the armes (as one would ſay) of a net, endureth his fortune reſolutely, and never diſmaieth for the matter; nay, he is very well appayed and pleaſed; for he is glad in his heart, that he hath ſo many fiſhes about him caught in the ſame net, which he may devour and make merry with at his pleaſure without pains taking; and when he ſees that he is drawn up neer to the land, he makes no more ado but knaws a great hole in the net, and away he goes. But ſay that he cannot diſpatch this feat ſo quickly, but he comes into the fiſhers hands, yet he dieth not for this at the firſt time; for they draw a riſhor reed thorow the skin along his creſt, and ſo let him go: but if he ſuffer himſelf to be taken the ſecond time, then they beat and cudgell him well; and know him they do by the ſeames or skars remaining of the foreſaid reed. Howbeit, this falleth out very ſeldome; for the moſt part of them, when they have been once pardoned, do acknowledge what favour they have received, and beware for ever after how they do a fault and come into danger again. But whereas there be infinit other examples of ſubtile ſlights and witty wiles which fiſhes have invented, both to foreſee and prevent a peril, and alſo to eſcape out of a danger, that of the cuttle is worthy to be recited and would not be paſſed over in ſilence: for having about her neck a bladder or bag hanging, full of a black muddy liquor, which thereupon they call μέλαν, that is to ſay, Ink: when ſhe perceives her ſelf beſet and compaſſed about, ſo as ſhe is ready to be taken, ſhe caſteth forth from her the ſaid ink full craftily, that by troubling the water of the ſea all about her, and making it look thick and black, ſhe might avoid the ſights of the fiſher, and ſo make an eſcape unſeen. Following herein the gods in *Homer*, who many times with overſpreading a back cloud withdraw and ſteal away thoſe whom they are minded to ſave: but enough of this.

Now as touching their craft and ſubtility in aſſailing and chaſing others, there be many experiments and examples preſented unto our ſight: for the fiſh called the Star, knowing full well, that whatſoever he toucheth will melt and reſolve, offereth and yieldeth her body to be handled, ſuffering as many as paſs by her, or approch neer to ſtroke him: and as for the cramp-fiſh *Torpedo*, you all know well enough her powerful property; not onely to benum and ſtupifie thoſe who touch her, but alſo to tranſmit a ſtupefactive quality, even along the maiſhes and cords of the net, to the very hands of the fiſhers who have caught her. And ſome there be who report thus much moreover, as having farther experience of her wonderful nature, that in caſe ſhe eſcape and get away alive, if men do baddle aloft in the water, or daſh the ſame upon them, they ſhall feel the ſaid paſſion running up to the very hand, and benumming their ſenſe of feeling, as it ſhould ſeem, by reaſon of the water which before was altered and turned in that manner. This fiſh therefore having an imbred knowledge hereof by nature, never fighteth a front with any other; neither hazardeth himſelf openly: but fetching a compaſs about the prey which it hunteth after, ſhooteth forth from her theſe contagious influences like darts, infecting or charming rather the water firſt therewith, and afterwards by means thereof the fiſh that ſhe layeth for; ſo that it can neither defend it ſelf, nor flie and make an eſcape, but remaineth as it were arreſted, and bound faſt with chains, or utterly aſtonied.

The ſea-frog, called the Fiſher, which name he got by a kind of fiſhing that he doth practiſe, is known well enough to many: and *Ariſtotle* ſaith, that the cuttle aforeſaid uſeth likewiſe the ſame craft that he doth. His manner is to hang down as it were an angle line, a certain ſmall ſtring or gut from about his neck, which is of that nature, that he can let out in length a great way when it is looſe, and draw it in again cloſe together very quickly when he liſt. Now when he perceiveth ſome ſmall fiſh neer unto him, he ſuffereth it to nibble the end thereof and bite it, and then by little and little privily plucketh and draweth it back toward him, until he can reach with his mouth the fiſh that hangeth to it.

As touching poulps or purcuttles, and how they change their colour, *Pindarus* hath ennobled them in theſe verſes:

His minde doth alter moſt mutable,
To poulpe the ſea-fiſhs ſkin reſemblable,
Which changeth hue to all things ſutable,
To live in all worlds he is pliable.

The Poet *Theognis* likewiſe:

Put on a mind like polyp fiſh,
and learn ſo to diſſemble,
Which of the rock whereto it ſticks,
the colour doth reſemble.

True it is that the chamæleon alſo eftſoon changeth colour, but it is not upon any craſty deſigne that he hath, nor yet for to hide himſelf, but only for that he is ſo timorous; for cowardly he is by nature, and feareth every noiſe. Over and beſides (as *Theophraſtus* writeth) full he is of a deal of winde; and the body of this creature wanteth but a little of being all lungs and lights; whereby it may be

gueſſed, that it ſtandeth altogether upon ventoſity and wind, and ſo conſequently very variable and ſubject to change: whereas that mutability of the Polype is a powerful and ſetled action of his, and not a momentary paſſion or infirmity: for he altereth his color of a deliberate purpoſe, uſing it as a ſleight or device, either to conceal himſelf from that whereof he is afraid; or elſe to catch that whereof he feedeth: and by means of this deceitful wile, he preyeth upon the one that eſcapeth him not, and eſcapeth the other that paſſeth by and ſees him not. But to ſay that he eateth his own cleys or long arms that he uſeth to ſtretch forth, is a loud lye; marry that he ſtandeth in fear of the Lampray and the Conger, is very true: for theſe fiſhes do him many ſhrewd turns, and he cannot requite them the like, ſo ſlippery they be, and ſo ſoon gone. Like as the Lobſter on the other ſide, if they come within his clutches, holdeth them faſt, and ſqueizeth them to death; for their glibby ſlickneſs ſerveth them in no ſtead againſt his rough cleys; and yet if the Polype can get and entangle him once within his long laces, he dyes for it. See how nature hath given this circular viciſſitude to avoid and chaſe one another by turns, as a very exerciſe and tryal to make proof of their wit and ſagacity.

But *Ariſtotimus* hath alledged unto us the Hedgehog, or land Urchin, and ſtood much upon I wot not what foreſight he hath of the winds: and a wondrous matter he hath made alſo of the triangular flight of Cranes. As for me, I will not produce the ſea Urchans of this or that particular coaſt; to wit, either of *Bizantine*, or of *Cyzicum*, but generally all, in what ſeas ſoever; namely, how againſt a tempeſt and ſtorm, when they ſee that the ſea will be very much troubled, they charge and ballaſt themſelves with little ſtones, for fear of being overturned or driven to and fro for their lightneſs, by the billows and waves of the ſea: and thus by the means of this weight, they remain firm and faſt upon the little rocks whereto they are ſettled. As for the Cranes, who change their maner of flying according to the wind; I ſay, this is a skilful quality, not proper and peculiar to one kinde of fiſhes, but common unto them all; namely, to ſwim evermore againſt the waves and the current, yea, and very wary they be, that the wind blow not their tails, and raiſe their skales, and ſo hurt and offend their bodies laid bare and naked, yea and made rugged by that means. Hereupon they carry their ſnouts and muzzels always into the wind, and ſo direct their courſe: and thus the ſea being cut afront at their head, keepeth down their fins, and gliding ſmoothly over their body, layeth their ſcales even, ſo as none of them ſtand ſtaring up. This is a thing, as I have ſaid, common unto all fiſhes, except the Elops, whoſe nature is to ſwim down the wind and the water; neither feareth he that the wind will drive up his ſcales in ſo ſwimming, becauſe they do not lie toward his tail, but contrary to other fiſhes, toward his head.

Moreover, the Tuny is ſo skilful in the Solſtices and Equinoxes, that he hath taught men to obſerve them without need of any Aſtrological rules; for look in what place or coaſt of the ſea the winter Tropick or Solſtice findes him, there reſteth he, and ſtirreth not, until the Equinox in the Spring. But a wonderful wiſdom (quoth he) there is in the Crane, to hold a ſtone in his foot, that by the fall thereof he may quickly awaken. How much wiſer then, my good friend *Ariſtotimus*, is the Dolphin? who may not abide to lie ſtill and ceaſe ſtirring, for that by nature he is in continual motion, and endeth his moving and living together: but when he hath need of ſleep, he ſpringeth up with his body to the top of the water, and turneth him upon his back with the belly upward, and ſo ſuffereth it partly to float and hull, and in part to be carried through the deep, waving to and fro, as it were, in a hanging bed, with the agitation of the ſea, ſleeping all the while, until he ſettle down to the bottom of the ſea, and touch the ground: then wakeneth he, and mounting up with a jerk a ſecond time, ſuffereth himſelf to be carried until he be ſettled down again; and thus hath he deviſed to have his repoſe and reſt intermingled with a kinde of motion. And it is ſaid that the Tunies do the like, and upon the ſame cauſe.

And now foraſmuch as we have ſhewed already the Mathematical and Aſtrological fore-knowledge that fiſhes have in the revolution and converſion of the Sun, which is confirmed likewiſe by the teſtimony of *Ariſtotle*, liſten what skill they have in Arithmetick; but firſt (believe me) of the Perſpective Science; whereof as it ſhould ſeem, the Poet *Æſchylus* was not ignorant: for thus he ſaith in one place:

Like Tuny fiſh he ſeems to ſpie,
He doth ſo look with his left eye.

For Tunies in the other eye are thought to have a dim and feeble ſight: and therefore when they enter into the ſea of *Pontus*, they coaſt along the land on the right ſide; but contrariwiſe, when they come forth: wherein they do very wiſely and circumſpectly, to commit the cuſtody of the body always to the better eye. Now for that they have need of Arithmetick, by reaſon of their ſociety (as it may be thought) and mutual love, wherein they delight; they are come to that height and perfection in this Art, that becauſe they take a wondrous pleaſure to feed together, and to keep one with another in ſculls and troops, they alwayr caſt their company into a cubick form, in manner of a battailon, ſolid and ſquare every way, cloſe, and invironed with ſix equal ſides or faces: and arranged in this Ordinance, as it were, of a quadrat battel do they ſwim, as large before as behinde, and of the one ſide, as of the other, in ſuch ſort, as he that lieth in eſpial to hunt theſe Tunies, if he can but take the juſt number how many there be of that ſide or front that appeareth next unto him, may preſently tell what the number is of the whole troop, being aſſured that the depth is equal to the breadth, and the breadth even with the length.

The

The fiſh called in Greek * *Hamie*, took that name, it may be thought, for their converſing in companies altogether: and ſo I ſuppoſe came the *Pelamydes* by their name. As for other fiſhes that be ſociable and love to live and are ſeen to converſe in great companies together, no man is able to number them, they be ſo many. Come we rather therefore to ſome particular ſocieties and inſeparable fellowſhips that ſome have in living together: among which is that * *Pinnotheres*, which coſt the Philoſopher *Chryſippus* ſo much inke in his deſcription, for in all his books as well of moral as natural Philoſophy, he it ranged formoſt. As for the *Spongetheres*, I ſuppoſe he never knew, for otherwiſe he would not have left it out. Well, this *Pinnotheres* is a little fiſh, as they ſay, of the crabs kind, which goeth and cometh evermore with the *Nacre*, a big ſhell fiſh keeping ſtill by it, and ſits as it were a porter at his ſhell ſide, which he letteth continually to ſtand wide open, until he ſpie ſome ſmal fiſhes gotten within it, ſuch as they are wont to take for their food: then doth he enter likewiſe into the *Nacres* ſhell, and ſeemeth to bite the fleſhy ſubſtance thereof; whereupon preſently the *Nacre* ſhutteth the ſhell hard, and then they two together feed upon the booty which they have gotten priſoners within this encloſure.

* Of ἅμα; and love to live and are ſeen to converſe in great companies together, no man is able to number them, together.

* Of πίνα; *Chryſippus* ſo much inke in his deſcription, for in all his books as well of moral as natural Philoſophy, neer.

* Some take it for the ſhrimp.

As touching the *Spongotheres*, a little creature it is, not like unto the crab fiſh as the other, but rather reſembling a ſpider and it ſeemeth to rule and govern the ſponge, which is altogether without life, without bloud and ſenſe; but as many other living creatures within the ſea, cleaveth indeed hard to the rocks, and hath a peculiar motion of the own, namely, to ſtretch out and draw in it ſelf: but for to do this need, ſhe hath of the direction and advertiſement of another: for being of a rare, hollow, and ſoft conſtintion otherwiſe, and full of many concavities, void and ſo dull of ſenſe beſides, and idle withal, that it perceiveth not when there is any ſubſtance of good meat gotten within the ſaid void and empty holes; this little animal at ſuch a time giveth a kind of warning, and with it ſhe gathereth in her body, holdeth it faſt, and devoureth the ſame: but much more will this ſponge draw in her ſelf when a man comes neer and touches her; for then being better advertiſed and touched to the quick, ſhe quaketh as it were for fear, and plucketh in her body ſo ſtreight and ſo hard, that the divers, and ſuch as ſeek after them have no ſmal adoe, but find it to be a painful matter for to get under and cut them from the rocks.

The purple fiſhes keep in companies together, and make themſelves a common cel, much like to the combs which bees doe frame, wherein by report, they do engender and breed: and look what they have laid up for their ſtore and proviſion of victuals, to wit, moſſe, reits, and ſuch ſea-weeds, thoſe they put forth out of their ſhels, and preſent them unto their fellows for to eat, banqueting round as it were every one in their turn, and keeping their courſe to feaſt, one eating of anothers proviſion. But no great marvel it is to ſee ſuch an amiable ſociety and loving fellowſhip among them, conſidering that the moſt unſociable, cruel, and ſavage creature of all that live either in rivers or lakes or ſeas, I mean the crocodile, ſheweth himſelf wonderful fellow-like and gracious in that ſociety and dealing that is between him and the *Trochilus*. For this *Trocbilus* is a little bird of the kinde of thoſe which ordinarily doe haunt meres, mariſhes and rivers, waiting and attending upon the crocodile as it were one of his guard: neither liveth this bird at her own finding nor upon her own proviſion, but of the reliques that the crocodile leaveth. The ſervice that ſhe doth for it is this: when ſhe ſeeth the ichneumon, having plaſtred his body as it were with a coat of mud baked hard in manner of a cruſt, and like unto a champion with his hands all duſty, ready to wreſtle and prepared to take hold of his enemy, lye in wait for to ſurpriſe the crocodile aſleep, ſhe awaketh him partly with her voice, and partly by nibbing him with her bill. Now the crocodile is ſo gentle and familiar with her, that he will gape with his chawes wide open, and let her enter into her mouth, taking great pleaſure that ſhe ſhould pick his teeth and peck out the little morſels of fleſh that ſtick between, with her prety beak, and withal, to ſcarifie his gums. But when he hath had enough of this, and would ſhut and cloſe his mouth again, he letteth fall the upper chaw a little, which is a warning unto the bird for to get forth: but he never bringeth both jawes together, before he know that the *Trochilus* is flowen out.

There is a little fiſh called the guide, for quantity and proportion of ſhape, reſembling the gudgeon, only withoutforth it ſeemeth like unto a bird, whoſe feathers for fear ſtand up; the ſcales ſtare ſo, and are ſo rough. This fiſh is ever in the company of one of theſe great whales, ſwimming before, and directing his courſe as if he were his pilot, for fear leaſt he ſhould light upon ſome ſhelves, run upon the ſands in the ſhallows, or otherwiſe ſhoot himſelf into ſome narrow creek where he can hardly turn and get forth. The whale followeth hard after, willing to be guided, and directed by him, even as a ſhip by the helm: and look what other thing ſoever beſides cometh within the chaos of this monſters mouth, be it beaſt, boat, or ſtone, down it goes all incontinently that foul great ſwallow of his, and periſheth in the bottomleſſe gulfe of his panch: onely this little fiſh he knoweth from the reſt, and receiveth into his mouth and no farther, as an anchor, for within it ſleepeth; and while the fiſh is at repoſe, the whale likewiſe reſteth ſtill, as if he ride at anchor; no ſooner is it gotten forth, but he followeth on a freſh, never leaving it by day nor by night, for otherwiſe he would wander here and there: and many of theſe whales there have been loſt in this manner, wanting their guide and pilot, which have run themſelves a land, for defaute of a good pilot. For we our ſelves have ſeen one of them ſo caſt away not long ſince about the iſle *Anticyra*: and before time by report, there was another caſt upon the ſands, and not far from the city *Bune*, which lay there ſtinking and putrified; whereupon by the infection of the aire, there enſued a peſtilence in thoſe parts adjoyning. What ſhould one ſay? Is there any other example worthy to be compared with theſe ſocieties ſo ſtreightly linked, and enterlaced with mutual benevolence? *Ariſtotle* indeed reporteth great friendſhip

and amity between Foxes and Serpents, joyning and combing together against their common enemy the Eagle, also between the *Otides* and Horses; for the bird *Otis* delighteth in their company, and to be neer them, for that they may rake into their dung. For mine own part, I cannot see that the very Bees, or the Pismires, are so industrious and careful one for another. True it is, that they travel and labour in common for a publick weal; but to aime at any particular good, or to respect the private benefit one of another, we can finde example of no beast upon the land whersoever: but we shall perceive this difference much better, if we convert our speech to the principal duties and greatest offices of society; generation (I mean) and procreation of young: First and formost, all fishes which haunt any sea, either neer unto Lakes, or such as receiveth great Rivers into it, when they perceive their spawning time to be neer, come up toward the land, and seek for that fresh water which is most quiet and least subject to agitation for that calmenesse is good for their breeding; besides, these Lakes and Rivers ordinarily have none of these monstrous Sea monsters; so as both their spawn and their young frie, is there in most safety, which is the reason that there are so many fishes bred about the Euxine sea; for that it nourisheth no Whales or other great fishes: onely the Sea-calf which there is but small, and the Dolphin who is as little. Moreover, the mixture of many great Rivers which discharge themselves into the Sea, causeth the temperature of the water to be very good and fit for great bellied spawners. But most admirable of all others, is the nature of the fish Anthios, which *Homer* called the sacred fish; although some think that sacred in that place, is as much to say, as great: in which sense we term the great bone, *ἱερὸν*, that is to say, sacred; whereupon the ridge bone resteth: as also the great malady, called the falling sickness; is termed in Greek *ἱερονοσος*, that is to say, the sacred sickness: others interpret it after the common and vulgar manner, namely, for that which is vowed and dedicated to some god, or otherwise abandoned: but it seemeth that *Eratosthenes* so called the Guilthead or Golden eye, as appeareth by this verse of his.

Most swift of course, with browes as bright as gold,
This is the fish which I doe sacred hold.

but many take it for the Elops; for rare he is to be found, and hard to be taken: howbeit, many times he is seen about the coast of *Pamphylia*; and whensoever the fishers can meet with any of them, and bring them home, both they themselves wear Chaplets of flowers for joy, and also they crown and adorn their Barques with garlands, yea, and at their arrival they are received with much shouting and clapping of hands; but the most part are of opinion, that the Anthios beforesaid, is he which they call the sacred fish; and so he is held to be; for that wheresoever he is, there may no hurtful nor ravening monster be found there: insomuch as the Divers plunge down into the Sea for Spunges, boldly in those coasts where these be; yea, and other fishes, both spawn and rear their young fry safely there, as having him for their pledge and warant of all safety and security, as in a priviledged place. The cause hereof is hardly to be rendred; whether it be that such hurtful fishes upon a secret antipathy in nature, doe avoid him as Elephants a Swine, and Lions a Cock; or that there be some marks and signes of those coasts which are clear of such harmful monsters, which he knoweth well and observeth, being a fish quick of wit, and as good of memory. Common it is to all females for to have a natural care and providence for their young, but in fishes, the males generally are so respective that way, and so far off from devouring the seed of their own kinde, that they continue neer unto the spawn that the females have cast, and keep the same, as *Aristotle* hath left in writing. Some Milters there be, that follow after the spawners, and sprinkle them a little about the tail; otherwise, the spawn or fry will not be fair and great, but remain unperfect, and come to no growth. This property particularly by themselves have the Phycides, that they build their nests with the sea weeds or reits, covering and defending therewith their spawn and fry against the waves of the sea.

Moles or Lepoes.

Dog-fishes give not place in any sort to the most tame and gentle beasts in the world, for kinde love and natural affection to their young: for first they engender spawn, and after that, a quick fry; and that not without, but within, nourishing and carrying the same within their own bodies, after a kinde of second generation; but when they are grown to any bignesse, they put them forth and teach them how to swim hard by them, and afterwards receive them by the mouth into their body, which serveth in stead of a place of abode, of nourishment and of refuge, until such time as they be so big, that they can shift for themselves.

Moreover, the provident care of the Tortoise in the generation, nourishment and preservation of her young, is wonderful: for out the goeth of the sea, and layeth her egges or casteth her spawn upon the bank side; but being not able to cove or sit upon them, nor to remain her self upon the land out of the sea any long time, she bestoweth them in the gravel, and afterwards covereth them with the lightest and finest sand that she can get: when she hath thus hidden them surely, some say, that with her feet she draweth raies or lines, or else imprinteth certain pricks, which may serve for privy marks to her self, to finde out the place again: others affirme, that the male turneth the females upon the back, and so leaveth the print of shell within the sand: but that which is more admirable, she observeth just the fortieth day (for in so many daies, the egges come to their maturity, and be hatched) and then returneth she to the place where knowing her own treasure by the seal, she openeth it with great joy and pleasure, as no man doth his caskes of jewels or cabinet where his gold lieth.

The Crocodiles deal much after this manner in all other points; but at what marks they aime in chusing or finding out the place where they breed, no mortal man is able to imagine or give a reason whereupon it is commonly said, that the foreknowledge of this beast in that respect, proceedeth not from any discourse of reason, but of some supernatural divination: for going neither farther nor neerer than just to that gage and heigth where *Nilus* the river for that year will rise and cover the earth, there laieth she her egges: so that when the paisant or countrey man chanceth by fortune to hit upon a Crocodiles nest, himself knoweth and telleth his neighbours how high the river will overflow that Summer following: so just doth she measure the place that will be drowned with water, that her self may be sure not to be drenched while she sitteth and coveth: furthermore, when her young be newly hatched, if she see any one of them (so soon as ever it is out of the *shell*) not to catch with the mouth one thing or other coming next in the way, be it fly, Pismire, Gnat, Earth-worm, Straw or Grasse, the damme taketh it between her teeth, teareth it and killeth it presently; but such as give some proof of animosity, audacity and execution, those she loveth, those she cherisheth and maketh much of, bestowing her love as the wisest men judge it meet and reasonable, according to reason and discretion, and not with blind affection.

The Sea-calves likewise bring forth their young on the dry land; but within a while after they train them to the sea; give them a taste of the salt water, and then quickly bring them back again: thus practise they with them by little and little many times together, until they have gotten more heart and begin of themselves to delight for to live within the sea. Frogs about their breeding time, call one to another, by a certain amorous note or nuptial tunes called properly *Ololygon*. And when the male hath by this meanes entised and allured the female to him, they attend and waite together for the night: and why? In the water they cannot possibly engender, and upon the land they fear to do it in the day time; dark night is no sooner come, but boldly they go forth of the water, and then without fear they clasp and embrace one another. Moreover against a showre of rain their crooking voice, such as it is, you shall hear more clear and shrill than ordinary, which is a most infalible signe of raine.

But (oh sweet *Neptune*) what a foule fault and grosse errour was I like to have committed; how absurd and ridiculous should I have made my self, if being amused and busied to speak of these Sea-calves and Frogs, I had forgotten and overpassed the wisest creature, and that which the gods love best, of all those that do frequent and haunt the sea? for what musick of the Nightingale is comparable to that of the Halcyon; what * artificial building of the Swallowes, and Martinets; what entier amity and love of Doves; what skilful cunning of the Bees, deserveth to be put in ballance with these Sea-fowles Halcyones? Of what living creatures have the gods and goddesses so much honoured the breeding, travel and birth? for that it is said that there was but one onely Isle, to wit *Delos*, that was so well beloved, that it received the childbirth of *Latona*, when she was delivered of *Apollo* and *Diana*: which Iland floating before time, continued afterwards firme-land; whereas the pleasure of God is such, that all seas should be still and calme without waves, winds or drop of raine falling upon them, all the while that the Halcyon laieth and coveth, which is just about the Winter Solstice, even when the daies be shortest: which is the reason that there is no living creature that men love so well; by whose meanes seven daies they have, and seven nights even in the very heart of Winter, during which time they may safely saile, having their voyage by sea for those daies space, more secure than their travel by land. Now if I must say somewhat likewise of each particular vertue that this bird hath: first and foremost the female is so loving to the male her mate, that she tarrieth not with him for one season onely, but all the year long keepeth him company; and that not for shamelesse lust and wantonnesse (for she never admitteth any other male to tread her) but onely upon a kinde love and tender affection; even like an honest wedded wife that keepeth onely to her husband. And when the male groweth to be for age weak and unweldy, in such sort as he cannot follow her, but with much ado, she beareth and feedeth him in his old age; she never forsaketh nor leaveth him alone for any thing, but she taketh him upon her shoulders, carrieth him every where about, tendeth him most tenderly, and is with him still unto his dying day. Now for the affection which she beareth to her young, and the care that she hath of them and their safety: when she perceiveth once that she is with egge, presently she goeth about the building of her nest; not tempering mude or clay for to make thereof morter; nor daubing it upon the walls, and spreading it over the rouse as the Swallows do; nor yet employing her whole body or the most part thereof about her work, as doth the Bee, which entring in the honey-combe with her entier body; and working withal the six feet together, devideth the place in six angled cels: but the Alcyon having but one instrument, one tool, one engine to work withal, even her own bill, without any thing else in the world to help her in her travel and operation; yet what workmanship she makes and what fabricks she frameth, like unto a Master Carpenter or Shipwright, hard it were to beleeve, unlesse a man had seen it, being indeed such a fabrick and piece of work, which onely of all other cannot be overthrown nor drenched with the sea: for first and foremost she goes and gathers a number of bones of the fish called Belone, that is to say, a Needle, which she joyneth and bindeth together, interlacing them some long-wise, others overthwart, much like as the woose is woven upon the warpe in a loome, winding, plaiting and twisting them up and down one within another; so that in the end fashioned it is in forme round, yet extended out in length like unto a fishers weele or bow-net: after she hath finished this frame, she bringeth it to some Creek, and opposeth it against the waves, where the sea gently beating and dashing upon it, teacheth her to mend that was not well compact, and to fortifie it in such places where she sees it gapeth, or is not united close by reason of the sea-water that hath undone the composition thereof: contrariwise, that which was well joynted, the sea doth so settle and drive together, that hardly a man is able to break, dissolve or doe it injury either

* φιλοτέχνως, some read φιλοτίτθως, that is, love to their yong birds.

either with knock of stone or dint of edged tool. But that which yet maketh it more admirable, is the proportion and form of the concavity and hole within this vessel; for framed it is and composed in such sort, that it will receive and admit no other thing, but the very bird which made it, for nought else can enter into it, so close it is shut up, not so much as the very water of the Sea. I am assured that there is not one of you all, but he hath many times seen this nest: but for mine own part, who have both viewed, touched and handled it, and that very often, I am ready to say and sing thus:

The like at Delos *once I ween,*
Was in Apollos *temple seen,*

I mean the altar made all of horns, renowned amongst the seven wonders of the world; for that without soder, glew, or any other matter to binde and hold the parcels together, made it was and framed of horns which grew on the right side of the head onely. But O that this god would be so good and gracious unto me, being in some sort musicall and an Islander, like himself, as to pardon me if I sing the praise of that sirene and mer-maid so highly commended; as also gently to hear me laugh at these demands and interrogatories that these propound, who in mockery seem to ask, Why *Apollo* is never called Κυνηγετόν, that is to say, the killer of conger, nor *Diana* his sister Τευθοδίκη, that is to say, a striker of barbels, knowing that even *Venus*, borne as she was of the sea, and instituting her sacrifices neer unto it, taketh no pleasure that any thing should be killed. And moreover, ye wot well enough, that in the city of *Leptis*, the priests of *Neptune* eat nothing that cometh out of the sea, as also that in the city *Eleusin*, those who are professed religious, and admitted to the holy mysteries of *Ceres*, honour the barbel; yea, and in the city of *Argos* the priestresse of *Diana* upon a devout reverence forbeareth to feed of this creature; for that these barbles doe kill and destroy all that ever they can, the sea-hare, which is so venimous and so deadly a poison to man: in regard of which benefit, reported they are friendly unto mankinde, and preservers of their health, and therefore honoured they be, and kept as sacrosanct: and yet you shall see in many cities of *Greece*, both temples and altars dedicated unto *Diana* surnamed *Dictynna*, as one would say, affected unto fishers nets: like as to *Apollo Delphinius*: for certain it is, that the place which he especially chose above all others for his abode, the posterity descended from the Cretansians came to inhabit and people, being conducted thither by the guidance of a dolphin: and not because himself (as some fabulous writers report) being transformed into a dolphin, swam before their fleet: but surely a dolphin he sent to direct those men in their navigation, and so he brought them to the bay of *Cirrha*.

Also written it is in historie, that those who were sent by King *Ptolomæus* surnamed *Soter*, to the city *Sinope*, for to carry the god *Serapis*, together with their Captain *Dionysius*, were by force of wind and tempest driven against their wills beyond the cape or promontory *Melea*, where they had *Peloponnesus* on the right hand; and when they wandered and were tossed to and fro upon the seas, not knowing where they were, making account they were lost and cast away, there shewed himself before the prow of their ship, a dolphin, which seemed to call unto them, and who guided them unto those coasts, where there were many commodious havens and fair baies for ships to harbour, and ride in with safety; and thus he conducted and accompanied their ships from place to place, until at length he brought it within the road of *Cirrha*; where after they had sacrificed for their safe arrival and landing, they understood that of two images there, they were to have away that of *Pluto*, and carry it with them, but the other of *Proserpina* to leave behinde them, when they had taken onely the mould and pattern thereof. Probable it is therefore, that the god *Apollo* carried an affection to this dolphin, for that it loveth musick so well: whereupon the Poet *Pindarus* comparing himself unto the dolphin, saith that he was provoked and stirred up to musick by the leaping and dauncing of this fish,

Like as the dolphin swims apace
Directly forward to that place
Whereas the pleasant shawmes do sound,
And whence their noise doth soon rebound:
What time both winds and waves do lye
At sea, and let no harmony.

or rather we are to think that the god is well affected unto him, because he is so kind and loving unto man: for the onely creature it is, that loveth man for his own sake, and in regard that he is a man: whereas of land-beasts, some you shall have that love none at all; others, and those that be of the tamest kinde, make much of those onely, of whom they have some use and benefit; namely, such as feed them or converse with them familiarly, as the dog, the horse and the elephant: and as for swallows, received though they be in our houses, where they have entertainment, and whatsoever they need, to wit, shade, harbour and a necessary retrait for their safety, yet they be afraid of man, and shun him as if he were some savage beast; whereas the dolphin alone of all other creatures in the world, by a certain instinct of nature, carrieth that sincere affection unto man, which is so much sought for and desired by our best Philosophers, even without any respect at all of commodity: for having no need at all of mans help, yet is he nevertheless friendly and courteous unto all, and hath succoured many in their distresse; as the story of *Arion* will testifie, which is so famous, as no man is ignorant thereof: and even you *Aristotimus* your own self, rehearsed to very good purpose the example of *Hesiodus*:

But

But yet by your good leave, my friend,
Of that your tale you made no end.

for when you reported unto us the fidelity of his dog, you should have proceeded farther, and told out all, not leaving out (as you did) the narration of the Dolphins: for surely the notice that the Dog gave, by baying, barking, and running after the murderers with open mouth, was (I may tell you) but a blinde presumption, and no evident argument. About the Temple *Nemeium*, the Dolphins meeting with the dead corps of a man floating up and down upon the sea, took it up and laid it on their backs, shifting it from one to another by turns, as any of them were weary with the carriage, and very willingly, yea, and as it should seem, with great affection, they conveyed it as far as to the Port *Rhium*, where they laid it down upon the shore, and so made it known that there was a man murthered. *Myrtillus* the Lesbian writeth, that *Ænalus* the Æolian being fallen in fansie with a daughter of *Phineus*, who according to the Oracle of *Amphirite*, was by the daughters of *Pentheus* cast down headlong into the sea, threw himself after her; but there was a Dolphin took him up, and brought him safe into the Isle *Lesbos*. Over and besides, the affection and good will which a Dolphin bare unto a young lad of the City *Iasos*, was so hot and vehement, in the highest degree, that if ever one creature was in love with another, it was he; for there was not a day went over his head, but he would disport, play and swim with him, yea, and suffer himself to be handled and tickled by him upon his bare skin: and if the boy were disposed to mount aloft upon his back, he would not refuse, nor seem to avoid him; nay he was very well content with such a carriage, turning what way soever he reined him, or seemed to incline: and thus would he do in the presence of the Iasians, who ostentimes would all run forth to the sea side of purpose to behold this sight. Well on a day above the rest, when this lad was upon the Dolphins back, there fell an exceeding great shower of rain, together with a monstrous storm of hail; by reason whereof the poor boy fell into the sea, and there dyed: but the Dolphin took up his body dead as it was, and together with it shut himself upon the land; neither would he depart from the corps so long as there was any life in him, and so dyed, judging it great reason to take part with him of his death, who seemed partly to be cause thereof. In remembrance of which memorable accident, the Iasians represent the History thereof stamped and printed upon their coin, to wit, a boy riding upon a Dolphin; which story hath caused that the fable or tale that goeth of *Cæranus* is believed for a truth: for this *Cæranus*, as they say, born in *Paros*, chanced to be upon a time at *Byzantium*, where seeing a great draught of Dolphins taken up in a casting-net by the fishers, whom they meant to kill and cut into pieces, bought them all alive, and let them go again into the sea. Not long after, it hapned that he sailed homeward in a Foist of fifty oars, which had aboard (by report) a number of Pyrats and Rovers; but in the streights between *Naxos* and *Paros*, the vessel was cast away, and swallowed up in a gust; in which shipwrack, when all the rest perished, he onely was saved, by means, as they say, of a Dolphin, which coming under his body as he was newly plunged into the sea, bare him up, took him upon his back, and carried him as far as to a certain cave about *Zacynthus*, and there landed him: which place is shewed for a monument at this day, and after his name, is called *Cæranium*. Upon this occasion, *Archilachus* the Poet, is said to have made these verses:

Of fifty men by tempest drown'd,
And left in sea all dead behinde;
Cæran *alone alive was found,*
God Neptune *was to him so kinde.*

Afterwards the said *Cæranus* himself dyed; and when his kinsfolk and friends burned his corps neer to the sea-side in a funeral fire, many Dolphins were discovered along the coast hard by the shore, shewing (as it were) themselves how they were come to honor his obsequies; for depart they would not, before the whole solemnity of this last duty was performed. That the Scutchion or Shield of *Ulisses* had for the badge or ensign, a Dolphin, *Stesichorus* hath testified, but the occasion and cause thereof, the Zacynthians report in this maner, as *Criteus* the Historian beareth witness. *Telemachus* his son being yet an infant, chanced to slip with his feet; and as men say, to fall into a place of the sea, where it was very deep; but by the means of certain Dolphins, who took him as he fell, saved he was, and carried out of the water: whereupon his father, in a thankful regard and honor to this creature, engraved within the collet of his Signet, wherewith he sealed, the portrait of a Dolphin, and likewise carried it as his Arms upon his Shield. But forasmuch as I protested in the beginning, that I would relate to you no fables, and (I wot not how) in speaking of Dolphins, I am carried farther then I was aware, and fallen upon *Ulisses* and *Cæranus*, somewhat beyond the bounds of likelihood and probability, I will set a fine upon mine own head, and even here for amends lay a straw, and make an end. You therefore, my masters, who are Judges, may when it pleaseth you proceed to your verdict.

SOCLARUS.

As for us, we were of minde a good while since to say according to the sentence of *Sophocles*:

Your talk ere while which seem'd to disagree,
Will soon accord and joint-wise framed bee.

for if you will, both of you, confer your arguments, proofs and reasons, which you have alledged of the one side and the other, and lay them all together in common between you, it will be seen how mightily you shall confute and put down those, who would deprive brute beasts of all understanding and discourse of reason.

Whether

Whether the Athenians were more renowned for Martial Arms or good Letters.

The Summary.

VVE *have here the fragments of a pleasant Discourse written in the favour of Athenian Warriors, and great Captains; which at this day hath neither beginning nor end, and in the middle is altogether maimed and unperfect: but that which the infortunity of the times hath left unto us, is such yet, as thereout we may gather some good, and the intention of* Plutarch *is therein sufficiently discovered unto us: for he sheweth that the Athenians were more famous and excellent in feats of Arms, then in the profession of Learning. Which Position may seem to be a strange Paradox, considering that* Athens *was reputed the habitation of the Muses: and if there were ever any brave Historians, singular Poets, and notable Orators in the world, we are to look for them in this City. Yet for all this, he taketh upon him to prove that the prowess of Athenian Captains was without all comparison more commendable and praise-worthy then all the dexterity of others, who at their leisure have written in the shade and within house the occurrents and accidents of the times, or exhibited pleasures and pastimes to the people upon the stage or scaffold. And to effect this intended purpose of his, he considereth in the first place, Historiographers, and adjoyneth thereto a brief Treatise of the Art of Painting: and by comparison of two persons, bringing news of a field fought, whereof the one was onely a beholder and looker on; the other an actor himself, and a Souldier fighting in the battel, he sheweth that noble Captains ought to be preferred before Historians, who pen and set down their designs and executions. From History he passeth on to Poesie, both Comical and Tragical, which he reproveth and debaseth, notwithstanding the Athenians made exceeding account thereof; giving to understand, that their valour consisted rather in martial exploits. In the last place he speaketh of Orators, and by conference of their Orations, and other reasons, proveth that these great speakers deserve not that place, as to have their words weighed in ballance against the deeds of so many politick and valiant warriors.*

Whether the Athenians were more renowned for Martial Arms or good Letters.

WEll said this was (in truth) of him unto those great Captains and Commanders who succeeded him, unto whom he made way, and gave entrance to the executions of those exploits which they performed afterwards, when himself had to their hands chased out of *Greece* the barbarous King *Xerxes*, and delivered the Greeks out of servitude: but as well may the same be said also to those who are proud of their learning, and stand highly upon their erudition. For if you take away men of action, you shall be sure to have no Writers of them: take away the Politick Government of *Pericles* at home; the naval victories and trophies atchieved by *Phormio*, neer the promontory of *Rhium*; the noble prowesses of *Nicias*, about the Isle *Cythera*, as also before the Cities of *Corinth* and *Megara*; take away the sea-fight of *Demosthenes* before *Pylos*; the four hundred Captives and Prisoners of *Cleon*; the worthy deeds of *Tolmias*, who scoured all the coasts of *Peloponnesus*; the brave acts of *Myronides*, and the battel which he won against the Boeotians in the place called *Oenophyta*; and withal, you blot out the whole History of *Thucidides*; take away the valiant service of *Alcibiades*, shewed in *Hellespont*; the rare manhood of *Thrasylus*, neer unto the Isle *Lesbos*; the happy suppression and abolition of the Tyrannical Oligarchy of the Thirty Usurpers, by *Theramenes*; take away the valorous endeavors of *Thrasybulus* and *Arobippus*, together with the rare designs and enterprizes executed by those seven hundred, who from *Phyla* rose up in arms, and were so hardy and resolute as to levy a power, and wage war against the Lordly Potentates of *Sparta*; and last of all *Conon*, who caused the Athenians to go to sea again and maintain the war; and therewithal, take away *Cratippus* and all his Chronicles. For as touching *Xenophon*, he was the writer of his own History, keeping a Book and Commentary of those occurrents and proceedings which passed under his happy conduct and direction: and (by report) he gave it out in writing, that *Themistogenes* the Syracusian, composed the said Narration of his acts, to the end that *Xenophon* might win more credit, and be the better beleived, writing as he did of himself, as of a stranger, and withal, gratifying another man by that means with the honor of eloquence in digesting and penning the same. All other Historians besides, as these, *Clenodemi* and *Diyllis*, *Philochorus* and *Philarchus*, may be counted as it were the actors of other mens Plays: who setting down the acts of Kings, Princes, and great Captains, shrowded close vnder their memorials, to the end that themselves might have some part with them of their light and splendor. For surely there is a certain image of glory, which by a kinde of reflexion, as in a mirror, doth rebound from those who have atchieved noble acts, even unto them that commit the same to writing, when as the actions of other men are represented by their reports and records.

Certes this City of *Athens* hath been the fruitful Mother and kinde Nourse of many and sundry Arts, whereof some she first invented and brought to light; others she gave growth, strength, honor and

and credit unto. And among the rest, the skill of Painters cralt hath not been least advanced and adorned by her. For *Apollodorus* the Painter, the first man who devised the mixture of colours, and the maner of darkning them by the shadow, was an Athenian: over whose works was set this Epigram by his own self.

Sooner will one, this carp and twit;
Then do the like, or sample it.

So were *Euphranor* and *Nicias*, *Asclepiodorus* also, and *Plistaenetus* the brother of *Phidias*; whereof some portrayed victorious Captains, others painted battels, and others drew to the life the Worthies and Demi-gods: like as *Euphranor* who painted noble *Theseus*, and set this picture as a paragon in comparison with another of *Parrhasius* making; saying that the *Theseus* of *Parrhasius* had eaten roses, but his *Theseus* had been fed with good Ox beef: for to say a truth, that picture of *Parrhasius* was daintily and delicately made, resembling in some sort that which *Euphranor* talketh of; but he that should see this of *Euphranors* doing, might say (not unfitly) these verses out of *Homer*:

The people of Erechtheus *stout,*
whom Pallas, *daughter dear*
Of Jupiter *that mighty god,*
sometime did feed and rear.

Euphranor also depainted the battel of horsemen before the city *Mantinea*, against *Epaminondas*, which seemeth not to be without some furious and divine instinct. The argument and subject matter whereof was this, *Epaminondas* the Theban, after the battel which he won before the Town *Leuctra*, puffed up with glory in this greatness of his, determined resolutely to insult over *Sparta*, which now was already down the wind, and at once to tread and trample under foot the high spirit and reputation of that City. First therefore he invaded *Laconia* with a mighty power of threescore and ten thousand fighting men, spoiling and harrowing the Countrey as he went; whereby he withdrew all the neighbor Nations from their confederacy and alliance with the Lacedemonians. After this, when they put themselves in battel ray, and made head against him before *Mantinea*, he challenged and provoked them to fight: which they neither would nor durst accept, expecting aid that should come unto them from *Athens*. Whereupon he brake up his camp, and dislodging in the night season secretly and contrary to all mens expectation, entred again into *Laconia*, in which journey and expedition he went within a little of surprizing the City of *Sparta*, and winning it, naked as it was and without defendants. But their Allies and Confederates having intelligence of his coming, came with all speed to succor the City. Then *Epaminondas* made semblance that he would turn and bend his forces to the wasting and spoiling of their Territory, as he had done before. Thus having by this stratagem deluded his enemies, and lulled them asleep in security, he departed suddenly by night out of *Laconia*, having over-run and destroyed all before him with great celerity, and presented himself with his whole Army, before them of *Mantinea*, who looked for nothing less then such a guest, but were in consultation for to send help to *Lacedemon*: but he interrupting and breaking their counsels, immediately commanded the Thebans to arm, who being brave and couragious Souldiers, invested the City of *Mantinea* round about, struck up the alarm, and gave an assault. The Mantineans hereat astonied, ran up and down the streets, howling and wailing, as being not able to sustain, and much less put back so great a puissance, which all at once, in manner of a violent stream, came running upon them; neither did they think of any aid or means to relieve themselves in this distress. But at the very point of this extreamity, the Athenians were discovered, descending from the hills down into the plains of *Mantinea*, who knowing nothing of this sudden surprize, and present danger wherein the City stood, marched softly, and took leisure; but when they were advertised hereof by a vaunt Courrier who made means to get forth of the City; notwithstanding they were but a handful, in comparison of the great multitude of their enemies, and withal somewhat weary with their journey, and not seconded with any other of their Allies and Associates, they advanced forward, and put themselves in order of battel against their enemies, who were in number many for one: the horsemen also for their parts, being likewise arranged, set spurs to their horses, and rode hard to the gates and walls of the City, where they charged their enemies so hotly with their horses, and gave them so cruel a battel, that they got the upperhand, and rescued *Mantinea* out of the danger of *Epaminondas*. Now had *Euphranor* painted this conflict most lively in a table, wherein a man might have seen the furious encounter, the couragious charge and bloody fight, wherein both horse and man seemed to puff and blow again for wind.

But I suppose you will not compare the wit or judgement of a Painter, with the courage and policy of a Captain, nor endure those, who prefer a painted table before a glorious Trophi; or the vain shadow, before the real substance, and thing indeed: howsoever, *Simonides* said that Picture was a dumb Poesie, and Poesie a speaking Picture: for look what things or actions Painters do shew as present, and in manner as they were in doing, writings do report and record as done and past; and if the one represent them in colours and figures, and the other exhibite the same in words and sentences, they differ both in matter, and also in maner of imitation, howbeit, both the one and the other shoot at one end, and have the same intent and purpose. And he is counted the best Historian, who hath the skill to set out a Narration, as in a painted table with divers affections, and sundry conditions of persons, as with many images and pourtraictures. And verily this may appear in *Thucydides*, who throughout his whole History, contendeth to attain unto this dilucidity of stile, striving to make the

auditor

auditor of his words the spectator, as it were, of the deeds therein contained, and desirous to imprint in the Readers the same passions of astonishment, wonder and agony, which the very things themselves would work when they are represented to the eye. For *Demosthenes*, who put the Athenians in ordinance of battel, even upon the very sands and shore within the Creek of *Pylos*: and *Brasidas*, who hastning the Pilot of his Galley to run with the prow aland, walking along the hatches himself, and being there wounded, and ready to yield up his vital breath, sunk down among the seats of the Rowers: also the Lacedemonians who fought a battel at sea, as if they had been on firm land: the Athenians likewise, who upon the land embattelled themselves, and fought as if they had been within their Galleys at sea again, in the Sicilian war, the description which he maketh of the two Armies arranged on the land, hard by the Sea side, to behold their men fighting a naval battel, wherein the victory hung along time in equal ballance, and inclined neither to the one side nor the other; by occasion of which doubtful issue, they were in an intollerable agony, distress, and perplexity, to behold the sundry encounters and reciprocal charges and recharges, communicating their violence and heat of contention, even to the very bodies of the beholders upon the strond, who puffing, blowing, panting, and sweating in as great pain and fear, as if they had been personally in the very conflict: the orderly disposition, the graphical description, and the lively narration which he maketh of all this, what is it but an evident representation of a picture? Now if it be not meet to compare Painters with Captains, there is as litele reason to set Historians in comparison with them.

He who brought the news of the battel and victory at *Marathon*, as *Heraclides* of *Pontus* writeth, was one *Thersippus* of *Eroe*, or as most Historians report, it was one *Eucles*, who came running in a great heat from the field in his armor as he was, and knocking at the gates of the principal mens houses of *Athens*, was able to say nothing else but this, χαίρετε, and χαίρομεν, that is to say, rejoyce ye, all is well with us, and therewith his breath failed, and so he gave up the ghost, and yet this man came and brought tidings of that battel wherein himself was an actor. But tell me, I pray you, if there were some Goat-herd or Neat-herd, who from the top of an hill or high bank, had beheld afar off this great service, and indeed greater then any words can express, should have come into the City with news thereof, not wounded himself, nor having lost one drop of blood, and for his good tidings demand afterwards to have the same honors and memorials which were granted unto *Cynægirus*, to *Callimachus*, and *Polyzebus*, onely because forsooth, he had made report of the doughty deeds, the wounds and death of these brave men; would you not think that he surpassed all the impudency that can be imagined? considering especially, that the Lacedemonians, by report, sent unto him who brought the first word of the victory at *Mantinea*, which *Thucydides* described in his story, a piece of flesh from one of their dinners, or halls, called *Phiditia*, for a recompence of his happy news? And (to say a truth) what are Historiographers else? but certain messengers to relate and declare the acts of others, having a loud and audible voice, and who by their pleasant eloquence and significant phrases, are able to set forth the matter to the best, which they take in hand: unto whom they owe indeed the reward due for good tidings, who first do light upon their compositions, and have the first reading of them: for surely, praised they be onely when they make mention of such exploits, and read they be in regard of those singular persons whom they make known, as the authors and actors thereof. Neither are they the goodly words and fine phrases in Histories that perform the deeds, or deserve so greatly to be heard: for even Poetry hath a grace, and is esteemed, for that it describeth and relateth things, as if they had been done, and which carry a resemblance of truth: and according as *Homer* in one place saith:

Many false tales how for to tell,
Much like to truth, she knows full well.

And it is reported, that one of *Menanders* familiar friends said unto him upon a time: *Menander*, the Bacchanale feasts are at hand, and hast not thou yet done thy comedy? who returned him this answer, Yes, I wis have I, so help me the gods, composed it I say, I have: for the matter thereof is laid forth, and the disposition digested already; there remaineth no more to be done, but onely to set thereto the verses that must go to it. So that you see the Poets themselves reputed the things and deeds more necessary and important then words and speech. The famous Courtizan *Corinna* one day reproved *Pindarus*, who then was a yong man, and took a great pride in himself, for his learning and knowledge: Thou hast no skill at all *Pindarus* (quoth she) in Poetry, for that thou dost not invent and devise fables, which is indeed the proper and peculiar work of Poesie; as for thy tongue, it ministreth some Rhetorical Figures, Catachreses and Metaphrases, Songs, Musical Measures and Numbers, unto the matter and argument onely, as pleasant sauces to commend the same. *Pindarus* pondering well these words and admonitions of hers, thought better of the matter, and thereupon out of his Poetical vein, poured out this Canticle:

Ismenus, *or the launce with staff of gold,*
Sir Cadmus, *or that sacred race of old,*
Which Dragons teeth they say sometime did yield,
Of Warriors brave, when sown they were in field:
Or Hercules *who was in deeds account,*
And his main force of body, to surmount, &c.

Which when he had shewed to *Corinna*, the woman laughed a good, and said, That corn should be sown out of ones hand, and not immediately from out of the full sack: for in truth, much after this sort had *Pindarus* gathered and heaped up a miscellane deale of fables, and powred them forth all huddle together in this one canticle. But that poesie consisteth much in the fine invention of Fables, *Plato* himself hath written: and verily a Fable or Tale is a false narration, resembling that which is true, and therfore far remote it is from the thing indeed, if it be so, that a narration is the image of an act done, and a fable the image or shadow of a narration. Whereupon this may be inferred, that they who devise and feign fabulous deeds of armes, are so much inferiour to Historiographers that make true reports, as Historiographers who relate onely such deeds come behind the actours and authours themselves. Certes this City of *Athens* had never any excellent or renowned work-men in the feate of Poetry, no not so much as in the Lyrick part thereof, which professeth musicall odes, and songs: for *Cynesias* seemeth to have made his dithyrambes or canticles in honour of *Bacchus*, hardly and with much ado, and was himself barren and of no grace or gift at all; besides, he was so mocked and flouted by the comicall poets, that he grew to be of no reckoning and reputation, but incurred an ill and odious name: As for that part of Poetry which dealeth in representation of personages in plaies upon a stage, so small account they made at *Athens* of the Comedians and their professions, nay they disdained and scorned it so much, that a law there was enacted, forbidding expressly, that no Senatour of the counsell *Areopagus*, might make a comedy: contrariwise, the tragedy flourished, and was in much request, for delivering the best care-sport, and representing the most wonderfull spectacle that men in those dayes could heare or behold; giving both unto fictions, and affections a deceivable power, which was of such a property, according to the saying of *Gorgias*: That he who deceived thereby, was more just then he who deceived not; and he who was deceived became wiser than he that was not deceived at all: the deceiver (I say) was more just, because he performed that which he promised, and the deceived person wiser; for that such as are not altogether grosse, doltish, and sensleſſe, are soonest caught by the pleasure and delight of words.

To come now to the main point: what profit ever brought these excellent tragedies unto the City of *Athens*, comparable unto that which the prudent policy of *Themistocles* effected in causing the walls of the City to be built; or to the vigilant care and diligence of *Pericles*, who adorned the castle and citadell with so many beautifull buildings; or to the valour of *Miltiades* who delivered the City from the danger of servitude; or to the brave mind of *Cimon*, who advanced that State to the soveraignty and command of all *Greece*? If the Learning of *Euripides*, and the eloquence of *Sophocles*, or the sweet and pleasant tongue of *Æschylus* had freed them from any perils and extremities, or purchased and procured them any glory more then they had before, good reason peradventure it were, to compare poeticall fictions and inventions with warre-like triumphes and trophies; to set the theater against the generalls pavilion and palace; and to oppose the schooling and teaching of players, how to act Comedies and Tragedies, unto prowesses and brave feats of armes. Will you that we bring in place the personages themselves? carrying with them the markes, badges and ensignes that testifie their deeds, and allow either of them entrance apart by themselves, and passage along by us. Then let there march on the one side poets with their Flutes, Harps, Lutes and Viols, singing and saying:

Silence, my Masters, or all words o sing good:
Depart he must, there is no remedy,
Our learning here who never understood,
And hath no skill in play or tragedy:
Whose tongue's impure, or who in melody
And dance unexpert is, that doth belong
To service of the sacred muses nine,
Or who is not professed by the tongue
To Bacchus *rites of Belli-god-*Cratine.

Let them bring with them their furniture, their vestments and players apparell, their masks, their altars, their rolling engins and devices to be turned and removed to and fro all about the stage and scaffold, together with their trevets of gold the prizes of their victories. Let them be accompanied with their traine, of players and actors, to wit *Nicostrates*, *Callipides*, *Menifcus*, and *Pollus*, and such as they, attending upon a tragedy, to trick and trim her, or to beare up her traine, and carry her liter, as if she were some stately and sumptuous dame; or rather as inamillers, guilders, and painters of images following after. Let there be provision made I say of habilliments, of visours, of purple mantles and royall robes of estate, of fabricks and pageants devised to stand and be employed upon the stage, of dancers, jesters, of stage keepers, wifelars and henchmen a troublesome sort and rable of grooms: and in one word let there be brought all the geere and implements belonging to such plaies exceeding costly and chargable: such as when a Laconian saw upon a time and wisely beheld, brake out into this speech, and that to very good purpose: ô how far amiss and out of the way are the Athenians, to dispend so much money, and imploy such serious study in games and fooleries: surely they defray in the furniture and setting out of a theater, as much as would serve to set afloat a royall armado at sea, and maintaine a puissant army upon the land. For he that would set down and cast accompt, how much every comedy cost them, shall find that the people of *Athens* spent more in exhibiting the tragedies of *Bacche*, *Phenisse*, of both the *Oedipodes*, and of *Antigon*, or in representing the calamities of *Media* and *Electra*, then they disbursed in their wars against the Barbarians, either to win the soveraignty and dominion over them, or to defend their own freedome and liberty; for many times their great captaines & commanders led forth their Souldiers to battell, having made proclamation before, for to carry with them

*ἄκυρα Some expound, unfodden, unroſted, unbaked.

them ſuch victuals as* required no fire for their dreſſing, this is certain, that the Captains of Gallies and war-Ships, for their ſailers, having provided no other Cates, and Viands, but meal, Onions and Cheeſe for their Mariners, as well Rowers, as Sailers, have ſo embarked them and gone to ſea: whereas the Wardens and Ædiles who were to ſet forth plaies and dances have (to their great coſt) ſed their actors and players with delicate Eels, with tender Lettuces, with Cloves of Garlick, and with good marrow-bones, feaſting them a long time before, moſt daintily, and whiles they did nought elſe but exerciſe their voice, ſcour their throats and clear their breaſts, they made good chear full merrily. And what good had theſe waſtfull ſpenders of their good (ſpent about ſuch vanities) in the end? If their Plaies ſped not well, but loſt the victory, they were well mocked, hiſſed and laughed at for all their pains and coſt: but ſay they went away winners, and having the better hand, what got they by it? ſurely not a trevet or three footed ſtool, nor any other mark and monument of victory, as *Demetrius* ſaid, but to remain a lamentable example of unthrifts, who have laid all they had upon toyes and fooleries, and left behind them their houſes, like empty ſepulchres, and imaginary tombs. This is the end that cometh of ſuch expenſes about Poetry; and no greater honour is to be looked for.

Now on the other ſide, let us behold likewiſe their brave Captains and Warriours: and while theſe paſſe along,

There ſhould indeed be ſilence or good words.
They ought to void out of this company,
Who idle live, and never drew their ſwords
In field, or ſerv'd with care and agonie
In common weal: whoſe heart would never ſtand
To ſuch Exploits, whoſe mind is eke profane,
Who neither by Miltiades *his hand,*
That ſlew the Medes nor by the Perſians bane,
Themiſtocles, *was ever inſtitute,*
And ſworn to Lawes of Knighthood reſolute.

Yea mary, here (me thinks) I ſee a Martiall Mask, and brave ſhew toward: ſet out with ſquadrons embattelled on land, with fleets arranged for to fight at ſea, loaden and heavily charged with rich ſpoils and glorious Trophies.

Alal' Alala, *daughter dear,*
Of bloody Wars come forth and bear:

Behold and ſee a forreſt of Pikes and Lances in the foreſront, the very preamble and flouriſh before the battell: me thinks I hear one of them reſound: Embrace death moſt hardy Knights, the beſt ſacrifice and moſt ſacred oblation that is, (for ſo ſaith *Epaminondas* the Thebane) fighting valiantly, and expoſing your ſelves to the moſt honourable and braveſt ſervices that be in defence of Countrey, of your anceſtors tombs and ſepulchres, and of your Temples and Religion: me thinks alſo I ſee their victories coming toward me in ſolemn pomp and proceſſion, not drawing or leading after them for their prize and reward, an ox or a goat; neither be the ſaid victories crowned with Ivy, or ſmelling ſtrong of new wine in the lees, as the Bacchanales do; but they have in their train, whole Cities, Iſlands, Continents and firm lands as well mediterranean as maritime ſea-coaſts, together with new Colonies of ten thouſand men a piece, to be planted here and there; and withall, crowned they be and adorned on every ſide with Trophies, with triumphs, pillage and bootie of all ſorts; the Enſigns, Badges & Arms that theſe victorious Captains give; the images alſo that they repreſent in ſhew, be their ſtately and beautifull Temples, as the Parthenon, the Hecatompedos; their City walls on the South ſide; the arcenalls to receive and lodge their ſhips; the beautifull Porches and Galleries; the Province of the deny Iſle *Cherſoneſus*, and the City *Amphipolis*: as for the Plain of *Marathon*, it goeth before the Laureat Garland, and Victory of *Miltiades*, *Salamis* accompanieth that of *Themiſtocles*, trampling under his feet, and going over the broken timber and ſhipwrack of a thouſand Veſſels: as for the Victory of *Cimon*, it bringeth with it an hundred *Phenician* great Gallies, from the River *Eurymedon*: that of *Demoſthenes*, and *Cleon*, comes from *Sphacteria*, with the Target of Captain *Braſidas* won in the field, and a number of his Souldiers captive, and bound in Chains: the Victory of *Conon*, walled the City, and that of *Thraſybulus* reduced the people with Victory and liberty from *Phyle*: the ſundry Victories of *Alcibiades* ſet upright the State of the City, which by the unfortunate overthrow in *Sicily* reeled, and was ready to fall to the ground; and by the battels fought by *Nelaus* and *Androclus* in *Lydia* and *Caria*: *Greece* ſaw all *Ionia* raiſed up again and ſupported. And if a man demand of each one of the other Victories, what benefit hath accrued unto the City by them? one will name the Iſle *Lesbos*, and another *Samos*, one will ſpeak of the *Euxine* Sea, and another of five hundred Gallies, and he ſhall have another talk of ten thouſand Talents, over and above the honour and glory of Trophies. Theſe be the cauſes why this city doth ſolemnize and celebrate ſo many feſtivall dayes, and hereupon it is, that it offereth Sacrifices, as it doth to the gods; not I wis, for the Victory of *Æſchylus* or *Sophocles*, nor for the Prizes of Poetry, no, nor when *Gurcinus* lay with *Aerope*, or * *Aſtidamus* with *Hector*: But upon the ſixth of May; even to this preſent day, the City holdeth feſtivall the memory of that Victory, in the Plains of *Marathon*: and the ſixth day of another [* of another *] moneth, maketh a ſolemn offering of wine unto the gods, in remembrance of that Victory which *Chabrias* obtained near unto the Iſle *Naxos*: and upon the tweſth day of the ſame Moneth, there is another Sacrifice likewiſe performed in the Name of a Thanks-giving to the gods, for their Liberty recovered, becauſe upon the

* The names of two parts.

the ſame day thoſe citizens which were priſoners, and in bondage within *Phyle*, came down and returned into the City: upon the third day of March they wonne the famous field of *Platæa*: and the ſixteenth day of the ſaid March, they conſecrated to *Diana*; for on that day this goddeſſe ſhone bright, and it was full Moone, to the victorious Greeks, before the iſle of *Salamis*. The noble victory which they atchieved before the City of *Mantinea*, made the twelfth day of September more holy, and with greater ſolemnity obſerved, for upon that day, when all other their allies and aſſociates were diſcomfited and put to flight, they only by their valour wonne the field, and erected a trophie over their Enemies who were upon the point of victory. See what hath raiſed this City to ſuch grandence! Lo what hath exalted it to ſo high a pitch of honour! and this was the cauſe that *Pindarus* called the City of *Athens*, the pillar that ſupported *Greece*; not for that by the tragedies of *Phrynichus* or *Theſpis*, it ſet the fortune of the Greeks upright, but in regard of this, that as himſelf writeth, in another place, along the coaſt of *Artemiſium*:

Where Athens *youth as poet* Pindar *ſaid,*
Of freedome firſt the glorious ground-worke laid.

And afterwards at *Salamis*, at *Mycale*, and *Platæes*, having ſetled it firm and ſtrong as upon a rock of diamonds, they delivered it from hand to hand unto others.

But haply ſome man will ſay: True it is indeed, all that ever Poets do, are no better than ſports and paſtimes: But what ſay you to Oratours, they ſeem to have ſome prerogative and ought to be compared with martiall Captaines: whereupon it may ſeem, as *Æſchines* ſcoffing merily, and quipping at *Demoſthenes* ſaid: That there is ſome reaſon why the barre or pulpit for publick oration, may commence action and proceſſe againſt the tribunall ſeat of generalls, and their chaire of eſtate. Is it then meet and reaſonable that the oration of *Hyperides* intituled *Plataicus*, ſhould be preferred before the victory which *Ariſtides* wonne before the City *Platæa*? or the oration of *Lyſias* againſt the thirty tyrants, go before the maſſacre and execution of them performed by *Thraſybulus* and *Archias*? or that of *Æſchines* againſt *Timarchus*, being accuſed for keeping Harlots, and a brothell houſe, before the aide that *Phocian* brought into the City of *Byzantium*, beſieged? by which ſuccour he impeached the Macedonians, and repreſſed their inſolent villanies and outrages committed in abuſing the children of the Athenian confederates? or ſhall we compare the oration of *Demoſthenes* as touching the crown, with thoſe publick and honourable coronets which *Themiſtocles* received for ſetting *Greece* free? conſidering that the moſt excellent place of all the ſaid oration, and fulleſt of eloquence, is that wherein the ſaid oratour conjureth the ſoules of thoſe their anceſtours, and citeth them for witneſſes, who in the battel of *Marathon* expoſed their lives with ſuch reſolution for the ſafety of *Greece*? or ſhall we put in ballance to weigh againſt worthy warriours, theſe that in ſchooles teach young men Rhetorick, namely, ſuch as *Iſocrates*, *Antiphon*, and *Iſæus*? But certain it is, that this City honoured thoſe valiant Captaines with publick funerals, and with great devotion gathered up the reliques of their bodies; yea, and the ſame oratour canonized them for gods in heaven, when he ſware by them, although he followed not their ſteps: and *Iſocrates* who extolled and highly praiſed thoſe who manfully fought and willing were to ſpend their heart-blood in the battle of *Marathon*, ſaying, that they made ſo little account of their lives, as if their own ſoules had been elſe-where, and other mens in their bodies, magnifying this their Reſolution, and the ſmall reckoning which they made of this life; yet when himſelf was very old, upon occaſion, that one asked him how he did: anſwered: I do even as an aged man, (having above 90. yeeres upon my back) may do; and who thinketh death to be the greateſt miſery in the world: and how waked he thus old? Certes, not by filing and ſharpening the edge of his ſword; not by grinding and whetting the point of his ſpeares head: not with ſcouring and forbiſhing his head-peice or morion; not with bearing armes in the field; not by rowing in the gallies: but forſooth with couching, knitting and gluing as it were together Rhetoricall tropes and figures; to wit, his *antitheta*, conſiſting of contraries, his *pariſa*, ſtanding upon equall weight and meaſure of ſyllables, his *homoioptota*, precifely obtaining the like termination, and falling even of his clauſes, polliſhing, ſmothing, and peruſing his periods and ſentences; not with the rough hammer, and pickax, but which the file and plainer moſt exactly. No marvail then, if the man could not abide the ruſtling of harneis, and clattering of armour; no marvell (I ſay) if he feared the ſhock and incounter of two armies, who was afraid that one vowell ſhould runne upon another, and leaſt he ſhould pronounce a clauſe or number of a ſentence which wanted one poore ſyllable; for the very morrow after that *Miltiades* had wonne that field upon the plaines of *Marathon*, he returned with his victorious Army into the City of *Athens*: and *Pericles* having vanquiſhed and ſubdued the Samians with in the ſpace of nine moneths, gloried more than *Agamemnon* did, who had much adoe to winne *Troie*, at the tenth years end; whereas *Iſocrates* ſpent the time well near of three *Olympiades* in penning one Oration which he called *Panegyricus*: notwithſtanding all that long time, he never ſerved in the warres, nor went in any embaſſage: he built no City, nor was ſent out as a captaine of a galley and warre-ſhip, and yet that very time brought forth infinite warres: But during the ſpace that *Timotheus* delivered the iſle *Eubæa* out of bondage; all the while that *Chabrius* warred at ſea about the iſland *Naxos*, and *Iphicrates* defeited and hewed in pieces one whole regiment of the Lacedemonians, near the port of *Lecheum*, and in which time the people of *Athens* having enfranchiſed all Cities, endued *Greece* throughout with the ſame liberty of giving voices in the generall aſſembly of the States, as they had themſelves, he ſat at home in his houſe poring at his booke, ſeeking out

proper phrases and choise words for the said oration of his, in which space, *Pericles* raised great porches, and the goodly temple *Hecatompedes*; and yet the comical Poet *Cratinus*, scoffing even at this *Pericles*, for that he went but slowly about his works, speaketh thus as touching his wall, half done and half undone:

In words long since our Pericles,
hath rear'd us up a wall,
But in effect and very deed,
he doth nothing at all.

Consider now I pray you a little, the base mind of this great professor of Rhetorick, who spent the ninth part of his life, in composing of one only oration: but were it meet and reasonable to compare the orations of *Demosthenes* as he was an orator, with the martial exploits of *Demosthenes*, being a captain; namely, that which he made against the inconsiderate folly of *Conon*, with the Trophies which himself erected before *Pylos*, or that which he wrote against *Amathusius*, as concerning slaves; with his worthy service, whereby he brought the Lacedæmonians to be slaves: neither in this respect, for that he composed one oration for the graunting of free bourgesie, to those who were newly come to inhabit *Athens*, therefore he deserved as much honour as *Alcibiades* did, who combined the Mantineans and Elians, in one league to be associates with the Athenians against the Lacedæmonians: and yet this must needs be confessed, that his publick orations deserved this praise, that in his *Philippiques*, he inciteth the Athenians to take armes, and commendeth the enterprise of *Leptines*.

Whether of the twain is more profitable, fire or water.

The Summarie.

In this Academick declamation, Plutarch *in the first place alledgeth the reasons which attribute more profit unto water. Secondly, he propoſeth thoſe that are in favour of the fire: whereunto he ſeemeth the rather to incline, although he reſolveth not: wherein he followeth his own manner of philoſophizing upon naturall cauſes; namely, not to diſpute either for or againſt one thing: leaving unto the reader his own liberty, to ſtile unto that which he ſhall ſee to be more probable.*

Whether of the twain is more profitable, Fire or Water.

The water is of all things beſt,
And gold-like fire is in requeſt.

Thus said the Poet *Pindarus*: whereby it appeareth evidently, that he gives the second place unto fire. And with him accordeth *Heſiodus* when he saith:

Chaos *was the formoſt thing*
In all the world that had being.

For this is certain, that the most part of ancient Philosophers called water by the name of *Chaos*, χάος νῶτον, that is to say, for that it followeth so easily. But if we should stand only upon testimonies about this question, the proof would be carried equally on both sides: for that there be in manner as many who think fire to be the primitive element, and principle of all things, and the very seed which as of it self it produceth all things, so it receiveth likewise all into it self, in that universal conflagration of the world. But leaving the testimonies of men, let us consider apart the reasons of the one and the other, and see to whether side they will rather draw us. First therefore, to begin withal, may not this be laid for a ground? that a thing is to be judged more profitable, whereof we have at all times and continually need, and that in more quantity than another? as being a tool or necessary instrument, and as it were a friend at all seasons and every hour, and such as a man would say, presenteth it self evermore to do us service? As for fire, certainly, it is not alwaies commodious unto us; nay, contrariwise, it otherwhiles doth molest and trouble us; and in that regard we withdraw our selves far from it: whereas water serveth our turns both in Winter and Summer, when we are sick, and when we are whole, by night and by day; neither is there any time or season, wherein a man standeth in no need of it. And this is the reason that they call the dead, ἀνίκμους as one would say, ξηρὰ καὶ ἄβιβρος that is to say, without juice, or wanting moisture, and so by consequence deprived of life. Moreover, without fire a man hath oft continued a long time, but without water never. And withal, that which hath been from the first beginning and creation of man, is more profitable than that which was invented afterwards. And there is no question, but that nature hath given us the one, to wit, water, for our necessary use; but the other (I mean fire) either fortune or industry hath devised and found out as an appendant and accessary. Neither can it be said, what time of the world it was when as man had no water: nor ever read we in any records, that one of the gods, or demi-gods was the inventer thereof; for it was at the very instant with them, nay, what and we say that it gave them their being? But the use of fire was but yesterday, or the other day, to speak of, found out by *Prometheus*; so that the time was when as men lived

lived without fire; but void of water, our life never was. Now that this is no devised Poeticall fiction, this daily and present life of ours doth plainly testifie: for there be at this day in the world divers nations, that are maintained without fire, without house, without Hearth or Chimney, living abroad in the open wide air. And *Diogenes* the Cynick, seldome or never had any use of fire, insomuch as having upon a time swallowed down a Polype Fish raw: Loe (quoth he) my masters, how for your sakes we put our selves in jeopardy: howbeit without water, there was never any man thought that either we might live honestly and civilly, or that our nature would possibly endure it. But what need is there that I should particularize thus, and go so near, as to search far into the nature of man? considering that whereas there be so many, or rather so infinite kinds of living creatures, mankind onely in a manner knoweth the use of fire: whereas all the rest have their nourishment and food without the benefit of fire. Those that browse, feed, flie and creep, get their living by eating herbs, roots, fruits and flesh, all without fire: but without water there is not one that can live, neither going or creeping on the Land, nor swimming in the Sea, nor yet flying in the air. True it is, I must needs say, that *Aristotle* writeth, how some beasts there be, even of those that devour flesh, which never drink; but in very truth, nourished they be by some moisture. Well then, that is more profitable without which no manner of life can consist or endure. Proceed we farther, and passe from those living creatures which use to feed upon Plants, and Fruits, even unto the same that are by us and them used for food: Some of them there be, which have no heat at all: others so little, as it cannot be perceived. Contrariwise, moisture is that which causeth all kind of seeds to chit, to bud, to grow, and in the end to bring forth fruit: for what need I to alledge for this purpose either wine and oil, or other liquours which we draw, presse out, or milk forth out of beasts paps, which we do see daily before our eyes? considering, that even our wheat which seemeth to be a dry nutriment, is ingendred by the transmutation, putrefaction, and diffusion of moisture. Furthermore, that is to be held more profitable, which bringeth with it no hurt nor dammage: but we all know that fire, if it break forth, get head and be at liberty, is the most pernicious thing in the world: whereas the nature of water of it self doth never any harm.

Again, of two things, that is held to be more commodious which is the simpler, and without preparation can yield the profit which it hath, but fire requireth always some succour and matter, which is the reason, that the rich have more of it than the poore, and Princes than private persons; whereas water is so kind and courteous, that it giveth it self indifferently to all sorts of people: it hath no need at all of tools or instruments to prepare it for use; compleat and perfect it is in it self, without borrowing ought abroad of others. Over and besides, that which being multiplied as it were, and augmented, loseth the utility and profit that it had, is by consequence lesse profitable: and such is fire, resembling herein a ravenous wild beast, which devoureth and consumeth all that it cometh near; insomuch as it were by the industry and artificiall means of him who knoweth how to use it with moderation, rather than of the own nature, that it doth any good at all; whereas water is never to be feared. Again of two things, that which can do good, being both alone, and also in the company of the other, is the more profitable of the twain: but to it is, that fire willingly admitteth not the fellowship of water, nor by the participation thereof, is any way commodious; whereas water is together with fire profitable, as we may see by the fountains of hot water how they be medicinable, and very sensibly is their help perceived. Never shall a man meet with any fire moist; but water as well hot as cold, is ever more profitable to man. Moreover, water being one of the four Elements, hath produced, as one may say, a fifth, to wit the Sea, and the same well neer as profitable as any one of the rest, for many other causes besides, but principally, in regard of commerce and traffick. For whereas before time, mans life was savage, and they did not communicate one with another; this Element hath conjoyned, and made it perfect, bringing Society, and working Amity among men by mutuall succours, and reciprocall retributions from one to the other. *Heraclitus* saith in one place, if there were no Sunne, there had been no night; and even as well may it be said; Were it not for the Sea, man had been the most savage creature, the most penurious and needy, yea and the least respected in all the world: whereas now this element of the Sea hath brought the vine out of the Indians as far as *Greece*; and from *Greece* hath transported it unto the farthest Provinces. Likewise, from out of *Phœnicia*, the use of Letters for Preservation of the memory of things: it hath brought wine: it hath conveyed fruits into these parts, and hath been the cause that the greatest portion of the world was not buried in ignorance. How then can it be otherwise, that water should not be more profitable, since it furnisheth us with another Element.

But on the contrary side, peradventure, a man may begin hereupon to make instance oppositely in this manner: saying, that God as a Master-workman having the four Elements before him, for to frame the Fabrick of this world withall; which being repugnant and refusing one another, earth, and water were put beneath, as the matter to be formed and fashioned; receiving order and disposition, yea, and a vegetative power to engender and breed such as is imparted unto it by the other two, air, and fire, which are they that give form and fashion unto them, yea and excite the other twain to generation, which otherwise had lien dead without any motion. But of these two, fire is the chief, and hath dominion, which a man may evidently know by this induction. For the earth if it be not enchafed by some hot substance, is barren, and bringeth forth no fruit: but when as fire spreadeth it self upon it, it insinuateth into it a certain power, which causeth it to swell (as it were) and have an appetite to engender. For other cause there can be none rendred why rocks, clifts, and mountains, be barren and dry, but this, that they have either no fire at all, or else participate very little the nature thereof: in summe, so far off is water from being of it self sufficient for the own preservation or generation of

other things, that without the aide of fire it is the cause of the own ruin and destruction. For heat it is that keepeth water in good estate, and preserveth it in her nature and proper substance, like as it doth all things besides: and look where fire is away or wanteth, there water doth corrupt and putrifie; in such sort as the ruin and destruction of water, is the default of heat, as we may evidently see in pools, marishes, and standing waters, or wheresoever water is kept within pits and holes without issue; for such waters in the end become putrified and stink again, because they have no motion, which having this property to stir up the natural heat which is in every thing, keepeth those waters better, which have a current and run apace, in that this motion preserveth that kind heat which they have. And hereupon it is, that To live, in Greek is expressed by ζῆν, for that ζεῖν signifieth to boil. How then can it otherwise be, that of two things, it should not be more profitable, which giveth being and essence to the other, like as fire doth unto water? Furthermore, that thing, the utter departure whereof, is the cause that a creature dieth, is the more profitable: for this is certain and manifest, that the same, without which a thing cannot be, hath given the cause of being unto the same, when it was with it. For we do see that in dead things there is a moisture, neither are they dried up altogether; for otherwise, moist bodies would not putrifie, considering that putrefaction is the turning of that which is drie to be moist, or rather the corruption of humors in the flesh; and death is nothing else, but an utter defect and extinction of heat: and therefore dead things be extream cold, in so much as if a man should set unto them the very edge of rasours, they are enough to dull the same through excessive cold. And we may see plainly, that in the very bodies of living creatures, those parts which participate least of the nature of fire, are more senceless than any other, as bones and hair, and such as be farthest removed from the heart: and in manner a, all the difference that is between great and small creatures, proceedeth from the presence of fire, more or less: for humiditie simply it is not, that bringeth forth plants and fruits; but warm humidise is it that doth the deed: whereas cold waters be either barren altogether, or not very fruitful and fertil; and yet, if water were of the own nature fructuous, it must needs follow, that it self alone, and at all times, should be able to produce fruit: whereas we see it is clean contrary; namely, that it is rather hurtful to fruits.

And now to reason from another head, and go another way to work, to make use of fire, as it is fire, need we have not of water; nay, it hurteth rather, for it quencheth and putteth it out clean: on the other side, many there be, who cannot tell what to do with water without fire; for being made hot it is more profitable, and otherwise, in the own kind, hurtful. Of two things therefore, that which can do good of it self without need of the others help, is better and more profitable. Moreover, water yeeldeth commodity but after one sort only, to wit, by touching, as when we feel it, or wash and bath with it: whereas fire serveth all the five senses, and doth them good: for it is felt both neer at hand, and also seen afar of: so that among other means that it hath of profiting, no man may account the multiplicity of the uses that it affordeth: for that a man should be at any time without fire, it is impossible: nay he cannot have his first generation without it: and yet there is a difference in this kind, as in all other things. The very sea it self is made more commodious by heat, so as it doth heat more by the agitation and current that it hath, than any other waters: for of it self otherwise it differeth not. Also for such as have no need of outward fire, we may not say that they stand in need of none at all; but the reason is, because they have plenty and store of natural heat within them; so that in this very point, the commodity of fire ought to be esteemed the more. And as for water, it is never in that good state, but some need it hath of help without it; whereas the excellencie of fire is such, as it is content with it self, and requireth not the aid of the other. Like as therefore, that Captain is to be reputed more excellent, who knoweth to order and furnisha citie so as it hath no need of forrein allies; so we are to think, that among elements, that is the worthier, which may oftentimes consist without the succour and aid of another. And even as much may be said of living creatures, which have least need of others help. And yet haply it may be replied contrariwise, that the thing is more profitable which we use alone by it self, namely, when by discourse of reason we are able to ehuse the better. For what is more commodious and profitable to men than reason? and yet there is none at all in brute beasts. And what followeth hereupon? Shall we inser therefore that it is less profitable, as invented by the providence of a better nature, which is god? But since we are fallen into this argument: What is more profitable to mans life than arts? but there is no art which fire devised not, or at leastwise doth not maintain: And hereupon it is, that we make *Vulcan* the prince and master of all arts. Furthermore, whereas the time and space of life is very short that is given unto man, as short as it is, yet sleep, as *Ariston* saith, like unto a false baily or publicane, taketh the half thereof for it self. True it is, that a man may lie awake, and not sleep all night long; but I may aswel say, that his waking would serve him in small stead, were it not that fire presented unto him the commodities of the day, and put a difference between the darkness of the night and the light of the day. If then there be nothing more profitable unto man than life, why should we not judg fire to be the best thing in the world, since it doth augment and multiply our life? Over and besides, that of which the five senses participate most, is more profitable: but evident it is, that there is not one of the said senses maketh use of the nature of water apart and by it self, unless some air or fire be tempered with it: whereas every sense findeth benefit of fire as of a vivificant power and quickning vertue: and principally our sight above the rest, which is the quickest of all the senses in the body, as being the very flame of fire, a thing that conformeth us in our faith and belief of the gods: And as *Plato* saith, by the means of our light we are able to conform our soul to the motions of celestial bodies.

Of

Of the Primitive or first Cold.

The Summary.

We have here another declaration of Plutarch, *wherein he examineth and discussеth after the manner of the Academick philosophers, without deciding or determining any thing, a natural question as touching Primitive cold. And in the very first entrie thereof, refuteth those who are of opinion, that this first cold is the privation of heat: shewing on the contrary side, that it is meer opposite unto heat, as one substance to another, and not as privation unto habitude. Then proceedeth he to dispute of the essence, nature, and fountain of this cold: for the clearing of which point, he examineth at large three opinions: the first, of the Stoicks, who attribute the primitive cold unto air: the second, of* Empedocles *and* Chrysippus, *who ascribe the cause thereof unto water. Unto all their reasons and arguments he maketh answer, and inclineth to a third opinion; namely, that earth is that primitive cold. Which position he confirmeth by divers arguments, yet resolveth he not, but leaveth it to the discretion of* Phavorinus, *unto whom he writeth, for to confer all the reasons of the one part and the other, without resting in any particular opinion, supposing that to suspend and hold his judgment in matters obscure and uncertain is the wiser part of a philosopher, than to yield and grant his consent either to one part or the other. Wherein we may see, that in regard of natural philosophy, our author was of the Academicks sect: but as touching the moral part, we have seen before, and specially in divers treatises of the former tome, that he followeth of all the ancient philosophers, those who were least impure and corrupt, such I mean, as in all there discourses had no other light to direct them, but Nature.*

Of the Primitive or first Cold.

IS there then (ô *Phavorinus*) a certain primitive power and substance of cold, like as fire is of heat, by the presence and participation whereof, each one of the other things is said to be cold? or rather are we to hold and say, that cold is the privation of heat, like as darkness of light, and station of moving; and namely, considering that cold is stationarie and heat motive? and the cooling of things which were hot, is not done by the entrance of any cold power, but by the departure of heat? for as soon as it is once gone, that which remaineth is altogether cooled; and the very vapour and steim which seething waters do yield, passeth away together with the heat, which is the reason that refrigeration diminisheth the quantity thereof, in as much as it chaseth that heat which was, without the entrance of any other thing into the place? Or rather, may not this opinion be suspected? first and formost, for that it overthroweth and taketh away many powers and puissances, as if they were not qualities and habitudes really subsisting, but only the privations, and extinctions of qualities and habitudes: as for example, heavinesse of lightnesse, hardnesse of softnesse, black of white, bitter of sweet, and so of other semblable things, according as each one is in puissance contrary unto another, and not as privation is opposite unto habitude. Moreover, for as much as every privation is idle and wholy without action, as blindnesse, deafnesse, silence and death, for that these be the departures of formes, and the abolitions of substances, and not certain natures nor real substances apart by themselves. We see that cold after it be entred and imprinted (as it were) within the body, breedeth no fewer nor less accidents and alterations than doth heat; considering that many things become stiff and congealed by cold, many things I say, are staied, retained, and thickned by the means thereof: which consistence and stability unapt to stir and hard to be moved, is not therefore idle, but it is weighty and firm, having a force and power to arrest and to hold in. And therefore privation is a defect and departure of a contrary power; whereas many things be cooled, although they have plenty of heat within: and some things there be, which cold doth constrain and constipate so much the more, as it findeth them hotter, like as we may observe in iron red hot, when by quenching it becommeth the harder. And the stoick philosophers do hold, that the natural spirits incloſed within the bodies of young infants lying in the womb, by the cold of the ambient air environing them about are hardned (as it were) and refined, and so changing the nature become a soul. But this is a nice point and very disputable; yet considering that we see cold to be the efficient cause of many other effects, there is no reason to think that it is a privation. Furthermore, privation is not capable of more or less; for so of twain that see not at all, the one is not more blind than the other: and of two who cannot speak, one is not more dumb than another; neither of twain who live not, is one more dead than the other: but among cold things we may well admit more and less, overmuch and not overmuch, and generally, intensions and remissions, like as in those things that are hot: and therefore each matter according as it suffereth more or less, by contrary Puissances produceth of it self some Substances, cold and hot, more or less than others; for mixture and composition there can be none of Habitude with Privation; neither is there any power which receiveth or admitteth the contrary unto it to bring a Privation, nor ever maketh it her companion, but yieldeth and giveth place unto it. But contrariwise, cold continueth very well, as it is mixed with heat, unto a certain degree; like as black with white colours; base notes with small and shrill; sweet savours,

with

with tart, and austere; and by this association, mixture and accord of coloure, founds, drogues, savours, and tasts; there are produced many compositions exceeding pleasant and delectable: for the opposition which is between habitude and privation, is alwayes at oddes and enmity, without any means of reconciliation, considering that the essence and being of the one, is the destruction of the other: whereas that fight which is occasioned by contrary powers, if it meet with fit time and season, serveth often times in good stead unto arts, and to nature much more, as well in other productions and procreations, as in changes and alterations of the air: for in the orderly governance and rule whereof, God who dispenseth and disposeth them, is called Harmonicall and Musicall; not in regard that he maketh a friendly accord between base and treble, or a loving medley of white and black, but for that by his providence he ordereth so well the accord and discord of the Elementary heat and cold of the world, that in a certain moderation, and without excesse they strive, and yet are reconciled again, by taking from the one and the other, that which which was excessive, and reducing them both in such a temperature and estate, as appertaineth. Semblably, a man may sensibly feel cold as well as he doth heat; whereas you shall never see, hear, or touch, nor by any other sense perceive a privation, for it need to have some substance with it that doth affect the senses, and where there appeareth no substance, there we must suppose a privation, which is as it were the deniall of substance, like as blindnesse is the negation of sight; silence of voice; void emptinesse, of a body: for never shall one perceive voidnesse by the sense of feeling; but where there is not a body to be touched; there we must suppose is vacuity: neither do we hear silence, but when we hear no noise at all, then we understand there is silence: the like we are to say of those who are blind, of the naked and disarmed, there is no sense of such privations, but rather a barre and negative of sense: and even so, we should have no feeling and perceivance of cold, but onely where there wanted heat, there we should have imagined cold to be, in case it were nothing else but a deprivation of heat; but if it be so, that like as heat is felt by the warmth of the skin, and diffusion or dilatation of the flesh; even so is cold also by the astriction, and condensation thereof, therefore it appeareth evidently, that it hath a proper, Principal, and particular source, as well as heat: over and besides, in every kind, privationis one, and simple, but substances have many differences, and as many powers and faculties: for silence is never but after one sort, whereas the voice is divers, one while troublesome, another while delightsome. Senses, coloure, and figures semblably have like differences, which dispose and affect diversly the Subject which they approach unto, but that which is not palpable, not coloured, and generally not qualified with any quality, hath no diversity, but is ever alike. Now then, doth this cold resemble these privatives in such sort, as it worketh no diversity in the accidents thereof? Or rather is it clean otherwise? for as sometimes there commeth unto bodies great and profitable pleasures by cold, so contrariwise it findeth as much hurt, as great displeasure, trouble, and encombrance thereby: by the offensive qualities thereof, the naturall heat of the body is not alwayes chased quite forth and clean gone, but oftentimes being pent and restrained within the body, it fighteth and maketh resistance, which combate of two contraries, is called horrour, quaking or trembling; but when the said heat is altogether vanquished, there must needs ensue a benumming and congelation of the body, but if heat get the victory, it bringeth a certain warmth, and dilatation, with pleasure, which *Homer* by a proper term calleth ἰλαίνεσθαι: whereby it appeareth evidently unto every man, and as much by these accidents it is manifest, or rather more, than by any other arguments, that cold is opposite unto heat, as one substance to another, or as passion to passion; but not as privation to habitude, or negation to affirmation: and that it is not the corruption or utter destruction of heat, but a nature and puissance active by it self and powerfull, to corrupt and destroy: for if it were not so, we must not have Winter to be one of the four seasons of the year; nor the North wind one of the four winds, as if the one were but a privation of the hot season, and the other of the South wind, and we shall be driven to say, that they have no proper Source, and peculiar Principle: howbeit there being in the universall world four principal bodies, which in regard of their plurality, simple nature and puissance, most men call the Elements, and suppose them to be the principles of all other bodies, to wit, fire, water, air, and earth, it followeth by necessary consequence, that there be also four primitive and simple qualities, and which be they, if they be not heat, cold, moisture, and dryneſſe? by the means whereof, the said Elements both do and suffer all things interchangeably? And like as in the Elements and Principles of Grammar, which be the Letters, there be be brieves, and longs; like as also in musick notes; there is high and low, base, and treble. and one of these is not the privation of the other; even so we are to think, that in these naturall bodies of the Elements, there be contrarieties of moisture against drinesse, and of cold against heat, if we will believe either reason or outward sense: or else we must say as old *Anaximenes* was of opinion; that there is nothing hot or cold absolutely in substance; but we must confidently think that these be common passions of the matter coming, and occasioned after mutations: for he affirmeth that the thing, which is rent, constrict, and thickned in any matter, the same is cold: and that which openeth, and relaxeth it self, for so he useth this proper term κεκλασμένον, is hot: and therefore it is not without some reason, that we commonly say, that a man bloweth both hot and cold, out of his mouth; for the breath is cooled when it is pressed close between the lips, but issuing forth of the mouth all open, it is hot by reason of the rarity, and laxity thereof: howbeit, *Aristotle* saith, that it was meere ignorance in him thus to say: For that when we breath with our mouths wide open; we let forth the hot air that is within us, but when we make a blast with our lips together we blow not out the breath that ariseth from our selves, but drive that Air from us

us that is before our mouth, which is cold, and felt before the other that commeth out of us. Seeing then that upon necessity enforced by so many reasons, we must admit a substance of cold and heat, proceed we & continue our first intent to search what is the Substance, nature, & Fountain of the aforesaid Primitive Cold? They then who say that starkneſs and stiffneſs for cold, trembling and quaking of the body, and the staring and standing of hairs upright, and such like accidents and passions, are occasioned by certain triangular forms with unequal sides which are within our bodies, although they fail and miss the mark in particularity; yet so it is, that they fetch the beginning from whence they should, for surely the foundation and original of this Inquisition ought to be drawn as it were from the goddeſs *Vesta*, after the common proverb, even from the universal nature of all things. And herein it seemeth, that a Philosopher most of all differeth from an Empirick Physician, a Husbandman, a Minstrel, and other such particular artificers, whom it sufficeth to know and understand the last and conjunct cause. For so it be, that a Physitian do comprehend the neereſt and next cause of his patients malidy, for example, of an ague, that is a shooting or falling of the blood out of the veins into the arteries; and the Husbandman conceive that the cause of blasting or Maying his corn, is an hot gleam of the Sun after a shower of rain: and the player upon the fluites compriſe the reason of the base sound, is the bending downward of his instrument, or the bringing of them one neer unto another: it is sufficient for any of these to proceed to their proper work and operation: But a natural Philosopher who searcheth into the truth of things, only for meer knowledg and speculation, maketh not the knowledg of these last causes the end, but rather taketh from them his beginning, and ariseth from them to the primitive and highest causes. And therefore well did *Plato* and *Democritus*, who searching into the causes of heat and of heavineſs, staied not the course of their inquisition, when they came to fire and earth, but referring and reducing things sensible, unto intellidgible principles, proceeded forward, and never staied until they came unto the least parcels, as it were to the smalleſt seeds and principles thereof: Howbeit, better it were first to handle and discuss these sensible things, wherein *Empedocles*, *Straton*, and the Stoicks do repose the essences of all powers: the Stoicks attributing the primitive cold unto air, but *Empedocles* and *Straton* unto water: and another peradventure would suppose the earth rather to be the substantial subject of cold. But first let us examin the opinions of these before named. Considering then that fire is both hot and shining; it must needs be that the nature of that, which is contrary unto it, should be cold and dark: for obscurity is opposite unto brightneſs, like as cold to heat: and like as darkneſs and obscurity doth confound, and trouble the sight; even so doth cold the sense of feeling: whereas heat doth dilate the sense of him that toucheth it, like as clearneſs the sight of him that seeth it: and therefore we must needs say, that the thing which is principally dark and misty, is likewise cold in nature. but that the air above all things els is dim and dark, the very Poets were not ignorant; for the air they call darkneſs, as appeareth by these verses of *Homer*.

For why, the air stood thick the ships about,
And no moon shine from heaven showed throughout.

And in another place:

The air anon be soon dispatcht,
and mist did drive away:
With that, the Sun shone out full bright,
and battel did display.

And hereupon it is, that men call the air wanting light, κηρὸς, as one would say, κενὸν φάους, that is to say, void of light: and the grosse air which is gathered thick together, ὀμίχλη, by way of privation of all light. Air also is called, ἀχλὺς and ὁμίχλη, that is to say, a mist: and look what things soever hinder our sight, that we cannot see thorow, be differences all of the air; and that part of it which cannot be seen, and hath no colour is called ἀιδὴς, that is to say, ἀειδὴς, to wit, invisible, ἀχρὼς, which is as much to say, as ἀχρωτον, for want of colour. Like as therefore the air remaineth dark, when the light is taken from it; even so when the heat is gone, that which remaineth, is nothing but cold air. And therefore, such air by reason of coldneſs, is named *Tartarus*, which *Hesiodus* seemeth to insinuate by these words, πρόσθε γὰρ ἠέρος ἐστὶ, that is to say, the airie *Tartarus*; and to tremble and quake, he expresseth by this verb, πελεμίζεται. These are the reasons alledged in this behalf. But for as much as corruption is the change of any thing into the contrary, let us consider whether it be truely said, The death of fire is the birth of air? For fire dieth as wel as living creatures, either quenched by force, or by languishing and going out of it self. As for the violent quenching and extinction thereof, it sheweth evidently, that it turneth into air: for smoak is a kind of air, and according as *Pindarus* writeth,

The vapour of the air thick,
Is wont against the smoak to kick.

And not only that, but we may see also that when a flame beginneth to die for want of nourishment, as in lamps and burning lights, the very top and head thereof doth vanish, and resolve into dark and obscure air: and this may sufficiently be perceived, by the vapor which after we are bathed or sit in a stouph, flieth and steimeth up along our bodies, as also by that smoak which ariseth by throwing cold water upon; namely, that heat when it is extinguished, is converted into air, as being naturally opposite unto fire: whereupon it followeth necessarily, that the air was first dark and cold. But that which is more, the most violent and forcible impression in bodies by cold, is congealation, which is a passion of water, and action of the air: for water of it self is given to spread and flow, as being neither solide nor compact and fast by nature; but hard it becommeth, thick also and stiff, when it

it is thrust close to by the air, and cold together coming between: and therefore thus we say commonly:

If after South, the North-winde straight do blow,
We shall be sure anon to have some snow.

For the South wind prepareth the matter wich is moisture, and the air of the North wind comming upon it, doth frize and congeale the same: which appeareth manifestly in snow, for no sooner hath it evaporated, and exhaled a little the thin and cold air in it, but immediatlie it resolveth and runneth to water. And *Aristotle* writeth, that plates and plummets of Lead, do melt and resolve with the cold and rigor of Winter, so soon as water only commeth unto them, and be frozen upon them. And the air (as it should seem) by pressing such bodies together with cold, breaketh and knappeth them asunder. Moreover, the water that is drawn out of a Well, or Spring, is sooner frozen and turned to Ice, than any other, for that the air hath more power over a little water, than a great deal. And if a man draw up a small quantity of water in a bucket, out of a pit or well, and let the same down again into the Well, yet so, as the vessel touch not the water, but hang in the air, and so continue there but a while, that water will be much colder than that which is in the bottom of the well: whereby it appeareth manifestly, that the primitive cause of cold, is not in water, but in air. And that so it is, the great rivers will testifie, which never are frozen to the bottom, because the air is not able to pierce and enter so low, but as much as it can take hold of with the cold, either in touching or approching neer unto it, so much it frizeth and congealeth. And this is the reason that Barbarians when they are to pass great rivers frozen over with Ice, send out Foxes before them: for if the Ice be not thick, but superficial, the Foxes hearing the noise of the water running underneath, return back again. Some also that are disposed to fish, do thaw and open the Ice with casting hot water upon it, and so let down their lines at the hole; for then will the fishes come to the bait and bite. Thus it appeareth that the bottom of the river is not frozen, although the upper face thereof stand all over with an Ice, and that so strong, that the water thereby drawn and driven in so hard, is able to crush and break the boats and vessels within it; according as they make credible relation unto us, who now do winter upon the river *Danow* with the Emperour. And yet without all these far-fet examples, the very experiments that we find in our own bodies, do testifie no less: for after much bathing or sweating, alwaies we are more cold and chill; for that our bodies being then open and resolved, we receive at the pores, cold together with air in more abundance. The same befalleth unto water it self, which both sooner cooleth and groweth also colder, after it hath been once made hot: for then more subject it is to the injury of the air: considering also that even they who fling and cast up scalding water into the air, do it for no other purpose, but to mingle it with much air. The opinion then of him, O *Phavorinus*, who assigneth the first cause of cold unto air, is founded upon such reasons and probabilities as these. As for him that ascribeth it unto water, he laieth his ground likewise upon such principles: for in this manner writeth *Empedocles*:

Behold the Sun how bright alwaies,
and hot he is beside,
But rain is ever black and dark,
and cold on every side.

For in opposing cold to heat, as blackness unto brightness, he giveth us occasion to collect and infer, that as heat and brightness belong to one and the same substance, even so cold and blackness to another. Now that the black hew proceedeth not from air, but from water, the very experience of our outward senses is able to prove: for nothing waxeth black in the air, but every thing in the water. Do but cast into the water, and drench therein a lock of wool, or piece of cloth, be it never so white, you shall when you take it forth again, see it look blackish, and so will it continue, until by heat the moisture be fully sucked up and dried, or that by the press or some waights it be squeized out. Mark the earth, when there falleth a showre of rain, how every place whereupon the drops fall, seems black, and all the rest beside retaineth the same colour that it had before. And even water it self, the deeper that it is, the blacker hew it hath, because their is more quantity of it: but contrariwise, what part soever thereof is near unto air, the same by and by is lightsome and cheerful to the eye.

Consider among other liquid substances, how Oyl is most transparent, as wherein there is most ayr: for proof whereof, see how light it is, and this is it which causeth it to swim above all other liquors, as being carried aloft by the means of ayr. And that which is more, it maketh a calm in the Sea, when it is flung and sprinkled upon the waves, not in regard of the slippery smoothness, whereby the windes do glide over it, and will take no hold, according as *Aristotle* saith; but for that the waves being beaten with any humor whatsoever, will spread themselves and ly even: and principally by the means of Oyl, which hath this special and peculiar property, above all other liquors, that it maketh cleer, and giveth meanes to see in the bottome of the waters, for that humidity openeth and cleaveth, when ayr comes in place: and not only yeeldeth a clear light within the sea to Divers, who fish-ebb in the night for spunges, and pluck them from the rocks whereto they cleave, but also in the deepest holes thereof, when they spurt it out of their mouths; the ayr then is no blacker than the water, but less cold: for trial hereof, look but upon Oyl, which of all liquors having most ayr in it, is nothing cold at all, and if it frize at all, it is but gently, by reason that the ayr incorporate within it, will not suffer it to gather and congeal hard: mark work-men also and Artifanes how they do not dip and keep their Needles, Buckles, and Clasps, or other such things made of Iron, in Water, but in Oyl, for fear lest the excessive cold of the water would marr and spoile them quite. I stand

stand the more hereupon, because I think it more meet to debate this disputation by such proofs, rather than by the Colours; considering, that Snow, Hail, and Ice, are exceeding white and clear, and withall most cold; contrariwise, pitch is hotter than honey, and yet you see it is more dark and duskish. And here I cannot chuse but wonder at those who would needs have the air to be cold, because forsooth it is dark: as also they consider not how others take and judge it hot, because it is light: for tenebrosity and darkness be not so familiar and near Cousins unto cold, as ponderosity and unweldiness be proper thereto: for many things there be altogether void of heat, which notwithstanding are bright and clear; but there is no cold thing light and nimble, or mounting upward, for Clouds, the more they stand upon the nature of the air, the higher they are carried, and flie aloft, but no sooner resolve they into a liquid nature and substance, but incontinently they fall, and lose their lightness and agility, no lesse than their heat, when cold is ingendered in them: contrariwise, when heat cometh in place, they change their motion again to the contrary, and their substance mounteth upward so soon as it is converted into air. Neither is that supposition true as touching corruption; for every thing that perisheth is not transmuted into the contrary: but the truth is, all things are killed, and die by their contrary: for so fire being quenched by fire, turneth into air. And to this purpose *Æschylus* the Poet said truly, although tragically, when he called water the punishment of fire, for these be his words:

ποτὸς ὕδωρ ἔκπαγλος πυρὸς.
The water slay, which fire doth slay.

And *Homer* in a certain Battell opposed *Vulcane* to the river, and with *Neptune* matched *Apollo*, not so much by way of fabulous fiction, as by Physicall and naturall reason: and as for *Archilochus*, a wicked woman, who meant clean contrary to that which she said, and shewed, wrote elegantly in this wise:

The crafty Queen in right hand water cold,
And in the left, hot fire did closely hold.

And among the Persians, the most effectuall manner of supplication, and that which might in no wise be rejected and denied, was, if the suppliant with fire in his hand entred into a river, and there menaced to fling it into the water, if he might not have his requeist granted: and then he obtained verily his petition, but afterwards punished he was for that threatning which he used, as being wicked, wretched, and unnaturall. And what Proverb is there readier in every mans mouth than to say, when we would signifie an unpossible thing. This is to mingle fire and water together? which testifieth thus much, that water is the mortall enemy unto fire, warring with it, punishing and quenching it, and not the air, which receiveth and entertaineth fire, and into the substance whereof it is transmuted: for if that into which a thing is turned when it perisheth, were contrary unto it. then fire should be more contrary to air then water is. For air when it doth gather and thicken is converted into water, but when it is more subtil it resolveth into fire, as also in like case, water by rarefaction is resolved into air, and by condensation becometh earth, not upon any enmity or contrariety that it hath to these both, as I take it, but rather by reason of some amity and kindred that is between them. Well, whether way of these two it is that these Philosophers will take, they overthrow still their intent and purpose. But to say that it is the air which causeth water to frize and become ice, it is without all sence, and most absurd: for we see that the very air it self is never congleciate nor frozen, nor hardened, considering that mists, fogs, and clouds are no congelations, but onely gatherings, and thicknings of a moist and vaporous air: for the true air indeed which hath no vapour at all, and is altogether dry, admitteth no such refrigeration as may alter it to that degree, and heighth. And certain mountains there be which are not subject either to Clouds, Mists or Dews, for that their heads reach up to that Region of the air which is pure and exempt from all humidity: whereby it is apparent, that these gatherings, and thickening which are seen in the air beneath, proceed from cold and moisture, which is mingled therewith and runneth from elsewhere. As for the bottoms of great rivers which be never frozen to ice; great reason there is of it: for that the upper part being glazed over with ice, suffereth not the exhalation which ariseth from beneath to passe through, but keepeth it enclosed, and striketh it downward, whereby is ingendered a certain heat in the water that runneth in the bottome. And hereof we may see a fair demonstration in this, that when the ice is broken, the water riseth up, and there mounteth withall a great quantity of vapours, and exhalations; which is the reason also that the bellies, and other concavities within the bodies of living creatures, are alwayes hotter in Winter, for that they hold and contain the heat, which the coldnesse of the circumstant air driveth inward. As for the drawing and flinging up of water into the air, it taketh not onely the heat away from waters, but also their cold, and therefore they that desire to have their snow, or the liquour expressed out of it exceeding cold, move it as little as they can, for this stirring chaseth away the cold both of the one & the other. But that it is the inward power of the water, and not of the air that doth it, a man may thus discourse and begin again: First, and formost, it is not probable, that the air being so near as it is to the elementary fire, touching also as it doth that ardent revolution, and being touched of it again, hath a contrary nature and power unto it: neither is it possible that it should be so, considering that their two extremities are contiguate, yea and continuate one to the other: neither soundeth it, and is conformable to reason, that nature hath fastened with one tenon (as they say) and placed so near together the killer, and that which is killed, the consumer and that which is consumed; as if she were not the mediatresse between them of peace, unity and accord, but rather the work-Mistris, of war, debate, and discord.

For

For surely her order and custome is not to joyn front to front, substances that be altogether contrary, and open enemies one to the other; but to place between them such as participate with the one and the other, which are so seated, disposed and interlaced in the middle, as that they tend not to the destruction, but to the association of two contraries. Such a situation and region hath the air in the world, being spred under the fire, and before the water, for to accomodate and frame it self both to the one and the other, and to conjoyn and link them both together, being of it self neither hot nor cold, but it is as it were a medley and temperature of them both; not (I say) a pernicious mixture, but a gracious, which gently entertaineth and receiveth these contrary extremities. Furthermore, the air is alwaies equal, and yet the Winter is not evermore cold alike: but some parts of the world be cold and exceeding moist; others cold, and as dry, and that not casually and by fortune, but for that one and the same substance is susceptable, both of heat and cold. For the greater part of *Africk* is hot and dry, altogether without water. And those who have travelled through *Scithia*, *Thracia*, and *Pontus*, do report that there be exceeding great lakes therein, and that those kingdoms be watered with many mighty deep rivers; also that the countries in the midst between, and those parts which adjoyn upon those huge meeres, and seas be extream cold, by reason of the vapours that arise from them. As for *Posidonius*, when he saith that the cause of that moisture is this, that the fenny and moorish ayr is ever fresh and moist, he hath not solved the question which was probable, but made it more doubtful and without probability; for the air seemed not alwaies so much colder, as it is more fresh, in case cold be not engendred of moisture: and therefore *Homer* said much better:

The winde from river, if that it bold,
Is alwaies bleak, and blows full cold.

as if he pointed with his very finger to the source and fountain of cold. Moreover, our sence doth oftentimes beguile and deceive us, as namely, when we touch wool or cloths that be cold, for we think that they be moist and wet, for that there is one substance common to both these qualities, and both these natures be neighbours and familiar. Also in those climates of the world, where the Winter is extream hard and rough, the cold many times cracketh, and breaketh vessels of brass and of earth; not any I mean that is void and empty, but all full, by reason that the water by the coldness thereof, doth violence unto them: howsoever *Theophrastus* thinketh, that it is the air that bursteth such vessels; using cold as it were a spike or great nail to do the feat. But take heed that this be not rather a pretty, and elegant speech of his, than sounding to truth; for if air were the cause, then should vessels full of pitch or milk, sooner burst than other. More likely it is therefore, that water is cold of it self, and primitively, for contrary it is to the heat of fire, in regard of that coldness, like as to the drines thereof, in respect of humidity. To be brief, the property of fire in general, is to dissipate, divide, and segregate; but contrariwise, of water to joyn, conglutinate, unite, and binde, knitting and closing together by the vertue of moisture. And this makes me think that *Empedocles* upon this occasion, ever and anon calleth fire a pernicious debate, but water a fast amity; for fewel and food of fire, is that which turneth into fire, and every thing turneth which is most proper and familiar; as for that which is contrary, the same is hardly to be turned, as water which of it self, it is impossible to burn, causing both green or wet herbs, as also moist or drenched wood, hardly to take fire, and so in the end with much a do, they kindle and catch fire, although the same be not light and clear, but dark, dim, and weak, because the viridity or greenness, by the means of cold, fighteth against the heat, as his natural enemie.

Peising now and weighing these reasons, conser them with the others. But for that *Chrysippus* esteeming the air to be the Primitive Cold, in that it is dim and dark, hath made mention of those only who say, that water is more distant, and farther remote from the elementary fire, than the air, and being desirous to say somewhat against them: By the same reason (quoth he) may a man as well affirm that the earth is the said primitive cold; for that it is farthest from the elementary fire, rejecting this argument and reason as false, and altogether absurd. Me thinks that I can well shew, that the earth it self wanteth no probable proofs, laying my foundation even upon that which *Chrysippus* hath taken for the ayr: And what is that? namely, because it is principally, and above all things else obscure and dark; for if he taking to contrarieties of powers, thinketh of necessity the one must follow upon the other; certes, there be infinit oppositions and repugnances, between the earth and the air; for the earth is not opposite unto the ayr, as heavy unto light, nor as that which bendeth downward unto that which tendeth upward only; nor as massie, unto rare; or slow and stedfast, unto quick and moveable; but as most heavy unto most light; most massie unto most rare; and finally, as immoveable in it self, unto that which moveth of it self; or as that which holdeth still the center in the mids, unto that which turneth continually round. Were it not then very absurd to say; that upon so many, and those so great oppositions, this also of heat and cold, did not likewise jointly follow? Yes verily, but fire is cleer and bright, and earth dark: nay rather it is the darkest of all things in the world, and most without light; for air is that which doth participate of the first light and brightness, which sooneth of all other burneth: being also once full thereof, it distributeth that light every where, exhibiting it self as the very body of light: for as one of the Dithyrambick poets said.

No sooner doth the sun appear
In our horizon fair and clear,
But with his light the pallace great
Of ayr and windes is all repleat.

And

And then anon it descendeth lower, and imparteth one portion thereof to the Lakes, and to the sea; the very bottoms of the rivers do rejoyce and laugh for joy, so far forth as the ayr pierceth and entreth into them: the earth onely, of all other bodies, is evermore destitute of light, and not penetrable with the radiant beams of Sun and Moon; well may it be warmed a little, and presently it self to be fomented with the heat of the Sun, which entreth a little way into it, but surely the solidity of it will not admit the resplendent light thereof; onely it is superficially illuminated by the Sun, for all the bowels and inward parts of it be called *Orphne*, *Chaos*, and *Ades*, that is to say, darkness, confusion, and hell it self: and as for *Erebus*, it is nothing else, to say a truth, but terrestrial obscurity, and mirk darkness within the earth. The Poets feign the night to be the daughter of the earth; and the Mathematicians by reason and demonstration, prove, that it is no other thing then the shadow of the earth, opposed against the Sun: for the ayr as it is full of darkness from the earth, so it is replenished with light from the Sun; and look how much of the ayr is not lightened nor illuminate, to wit, all the shadow that the earth casteth, so long is the night, more or less; and therefore both man and beast make much use of the ayr without their houses, although it be night season: and as for beasts, many of them go to relief and pasturage in the night, because the ayr hath yet some reliques and traces left of light, and a certain influence of brightness, dispersed here and there: but he that is enclosed within house, and covered with the rouf thereof, is as it were blinde and full of darkness, as one environed round about within the earth: and verily the hides and horns of beasts, so long as they be whole and sound, transmit no light through them: let them be cut, sawed, pared, and scraped, they become transparent, because ayr is admitted into them. And I think truly that the Poets esteem hereupon call the earth black, meaning thereby dark, and without light, so that the most important and principal opposition, between clear and dark, is found rather in the earth then in the ayr: But this is impertinent to our question in hand; for we have shewed already that there be many clear things which are known to be cold, and as many brown and dark which be hot.

But there be other qualities and puissances more proper unto cold, namely, ponderosity, steadiness, solidity, and immutability, of which the ayr hath not so much as one, but the earth in part hath them all more then the water. Furthermore, it may be said, that cold is that which most sensibly is hard, as making things stiff and hard: for *Theophrastus* writeth, that those fishes which be frozen, with extream rigour of cold, if they be let fall upon the ground, break and knap in pieces, no less then glasses or earthern vessels: And your self have heard at *Delphi*, of those who passed over the hill *Parnassus*, to succor and relieve the women called *Bacchæ*, who were surprized with a sharp pinching wind and drifts of snow; that their cloaks and mantles through extremity of cold, were as stark and stiff as pieces of wood, insomuch as they brake and rent into tattars, so soon as they went about to stretch them out. To say yet more, excessive cold causeth the sinews to be so stiff, as hardly they will bend: the tongue likewise so stark, that it will not stir or utter any voyce, congealing the moist, soft, and tender parts of the body; which being seen by daily experience, they proceed to gather this consequence: Every power and faculty which getteth the mastry, is wont to turn and convert into it self, that over which it is predominant: whatsoever is overcome by heat, becometh fire; that which is conquered by spirit or wind, changeth into ayr; what falleth into water, if it get not forth again, dissolveth, and in the end runneth to water. Then must it needs follow, that such things as are exceeding cold, degenerate into that primitive cold whereof we speak: now excessive cold is first; and the greatest alteration that can be devised by cold, is when a thing is congealed and made an ice, which congelation altereth the nature of the thing so much, that in the end it becometh as hard as a stone; namely, when the cold is so predominant, as well all the moisture of it is congealed, as the heat that it had driven out perforce. Hereupon it is that the earth toward her center, and in the bottom thereof, is frozen altogether, and in manner nothing else but ice, for that the excessive cold, which never will yield and relent, there dwelleth and abideth continually, as being thrust and driven into that corner, farthest off from the elementary fire. As touching those rocks, crags, and cliffs, which we see to appear out of the earth: *Empedocles* is of opinion, that they were there set, driven up, sustained, and supported by the violence of a certain boiling and swelling fire within the bowels of the earth; but it should seem rather, that those things out of which all the heat is evaporate and flowen away, be congealed and congleciate so hard by the means of cold: and this is the cause that such crags be named in Greek κρύος, as one would say, congeald: toward the head and top whereof, a man shall see in them many places black again, namely, whereas the heat flew out when the time was, so as to see to, one would imagine that they had heretofore been burnt; for the nature of cold is to congeal all things, but some more, others less; but above all, those in which it is naturally as the first inherent: for like as the property of fire is to alleviate, it cannot otherwise be, but the hotter that a thing is, the more light also it is: and so the nature of moisture is so often; insomuch as the moister any thing is, the softer also it is found to be: semblably, given it is to cold, to astringe and congeal: it followeth therefore of necessity, that whatsoever is most astrict and congealed, as is the truth, is likewise the coldest; and look what is cold in the highest degree, the same must be principally and naturally that cold, whereof we are in question. And thereupon we must conclude, that the earth is both by nature cold, and also that primitive cold; a thing apparent and evident to our very sense; for dirt and clay is colder then water: and when a man would quickly suffocate and put out a fire, he

throweth earth upon it. Black-smithes alſo, and ſuch as forge iron, when they ſee it red hot, and at the point to melt, they ſtrew upon it ſmall powder, or grit of marble or other ſtones that have fallen from them, when they were ſquared and wrought, for to keep it from reſolving too much, and to cool the exceſſive heat: the very duſt alſo that is uſed to be thrown upon the bodies of wreſtlers, doth cool them and repreſs their ſweats. Moreover, to ſpeak of the commodity that cauſeth us every year to remove and change our lodgings, what is the meaning of it? winter maketh us to ſeek for high loſts, and ſuch chambers as be far from the earth; contrariwiſe, ſummer bringeth us down to the Halls and Parlors beneath, driving us to ſeek retiring rooms, and willingly we love to live in vaults within the boſom of the earth: do we not thus, think you, directed by the inſtinct of nature, to ſeek out and acknowledge that which is naturally the primitive cold? and therefore when winter comes, we lay for houſes and habitations near the ſea-ſide, that is to ſay, we fly from the earth as much as we can, becauſe of cold, and we compaſs our ſelves with the air of the ſea, for that it is hot: contrariwiſe, in ſummer time, by reaſon of immoderate heat, we covet mediterranean places farther within the Land, and far removed from the ſea, not for that the ayr of it ſelf is cold, but becauſe it ſeemeth to ſpring and bud, as it were, out of the primitive cold, and to have a tincture, as I may ſo ſay, after the manner of iron from the power which is in the earth: and verily among running waters, thoſe that ariſe out of rocks, and deſcend from Mountains, are evermore coldeſt: But if Wells and Pits, ſuch as be deepeſt, yield the coldeſt waters, for by reaſon of their profundity, the air from without is not mingled with theſe; and the others paſs through pure and ſincere earth, without the mixture of ayr among. As for example, ſuch is the water neer the cape of *Tænarus*, which they call *Styx*, diſtilling by little and little out of the rock, and ſo gathered unto an head: which water is ſo extream cold, that there is no veſſel in the world will hold it, but onely that which is made of an Aſſes hoof; for put it into any other, it cleaveth and breaketh it. Moreover, we hear Phyſicians ſay, that to ſpeak generally, all kindes of earth do reſtrain and cool: and they reckon unto us a number of minerals drawn out of entrails of the earth, which in the uſe of phyſick yield unto them an aſtringent and binding power: for the very element it ſelf from whence they come, is nothing inciſive, nor hath the vertue for to ſtir and extenuate; it is not active and quick, not emollitive, nor apt to ſpread; but firm, ſtedfaſt and permanent, a as ſquare Cube or Dye, and not to removed; whereupon, being maſſie and ponderous as it is, the cold alſo thereof having a power to condenſate, conſtipate and to expreſs forth all humors, procureth by the aſperity and inequality of the parts, ſhakings, horrors and quakings in our bodies: and if it prevail more, and be predominant, ſo that the heat be driven out quite and extinct, it imprinteth an habitude of congealation and dead ſtupefaction. And hereupon it is, that the earth either will not burn at all, or elſe hardly and by little and little: whereas the ayr many times of it ſelf ſendeth forth flaming fire, it ſhooteth and floweth, yea, and ſeemeth as inflamed, to lighten and flaſh: and the humidity which it hath, ſerveth to feed and nouriſh the heat thereof. For it is not the ſolid part of wood that burneth, but the oleous moiſture thereof; which if it be once evaporate and ſpent, the ſolid ſubſtance remaineth dry, and is nothing elſe but aſhes. As for thoſe who labor and endeavor to ſhew by demonſtration, that the ſame alſo is changed and conſumed, for which purpoſe they ſprinkle it eſtſoons with oyl, or temper it with greace, and ſo put it into the fire again, prevail nothing at all: for when the fatty and uncteous ſubſtance is burnt, there remain ſtill evermore behinde, the terreſtrial parts. And therefore earth being not onely immoveable in reſpect of ſituation, but alſo immutable in regard of the very ſubſtance, the ancient called it *Hia*, that is to ſay, *Veſta*, ſtanding, as it were, ſure and ſtedfaſt within the habitation of the the gods: of which ſteadineſs and congealation, the bond and link is cold, as *Archilochus* the Naturaliſt ſaid: And nothing is there able to relax or mollifie it, after it hath once been baked in the fire or hardened againſt the Sun. As touching thoſe who ſay that they feel very ſenſibly the winde and the water cold, but the earth not ſo well; ſurely theſe do conſider this earth here, which is next unto us, and is no other thing in truth, then a mixture and compoſition of ayr, water, ſun and heat; and methinks this is all one, as if a man ſhould ſay, that the elementary fire is not the primitive and original heat, but rather ſcalding water, or an iron red hot in the fire; for that in truth there is no touching of theſe, or coming near unto them; as alſo, that of the ſaid pure and celeſtial fire, they have no ſenſible experience nor knowledge by feeling, no more then they have of the earth which is about the centre, which we may imagine to be true, pure and natural earth, as moſt remote and fartheſt ſeparate from all other: howbeit, we may have ſome gueſs and token thereof by theſe rocks here with us, which from their profundity ſend forth a vehement cold, which is in maner intolerable. And they likewiſe, who deſire to drink their water paſſing cold, uſe to throw pibble ſtones into it, which thereby cometh to be more cold, ſharp and piercing, by occaſion of the great and freſh cold that ariſeth from the ſaid ſtones. And therefore we ought thus to think, that when our Ancients, thoſe deep Clerks and great Scholars I mean, thought there could be no mixture of earthly things with heavenly, they never looked to places high or low, as if they hung in the ſcales of a ballance, but unto the difference and diverſity of their powers; attributing the qualities of heat, cleerneſs, agility, celerity and lightneſs, unto that immortal and eternal nature: but cold, darkneſs and tardity, they aſſigned as the unhappy lot and wretched portion of thoſe infernal wights that are dead and periſhed. For the very body of a creature, all while that it doth breath and flouriſh, in verdure as the Poets ſay, hath life and heat, but ſo ſoon as it is deſtitute of theſe, and left in the onely portion and poſſeſſion of the earth, it preſently becometh ſtiff and cold, as if heat were in any other body naturally, rather then in that which is terreſtrial.

Compare

Compare now, good Sir *Phavorinus*, theſe arguments with the reaſons of other men, and if you find that they neither yield in probability, nor over-weigh them much, bid all opinions and the ſtiff maintaining of them farewel, and think that to forbear reſolution, and to hold off in matters obſcure and uncertain, is the part of the wiſeſt Philoſopher, rather then to ſettle his judgement and aſſent to one or other.

Natural Queſtions.

The Summary.

THis Collection of divers Queſtions taken out of Natural Philoſophy, and reſolved by the Author according to the Doctrine of Naturaliſts, being ſo clearly diſtinguiſhed by it ſelf, requireth no long deduction: for that at the very firſt ſight each Queſtion may ſufficiently be underſtood.

Natural Queſtions.

1.

What is the cauſe that Sea-water nouriſheth no trees?

IS it for the ſame reaſon, that it nouriſheth no Land-creatures? for that a plant, according to the opinions of *Plato*, *Anaxagoras* and *Democritus*, is a living creature of the Land. For ſay that it ſerves for food to plants growing within the ſea, as alſo to fiſhes, and is to them their drink, yet we muſt not infer thereupon, that it feedeth trees that be without the ſea, and upon the land: for neither can it pierce down to their roots, it is ſo groſſe, nor riſe up in the nature of ſap, it is ſo heavy. That it is groſſe, heavy, and terreſtrial, appeareth by many other reaſons, and by this eſpecially, for that it beareth up and ſuſtaineth both veſſels and ſwimmers more then any other.

Or is it principally for this, that whereas nothing is more offenſive and hurtful to trees then dryneſs, the water of the ſea is very deſiccative? which is the reaſon that ſalt withſtandeth putrifaction ſo much as it doth, and why the bodies of thoſe who are waſhed in the ſea, have incontinently their skin exceeding dry and rugged.

Or rather may it not be, for that oyl is naturally an enemy to all plants, cauſing as many of them as are rubbed or anointed therewith to dye: Now the ſea-water ſtandeth much upon a kinde of fattineſs, and is very uncteous, in ſuch ſort that it will both kindle, and alſo increaſe fire: and therefore we give warning and forbid to throw ſea-water into flaming fire.

Or is it becauſe the water of the ſea is bitter and not potable, (by reaſon (as *Ariſtotle* ſaith) of the burnt earth that is mixed with it? like as lie, which is made by caſting freſh water aloft upon aſhes: for the running and paſſing through the ſaid aſhes marreth that ſweet and potable quality of the water: as alſo within our bodies, the unnatural heats of an ague turn humors into cholar. As for thoſe plants, woods or trees, which are ſaid to grow within the Red-ſea, if they do, certainly they bear no fruit; but nouriſhed they are by the freſh rivers, which bring in with them a deal of mud; an argument hereof is this: for that ſuch grow not far within the ſea, but neer unto the land.

2.

What might the reaſon be, that trees and ſeeds are nouriſhed better with rain, then any other water that they can be watered withal?

IS it for that rain as it falleth, by the dint that it maketh, openeth the ground, and cauſeth little hole, whereby it pierceth to the roots, as *Lætus* ſaith?

Or is this untrue? and *Lætus* was ignorant hereof, namely, that moriſh plants, and ſuch as grow in pools, as the reed Mace, Canes and Ruſhes, will not thrive if they want their kinde rains in due ſeaſon? But true is that which *Ariſtotle* ſaith, That the rain water is all freſh and new made, whereas that of Meers and Lakes is old and ſtale.

Or haply, this carrieth more ſhew and probability with it then truth, for certain it is, that the water of Fountains, Brooks, and Rivers, come as new and freſh as they: for as *Heraclitus* ſaith, It is impoſſible for a man to enter into one and the ſame River twice, becauſe new water cometh ſtill, and runneth away continually, and yet theſe nouriſh leſs then rain waters.

Is this therefore the reaſon, becauſe the water from heaven is light, ſubtile, airous, and mixed with a kinde of ſpirit, which by that ſubtility, ſcentreth ſoon, and is eaſily carried to the root of plants: and hereupon in the fall it raiſeth little bubbles, becauſe of the air and ſpirit encloſed within.

Or doth the rain water nouriſh more in this regard, that it is ſooner altered and overcome by that which it nouriſheth; for this is it that we call concoction properly: contrariwiſe, crudity and indigeſtion, when things are ſo ſtrong and hard that they will not ſuffer; for ſuch as be thin, ſimple, and unſavory, are moſt eaſily and ſooneſt altered; of which kinde is rain water, for being engendred as it is in the ayr and the winde, it falleth pure and clean; whereas ſpringing waters, are like to the earth, out of which they iſſue, or the places through which they paſs, gathering thereby many qualities,

which cause them to be unwilling to be digested, and more slow to be reduced by concoction, into the substance of that which is to be nourished thereby: on the other side, that rain waters be easie to be changed and transmuted, it appeareth by this, that more subject they are to corruption and putrefaction, then those either of rivers, or of pits and wels: and concoction seemeth to be a kinde of putrefaction: as *Empedocles* beareth witness, saying:

When in vine-wood the water putrifies,
It turns to wine, whiles under bark it lies.

Or rather the truest and readiest reason that can be alledged, is the sweetness and wholesomeness of rain waters, falling as they do so presently, so soon as the wind sends them down: and hereupon it is that beasts desire to drink thereof before any other: yea, and the Frogs and Paddocks expecting a rain, for joy sing more shril and merrily, ready to receive and entertain that which will season the dead and dormant waters of standing lakes, as being the very seed of all their sweetness: for *Aratus* reckoneth also for one of the signs of a shower toward, writing thus:

When wretched brood,
The Adders food,
from out of standing lake,
(The Tad-pole fires,
I mean) desires
*fresh rain, and loud doth * croak.*

* *Coaxant. Lat. Sparagere. Aristoph. in Ran.*

3.

What might be the cause that shepherds and other herdmen give salt unto their sheep and cattel which they feed?

IS it as most men do think, to the end that they should fall the better to their meat, and so consequently feed fat the sooner? because the acrimony of salt provoketh appetite, and opening the pores, maketh way unto the nourishment for to be digested and distributed more easily throughout the whole body? in regard whereof the Physician *Apollonius*, the son of *Herophilus*, gave counsel and prescribed lean folk, and such as thrived not in their flesh; not gross sweet wine, thick gruel, and frumenty, but salt fish out of the picle, Anchoves, powdred meats, and such as were condite in brine: the subtile acrimony whereof might in manner of setting a peruke for want of hair, serve to apply nutriment through the pores of the body into those parts that need it.

Or rather may it not be for health-sake? in which regard they use their cattel to lick salt, thereby to take down their rank feeding, and restrain their grossness and corpulency? for such as grow exceeding fat, are subject to breed diseases: but salt consumeth and dispatcheth this fat; and by this means also when they be killed, they are sooner and with greater expedition flayed, because the fat which knit and bound the skin fast to the flesh, is now become more thin, gentle, and pliable through the acrimony of the salt: besides, the blood also of such as be ever licking of salt, becometh more liquid; and nothing there is within, that will gather and grow together, in case there be salt mingled therewith.

It may be moreover, that they do it for to make them more fruitful and apter for generation; for we see that Salt-Bitches, which have been fed with salt meats, are more hot, apter to grow proud, and sooner with whelp. And for this cause, those Keels and Barges that transport salt, breed greater store of mice, for that they engender the oftner.

4.

How commeth it to pass, that of rain waters, such as fall with thunder and lightning, which thereupon be called ἐπόμβρια, are better for to water seeds or yong plants, then any other?

MAy it not be, because they be full of wind and ventosity, by reason of the trouble and confused agitation of the air? And the nature of wind and spirit is to stir the humidity; and by that means doth send it forth and distribute it the better?

Or is it not rather, that heat fighting against cold, is the cause of thunder and lightning in the air? which is the reason that seldom there is any thunder in winter: but contrariwise, very often in the Spring and Autumn, for the inconstant and unequal distemperature of the ayr: which being supposed, the heat concocting the humidity, causeth it to be more pleasant and profitable unto the plants of the earth.

Or why may it not be, because it thundreth and lightneth especially and more often in the spring, then in any other season of the year, for the reason before alledged: now the spring showers and rains are most necessary for seeds and herbs, against the summer time: whereupon those Countreys wherein there be many good ground-showers in the spring, as the Isle of *Sicily*, bring forth plenty of good fruits.

What

5.

*How is it, that there being eight kinde of * savours, there is no more but onely one of them, to wit, saltish, that cannot be found naturally in fruits? For as touching the bitter savor, the Olive hath it at first, and the Grape is sour at the beginning: but as these fruits begin to change, and grow to their ripeness, the bitterness of the Olive turneth into a fatty and unctuous savour, and the sharp verdure of the Grape into a smack of wine: semblably, the harshness in the unripe Dates, as also the austere and unpleasant sharpness in Pomgranets, changeth into sweetness. As for Pomgranats, some there be as also other Apples, which are simply sour, and never have other taste. And as for the sharp and biting savour, it is ordinary in many roots and seeds.*

* χυμον. saporum. Latini. I make choice of [Savours] to express the object of taste, coming so neer as it doth to Sapores, and our speech may bear it as well, as to say, This meat is savory or unsavory when it affecteth the taste: although I know, we commonly attribute savours to our smelling: but καλὰ χρῶμα, as I think, haply rest or setting.

IS it for that the salt savour is not primitive nor engendred originally, but is rather the corruption of other primitive savours; and in that regard cannot serve to nourish any creature, living with grass or grain? but it is to some instead of a sauce, because it is a means that they should not upon fulness either loath or distaste that which they feed upon.

Or because, that like as they, who boil Sea-water, rid it from that salt, brackish and biting quality that it hath: so, in those that are hot by nature, the salt savor is dulled and mortified by heat?

Or rather, for that a savour or smack, according as *Plato* saith, is a water or juice passing thorow the stem or stalk of a plant: but we see that the Sea-water running as thorow a streiner, loseth the saltness, being the terrestrial and grossest part that is in it. And thereupon it is, that when as men dig along by the sea side, they meet with springs of fresh and potable water. And many there be, who draw out of the very sea, fresh water and good to be drunk; namely, when it hath run thorow certain vessels of wax, by reason that the terrestrial and salt ish parts thereof be streined out. In one word, * cley or marl also, yea, and the carrying of Sea-water in long conduit pipes, causeth the same, when it is so streined, to be potable, for that there are kept still in them the terrestrial parts, and are not suffered to pass thorow. Which being so, very probable it is that plants neither receive from without forth any salt savor, nor if haply any such quality breed in them, do they transfuse the same into their fruits; for that the conduits of their pores being very small and streight, there cannot be transmitted thorow them any gross or terrestrial substance.

Or else we must say, that saltness is in some sort a kinde of bitterness, according as *Homer* signifieth in these verses:

Bitter salt-water at mouth he cast again,
And all therewith his head did drop again.

And *Plato* affirmeth, that both the one and the other savor, is abstersive and liquefactive; but the salish, less of the twain, as that which is not rough: and so it will seem that bitter differeth from salt in excess of dryness, for that the salt savour is also a great drier.

* ἄργιλος, haply rest or setting.

6.

What is the cause, that if folk use ordinarily and continually to go among yong trees or shrubs, full of dew, those parts of their bodies which do touch the twigs of the said plants, are wont to have a scurf or mange rise upon their skin?

IS it (as *Lætus* saith) for that the dew by the subtility thereof doth fret and pierce the skin? Or rather, because like as the blast and mil-dew is incident to those seeds or plants that take wet and be drenched; even so, when the smooth and tender superficial parts of the skin be fretted, scarified, and dissolved a little with the dew, there ariseth a certain humor, and filleth the fretted place with a smart and angry scurf: for lighting upon those parts which have but little blood, such as be the smalls of the legs and the feet, it biteth and gnaweth the superficies of them. Now that there is in dew a certain inordinate quality, it appeareth by this, that it maketh those who are gross and corpulent, to be leaner and more spare of body; witness our women who are given to be fat, and would be fine, who gather dew with linnen cloathes, or else with locks or fleeces of wool, thinking therewith to take down and spend their fogginess, and make themselves more gant and slender.

7.

What is the cause that Barges and other Vessels in Winter time, go more slowly upon the Rivers then at other seasons; but they do not so upon the sea?

WHat say you to this? May it not be, for that the ayr of Rivers being always gross and heavy, in Winter is more inspissate by reason of the circumstant cold, and so is an hindrance to the course of ships?

Or haply this accident is to be imputed to the water of Rivers, rather then to the air about them; for cold driving in and restraining the water, maketh it more heavy and gross; as we may perceive in water hour-glasses, for the water runneth out of them more leisurely and slowly in winter then in summer. And *Theophrastus* writeth that in *Thracia*, neer unto the mount called *Pangæon*, there is a fountain, the water whereof is twice as much heavy in winter as it is in summer, weigh it in one and the same vessel full. That the thickness of water maketh a Vessel to pass more sluggishly, it

may appear by this, that the Barges of the River carry greater fraights by far, in winter then in summer: becauſe the water being thick, is ſtronger and able to bear more. As for the ſea-water, it cannot be made more thick in winter, by reaſon of the own heat, which is the cauſe that it congealeth not, and if it gather any thickning, it ſeemeth to be very ſlender and little.

8.

What is the reaſon that we obſerve, all other waters, if they be moved and troubled, are the colder, but the ſea the more ſurging and waving, the hotter it is?

IS it becauſe, if there be any heat in other waters, the ſame is a ſtranger unto it, and coming from without, and ſo the motion and agitation thereof doth diſſipate and drive the ſame forth again: but that heat of the ſea which is proper and natural to it, the winds do ſtir up and augment. That the ſea is naturally hot, may evidently be proved by this, that it is ſo tranſparent and ſhining; as alſo for that it is not ordinarily frozen, heavy though it be and terreſtrial.

9.

What ſhould be the cauſe that in winter the ſea-water is leſs bitter and brackiſh in taſte?

FOr ſo (by report) writeth *Dionyſus* the great conveyer of conduits, who in a Treatiſe of that argument, ſaith, that the bitterneſs of the ſea-water is not without ſome ſweetneſs, ſeeing that the ſea receiveth ſo many and ſo great rivers: for admit that the Sun do draw up that which is freſh and potable out of it, becauſe it is light and ſubtil; that is but from the upper part onely: and withal, it doth more in ſummer than in any other ſeaſon, by reaſon that in winter his beams are not ſo ſtrong to ſtrike, for that his heat likewiſe is but faint and feeble: and ſo a good portion of the ſweetneſs remaining behinde, doth delay that exceſſive bitterneſs and brackiſhneſs, like a medicine, that it hath. And the ſame befalleth unto river waters, and all other that be potable: for even ſuch in ſummer time become worſe and more offenſive to the taſte then in winter, by how much the heat of the Sun doth reſolve and diſſipate the light and ſweet parts thereof: but in winter it runneth always new and freſh; whereof the ſea cannot chuſe but have a good part, as well becauſe it is evermore in motion, as alſo for that the rivers running into it, be great, and impart their freſh water unto it.

10.

What is the reaſon, that men are wont to pour ſea-water into their wine veſſels, among the wine? And the common report goeth, that there were ſometime certain Mariners and Fiſhermen who brought with them an Oracle, commanding to plunge and dip Bacchus *in the ſea: And ſuch as dwell far from the ſea, inſtead of ſea water, put in baked plaiſter of* Zacynthus?

IS it to this end, that the heat thereof ſhould help to reſiſt the cold, that it take not away the heart of the wine? Or rather clean contrary, doth it not weaken the headineſs of wine, by extinguiſhing the power and ſtrength thereof?

Or it may be, that ſeeing wine is much ſubject to alteration, and will quickly turn, the terreſtrial matter which is caſt into it, having a natural property to reſtrain, to binde and to ſtop, doth in ſome ſort condenſate and ſtay the wateriſh and ſpiritual ſubſtance of it. Now the ſalt, together with the ſea water, coming to ſubtiliate and conſume that which is ſuperfluous, and naught in the wine, and not the proper ſubſtance thereof, keepeth it ſo, as it will not ſuffer any ſtrong and evil ſmell or corruption to be ingendred therein: Beſides all the groſs and terreſtrial parts of the wine, ſticking and cleaving to that which ſetteth to the bottom, and being drawn downward with it, maketh a reſidence of the lees and dregs, and by conſequence leaveth the reſt more clear, pure, and neat.

11.

What is the cauſe that thoſe who ſail upon the ſea, are more ſick in the ſtomach, then they that ſail upon rivers, yea, though the weather be fair and the water calm?

IS it for that of all the ſenſes, ſmelling, and of all paſſions, fear cauſeth men moſt to be ſtomach ſick? for ſo ſoon as the apprehenſion of any peril ſeizeth upon a man, he trembleth and quaketh for fear, his hair ſtareth and ſtandeth upright, yea, and his belly groweth to be looſe. Whereas there is none of all this that troubleth thoſe who ſail or row upon the river: for why, the ſmell is acquainted with all freſh and potable water, neither is the ſailing ſo perillous: whereas upon the ſea men are offended with ſtrange and unuſual ſmells, yea, and be eſt-ſoon afraid, how fair ſoever the ſeaſon be, not truſting upon that which they ſee preſent, but miſdoubting that which may fall out. And therefore little or nothing ſerveth the calm without, when the mind within is toſſed, troubled, and vexed, partly with fear, and in part with diſtruſt, drawing the body into the fellowſhip of like paſſions and perturbations.

12.

What is the reaſon that if the ſea be ſprinkled aloft with oyl, there is to be ſeen a clear tranſparence, together with a calm and tranquility within?

WHether is it (as *Ariſtotle* ſaith) becauſe the wind gliding and glancing over oyl which is ſmooth and even, hath no power to ſtir it, or to make any agitation.

Or, this reaſon may well carry with it ſome probability as touching the outward part, and upmoſt ſuperficies of the ſea: but ſeeing that they alſo, by report, who plunge and dive to the bottom thereof, holding oyl within their mouthes, if they ſpurt the ſame forth when they are in the bottom, have a light all about them, and are able to ſee cleerly in the deep; a man cannot attribute the cauſe thereof unto the gliding over of the wind. See therefore if it may not rather be, for that the oyl by the ſolidity and thickneſs that it hath, doth drive before it, cut, and open the ſea water firſt, being terreſtrial and unequal; which after being returned and drawn together again into it ſelf, there be left ſtill in the midſt between, certain little holes which yield unto the eyes a through-light and tranſparence.

Or rather is it, for that the ayr mingled within the ſea, is by reaſon of heat, naturally lightſome and perſpicuous; but when it is troubled and ſtirred, becometh unequal and ſhadowy; when as the oyl therefore by means of ſolidity cometh to polliſh and ſmooth the ſaid inequality, it reſumeth again the own plainneſs and perſpicuity.

13.

What is the reaſon that fiſher mens nets do rot in winter rather then in ſummer, notwithſtanding that all other things putrifie more in ſummer then in winter?

IS it becauſe (as *Theophraſtus* ſuppoſeth) the heat then beſet round about with the circumſtant cold, giveth place thereto, and therefore cauſeth the bottom of the ſea as well as of the earth, to be the hotter? which is the reaſon that ſpring waters be w armer, yea, and both lakes and rivers do reak and ſmoak more in winter then in ſummer, becauſe the heat is kept down and driven to the bottom by the cold, which is predominant over it?

Or rather are we to ſay, that the nets rot not at all, but whenſoever they be ſtiff congealed with cold which drieth them up, ſoon broken afterwards they are with the violence of the waves, and ſo ſeem as if they were rotten and putrified indeed: for in more danger they are in cold and froſty weather; and like as ſtrings and ſinews over-ſtretched do break, ſeeing eſpecially that the ſea in winter moſt commonly is troubled, which is the reaſon that they uſe to reſtrain and thicken them with certain tinctures, for fear they ſhould be overmuch relaxed and reſolved; for otherwiſe, if it were not for that doubt, being not ſo dyed and beſmeared all over, they would ſooner deceive fiſhes, becauſe they could not perceive them ſo ſoon; for that the colour naturally of the lines and threds reſembling the air, is very meet to deceive within the ſea.

14.

*What is the reaſon that the * Dorians, * pray for to have ill inning of their hey?*

* Δωριεῖς ſome tranſlate husbandmen, reading γεωργοὶ

* εὐχῆς.

IS not this the cauſe, becauſe hey is not well inned wet, or having taken a ſhower? for mowen down it is not dry, but while it is green and full of ſap; and if it take wet withal, it rotteth incontinently, and is marred: whereas contrariwiſe, if ſtanding corn be moiſtened with rain a little before harveſt, it taketh much good againſt both ſouthern winds, which will not ſuffer the corn to gather and knit in the ear, but cauſe it to be looſe, that it cannot ear well by means of heat, were it not by the drenching and watering of the ground, the moiſture did cool and mollifie the earth.

15.

What is the reaſon that a fat, ſtrong, and heavy clay ground, beareth wheat beſt: but contrariwiſe a light and ſandy ſoil, is better for barley?

MAy not this be a reaſon, that of all corn, that which is more ſtrong and ſolid, requireth larger food, and the weaker leſs, and more ſlender nouriſhment? now it is well known that barley is a more feeble and hollow grain then wheat is: in which regard it will not abide and bear plentiful nouriture and ſtrong. An argument and teſtimony hereof we may have of that kinde of wheat which is called three-moneth wheat, for that in drier grounds it liketh better, and cometh up in greater plenty: the reaſon is, becauſe it is not ſo firm and ſolid as others, and therefore requireth leſs nutriment: in regard whereof, alſo it cometh ſooner to ripeneſs and perfection.

16.

How cometh this common proverb, Sow wheat in dirt, and barley in dust?

IS it not, as I said before, because wheat is able to overcome more nourishment, but barley cannot endure much moisture to drench and drown it?

Or in this respect, that wheat being a stiff and hard kinde of grain, resembling the nature of wood, doth sooner come and chit within the ground, in case it be well soked and softned with moisture, and therefore liketh better of a wet ground; whereas the drier soil, at the first sowing agreeth better with barley, and is more commodious for it, being as it is, a more loose and spungeous kinde of grain.

* Tylser, haply it should be goldar, or ewerger, that is to sow, unless you understand it thus, that their ricks of corn and thrashing flours were neer unto their corn lands.

Or because such a temperature of the ground in regard of the heat, is more proportionable, and lesse hurtful unto barley, being as it is the colder grain?

Or rather, husbandmen are afraid to *thrash their wheat upon a dry and sandy floor, because of * Ants; for soon will they take to that kinde of grain in a such a place. As for barley, they use less to bear it, because the corns thereof be hard to be carried and re-carried from one place to another, they are so big.

17.

What is the cause that fishers chuse the hair of Stone-horse tails rather then of Mares, to make their angling lines?

IS it because the male, as in all other parts, so in hair also, is more strong then the female?

Or rather, for that they think the hair of Mares tails, drenched and wet as it is ever and anon with their staling, is more brittle and worse then the other?

* For Pismires breed in dry ground.

18.

*What is the reason that when the * Calamacie fish is seen in the Sea, it is a sign of a great tempest?*

* Some rake it for the Cuttle.

IS it because all soft and unscaly fishes are very impatient of cold and of foul-weather, they be so bare and naked, and have withal their flesh exceeding tender, as being covered, neither with shell nor thick skin, ne yet scale; but contrariwise, having their hardy, gristly, and bony substance within? which is the reason that all such fishes be called *Malacia*, as one would say, Soft and tender. For which cause naturally they soon foresee a tempest, and feel cold coming, for that it is offensive unto them: and therefore likewise, when the Poulpe or Polyp runneth to land, and catcheth hold of some little rocks, it is a token that there is great wind toward. And for the Calamary, he leapeth forth for to avoid the cold and the trouble or agitation of the water in the bottom of the sea: for of other soft fishes, his flesh is most tender and aptest to be pierced and hurt.

19.

Why doth the Polyp change his colour?

IS it according to the opinion of *Theophrastus*, because it is a fearful and timorous creature by nature; and therefore when he is troubled or amazed as his spirit turneth, so he altereth withal his colour, even as we men do? whereupon we say in the common proverb:

The coward, in view
Soon changeth hew.

Or may this be a good probable conjecture of the change, but not sufficient, for the resemblance? considering that he changeth so, as he resembleth the rocks which he settleth upon. Unto which property, *Pindarus* alluded in these verses:

His minde doth alter most mutable,
To Poulpe the Sea-fish skin semblable;
Which changeth hue to each thing suitable:
To live in all worlds he is pliable.

And *Theognis*:

Put on a minde like Polype fish,
and learn so to dissemble:
Which of the rock whereto it sticks,
the colour doth resemble.

Also, men usually say, such as surpass others for cunning and cautelous dealing, study and practise this: that for to save themselves, and not to be seen or known of those about them, they always willbe like unto the Poulpe, and change their colours, that is to say, their maners and behavior.

Or

Or do they think such an one to make use of his colour readily, as of a garment, to change and put on another whensoever he will?

Well then, the Poulpe fish himself, by his fear may haply give the occasion and beginning of this change and passion; but the principal point of the cause consisteth in something else. And therefore weigh and consider what *Empedocles* writeth:

Wot well, all mortal things that bee,
Defluxions have in some degree.

For there pass away continually, many defluxions, not onely from living creatures, plants, earth and sea, but also from stones, brass and iron: for all things perish and yield a smell, in that there runneth something always from them, and they wear continually: insomuch as it is thought that by these defluxions are all attractions and insultations; and some suppose their embracings and connexions; others, their smilings: some their impulsions, and I wot not what circumplexions and environments, to be attributed unto such defluxions; and especially from rocks and stones along the sea continually, washed and dashed with the waves, there be decisions pass of some parcels and smal fragments, the which do cleave unto other bodies, and cling about those which have their pores more strict and close, or else pass thorow such as have the same over rare and open. As for the flesh of the Polype, it is to see to, fistulous and spongeous, like unto honey-combs, apt to receive all such defluxions and decisions from other bodies, when as then he is afraid, his wind goeth and cometh, and withal, shutteth up his body, and bringeth it together, that he may receive and retain in the superficies of his skin, the defluxions that come from that which is next it: for the rivels and wrinkles of his soft skin, which are knit with fear, are instead of crooks and bending cleys fit to entertain the defluxions and parcels lighting upon them, which scatter not here and there, but gathering upon the skin, make the superficies thereof to be of semblable colour. And that this is a true cause, it may appear by one great argument, namely, that neither the Polyp doth resemble in colour all that which is neer unto it, nor the Chameleon the white colour; but both the one and the other, such things onely, as the defluxions whereof are proportionate unto their pores and small passages.

20.

What is the cause that the tears of wilde Bores be sweet, but of Stags and Hindes, salish and unpleasant to the taste?

HEat and cold are the cause of both; for the Stag is cold of nature, but the Bore exceeding hot and fiery: whereupon it is, that the one fleeth away, the other maketh head, and stands to it when he is assaulted, and then is it most of all that he sheddeth tears, upon a fell heart: for when plenty of heat (as I said before) mounteth up unto his eyes,

His bristles stare and stand upright,
His ardent eyes like fire are bright.

and so the humor that distilleth from his eyes, is sweet. Others say, that these tears are pressed and wrung out from the blood being troubled, like as whey from milk; and of this opinion was *Empedocles*. And forasmuch as the blood of the wilde Bore is black and thick in regard of hear, but that of Stags and Hindes, thin and watrish, great reason there is that the tears which pass from the one in anger, and the other in fear, should be such as is aforesaid.

21.

What is the reason, that tame Swine do farrow often in one year, some at one time, and some at another; whereas the wilde of that kinde, bring forth Pigs but once in the year, and all of them in a manner upon the same days, and those are in the beginning of Summer: whereupon we say in our vulgar Proverb:

The night once past, of wilde Sows farrowing:
'Twill rain no more be sure, for any thing.

IS it (think you) for the plenty they have of meat; as in truth, fulness brings wantonness, and of full feeding comes lust of breeding: for abundance of food causeth superfluity of seed, as well in living creatures as in plants. As for the wilde Swine, they seek their victuals themselves, and that with travel and fear: whereas the tame have always store thereof, either naturally growing for them, or else provided by mans industry.

Or is the cause of this difference to be attributed unto the idle life of the one, and the painful labor of the other: for the domestical and tame are sluggish, and never wander far from their Swineherds: but the other range and rove abroad among the forrests and mountains, running to and fro, dispatching quickly all the food they can get, and spending it every whit upon the substance of their bodies, leaving no superfluities, expedient for geniture or seed.

Or may it not be, that tame Sows do keep company, feed and go in heards together with their Bores, which provoketh their lust, and kindleth the desire to engender: according as *Empedocles* hath written of men in these verses:

The

The sight of eye, doth kindle lust in breſt,
Of looking, liking, then loving and the reſt.

Whereas the wilde, becauſe they live apart, and paſture not together, have no ſuch deſire and luſt one to another; for their natural appetite that way is dulled and quenched.

Or rather, that is true which *Ariſtotle* ſaith, namely, that *Homer* calleth a wilde Bore χλωρὸν, as having but one Genetory, for that the moſt part of them, in rubbing themſelves againſt the trunks and ſtocks of trees, do cruſh and break their ſtones.

22.

What is the reaſon of this uſual ſpeech: that Bears have a moſt ſweet hand, and that their fleſh is moſt pleaſant to be eaten?

BEcauſe thoſe parts of the body which do beſt concoct and digeſt nouriſhment, yield their fleſh moſt delicate: now that concocteth and digeſteth beſt, which ſtirreth moſt, and doth greateſt exerciſe: like as the Bear moveth moſt this part, for his fore-paws he uſeth as feet to go and run withal, he maketh uſe alſo of them as of hands to apprehend and catch any thing.

23.

What is the cauſe that in the ſpring-time wilde beaſts are hardly hunted by the ſent, and followed by the trace?

IS it for that Hounds, as *Empedocles* ſaith,

By ſent of noſtrils, when they trace
Wilde beaſt, to finde their reſting place.

do take hold of thoſe vapors and defluxions which the ſaid beaſts leave behinde them in the wood as they paſs: but in the ſpring time theſe are confounded, or utterly extinct by many other ſmells of plants and ſhrubs, which as then be in their flower, and coming upon the ayr that the beaſts made, and intermingled therewith, do trouble and deceive the ſent of the hounds, whereby they are put out and at default, that they cannot truly hunt after them by their trace; which is the reaſon (men ſay) that upon the Mountain *Ætna* in *Sicily*, there is never any hunting with hounds, for that all the year long there is ſuch abundance of flowers, both in hills and dales, growing, as it were, in a meadow or garden, whereof the place ſmelleth all over ſo ſweet, that it will not ſuffer the hounds to catch the ſent of the beaſts. And verily, there goeth a tale, that *Pluto* raviſhed *Proſperpina* as ſhe was gathering flowers there: in which regard the inhabitants honoring the place with great reverence and devotion, never put up or hunt the beaſts that paſture about that Mountain.

24.

What is the reaſon, that when the Moon is at the full, it is very hard for hounds to meet with wilde beaſts by the trace or ſent of the footing?

IS it not for the ſame cauſe before alledged, for that about the Full-Moon there is engendred ſtore of dew: whereupon it is that the Poet *Alcman* calleth dew the daughter of *Jupiter*, and the Moon in theſe verſes:

Dame Dew is Nourſe, whom of god Jupiter
And lady Moon, men call the daughter.

For the dew is nothing elſe but a weak and feeble rain: And why? becauſe the heat of the Moon is but infirm: whereof it cometh to paſs, that ſhe draweth up vapors indeed from the earth, as doth the Sun, but not able to fetch them up aloft, nor there to comprehend them, letteth them fall again.

25.

What is the cauſe that in a white or hoary froſt, wilde beaſts are hardly traced?

WHether is it for that they being loth for very cold to range far from their dens, leave not many marks of their footings upon the ground: which is the reaſon that at other times they make ſpare of that prey which is neer unto them, for fear of danger if they ſhould be forced to range far abroad in Winter, and becauſe they would have ready at hand about them at ſuch an hard ſeaſon to feed upon?

Or elſe is it requiſite that the place where men do hunt, have not onely the tracts of the beaſt to be ſeen, but alſo of force to affect the ſent of the hounds, and to ſet their noſtrils awork; but then do they move this ſenſe of theirs, when as they are gently diſſolved and dilated as it were by heat: whereas the ayr if it be extream cold, congealing as it were the ſmells, will not ſuffer them to ſpread and be diffuſed abroad, thereby to move the ſenſe: and hereupon it is (as folk ſay) that perfumes, oyntments, and wines, be leſs fragrant and odoriferous in winter, or in cold weather, then at other times, for the ayr being it ſelf bound and ſhut cloſe, doth likewiſe ſtay within it all ſents, and will not ſuffer them to paſs forth.

What

26.

What is the cauſe that brute beaſts, ſo often as they are ſick, or feel themſelves amiſs, ſeek after divers medicinable means for remedy, and uſing the ſame, finde many times help? as for example: Dogs when they be ſtomach ſick, fall to eat a kinde of quitchy graſs, becauſe they would caſt and vomit choler; Hogs ſearch for Cray-fiſhes of the river, for by feeding upon them they cure their headach; the Tortois likewiſe having eaten the fleſh of a Viper, eateth upon it the herb Origan; and the Bear when ſhe is full in the ſtomach, and doth loath all victuals, licketh up Piſmires with her tongue, which ſhe no ſooner hath ſwallowed down, but ſhe is wariſhed, and yet none of all this were they taught, either by experience or ſome caſual occaſion?

IS it then the ſmell that moveth them to ſeek theſe remedies, and like as the honey-combs by the odor ſtir up the Bee: and the fleſh of dead Carions the Vultures, drawing and alluring them afar off: ſo the Cray-fiſhes invite unto them Swine, Origan the Tortoiſe, and Piſmires the Bear, by certain ſents and fluxions which are accommodate and familiar unto them, without any ſenſe leading them thereto by diſcourſe of reaſon, and teaching them what is good and profitable?

Or rather be they the temperatures of the bodies diſpoſed unto ſickneſs, that bring unto theſe creatures ſuch appetites, engendring divers acrimonies, ſweetneſſes, or other ſtrange and unuſual qualities: as we ſee it ordinary in great-bellied women, who during the time that they go with childe fall to eat grit and earth with greedineſs? inſomuch, as expert Phyſicians fore-know by the ſundry appetites of their Patients, whether they ſhall live or dye, for ſo *Mneſitheus* the Phyſician doth report, that in the beginning of the *Pneumony* or inflamation of the lungs, one patient of his, longing for to eat Onions, eſcaped that malady; and another, whoſe appetite ſtood for Figs, dyed for it, of the ſame diſeaſe: for that the appetites follow the temperatures, and the temperatures are proportionate to the diſeaſes.

It ſtandeth therefore to great reaſon that beaſts likewiſe, ſuch as are not ſurprized with mortal maladies, nor ſick to death, have that diſpoſition and temperature, whereby their appetites do move and provoke each one to that which is good and wholeſome, yea and expedient to the cure of their ſickneſs;

27.

What is the cauſe that Muſt or new Wine, continueth ſweet a long time, in caſe the veſſel wherein it is kept be cold round about it?

IS it becauſe the alteration of this ſweet ſavor into the natural taſte of wine, is the very concoction of the wine; and cold hindereth the ſaid concoction, which proceedeth from heat.

Or contrariwiſe, becauſe the proper juice and natural ſavour of the Grape is ſweet, for we ſay, that then the grape beginneth to ripen, when it waxeth ſweet. Now cold not ſuffering new wine to exhale, but keeping the kinde heat thereof within, preſerveth the ſaid ſweetneſs ſtill. And this is the very cauſe that thoſe who make their vintage in a rainy conſtitution of the weather, do finde that their new wine will not work ſo wel in the vatte, becauſe that ſuch ebullition proceedeth of the heat, and cold doth reſtrain and refreſh the ſaid heat.

28.

What is the cauſe that of all ſavage beaſts, the Bear doth never lightly gnaw the net, and toil with her teeth, whereas Wolves and Foxes uſe ordinarily to eat the ſame?

IS it for that her teeth grow far within her mouth, in ſuch ſort that ſhe cannot get within the cords of the nets, having beſides ſo great and thick lips between, that they hinder her for catching hold with her ſaid fangs.

Or rather becauſe ſhe having more force in her fore-feet, which ſhe uſeth inſtead of hands, therewith ſhe doth tear and break the cords; or elſe having uſe both of her paws and alſo of her mouth: ſhe imployeth thoſe to the burſting of the nets, and with her teeth fighteth, and maketh her part good againſt the hunters. Beſides the tumbling and rolling of her body that ſhe doth practiſe, ſerveth her in as good ſtead as any thing elſe. And therefore ſeeing herſelf in danger to be taken within the toil many times, caſteth herſelf round upon her head, and endeavoreth that way to eſcape, rather then either by paws or fangs to burſt the toil.

29.

What is the reaſon that we wonder not to ſee any ſources or ſprings of cold water, like as we do of hot? notwithſtanding it is evident that as heat is the cauſe of theſe, ſo is cold of the other.

FOr we muſt not ſay as ſome hold opinion, that heat indeed is an habitude of it ſelf, but cold nothing elſe but the privation of heat: for it were in truth more wonderful how that which hath no ſubſiſtance, ſhould be the cauſe of that which hath a being. But it ſeemeth that nature would have us to wonder hereat, onely for the rare ſight hereof; and becauſe it is not often ſeen, therefore we ſhould enquire for ſome ſecret cauſe, and demand how that may be, which is but ſeldom obſerved.

But

But seest thou this starry firmament,
So high above and infinitely vast,
In bosoms moist of water element,
The earth beneath how it encloseth fast.

How many strange and wonderful sights doth it represent unto us in the night season, and what beauty sheweth it unto us in the day time? and the common people wonder at the nature of these things * * As also at the Rain bows, and the divers tinctures, forms and pictures of the clouds appearing by day: and how they be adorned with sundry shapes, breaking out of them in manner of bubbles.

30.

What is the cause that when vines or other yong plants, which be rank of leaves, and otherwise fruitless, are said τεγγειν?

IS it because that Goats in Greek τεγγει, which are exceeding fat, be less apt to gender, and hardly for their fatness can leap the females. For generative seed is the superfluous excrement of that nourishment which is conglutinate to the substantial parts of the body. Now when as any living creature or plant is in very good plight and grown gross, it is an evident sign, that the nouriture is employed and spent altogether in the maintenance of it self, leaving no excrement at all, or the same very small, and not good for generation.

31.

What is the reason, that if a vine be sprinkled and drenched with wine, especially that which came of the the own grape, it dryeth and withereth away?

IS there not the same reason hereof as of the baldness in great drinkers, when as the wine by means of heat, causeth the moisture to evaporate which should feed the hair of their head?

Or is it not rather, because the very liquor of wine cometh in some sort of putrefaction, according to the verses of *Empedocles*:

When in vine-wood the water putrifies,
It turns to wine, whiles under bark it lies.

When as then a vine cometh to be wet with wine outwardly, it is as much as if fire were put into it, which doth corrupt the natural temperature of that humor which should nourish it?

Or rather, pure wine, being of an astringent nature, soaketh and pierceth to the very root, where shutting up and enclosing the pores, it empeacheth the entrance of that sap (by vertue whereof, the vine is wont to bud, burgen, and flourish) that it cannot run to the stock?

Or may it not be, it is clean contrary to the nature of a vine, that the liquor which once went out of it, should return again into it? for a liquor or humor whiles it is within the plant in the nature of a sap, may well have power to feed the same; but that being departed once from thence, it should joyn thereto again, or become a part thereof, I cannot see how it is possible.

* * * * * * * * * * *

I finde no more of these questions in the Greek original, or the French translation, but in one Latine translation it followeth on this wise.

32.

VVby doth the Date tree onely of all others arise arch-wise, and bend upward, when a weight is laid thereupon?

WHether may it not be that the fire and spiritual power which it hath and is predominant in it, being once provoked, and as it were angred, putteth forth it self so much the more, and mounteth upward?

Or because the poise or weight aforesaid forcing the boughs suddenly, oppresseth and keepeth down the airy substance which they have, and driveth all of it inward: but the same afterwards having resumed strength again, maketh head afresh, and more eagerly withstandeth the weight?

Or lastly, the softer and more tender branches not able to sustain the violence at first, so soon as the burthen resteth quier, by little and little lift up themselves, and make a shew as if they rose up against it.

33.

VVhat is the reason that pit-water is less nutritive then either that which ariseth out of springs, or falleth down from heaven?

IS it because it is more cold, and withal hath less ayr in it?

Or, for that it containeth much salt therein, by reason of such store of earth mingled therewith: now it is well known, that salt above all other things causeth leanness.

Or because standing as it doth still, and not exercised with running and stirring, it getteth a certain malignant quality, which is hurtful and offensive to all living creatures drinking thereof; for by occasion of that hurtful quality, neither is it well concocted, nor yet can it feed or nourish any thing. And verily the same is the very cause that all dead waters of Pools and Meers be unwholesome, for that they cannot digest and dispatch those harmful qualities which they borrow of the evil property, either of ayr or of earth.

VVhy

34.

Why is the West wind held commonly to be of all other the swiftest, according to this verse of Homer.

Let us likewise bestir our feet,
As fast as western winds do fleet.

IS it not think you, because this wind is wont to blow when the sky is very well cleansed, and the ayr exceeding clear and without all clouds; for the thickness and impurity of the air, doth not (I may say to you) a little impeach and interrupt the course of the winds.

Or rather, because the Sun with his beams striking through a cold wind, is the cause that it passeth the faster away; for whatsoever is drawn in by the refrigerative force of the winds, the same if it be overcome by heat as his enemy, we must think is driven and set forward both farther, and also with greater celerity.

35.

What should be the cause that Bees cannot abide smoak?

VVHether is it because the pores and passages of their vital spirits be exceeding streight, and if it chance that smoak be gotten into them and there kept in and intercepted, it is enough to stop the poor Bees breath, yea and to strangle them quite?

Or is not the acrimony and bitterness (think you) of the smoak in cause? for Bees are delighted with sweet things, and in very truth they have no other nourishment; and therefore no marvel if they detest and abhor smoak, as a thing for the bitterness most adverse and contrary unto them: and therefore honey-Masters, when they make a smoak for to drive away Bees, are wont to burn bitter herbs, as Hemlock, Centaury, &c.

36.

VVhat might be the reason that Bees will sooner sting those who newly before have committed whoredom?

IS it not because it is a creature that wonderfully delighteth in purity, cleanliness and elegancy? and withal she hath a marvellous quick sense of smelling: because therefore such unclean dealings between man and woman in regard of fleshly and beastly lust, immoderately performed, are wont to leave behinde in the parties much filthiness and impurity; the Bees both sooner finde them out, and also conceive the greater hatred against them: hereupon it is that in *Theocritus* the Shepherd after a merry and pleasant manner, sendeth *Venus* away into *Anchises* to be well stung with Bees, for her Adultery; as appeareth by these verses:

Now go thy way to Ida *meant,*
go to Anchises *now,*
Where mighty Oaks, where banks along
of square Cypirus grow,
VVhere Hives and hollow trunks of trees,
with honey sweet abound,
Where all the place with humming noise
of busie Bees resound.

And *Pindarus*:

Thou painfull Bee, thou pretty Creature,
Who Honey-combs fix-angled, as they be,
With feet doest frame, false Rhœcus *and impure,*
With sting hast prickt for his lewd villany.

37.

What is the cause that Dogs follow after a stone that is thrown at them, and biteth it, letting the man alone who flung it?

IS it because he can apprehend nothing by imagination, nor call a thing to minde: which are gifts and vertues proper to man alone? and therefore, seeing he cannot discern nor conceive the party indeed that offered him injury, he supposeth that to be his enemy which seemeth in his eye to threaten him, and of it he goes about to be revenged?

Or thinking the stone whiles it runs along the ground, to be some wilde beast, according to his nature he intendeth to catch it first: but afterwards, when he seeth himself deceived and put besides his reckoning, he setteth upon the man?

Or rather, doth he not hate the stone and man both alike; but pursueth that only which is next unto him?

38.

What is the reaſon that at a certain time of the year, Shee Wolves do all whelp within the compaſs of twelve days?

ANtipater in his Book containing the Hiſtory of living creatures, affirmeth, that She Wolves exclude forth their young ones about the time that Maſt-trees do ſhed their bloſſoms; for upon the taſte thereof their wombs open: but if there be none of ſuch blooms to be had, then their young die within the body, and never come to light. He ſaith moreover, that thoſe Countries which bring not forth Oaks and Maſt, are never troubled nor ſpoiled with Wolves. Some there be who attribute all this to a tale that goes of *Latona*; who being with childe, and finding no abiding place of reſt and ſafety by reaſon of *Juno*, for the ſpace of twelve days; during which time, ſhe went to *Delos*, being tranſmuted by *Jupite:* into a Wolf, obtained at his hands, that all Wolves for ever after might within that time be delivered of their young.

39.

How cometh it, that water ſeeming white aloft, ſheweth to be black in the bottom?

IS it, for that depth is the mother of darkneſs, as being that which doth dim and mar the Sun beams before they can deſcend ſo low as it: as for the uppermoſt ſuperficies of the water, becauſe it is immediately affected by the Sun, it muſt needs receive the white brightneſs of the light; the which *Empedocles* verily approveth in theſe verſes:

A River in the bottom ſeems,
by ſhade of colour black;
The like is ſeen in Caves and Holes,
by depth, where light they lack.

Or many times the bottom of the Sea and great Rivers being full of mud, doth by the reflection of the Sun-beams repreſent the like colour that the ſaid mud hath?

Or is not more probable, that the water toward the bottom is not pure and ſincere, but corrupted with an earthly quality, as continually carrying with it ſomewhat of that, by which it runneth and wherewith it is ſtirred; and the ſame ſetling once to the bottom, cauſeth it to be more troubled and leſs tranſparent?

Platonique Queſtions.

The Summary.

IN theſe gatherings, Plutarch *expoundeth the ſenſe of divers hard places, which are found in the Diſputations of* Socrates, *contained in the Dialogues of* Plato *his Diſciple, but eſpecially in* Timæus; *which may ſerve to allure young Students to the reading of that great Philoſopher, who under the bark of words, hath delivered grave and pleaſant matters.*

Platonique Queſtions.

1.

What is the reaſon, that God other-whiles commanded Socrates *to do the part of a Midwife, in helping others to be delivered of Child-birth, but forbade himſelf in any wiſe to procreate children? according as it is written in a Treatiſe, intituled,* Theætetus. *For we ought not to think, that if he had been diſpoſed to cavil, to jeſt or to ſpeak ironically in this place, he would have abuſed the name of God. Beſides, in this ſelf ſame Treatiſe he attributeth many other high and magnifical ſpeeches unto* Socrates, *and namely, as this among many others: Certes (quoth he) there be many men (right good ſir) who carry this minde to ward-ward, that they are diſpoſed plainly to carp and bite me, in caſe at any time I ſeem to rid them of any fooliſh opinion that they have, neither think they that I do it of good will and meaning well unto them; ſhewing themſelves herein far ſhort of this doctrine, That no God beareth evil will to men: no more verily do I this unto them upon any malice: but ſurely I cannot otherwiſe chooſe, neither do I think it lawfull for me either to ſmother up and pardon a lye, or to diſſemble and ſuppreſs a truth.*

IS it for that he termeth his own nature, as being more judicious and inventive, by the name of God? like as *Menander* doth, ſaying:

This minde, this our intelligence.
In truth is of Divine eſſence.

And

And *Heraclitus:*

Mans nature we muſt needs confeſſe,
Is heavenly and a god doubtleſs.

Or rather in very truth there was ſome Divine and Celeſtial cauſe, which ſuggeſted and inſpired into *Socrates* this manner of Philoſophy; whereby ſifting as he did continually, and examining others, he cured them of all ſwelling pride, of vain error, of preſumptuous arrogancy; likewiſe of being odious, firſt to themſelves, and afterwards to thoſe about them of their company: for it fortuned about his time, that a number of theſe Sophiſters ſwarmed over all *Greece*, unto whom young Gentlemen reſorting, and paying good ſums of money for their ſalary, were filled with a great weening and opinion of themſelves, with a vain perſwaſion of their own learning and zealous love to good Letters, ſpending their time in idle Diſputations, and frivolous contentions, without doing any thing in the world, that was either good, honeſt, or profitable. *Socrates* therefore, who had a ſpecial gift by his manner of ſpeech and diſcourſe, as it were by ſome purgative Medicine, to argue and convince, was of greater authority and credit when he confuted others, in that he never affirmed not pronounced reſolutely any thing of his own; yea, and he pierced deeper into the ſouls and hearts of his hearers, by how much he ſeemed to ſeek out the truth in common, and never to favorize and maintain any opinion of his own: for this begetting of a mans own fancies, mightily impeacheth the faculty and power to judge another, for evermore the Lover is blinded in the behalf of that which he loveth: and verily, there is nothing in the world that loveth ſo much the own, as a man doth the opinions and reaſon whereof himſelf was the father; for ſurely that diſtribution and partition among children which is commonly ſaid to be moſt juſt and equal, is in this caſe of opinions and reaſons moſt unjuſt; for in the former every one muſt take his own, but in this he ought to chooſe the better, yea, though it were another mans: and therefore once again, he that fathereth ſomewhat of his own, becometh the worſe judge of other mens: And like as there was ſometime a Sophiſter or great learned man, who ſaid: That the Elians would be the better Umpires and Judges of the Sacred Olympick Games, in caſe there were never any Elian came in place to perform his prizes; even ſo, he that would be a good Preſident to ſit and determine of divers Sentences and Opinions; no reaſon there is in the world that he ſhould deſire to have his own Sentence crowned, no nor to be one of the Parties contending, and who in truth are to be judged by him. The Grecian Captains after they had defeated the Barbarians, being aſſembled in Council to give their voices unto thoſe whom they deemed worthy of reward and honour, for their Proweſs; judged themſelves all to have done the beſt ſervice, and to be the moſt valorous Warriours. And of Philoſophers I aſſure you there is not one but he would do as much, unleſs it were *Socrates*, and ſuch as he, who confeſs that they neither have, nor know ought of their own: for theſe in truth be they who only ſhew themſelves to be uncorrupt, and competent Judges of the truth, and ſuch as cannot be challenged: for like as the ayr within our ears if it be not firm and ſteady, nor clear without any voice of the own, but full of ſinging ſounds, and ringing noiſes, cannot exactly comprehend that which is ſaid unto us; even ſo, that which is to judge of reaſons in Philoſophy, if it meet with any thing that reſoundeth and keepeth an hammering within, hardly will it be able to underſtand that which ſhall be delivered without forth: for the own particular opinion which is domeſtical and dwelleth at home, of what matter ſoever it be that is treated of, will always be the Philoſopher that hitteth the Mark, and toucheth the truth beſt; whereas all the reſt ſhall be thought but to opine probably the truth. Moreover, if it be true that a man is not able perfectly to compriſe or know any thing, by good right and reaſon then did God forbid him to caſt forth theſe falſe Conceptions, as it were, of untrue and unconſtant opinions, and forced him to reproove and detect thoſe who ever had ſuch: for no ſmall profit, but right great commodity comes by ſuch a ſpeech as is able to deliver men from the greateſt evil that is, even the ſpirit of error, of illuſion and vanity in opinion.

So great a gift as God of ſpecial grace,
Gave never to Aſclepius *his race,*

For the Phyſick of *Socrates* was not to heal the body, but to cleanſe and purifie the ſoul, feſtered inwardly and corrupt. Contrariwiſe, if it be ſo, that the truth may be known, and that there be but one truth, he who learned it of him that found it not out, hath no leſs than the inventer himſelf; yea, and better receiveth it he, who is not perſwaded that he hath it: nay, he receiveth that which is ſimply beſt of all: much like as he who having no natural children of his own body begotten, taketh the beſt that he can chooſe, for to make his adopted childe. But conſider here with me, whether other kinds of Learning deſerve not haply to have much ſtudy imployed in them, as namely, Poetry, Mathematicks, the art of Eloquence, and the opinions of Sophiſters and great Clerks: Therefore God of that Divine power whatſoever, forbad *Socrates* to engender them; but as touching that which *Socrates* eſteemed to be the only wiſdom, to wit, the knowledge of God and ſpiritual things, which he himſelf calleth the amorous Science; there be no men that beget or invent it, but call the ſame only to remembrance: whereupon *Socrates* himſelf never taught any thing, but propoſing only unto young men certain beginning of difficulties and doubts, as it were the fore-throws of Child-birth, ſtirred up, awakened, and drew forth their own natural wits, and inbred intelligences: and this was it that he called the Midwives Art, which brought nothing into them from without, as others would make them believe, who conferred with them, that they infuſed reaſon and underſtanding,

ding, but ſhewed only and taught them, that they had already within themſelves a minde and underſtanding of their own, and the ſame ſufficient to nouriſh, though it were confuſed and unperfect.

2.

What is the reaſon that in ſome places he called the Soveraign God, father and maker of all things?

WAs it for that he is in truth the father of gods, ſuch as were ingendred, and alſo of men, as *Homer* calleth him, like as the maker of thoſe Creatures which have neither reaſon nor ſoul? for according as *Chryſippus* ſaith, we uſe not to call him the father of the ſecondine wherein the infant is inwrapped within the womb, who conferred general ſeed, although the ſaid ſecondine be made of the ſeed.

Or uſeth he not a Metaphor, as his manner is, when figuratively he termeth him Father of the world, who is the efficient cauſe, according to his uſual manner of ſpeaking; as namely, in the Dialogue entituled *Sympoſium*, where he maketh *Phædras* the father of amatorius diſcourſe, for that he it was, who propoſed and ſet abroad the ſame: like as he named *Gallipedas* in a Dialogue bearing his name, The father of Philoſophical Diſcourſer, for that there paſſed many beautifull ſpeeches in Philoſophy, whereof he miniſtred the occaſion and beginning?

Or rather was it not, becauſe there is a difference between father and maker, as alſo between generation and creation? for whatſoever is ingendred, is made, but not *è converſo*; whatſoever is made, is likewiſe ingendred: ſemblably, who hath begotten, hath alſo made; for generation is the making of a living creature: but if we conſider a workman, to wit, either a Maſon or Carpenter, a Weaver, a Lute Maker, or Imager; *certes*, the work is diſtinct and ſeparate from the Maker: whereas the moving principle, and the puiſſance of him who begetteth, is infuſed into that which is begotten; it containeth his nature, being as it were a parcel diſtracted from the very ſubſtance of him who ingendred it. Foraſmuch then, as the world doth not reſemble a conjunction of many pieces, ſet, joyned, faſtened and glued together; but hath in it a great portion of the animal life, yea, and of divinity, which God hath infuſed and mingled in the matter, as derived from his own nature and ſubſtance; good reaſon it is therefore, that he ſhould be ſirnamed both the father and maker of the world, being a living creature as it is. Theſe points being very conformable and proportionate to the opinion of *Plato*, conſider withall a little, if this alſo which I ſhall deliver, be not likewiſe accordant thereunto; namely, that the world being compoſed of two parts, to wit, of body and of ſoul: the one, which is the body, God hath not ingendred; but having the matter thereof exhibited unto him, he hath formed, ſhaped and fitted it, binding and limiting it according to the infinity thereof, with terms, bonnds and figures proper thereto: but the ſoul having a proporiton of underſtanding diſcourſe of reaſon, order and harmony, is not only the work, but alſo a part of God, not by him, bnt even of him, and iſſuing from his own proper ſubſtance. In his Book therefore of Politiques or Commonwealth, having divided the whole world, as it were a line into two ſegments or ſections unequal, he ſubdivideth either ſection into other twain, after the ſame proportion: for two general kinds he maketh of all things; the one ſenſible and viſible, the other intelligible: unto the intelligible kinde he attributeth in the firſt degree the Primitive forms and *Idea*; in the ſecond degree, the Mathematicks: and as for the ſenſible kind, he attributeth thereto in the firſt rank, all ſollid bodies; and in the ſecond place, the images and figures of them. Alſo to every one of theſe four members of his ſaid diviſion, he giveth his own proper judge: to the firſt of *Ideas*, underſtanding; to the Mathematicks, imagination; to the ſollid bodies, faith and belief; to the Images and Figures, Conjecture. To what end then, and upon what intention hath he divided the whole world into Sections, and the ſame unequal? and of thoſe two Sections, whether is the greater, that of ſenſible objects, or that of intelligible? As for himſelf, he hath not ſhewed and declared it: but preſently it will appear, that the portion of ſenſible things is the greater: for the indiviſible ſubſtance is of things intellectual, being evermore of one ſort, and reſting upon the ſame ſubject in one ſtate, and reduced to very ſhort and narrow room, and the ſame pure and neat: whereas the other being ſpred and wandering upon bodies, is that ſection of ſenſible things. Moreover, the property of that which is incorporal, is to be definite and determinate. And a body as touching the matter thereof, is indefinite and undeterminate; becoming ſenſible, when by participation of the intelligible it is made finite and limitable. Over and beſides, like as every ſenſible thing hath many Images, many ſhadows, and many figures, and generally, out of one only pattern there may be drawn many Copies and examples, imitated aſwel by Art as by Nature; ſo it cannot chooſe, but the things that here be ſenſible, ſhould be more in number than they above, which are intelligible, according to the opinion of *Plato*, ſuppoſing this, that things ſenſible be as it were the images and examples of the original paterns, to wit, the intelligible *Ideæ*. Furthermore, the intelligence of theſe Idæas and forms by ſubſtraction, deduction and diviſion of bodies, is ranged anſwerable to the order of the Mathematicks, ariſing from Arithmetick which is the Science of Numbers, into Geometry, to wit the skill of meaſures; then afterwards to Aſtrology, which is the knowledge of the ſtars, and in the higheſt place above all the reſt, ſetteth *Harmonica*, which is the skill of ſounds and accords: for the ſubject of Geometry is this, when as to quantiiy in general, there is adjoyned magnitude in length and breadth: of Stereometrie, when to the magnitude of length and breadth, there is added depth or profundity. Likewiſe, the proper ſubject of Aſtrology is this, when to the ſolid magnitude there cometh motion. The ſubject of Harmony or muſick, when to a body moving, there is adjoyned ſound or voice. If we ſubſtract then and take away, from moving bodies, voice; from ſolid bodies, motion; from ſuperficies, depth and profundity; and from quantities, magnitude; we ſhall come by this time to the intelligible *Idee* which have no difference among them, in regard of one and ſole thing: for unity maketh no number, unleſs it come once to touch Binary or two, which is infinite: but in this wiſe having produced a number, it proceedeth to points and pricks, from pricks to lines, and ſo forth from lines to ſuperficies, from ſuperficies to profundities; from thence to bodies, and ſo forward to the qualities of bodies ſubject to paſſions and alterations. Moreover, of intellectual things, there is no other judge but the underſtanding or the mind; for cogitation or intelligence, is no other thing but the underſtanding, ſo long as it is applied unto Mathematicals, wherein things intellectual appear as within mirrours; whereas, for the knowledge of bodies, by reaſon of their great number, nature hath given unto us five powers and faculties of ſeveral and different ſenſes for to judge withal: and yet ſufficient they are not to diſcover all objects; for many there be of them ſo * ſmall, that they cannot be perceived by the ſenſes. And like as, although every one of us being compoſed of ſoul and body, yet that principal part, which is our ſpirit and underſtanding, is a very ſmall thing, hidden and encloſed within a great maſs of fleſh; even ſo, very like it is, that there is the ſame proportion within the univerſal world, *between* things ſenſible and intellectual: for the intellectual are the beginning of corporal: now that which proceedeth from a beginning, is always in number more, and in magnitude greater, than the ſaid beginning.

* *μικρὰ*, ſome read *μετρίως*, that is to ſay, they are ſo far off.

But on the contrary, a man may reaſon thus and ſay: Firſt and formoſt, that in comparing ſenſible and corporal things with intellectual, we do in ſome ſort make mortal things equal with Divine, for God is to be reckoned among intellectuals. Now this is to be granted, that the content is always leſs than the continent; but the nature of the univerſal world, within the intellectual, comprehendeth the ſenſible. For God having ſet the ſoul in the midſt, hath ſpred and ſtretched it through all within, and yet without forth hath covered all bodies with it. As for the ſoul it is inviſible, yea and inperceptible to all the natural ſenſes, according as he hath written in his Book of Laws: and therefore every one of us is corruptible; but the world ſhall never periſh; for that in each of us that which is mortal and ſubject to diſſolution, containeth within it the power which is vital; but in the world it is clean contrary, for the principal puiſſance & nature, which is over after one ſort immutable, doth always preſerve the corporal part, which it containeth and embraceth within it ſelf. Beſides, in a bodily nature and corporal, a thing is called individual and importable for the ſmalneſs thereof, to wit, when it is ſo little that it cannot be divided, but in the ſpiritual and incorporal, it is ſo called for the ſimplicity, ſincerity and purity thereof, as being exempt from all multiplicity and diverſity: for otherwiſe folly it were to caſt a gueſs at ſpiritual things by corporal. Furthermore the very preſent time which we call Now, is ſaid to be inpartible and indiviſible: howbeit, inſtant together it is every where, neither is there any part of this habitable world without it; but all paſſions, all actions, all corruptions and generations throughout the world are compriſed in this very preſent Now. Now the only inſtrument to judge of things intellectual is the underſtanding, like as the eye, of light; which for ſimplicity is uniform, and every way like unto it ſelf; but bodies having many diverſities and differences, are comprehended by divers inſtruments, and judged ſome by this, and others by that. And yet ſome there be who unworthily diſeſteem and contemn the intellectual puiſſance and ſpiritual which is in us: for in truth, being goodly and great, it ſurmounteth every ſenſible thing and reacheth up as far as to the gods. But that which of all others is moſt, himſelf in his book entituled *Sympoſium*, teaching how to uſe love and love-matters, in withdrawing the ſoul from the affection of beauties corporal, and applying the ſame to thoſe which are intellectual, exhorteth us not to ſubject and inthral our ſelves into the lovely beauty of any body, nor of one ſtudy and ſcience, but by erecting and lifting up our minds aloft from ſuch baſe objects, to turn unto that vaſt ocean indeed of pulcritude and beauty, which is vertue.

3.

How cometh it to paſs, that conſidering he affirmeth evermore the ſoul to be more ancient than the body, as the very cauſe of the generation of it, and the beginning likewiſe thereof, yet contrariwiſe he ſaith, that the ſoul was never without the body, nor the underſtanding without the ſoul, and that of neceſſity the ſoul muſt be within the body, and the underſtanding in the ſoul? for it ſeemeth that herein there is ſome contradition; namely, that the body both is, and is not, in caſe it be true, that it is together with the ſoul, and yet nevertheleſs ingendred by the ſoul?

IS it becauſe that is true which we oftentimes do ſay? namely, that the ſoul without underſtanding, and the body without form have always been together, and neither the one nor the other had ever commencement of being nor beginning of generation; but when the ſoul came to have participation of underſtanding and of harmony, and became to be wiſe by the means of conſonance and accord, then cauſed ſhe the mutation in matter, and being more powerful and ſtrong in her own motions, drew and turned into her the motions of the other? and even ſo the bodies of the world had the firſt generation from the ſoul, whereby it was ſhaped and made uniform. For the ſoul of her ſelf, brought not forth the nature of a body, nor created it of nothing, but of a body without all order and form whatſoever, he made it orderly and very obeiſant: as if one ſaid that the force of a ſeed or kernel is always with the body, but yet nevertheleſs the body of the fig-tree or olive-tree is engendred

of the seed or kernel, he should not speak contrarieties: for the very body it self being moved and altered by the seed, springeth and groweth to be such: semblably the matter void of form and indeterminate, having once been shapen by the soul, which was within, received such a form and disposition.

4.

What is the reason, that whereas there be bodies and figures, some consisting of right lines, and others of circular, he hath taken for the foundation and beginning of those which stand of right lines, the triangle Isosceles, with two equal sides, and Scalenum, with three sides all unequal. Of which, the triangle with two even legs composed the cube or square body, which is the element and principle of the earth: and the triangle with three unequal legs made the pyramidal body, as also Icosaedron with eight faces, and Cosaedron with twenty faces, whereof the first is the element and seed of fire, the second of air, and the third of water: and yet he hath overpassed quite all bodies and figures circular: notwithstanding that he made mention of the spherical figure or round body when he said, that every one of those figures abovenamed is apt to divide a globe or spherical body into equal parts?

IS it as some do imagine and suppose, because he attributed the *Dodecaedron*, that is to say, the body with twelve faces unto the Globe or round Sphære, in saying that God made use of this form and figure, in the framing of the world? for in regard of the multitude of elements, and bluntness of angles, it is farthest off from direct and right lines, whereby it is flexible; and by stretching forth round in manner of a Ball made of twelve pieces of Leather, it approacheth neareſt unto roundneſs, and in that regard is of greateſt capacity; for it contained twenty angles solid, and every one of them is comprised and environed within three flat obtuse or blunt angles, considering that every of them is composed of one right and five parts: moreover compact it is and composed of twelve *Pentagones*, that is to say, bodies with five angles, having their angles and sides equal; of which every one of thirty principal triangles, with three unequal legs: by reason whereof, it seemeth that he followed the degrees of the Zodiack, and the days of the year together, in that division of their parts so equal and just in number.

Or may not this be the reason, that by nature the right goeth before the round? or rather, to speak more truly, that a circular line seemeth to be some vicious passion or faulty quality of the right, for we use ordinarily to say, that the right line doth bow or bend; and a circle is drawn and described by the center, and the distance from it to the circumference, which is the very place of the right line, by which it is measured out; for the circumference is on every side equally distant from the Center. Moreover, the *Conus*, which is a round Pyramis; and the *Cylindre*, which is as it were a round column or pillar of equal compass, are both made of figures with direct lines, the one, to wit, the *Conus*, by a triangle, whereof one side remaineth firm, and the other with the base goeth round about it: the *Cylindre*, when the same befalleth to a parallel. Moreover, that which is less, cometh neareſt unto the beginning, and resembleth it most: but the least and simpleſt of all lines is the right; for of the round line that part which is within, doth crook and curb hollow, the other without doth bump and bunch. Over and besides, numbers are before figures, for unity is before a prick; seeing that a prick is in position and situation an unity, but an unity is triangular, for that every number triangular, eight times repeated or multiplied, by addition of an unity becometh quadrangular, and the same also befalleth to unity; and therefore a triangle is before a circle, which being so, the right line goeth before the circular. Moreover, an element is never divided into that which is composed of it: but contrariwise, every thing else is divided and resolved into the own elements whereof it doth consist. If then the triangle is not resolved into any thing circular; but contrariwise, two diameters crossing one another, part a circle just into four parts; then we must needs infer the figure consisting of right lines, went before those which are circular: now that the right line goeth first, and the circular doth succeed and follow after, *Plato* himself hath shewed by demonstration, namely when he saith, that the earth is composed of many cubes or square solid bodies, whereof every one is enclosed, and contained with right lined superficies, in such manner disposed, as yet the whole body and mass of the earth seemeth round like a globe, so that we need not to make any proper element thereof round; if it be so that bodies with right lines, conjoyned and set in some sort one to another, bringeth forth this form: Over and besides the direct line, be it little or be it great, keepeth always the same rectitude: whereas contrariwise we see the circumferences of Circles if they be small, are more coping, bending, and contracted in their outward curvature: contrariwise, if they be great, they are more extent, lax, and spred, insomuch as they that stand by the outward circumference of Circles, lying upon a flat superficies, touch the same underneath, partly by a prick if they be small, and in part by a line if they be large; so as a man may very well conjecture, that many right lines joyned one to another, tail to tail by piece meal, produce the circumference of a circle. But consider, whether there be none of these our circular or spherical Figur s exquisitely and exactly perfect; but in regard of the extensions and circumtensions of right lines, or by reason of the exility and smalness of the parts, there can be perceived no difference, and thereupon they shew th a circular and round figure. And therefore it is, that there is not a body here, that by nature doth move circularly, but all according to the right line; so that the round and spherical Figure is not the element of a sensible body, but of the soul and understanding, unto which he attributeth likewise the circular motion as belonging unto them naturally.

5. *In*

5.

In what sense and meaning delivered he this speech in his Book entituled Phædrus, *that the nature of a wing, whereby that which is heavy and ponderous, is carried up aloft, of all other things that belong unto a body, hath a certain communion and participation with God?*

IS it because he discourseth there of love; and love is occupied about the beauty of the body, and this beauty for the resemblance that it hath to divinity, doth move the mind, and excite the reminiscence thereof?

Or rather are we to take it simply without curious searching farther into any mysterie thereof? namely, that the soul being within the body, hath many faculties and powers, whereof that which is the discourse of reason and understanding, doth participate with the Deity, which he not unproperly and impertinently termeth a wing, because it lifteth up the soul from things base and mortal, unto the consideration of heavenly and celestial matters.

6.

How is it that Plato *in some places saith, the* Antecperistasis *of motion, that is to say, the circumstant contrariety debarring a body to move, in regard that there is no voidness or vacuity in nature, is the cause of those effects which we see in Physicians Ventoses and Cupping-glasses; of swallowing down our Viands, of throwing of massy weights, of the course and conveyance of waters, of the fall of lightnings, of the attraction that amber maketh, of the drawing of the load-stone, and of the accord and consonance of voice? For it seemeth against all reason to yield one only cause, for so many effects so divers and so different in kinde. First, as touching the respiration in living creatures, by the Anteperistasis of the ayr, he hath elsewhere sufficiently declared, but of the other effects, which seem as he saith to be miracles, and wonders in nature, and are nothing, for that they be nought else but bodies reciprocally and by alternative course, driving one another out of place round about, and mutually succeeding in their rooms, he hath left for to be discussed by us, how each of them particularly is done?*

FIrst and formost for Ventoses and Cupping-glasses thus it is. The ayr that is contained within the Ventose, striking as it doth into the flesh, being inflamed with heat, and being now more fine and subtile than the holes of the brass (box or glass) whereof the Ventose is made, getteth forth, not into a void place, for that is impossible, but into that other ayr which is round about the said Ventose without forth, and driveth the same from it; and that forceth other before it, and thus as it were from hand to hand, whiles the one giveth place, and the other driveth continually, and so entreth into the vacant place which the first left, it cometh at length to fall upon the flesh which the Ventose sticketh fast unto, and by heating and inchasing, it expresseth the humor that is within, into the Ventose or Cupping-Vessel.

The swallowing of our Victuals is after the same manner, for the cavities as well of the mouth as of the stomack, be always full of ayr: when as then, the meat is driven within the passage or gullet of the throat, partly by the tongue and partly by the glandulous parts or kernels called tonsels, and the muscles which now are stretched, the ayr being pressed and strained by the said meat, followeth it hard as it giveth place, and sticking close, it is a means to help for to drive it downward.

Semblably the weighty things that be flung, as big stones and such like, cut the ayr and divide it, by reason that they were sent out and levelled with a violent force; then the ayr all about behind, according to the nature thereof, which is to follow where a place is left vacant and to fill it up, pursueth the mass or weight aforesaid that is lanced or discharged forcibly, and setteth forward the motion thereof.

The shooting and ejaculation of lightning is much what after the manner of these weights thrown in manner aforesaid, for being inflamed and set on a light fire, it flasheth out of a cloud by the violence of a stroke, into the ayr, which being once open and broken, giveth place unto it, and then closing up together above it, driveth it down forcibly against the own nature.

As for Amber, we must not think that it draweth any thing to it of that which is presented before it, no more than doth the load-stone, neither that any thing coming near to the one or the other, leapeth thereupon. But first, as touching the said stone; it sendeth from it I wot not what strong and flatuous fluxions, by which the ayr next adjoyning giving back, driveth that which is before it; and the same turning round and re-entring again into the void place, doth thrust from it and withal carry with it the iron to the stone. And for Amber it hath likewise a certain flagrant and flatulent spirit, which when the out-side thereof is rubbed, it puffeth forth by reason that the pores thereof are by that meanes opened. And verily that which issueth out of it, worketh in some measure the like effect that the Magnet or Load-stone did: and drawn there are unto it such matters neer at hand as be most light and dry, by reason that the substance coming thereof is but slender and weak: neither is it full-strong nor hath sufficient weight and force, for to chase and drive before it a great deal of ayr, by means whereof it might overcome greater things, as the Load-stone doth. But how is it that this ayr driveth and sendeth before it neither wood nor stone, but iron only, and so bringeth it to the Magnet? This is a doubt and difficulty that much troubleth all those who suppose that this meeting and cleaving of two bodies together, is either by the attraction of the stone, or by the natural motion of the iron. Iron is neither so hollow and spungeous as is wood, nor so fast and close, as is gold or stone, but it hath small holes, passages and rough aspects, which in regard of the unequality are well proportionate and

forcible

ſortable to the ayr, in ſuch wiſe, as it runneth not eaſily through, but hath certain ſtays by the way to catch hold of, ſo as it may ſtand ſteady and take ſuch ſure footing, as to be able to force and drive before it the iron untill it have brought it to kiſs the load-ſtone. And thus much for the cauſes and reaſons that may be rendred of theſe effects.

As conſidering the running of water above ground, by what manner of compreſſion and coarctation round about, it ſhould be performed it is not ſo eaſie either to be perceived or declared. But thus much we are to learn, that for waters of Lakes, which ſtir not but continue always in one place, it is becauſe the air, ſpred all about, and keeping them in on every ſide, moveth not nor leaveth unto them any vacant place. For even ſo the upper face of the water, as well in Lakes as in the Sea, riſeth up into waves and billowes, according to the agitation of the ayr; for the water ſtill followeth the motion of the ayr, and floweth or is troubled with it, by reaſon of the inequalities. For the ſtroke of the ayr downward maketh the hollow dent of the wave: but as the ſame is driven upward it cauſeth the ſwelling and ſurging tumor of the wave until ſuch time as all the place above containing the water be ſetled and layed, for then the waves alſo do ceaſe, and the water likewiſe is ſtill and quiet. But now for the courſe of waters which glide and run continually above the face of the ground: the cauſe thereof is becauſe they always follow hard after the ayr that giveth way, and yet are chaſed by thoſe behind by compreſſion and driving forward, and ſo by that means maintain a continual ſtream that never reſteth: which is the reaſon alſo that great rivers when they are full and do overflow the banke, run with a more ſwift and violent ſtream; and contrariwiſe when there is but little water in the channel, they glide more ſlowly, becauſe the ayr before doth nothing ſo much give place, for that they are more feeble: neither is there ſo great an antiperiſtaſis to urge and preſs them forward; and even ſo the ſpring-waters muſt of neceſſity boyl and riſe upward, for that the outward ayr entring cloſely into the void hollow places within the ground ſendeth up again the water forth.

The paved floor of a dark cloſe houſe, containing in it a great deal of ſtill ayr, without any wind from without entring into it, if a man do caſt water upon it, engendreth preſently a wind and cold vapour; by reaſon that the ayr is diſplaced and removed out of his ſeat, by the water which fell, and is thereby beaten, and receiveth the ſtroke and dint thereof. For this is the nature of them, to drive one another, and likewiſe to give place one to the other interchangeably, admitting in no wiſe any emptineſs, wherein the one of them ſhould be ſo ſetled, as that it did not reciprocally feel the change and alteration of the other.

To come now unto the above named ſymphonie and conſonance, himſelf hath declared how it is that ſounds and voices do accord: for the ſmall and treble is quick and ſwift; whereas the big and baſe is heavy and ſlow. And thereupon it is, that ſmall and ſhrill ſounds do move the ſenſe of hearing before others: but if when theſe begin to fall and decay, the ſlow and baſe begin to ſucceed and receive them, the mixture and temperature of them both, by a kind of conformity yieldeth a delight and pleaſure to the ear, which they call a ſymphonie or accord. And that hereof the ayr is the inſtrument, it may evidently appear by that which we have ſaid already: for voice is a ſtroak or percuſſion by the ayr of that which the ear doth hear; for as the ayr is ſmitten by motion, ſo it ſtriketh again the auditory organ forcibly, if the motion be quick; and gently, if the ſame be ſlow: and that which is ſtricken forcibly with a violence, cometh firſt into the ſenſe of hearing, but afterwards, turning about and meeting with that which is more ſlow, it followeth and accompanieth the ſenſe.

7.

What is the meaning of Timæus, *when he ſaith: That the ſouls are diſperſed and ſowen (as it were) upon the ground, the moon and all other inſtruments of time whatſoever?*

IS it becauſe he was of opinion, that the earth did move likeunto the Sun, Moon and other five Planets, which he calleth the inſtruments of time, becauſe of their converſions? and held beſides, that we ought not to imagine the earth ſo framed, as if it were firm and immoveable, faſt fixed and perpetually to the axle-tree or pole that paſſeth thorow the world; but that it turneth round in manner of a wheel: like as afterwards *Ariſtarchus* and *Seleucus* have ſhewed; the one ſuppoſing it only, the other affirming ſo much, flatly. To ſay nothing of that which *Theophraſtus* wrote; namely, how *Plato* toward the latter end of his days, repented that he had aſſigned unto the earth the center and middle of the world, a place iwis unfit and unmeet for it?

Or rather, becauſe this is directly repugnant unto many ſentences which this Philoſopher undoubtedly held, we ought therefore to change the writing of this place of *Timæus*, by putting the Dative Caſe inſtead of the Genitive, to wit, χρόνῳ for χρόνου: yea, and to underſtand by the inſtruments of time, not the Planets or Stars, but the bodies of living creatures; according as *Ariſtotle* hath defined the ſoul, to be a continual act of a body Natural, Organical, having life potentially: ſo that the ſentence in the foreſaid place ſhould be read thus; The ſouls have bin diſſeminated & ſown by time in organical bodies, meet & agreeable for them. And yet even this is contrary unto his own opinion: for that not in one only place, but in many, he hath called the ſtars, inſtruments of time, conſidering that he affirmeth that the very Sun was made to diſtinguiſh & keep the number of time with other Planets. The beſt way is therefore to underſtand, That the earth is the inſtrument of time, not becauſe it moveth as do the ſtars; but for that ſo continuing as it doth, always firm & ſteady in it ſelf, it giveth means unto the ſtars moving round about it, to riſe and to fall; whereby are limited the day and the night, which are the firſt meaſures of time: and therefore himſelf hath called it the Guardian, yea, the Artizan indeed and right truely of night and day:

day: for the Gnomons in Sun Dials, not moving with the ſhadows, but ſtanding ſtill and keeping their place, are the inſtruments and meaſures of time, repreſenting the obſtacle of the earth oppoſite unto the Sun moving round about it; like as *Empedocles* ſaith:

The earth ſet juſt twixt Sun beams and our ſight,
Shuts up the day and bringeth in the night.

And thus much for the enodation of this knot.

But haply this a man may doubt to be a ſtrange and abſurd ſpeech, to ſay that the Sun, together with the Moon and the Planets, were made for diſtinction of times: for otherwiſe by it ſelf, great is the dignity of the Sun; and *Plato* himſelf in his Books of Common-wealth, calleth him the King and Lord of all the ſenſible world, like as Good he pronounceth to be the Soveraign of the intelligible world. And the Sun (ſaith he) is the very iſſue extract from that Good, giving unto things viſible, together with their apparance, being alſo, and ſubſiſtance; like as Good giveth unto intelligible things this gift, both to have a being, and alſo to be known. Now, that God having ſuch puiſſance and ſo great, ſhould be the inſtrument of time, and an evident rule and meaſure of the difference that is of ſwiftneſs or of ſlowneſs among the eight heavenly Spheres, ſeemeth not very decent; no nor any noiſe conſonant to reaſon. It remaineth therefore thus much to ſay, thoſe who trouble themſelves about theſe points, for very ignorance are deceived, ſuppoſing that time according to the definition of *Ariſtotle*, is the meaſure of motion, and the number in regard of priority and poſteriority: or the quantity its motion after the opinion of *Speuſippus*: or elſe the diſtance of motion, and no other thing, as the Stoicks deſcribe it, defining forſooth one accident, but never coming neer unto the ſubſtance and power thereof, which as it ſhould ſeem, the Poet *Pindarus* imagined & conceived not amiſs when he ſaid:

In right of age, time hath this odds,
That it ſurpaſſeth all the gods.

Pythagoras alſo, who being asked what Time was? anſwered: The ſoul of the heaven: for time be it what it will be, is not ſome accident or paſſion of any motion, but it is the cauſe, the puiſſance and the principle of that proportion, and order that containeth and holdeth together all things, according to which, the nature of the world, and this whole univerſality, which alſo is animate, doth move, or rather the very ſame proportion it ſelf and order which doth move, is the thing that we call time:

For walk it doth with ſilent pace,
In way whereas no noiſe is made:
Conducting juſtly to their place,
All mortal things that paſs and fade.

And verily according to the minde of ancient Philoſophers, the ſubſtance of the ſoul was defined to be a number moving it ſelf; which is the reaſon why *Plato* ſaid: That Time and Heaven were made together; but motion was before heaven, at what time as there was no heaven at all; for why, there was no order nor meaſure whatſoever, no nor any diſtinction, but an undeterminate motion, like as the matter was rude without form and figure, but after that nature once had caſt this matter into a colour, and had ſhaped it with form and figure, and then determined motion with periodical revolutions, ſhe made withal, both the world and time both at once; which two are the very images of God: to wit, the world of his ſubſtance, and time of his eternity; for God in that he moveth, is Time, and in that he hath being, is the world. This is the reaſon why he ſaith: That both of them coming together, ſhall likewiſe both be diſſolved together, in caſe that ever there will be any diſſolution of them. For that which had a beginning and generation, cannot be without time, no more than that which is intelligible without eternity; in caſe the one is to continue for ever, and the other being once made, ſhall never periſh and be diſſolved. Time then being ſo neceſſarily linked and interlaced with the heaven, is not ſimply a motion, but as we have ſaid already, a motion ordained by order, which hath a juſt meaſure, ſet limits and bonds, yea and certain revolutions; of all which, the Sun being Superintendent, Governor and Director, for to diſpoſe, limit, and digeſt all; for to diſcover, ſet out and ſhew, the alterations and ſeaſons the which bring forth all things, as *Heraclitus* ſaith: confeſſed it muſt be, that he is a workman cooperant with that chief and ſoveraign God, the prince of all, not in petty, baſe, and frivolous things, but in the greateſt and moſt principal works that be.

8.

PLato in his Books of Common-wealth, having excellently well compared the ſymphonie of the three faculties and powers of the ſoul, to wit, the reaſonable, the iraſcible and concupiſcible, unto the Muſical harmony of the notes, Meſe, Hypate, and Nete, hath given occaſion for a man to doubt, whether he ſet the iraſcible or reaſonable part, correſpondent to the mean? ſeeing that he ſhewed not his meaning in this preſent place; for according to the ſituation of the parts of the body, wherein theſe faculties are ſeated, ſurely the couragious and iraſcible is placed in the mids, and anſwered to the region of Meſe the mean: but the reaſonable is ranged into the place of Hypate: for that which is aloft, firſt and principal our Anceſtors uſed to call Hypaton: according to which ſenſe *Xenocrates* calleth *Jupiter* or the ayr (that I mean which converſeth above where all things continue the ſame, and after one ſort) Hypatos; like as that which is under the Moon, Neatos. And before him *Homer* ſpeaking of the ſoveraign God and Prince of Princes, ſaith thus κεφάλη κεφαλέων, that is to ſay, our Soveraign and Supream of all Rulers. And in truth, nature hath by very good right given unto the beſt part of the ſoul, the higheſt place in lodging the diſcourſe of reaſon, as the Governor of the reſt within the head; but hath removed far from thence to the baſe and inferior members, the concupiſcible: for the low ſituation is called Neate,

Neate, according as appeareth by the denomination of the dead, who are termed Νηρηεις and Ενερθε that is to say, inferior or infernal: and for this cause, some there be who say, that the wind which bloweth from beneath, and out of places unseen, that is to say, from the Pole Antartick, is called Νοτος, that is to say, the south. Since then it is so, that there is the same proportion of contrariety between concupiscible and reasonable parts of the soul, as there is between lowest and highest, last and first; it is not possible, that reason should be the highest and principal, and not withal, correspondent to Hypate, but to some other note in Musick: for they who attribute unto her as unto the principal faculty and power Mese, that is to say, the mean, see not (ignorant as they be) how they take from her that which is more principal, to wit, Hypate, which cannot sit well either with ire or lust, for both these, the one and the other are made for to follow, and be commanded by reason, and not to command or go before reason. Moreover it should seem by nature, that anger ought to have the mean and middle place, considering that naturally reason is to command; and anger both to command and be commanded, as being on the one side subject to the discourse of reason, and on the other side, commanding lust, yea, and punishing it, when she is disobedient to reason. And like as in Grammar, those Letters which we call semi-vowels, be of a middle nature, between mute consonants and vowels: for that as they sound more than the one, so they sound less than the other: even so in the soul of man, wrath is not simply a meer passion, but hath many times an apparance of duty and honesty mixed with desire of revenge. And *Plato* himself comparing the substance of the soul unto a couple of horses drawing a chariot, and guided by a chariot man, who driveth them, and understandeth by the driver and guide, as every man well knows the discourse of reason: now of the two steeds, that of lusts and pleasures is frampold, skittish, flinging, winsing, unruly altogether, and unbroken, stiff-necked, deaf, hardly caring either for whip or spur; where as the other of ire, is for the most part tractable, and obeisant to the bridle of reason, yea, and ready to joyn with it in execution of good things. And like as in a chariot with two horses, the driver or chariot-man is not in vertue and puissance the middle, but rather one of the horses, which is worse than the chariot man, and better than his fellow that draweth with him: even so likewise hath not he given the middle place unto that part which doth rule and govern in the soul, but unto that wherein there is less passion than in the first, and more reason than in the third: for this order and disposition observeth the proportion of the irascible to the reasonable part, as is of Diatessaron to Hypate; and to the concupiscible, as Dupente to Nete: also of the reasonable part to the concupiscible, as Hypate to Nete, which is Dia-pason: But if we draw reason and the discourse thereof to the mean, anger shall be farther off from lust and concupiscence, which some of the Philosophers held to be one and the self-same thing, for the great similitude and resemblance between them.

Or rather, it is but a ridiculous thing to attribute unto the places, first, midst, and last, seeing (as we do) how in a harp, lute, or stringed instrument, Hypate hath the first and highest place; but in flutes and pipes the lowest and the last: furthermore, the mean in what place soever of the harp or lute you set it, you shall finde it soundeth always the same note still, to wit, smaller than Hypate, and bigger than Nete; for the very eye it self hath not the same situation in all creatures, but in any creature, and in what place soever it is set according to nature, always it is ordained and made for to see. Like as therefore the Pædagogue or Governour of youth, who ordinarily cometh behinde, and goeth not before his children, is notwithstanding said to lead and guide them: And the Captain of the Trojans in *Homer*:

Who with the formost in the front,
sometimes appear'd in sight,
And in the rearward otherwhiles,
his men stir'd up to fight.

As well in the one part as the other, was always the chief, and had the principal power: even so we ought not to force the parts of the soul to any places or names, but to examine and search the power and proportion of them; for that the Discourse of reason in situation should be set in the first and principal place of mans body, falleth out accidentally: but the first and principal power it hath, as being Mese or the mean, in regard of Hypate, the concupiscible part; and Nete the irascible, by letting down and setting up, by making consonance and accord, by taking from the one and the other that which is excessive; and again, by not suffering them either to be let loose and slack altogether, or to lie asleep: for mediocrity and a competent temperature, is limited by a mean; or rather to speak more properly, a principal piece of work this is, and a singular gift and puissance of reason, to make and imprint in passions, means and mediocrities, if we may so say, which are called holy and sacred, consisting in a temperature of two extremities with reason, yea and between them both by the means of reason: for the teem of two steeds hath not for the mean and in the midst, that of two which is better: neither are we to imagine, that the government of them is one of the extremities; but rather we ought to think, that it is the mids and mediocrity betwixt the immoderate celerity or slowness of the two steeds; like as the power of reason which holdeth in the passions when they stir without measure and reason, and by composing and framing them unto her in measurable proportion, setteth down a mediocrity and mean between too much, and over little, between excess (I say) and defect.

9.

What is the reason that Plato *saith: Our speech is tempered and composed of nouns and of verbs? for he seemeth to make no account of all other parts of speech besides these two: and to think that* Homer *in a gallant youthfull humor to shew his fresh wit affected to thrust them all eight into this one verse:*

αὐτὴ

* αὐτὸς ἐων κλειτωδε, τὸ σὸν γενος, ὄφρ' ἀν εἰδῆς,

For here you have a Pronoun, a Participle, a Nown, a Verb, a Preposition, an Article, a Conjunction, and an Adverb. For the Particle, δε, is put in stead of the Preposition εις, that is to say, to: and κλειτωδε, that is to say, to thy Tent, is after the manner of ἀθηναζε, that is to say, to Athens: *But what shall we answer in the behalf of* Plato.

* The use of this is altogether unperfect, depending of the precedent and subsequent verses, but serving the turn as it stands, it requireth nor to be done into English.

IS it for that in old time they called that φωτος λογον, that is to say, the first speech, which then was named πρότασις, that is to say, a Proposition, and now they term ἀξίωμα, that is to say, dignity: which when they utter first, they either lye or speak truth. And this Proposition is compounded of a Nown and a Verb, whereof the one is called by the Logicians, πτῶσις, that is to say, the case; the other, κατηγόρημα, that is to say, the predicable or *prædicatum*. For when we hear one say, *Socrates* teacheth; and again, *Socrates* is turned; we say the one is true, and the other is false. and we require no more words. For it is probable that men at the first had need of speech and voice articulate, when they were desirous to explain and signifie one unto another the actions and the persons and the doers thereof: like as the passions and the persons who suffer the same. Forasmuch then, as by the Verb we express sufficiently the actions and passions; and by the Noun, the persons doing or suffering as he himself saith; it seemeth that these be the two parts of speech that he meaneth: as for the rest, a man may well and truly say, that they signifie nothing, no more than do the groans, sighs and lamentations of Players in a Tragedy, yea, and many times I wis, a smile, a reticence or keeping silence, which otherwhiles may well express a speech, and make it more emphatical; but surely, no necessary and significative power have they to declare ought, like as the Verb and the Noun hath: only they serve as accessary adjuncts, to vary illustrate and beautifie the speech; like as they also diversifie the very letters, who put to their spirits and aspirations, their accents also to some, whereby they make them long and short, and reckon them for elements and letters indeed, whereas they be passions, accidents, and diversifications of elements, rather than distinct elements by themselves; as it appeareth manifestly by this, that our ancients contented themselves sufficiently to speak and write with sixteen letters and no more. Moreover, consider and see whether we do not take the words of *Plato* otherwise than he delivered them; when he saith that the speech is tempered of these two parts, and not by them. Take heed (I say) we commit not the same errour as he doth, who should cavil and finde fault with one for saying, that such an ointment or salve was made of wax and *galbanum*, alledging against him for so saying, that he left out fire and the vessel, without which a man knoweth not how to temper the said Simples or Drugs: for even so, if we should reproove him because he omitted the naming of Conjunctions, Prepositions, and other parts of speech, we were likewise to be blamed: for in truth, a speech or sentence is not compounded of these parts, but by them and not without them. For like as he, who should pronounce simply these Verbs, To beat, or, To be beaten; or otherwise these bare Nowns, *Socrates* or *Pythagoras*; giveth some light (such as it is) of a thing to be conceived and understood: but he that should come out with these odd words, For, or Of, and say no more, a man cannot imagine what he meaneth thereby, nor gather any conception either of action or of body; for if there be not some other words pronounced with them or about them, they resemble naked sounds and vain noises without any significations at all: for that neither by themselves alone, nor one with another, it is possible that they should betoken any thing. Nay, admit that we should conjoyn, mingle and interlace together Conjunctions, Articles and Prepositions all in one, minding to make one entire body of them all, we shall seem rather to creak than speak: but so soon as a Verb is joyned to a Noun, that which resulteth thereupon is immediatly a sentence and significant speech. And therefore not without good reason some do think that these two (to speak properly) be the only parts of speech. And peradventure *Homer* had some such meaning, and gave us so much to understand, by saying in so many places,

ἐπος τ' ἠδὲ τ' ἐθειρε· ἐπος τ' ὀνομακλυτον.
He spake the word, and with the same,
Immediately out came the name.

For by ἐπος, that is to say, the word, his manner is to signifie a Verb: as namely in this other verse,

ὤμωϊ ἡ μάλα δηθα ἐπος δυμαλγες ἐειπες.
Now surely woman, much to blame thou art,
This word to speak, it strikes so to my heart.

As also elsewhere:

χαῖρε πάτερ δ' ἔξοχε, ἔπος δ' ὅ τοι αἴσκ)
ἄπυδν, ἄφορ τὸ φέρεται ἀνεμοπτέρυγα ἄελλαι.
Adieu good Father; guest and friend
Farewel: And if some word unkind
Hath been let fall, I wish it may
By winds and storms be caught away.

For surely it is neither Conjunction, Article, nor Preposition, that can be said either unkind, or to touch the heart, but some Verb signifying a shamefull deed, proceeding from an undecent and dishonest passion. And therefore you see how we are wont to praise Poets and Historiographers, or otherwise to blame and dispraise them, saying in this wise: Such a Poet hath used Attick Nouns and elegant Verbs: and contrariwise, Such an Historiographer hath used trivial and base Nouns and

and Verbs. And no man will ſay that either *Euripides* or *Thucydides* wrote a ſtile conſiſting of Articles that were homely and baſe, or otherwiſe elegant and Attick.

How then (may ſome one ſay) ſerve theſe parts to no purpoſe in our ſpeech? Yes Iwis, ſay I, even as much as ſalt in our meats, or water for our bread and gruel. *Euenus* was wont to ſay that fire alſo was an excellent kinde of ſauce: and even ſo be theſe parts of ſpeech the ſeaſoning of our language, like as fire and ſalt of our broths and viands, without the which we cannot well do: and yet our ſpeech doth not always of neceſſity ſtand in need of them: for ſo me thinks I may very well affirm of the Roman language, that all the world I ſee in manner uſeth at this day: for the Romans take away all Prepoſitions, except a very few; and, as for thoſe that be called Articles, they admit not ſo much as one, but uſe their Nowns plain, and as one would ſay, without skirts and borders. Whereat we may wonder the leſs, conſidering that *Homer*, who for trim and beautiful verſes ſurpaſſed all other Poets, ſet to very few Nowns any Articles, as cars unto Cups and other Veſſels, for to take hold by, or as pennaches and creſts upon morions: and therefore look in what verſes he uſeth ſo to do, be ſure they were of ſpecial mark, or elſe ſuppoſitions and ſuſpected to be none of his making. As for example:

αὖτάρ τ' μάλιστα διάτορον θυμὸν ὄρινε
τῷ τελαμωνιάδῃ.
This ſpeech the courage moſt of all
excited then anon,
Of Ajax, *him I mean, who was*
the ſon of Telamon.

Again:

πτίτνε, ὄφρα τὸ κῆτος ὑπεκπροφύγοιμι ἅλαδε.
This did he that, by flying thus apace,
He might eſcape the Whale that was in chace.

And a few others beſides theſe. But in the reſt which are innumerable, although there be no Article, yet the phraſe of ſpeech is thereby nothing diminiſhed or hurt either in beauty or perſpicuity. And thus we ſee, that neither living creature, if it be maimed or diſmembred, nor inſtrument, nor armour, nor any thing in the world whatſoever, by the want and defect of any proper part belonging thereto, is the more beautiful or active thereby, neither more pleaſant than it was therefore: whereas a ſpeech or ſentence, when all the Conjunctions be taken quite away, is many times more emphatical, yea, and carrieth a power and efficacy more pathetical and apter to move and affect, as this:

One ſound, unhurt, ſhe catching faſt,
another wounded new,
Alive ſhe held, another dead,
in fight by heels ſhe drew.

" Alſo this place of *Demoſthenes* his Oration againſt *Midias*: For many things may he do who ſtriketh, " whereof, ſome the party who ſuffereth, cannot declare unto another, in geſture, in port; by the " regard of his eye, in his voice: when he wrongeth inſolently in a bravery, when he offereth injury as " an enemy, when with the clutched fiſt, when upon the cheek, when upon the ear: this moveth, " this is that removeth, that tranſporteth men beſide themſelves, who are not acquainted with out- " rages, who have not been uſed to bear ſuch abuſes. And again another place afterwards. But it is " not *Midias*. He from this day is a Speaker, he maketh Orations, he raileth, exclaimeth, he paſſeth " ſomewhat by his voice: Is there any election? *Midias* the Anagyrrhaſian is propounded, he is no- " minated. *Midias* entertaineth *Plutarch* in the name of the City, he knoweth all ſecrets; the City " is not ſufficient to hold him. This is the reaſon that they who write of Rhetorical figures, ſo high- ly praiſe *Aſyndeton*: whereas thoſe who are ſo preciſe, ſo religious, and too obſervant of Gram- mar, that they dare not leave out one Conjunction otherwiſe than they were accuſtomed to do, The ſaid Rhetoricians think blameworthy and to be reproved, as making the ſtile dull, enervate, without af- fection, tedious and irkſom, by reaſon that it runs always after one ſort, without change and variety.

Now whereas Logicians have more need than any other Profeſſors in Learning of Conjunctions co- pulatives, for to knit and connex their propoſitions, or diſjunctives, to diſjoyn and diſtinguiſh them; like as Wain-men or Carters have need of yokes or geers; or as *Ulyſſes* had of Oziers in *Cyclops* his Cave to bind his ſheep together: This doth not argue, nor prove that the Conjunction is a ſubſtantial member or part of ſpeech; but a pretty inſtrument and means to binde and conjoyn according as the very name of it doth import, and to keep and hold together not all words or ſentences indifferent- ly, but ſuch alone as are not ſimply ſpoken: unleſs men will ſay, that the cord or girt wherewith a pack or fardel is bound, is a part of the ſaid pack, or the paſte and glue a part of the Book; or Do- natives and Largeſſes, a part of politick Government; like as *Demades* was wont to ſay: That the dole of money diſtributed by the Poll to the Citizens in the Theaters for to ſee the Plays, was the very glew of the popular State. And tell me what Conjunction is that which will make of many Propoſitions one, by couching and knitting them together, as the Marble doth unite the Iron that is caſt and melted with it by the fire; and yet I trow no man will ſay, that the Marble, for all that, is part of the Iron, or ſo to be called. Howbeit, ſuch things verily as enter into a Compoſition, and which be liquified together with the Drugs mingled therewith, are wont after a ſort to do and ſuffer reciprocally from the Ingredients. But as for theſe Conjunctions, there be who deny that they do unite any one thing, ſaying: That this manner of ſpeaking with Conjunctions is no other but a certain

certain enumeration, as if a man ſhould reckon in order all our Maſtigrates, or count the days of a moneth.

Moreover, of all other parts of ſpeech, it is very evident, that the Pronoun is a kinde of Noun, not onely in this reſpect, that it is declined with caſes, as the Noun is; but alſo for that ſome of them be- ing pronounced and uttered of things and perſons determinate, do make a moſt proper demonſtration of them accordant to their nature: neither can I ſee how he who hath expreſly named *Socrates*, hath declared his per more, then he who ſaid, This man here.

To come now unto that which they learn a Participle, ſurely it is a very medly and mixture of a Noun and a Verb, and not a part of Speech ſubſiſting alone of it ſelf, no more then thoſe Nouns or Names which are common to Maſculine and Feminine: and theſe Participles are ranged with them both; with Nouns in reſpect of their caſes, and with Verbs in regard of tenſes; and verily the Logi- cians call ſuch, tearms reflected, as for example, φρονῶν, ὁπὸ τὸ φρονεῖν, that is to ſay, wiſely foreſeeing; is a reflection of a wiſe foreſeer: and σωφρονῶν ὁπὸ τὸ σωφρονεῖν, that is to ſay, minding ſobriety, is a re- flexion of a ſober minded perſon, that is to ſay, as if they had the nature and power of Nouns and Appellations.

As touching Prepoſitions, a man may liken them very well to Pennaches, Creſts, or ſuch like Or- naments above Morions or Head-Attires, or elſe to Baſes, Predſtals, and Footſteps under Statues and Pillars: foraſmuch as they are not ſo much parts of Speech, as buſie and converſant about them: but ſee, I pray you, whether they may not be compared to truncheons, pieces and fragments of words; like as thoſe who when they write a running hand in haſte, do not always make out the letters full, but uſe pricks, minime and daſhes. For theſe two Verbs ἐμπίπλαμαι, and πίμπρᾶμαι, be both of them manifeſt clip- pings of the full and compleat words, ἔμπιμι πίμπρημι, and ἐκπί πίμπρημι, whereof the one ſignifieth to enter in, the other to go forth. Likewiſe φυτεύομαι, is a plain abbreviation of πεφυτεῦσθαι γεγονέναι, that is to ſay, to be born, or have being before. Alſo καθίζω, of κατ ἵζω, that is to ſay, to ſit down, or cauſe one to ſit down: Semblable λιθοβολῶ, and πυκτεύω, men are diſpoſed to ſay for λίθους βάλλειν, and πύκτας ζῆτειν, that is to ſay to fling ſtones, and to dig throw walls, when they are diſpoſed to make haſte to ſpeak ſhort. And therefore a man may well ſay, that every one of theſe, excepting Noun and Verb, do ſome good in our ſpeech, and help well in a ſentence, but for all that, they cannot be called either parts or elements of Speech: for there is none but the Noun and Verb, as it hath been ſaid before that maketh this compoſition, containing verity and falſity, which ſome term Propoſition, other Axiome, and *Plato* nameth Speech or Oration.

A Commentary of the Creation of the Soul, which *Plato* deſcribeth in his Book *Timæus*.

The Summary.

AMong thoſe Diſcourſes which may exerciſe the wits, and buſie the brains of moſt curious ſpirits, thoſe of Plato *may be ranged, which in divers places of his Dialogues, but eſpecially in his* Timæus *he hath delivered, and namely, where he treateth of nature metaphyſically, intermingling with a certain deep and profound maner of doctrine (as a man may perceive by his writings) his reſolutions, as I may ſay, irreſolute, proceeding all from the ignorance of the ſacred ſtory, and true ſenſe of* Moſes. *As for example that which he ſaith as touching the ſoul of the world: as an abſurd and fantaſtical opinion, if it be not handled and expounded aright. Our Author being minded in this Treatiſe to diſpute Philoſophically upon, the creation of the ſaid ſoul, runneth thorow Numbers, Tones, Times and Harmony, as well Terreſtrial as Celeſtial, for to declare the meaning of* Plato: *but with ſuch brevity in many places, that a man had need to read with both his eyes, and to have his minde wholly intentive and amuſed upon his words, for the underſtanding of him. Mean while, this would be conſidered, ſeeing that in ſuch matters we have (God be thanked) ſufficient to reſolve us in the Word of God, and the good books of the Doctors of the Church, all this preſent Diſcourſe ſhould be read, as comming out of the hands of a man walking in darkneſs; and to ſpeak in one word, of one blinde himſelf, and following a blinde guide: to the end that inſtead of highly admiring theſe ſubtilties of* Plato, *as ſometin theſe days do, whoſe heads are not ſtaid and well ſettled, we might know that the higher that man in his wiſdom mounteth with his pen, far from Gods School, the leſs he is to be re- ceived and accepted of.*

A Commentary of the Creation of the Soul, which Plato describeth in his Book Timæus:

The Father to his two Sons AUTOBULUS and PLUTARCH Greeting.

FOrasmuch as ye are of this minde, that whatsoever I have here and there said and written in divers places by way of exposition, touching that which I supposed in mine opinion *Plato* held, thought, and understood concerning the soul, ought to be reduced and brought together into to one; and that I should do well to declare the same at large in a special, Treatise apart by it self, because it is not a matter which otherwise is easie to be handled and managed; as also for that seeming as it doth, somewhat contrary to most of the Platonique Philosophers themselves: in which regard it had need to be well mollified. I will therefore in the first place set down the very Text of *Plato* in his own proper terms, word for word, as I finde them written in his Book, entituled, *Timæus*.

"Of that indivisible substance which always continueth about the same things; as also of that which "is divisible by many bodies, he composed a third kinde of substance in the midst of them both, hold- "ing partly of nature of *the same*, and in part of *the other*: and this he ordained and set in the midst be- "tween the indivisible substance conversant about the same things, and the other which is divisible "by bodies. Then taking these three natures or substances, he mixed them altogether into one "form or *idea*, and fitted perforce the nature of *the other*, which was untoward to be mixed, "to that nature of *the same*. Having thus mingled them with *Substance*, and of three made one, "he divided this whole again into such portions, as were fit and convenient: each one of them "being mingled with *the same*, with *the other*, and with *substance*. And this division of his he began "in this manner, &c.

To begin withal, if I should discourse unto you at this present what a number of disputations and contentious debates, these words have ministred unto those who took upon them to expound the same, it were for my self a piece of work endless, and for you who have read the most part of them together with me, a labor needless. But seeing that of the most principal and excellent Professors, *Xenocrates* hath drawn some unto his opinion, in defining the substance of the soul to be a number moving it self: and others have ranged themselves to *Crantor* of *Soli*, who affirmed the soul to be tempered of the nature intellectual, and of the other which is opinionative about objects sensible; I suppose that these two sentences being well displayed and opened, will make the way, and give you an easie entrance to the understanding and finding of that which we seek for, and is in question. And verily there need not many words for the exposition of them both. For* the one sort of them think that *Plato* meaneth nothing else, but the generation of number, by the said mixture of indivisible with divisible: for that unity is indivisible, and plurality divisible: of which twain is engendred and produced number, whiles unity doth determine plurality, and limit out an end to that which is infinite, to wit, the binary or two indeterminate: which is the reason that *Zaratas* the Master of *Pythagoras*, called two the Mother, and one the Father of number: as also, for that the better numbers be those which resembled unity: and yet for all that, this number is not the soul, because that both the motor and the moveable is wanting: but when *the same* and *the other* were mingled together, of which the one is the beginning of motion and mutation, the other of rest and station then cometh the soul to have a being, which is as well the principal, to stay and to be stayed, as it is to move and to be moved.

* *Xenocrates* and his sectaries.

But *Crantor* and his followers supposing that the proper and principal operation of the soul was to judge things intelligible and sensible, together with the similitudes and dissimilitudes which they have, as well themselves, as one in respect of another, affirm, that the soul is composed of All, to the end that she may judge of all. The which All aforesaid standeth upon four principal kindes; the first is a nature intelligible, which is always one and evermore after the same sort: the second a nature passible and mutable concerning bodies: the third the nature of *the same*, and the fourth the nature *of the other*; for the two first participate in some sort both of *the same*, and also of *the other*. But all these do joyntly and equally hold, that the soul was never after a certain time, nor ever engendred, but hath many powers and faculties, into which *Plato* resolving for speculative disputation sake, the substance of her, supposeth in word onely, that she was engendred, mixed and tempered, saying moreover, that he thought as much of the world; for full well he knew, that eternal it was and ingenerable, but seeing it was not easie to comprehend how, and in what order it was found, composed, governed and administred, for those who at the first presupposed not the Creation and Generation either of it self, or of such things as concurred thereto, he therefore took the course to speak in such sort.

This

This much you see in sum what they both do say: which when *Eudorus* well considered, he thought there was good probability both in the one and the other of their opinions, but for mine own part, perswaded verily I am, that neither of them twain hath touched the point, or come neer unto the minde and meaning of *Plato*.

If we will use the rule of probability and verisimilitude indeed, not fully building our own proper opinions, but be willing for to say something agreeable and accordant thereto; for that mixture of the substance intelligible and sensible which they speak of giveth not us to understand thereby, that it is the Generation of the Soul, more then of any other thing whatsoever that a man may name. For the very world, and every part thereof, is compounded of a substance intelligible or spiritual, and of a substance sensible or corporal: whereof the one hath furnished the thing that is made and engendred with form and shape, the other with subject nature. And as much of the matter as is form, by participation or resemblance of the intelligible, becometh incontently palpable and visible; but the soul is not perceptible by any sense. Neither was it ever found, that *Plato* called the soul number, but always a motion moving of it self, yea, the very fountain and beginning of motion. True it is, I confess, that embellished he hath and adorned the substance thereof with number, proportion, accord and harmony, which he hath bestowed therein, as in a subject capable and susceptible of the most beautiful form that can be imprinted therein, by those qualities beforesaid. And I suppose it is not all one to say, that the soul is composed by number, and that the substance thereof is number: for certain it is, that it hath the substance and composition by harmony, but harmony it is none, according as himself hath shewed in his Treatise of the Soul. Moreover, altogether ignorant they are; what *Plato* meaneth, by *the same*, and *the other*: for they say, that *the same* conserreth to the generation of the soul, the power or faculty of station and rest: *the other*, of motion; whereas *Plato* himself, in his Book, entituled, *The Sophister*, putteth down, *that which is*, *the same*, *the other*, *motion* and *station*, as five distinct things differing the one from the other, severing them apart, as having nothing to do in common one with another; which they all with one accord, yea, and many more even of those who lived and conversed with *Plato*, fearing, and being mightily troubled with, do devise and imagine all that they can, betir themselves, whresting forcibly, heaving and shoving, and turning every way, as in case of some abominable thing, and not to be named, supposing that they ought either altogether, for his honor and credit to deny, or at leastwise to cover and conceal that which he had delivered, as touching the generation or creation of the world, and of the soul thereof, as if the same had not been from all eternity, nor had time out of minde their essence: whereof we have particularly spoken a part else where: and for this present suffice it shall to say by the way, that the arguing and contestation, which *Plato* confesseth himself to have used with more vehemency then his age would bear, against Atheists: the same, I say, they confound and shuffle up, or to speak more truly, abolish altogether. For if it be so, that the world be eternal, and was never created, the reason of *Plato* falleth to the ground, namely, that the soul being more ancient then the body, and the cause and principal author of all motion and mutation, the chief Governor also and head Architect, as he himself hath said, is placed and bestowed therein. But what, and whereof the soul is, and how it is said, and to be understood, that is is more ancient then the body, and before it in time, the progress of our discourse hereafter shall declare: for this point being either unknown, or not well understood, brings great difficulty, as I think, in the well conceiving, and hinderence in believing the opinion of the truth?

In the first place therefore, I will shew what mine own conceit is, proving and fortifying my sentence, and withal, mollifying the same (because at the first sight it seemeth a strange Paradox) with as probable reasons as I can devise: which done, both this interpretation and proof also of mine, I will lay unto the words of the Text out of *Plato*, and reconcile the one unto the other. For thus (in mine opinion) stands the case.

This world (quoth *Heraclitus*) there was never any god or man that made: as if in so saying he feared, that if we disavow God for Creator, we must of necessity confess, that a man was the architect and maker thereof. But much better it were therefore, that we subscribe unto *Plato*, and both say and sing aloud, that the world was created by God: for as the one is the goodliest piece of work that ever was made, so the other the most excellent workman, and greatest cause that is. Now the substance and matter whereof it was created, was never made or engendred, but was for ever, time out of minde, and from all eternity, subject unto the workman for to dispose and order it, yea, and to make as like as possible was to himself. For of nothing, and that which had no being, there could not possible be made ought: but of that which was not well made, nor as it ought to be, there may be made somewhat that is good; to wit, an house, a garment, or an image or statue. But before the creation of the world, there was nothing but a *Chaos*, that is to say, all things in confusion and disorder: and yet was not the same without a body, without motion, or without soul: howbeit, that body which it had, was without form and consistence; and that moving that it had, was altogether rash, without reason and understanding: which was no other but a disorder of soul not guided by reason. For God created not that body which was incorporal, nor a soul which was inanimate; like as we say that the Musician maketh not a voyce, nor the Dancer motion; but the one maketh the voyce sweet, accordant and harmonious; and the other, the motion to keep measure, time, and compass, with a good grace. And even so, God created not that palpable solidity of a body, nor that moving and imaginative puissance of the soul; but finding these two principles, the one dark and obscure, the other turbulent, foolish and senseless: both imperfect, disordered, and indeterminate, he so

digested and disposed them, that he composed of them the most goodly, beautiful and absolute living creature that it. The substance then of the body, which is a certain nature that he calleth susceptible of all things, the very seat, the nourse also of all things engendred, is no other thing then thir. But as touching the substance of the soul, he tearmeth it in his Book, entituled, *Philebus*, Infinity, that is to say, the privation of all number and proportion, having in it neither end, limit, nor measure, neither excess nor defect, neither similitude nor dissimilitude. And that which he delivereth in *Timæus*, namely, that it is mingled with the indivisible nature, and is become indivisible in bodies, we must not understand this to be either multitude in unities, or length and breadth in points or pricks, which things agree unto bodies, and belong rather to bodies then to souls: but that moving principle, disordinate, indefinite, and moving of it self, which he calleth in many places, Necessity, the same in his books of Lawe, he termeth directly, a disorderly soul, wicked and evil doing. This is the soul simply, and of it self it is so called; which afterwards was made to participate understanding, and discourse of reason, yea, and wise proportion, to the end that it might become the soul of the world. Semblably, this material principle, capable of all, had in it a certain magnitude, distance, and place: beauty, form, proportionate figure, and measure it had none; but all these it gat afterwards, to the end that being thus digested and brought into decent order, it might afford the bodies and organs of the earth, the sea, the heavens, the stars, the plants and living creatures, of all sorts. Bua as for them who attribute and give that which he calleth in *Timæus*, Necessity; and in his Treatise *Philebus*, Infinity and Immensity of excess and defect of too much and too little; unto matter, and not unto the soul: how are they able to maintain that it is the cause of evil, considering that he supposeth always, that the said matter is without form and figure whatsoever, destitute of all qualities and faculties proper unto it, comparing it unto those oyls, which having no smell of their own, Persumers use in the composition of their odors and precious oyntments: for impossible it is, that *Plato* should suppose the thing, which of it self is idle, without active quality, without moving and inclination to any thing, to be the cause and beginning of evil, or name it an infinity, wicked and evil doing; nor likewise a necessity, which in many things repugneth against God, as being rebellious, and refusing to obey him: for as touching that necessity, which overthroweth heaven, as he saith in his Politiques, and turneth it clean contrary; that inbred concupiscence and confusion of the first and ancient nature, wherein there was no order at all, before it was ranged to that beautiful disposition of the world, as now it is; how came it among things, if the subject, which is matter, was without all qualities, and void of that efficacy which is in causes? and considering that the Creator himself being of his own nature all good, desired as much as might be, to make all things like unto himself? for a third, besides these two principles, there is none. And if we will bring evil into the world, without a precedent cause and principle to beget it, we shall run and fall into the difficult perplexities of the Stoicks; for of those two principles which are, it cannot be that either the good, or that which is altogether without form and quality whatsoever, should give being or beginning to that which is naught. Neither hath *Plato* done, as some that came after him, who for want of seeing and understanding a third principle and cause, between God and matter, have run on end, and tumbled into the most absurd and falsest reasons that is, devising, forsooth, I wot not how, that the nature of evil should come without forth casually, and by accident, or rather of the own accord: forasmuch as they will not grant unto *Epicurus* that the least Atome that is, should turn never so little, or decline aside, saying, that he bringeth in a rash and inconsiderate motion, without any cause precedent: whereas they themselves the mean while affirm, that sin, vice, wickedness, and ten thousand other deformities and imperfections of the body, come by consequence without any cause efficient in the principles. But *Plato* saith not so, for he ridding matter from all different quality, and removing far from God all cause of evil, thus hath he written as touching the world in his Politiques: The world (quoth he) received all good things from the first author who created it; but what evil thing soever there is, what wickedness, what injustice in heaven, the same it self hath from the exterior habitude, which was before, and the same it doth transmit, and give to the creatures beneath. And a little after he proceedeth thus: In tract of time (quoth he) as oblivion took hold, and set sure footing, the passion and imperfection of the old disorder came in place, and got the upperhand more and more; and great danger there is, lest growing to dissolution, it be plunged again into the vast gulf, and bottomless pit of confused dissimilitude.

But dissimilitude there can be none in matter, by reason that it is without quality, and void of all difference: whereof *Eudemus*, among otherrs, being ignorant, mocked *Plato* for not putting that to be the cause, source, and first original of evil things, which in many places he calleth mother and nurse: For *Plato* indeed termeth matter, mother and nurse: but he saith likewise, That the cause of evil is the motive puissance resiant in the said matter, which is in bodies become divisible, to wit, a reasonless and disorderly motion: howbeit, for all that, not without soul, which plainly and expresly in his books of Laws, he termeth a soul, contrary and repugnant to that which is the cause of all good; for that the soul may well be the cause and principle of motion; but understanding is the cause of order and harmony in motion: for God made not the matter idle, but hath kept it from being any more disquieted and troubled with a foolish and rash cause: neither hath he given unto nature the beginnings and principles of mutations and passions, but being, as it were, enwrapped and enfolded with all sorts of passions and inordinate mutations, he cleared it of all enormities, disorders, and errors whatsoever, using as proper instruments to bring about all this, numbers, measures, and

and proportions; the effect whereof, is not to give unto things, by moving and mutation the passions and differences of the other and of diversity, but rather to make them infallible, firm, and stable, yea, and like unto those things which are always of one sort, and evermore resemble themselves.

This is in my judgement the minde and sentence of *Plato*, whereof my principal proof and argument is this, That by this interpretation is salved that contrariety which men say, and seemeth indeed to be in his writings: for a man would not attribute unto a drunken Sophister, much less then unto *Plato*, so great unconstance and repugnance of words, as to affirm one and the same nature to be created, and uncreated: and namely in his book entituled *Phædrus*, that the soul is eternal, and uncreated; but in *Timæus*, that it was created and engendred. Now as touching those words of his the Treatise *Phædrus*, they are all well near in every mans mouth very rise, whereby he proveth, that the soul cannot perish, because it was never engendred: and semblably he proveth, that generation it had none, because it moveth it self. Again, in the book entituled *Timæus*, God (quoth he) hath not made the soul to be yonger then the body, according as now in this place we purpose to say, that it cometh after it, for never would he have permitted that the elder being coupled and linked with the yonger, should be commanded by it. But we standing much (I wot not how) upon inconsiderate rashness and vanity, use to speak in some sort accordingly: for certain it is, that God hath with the body joyned the soul, as precedent both in creation, and also in power and vertue, like as the Dame or Mistress with her subject, for to rule and command. Again, when he had said that the soul being turned upon herself, began to live a wise and eternal life: The body of the heaven (quoth he) was made visible, but the soul invisible, participating the discourse of reason, and of harmony, engendred by the best of things intellectual and eternal, being likewise it self the best of things engendred and temporal. Where it is to be noted, that in this place expresly calling God the best of all eternal things, and the soul the best of things created and temporal, by this most evident antithesis and contrariety, he taketh from the soul that eternity which is without beginning and procreation.

And what other solution or reconciliation is there, of these contradictions, but that which himself giveth to those who are willing to receive it: for he pronounceth that soul to be ingenerable and procreated, which moved all things rashly and disorderly before the constitution of the world; but contrariwise he calleth that, procreated and engendred, which God framed and composed of the first, and of a permanent, eternal, and perfect good substance, namely, by creating it wise and well ordered, and by putting and conferring even from himself unto sense, understanding, and order unto motion: which when he had thus made, he ordained and appointed it to be the Governor and Regent of the whole world. And even after the same manner he pronounceth, that the body of the world is in one sort eternal, to wit, not created, nor engendred; and after another sort both created and engendred. For when he saith, that whatsoever is visible, was never at rest, but moved rashly and without all order: and that God took the same, disposed and ranged it in good order; as also when he saith, that the four general elements, fire, water, earth, and air, before the whole world was of them framed and ordered decently made a wonderful trouble and trembling, as it were, in the matter, and were mightily shaken by it, such was their deformity and inequality. It appeareth plainly that he maketh these bodies in some sort to have a being and subsistence before the creation of the world. Contrariwise, when he saith, that the body is yonger then the soul, and that the world was made and created in as much as the same is visible and palpable, as having a body, and that all things appear so as they are, when they were once made and created, manifest it is, and every man may see, that he attributeth a kinde of nativity to the nature of the body; and yet for all that, far is he off, from being contradictory and repugnant to himself so notoriously, and that in the most main points. For it is not the same body nor of the same sort, which he saith was created by God, and to have been before it was; for that were directly the case of some Mountebank or jugling Enchanter; but himself sheweth unto us, what we are to understand by this, generation or creation: For before time (quoth he) all that is in the world, was without order, measure and proportion; but after that the universal world began to be fashioned, and brought into some decent form, whereas he found the fire first, the water, the earth, and the ayr pell mell in the same places, and yet having some shew and token what they were, but confusedly hudled every where (as a man may well think that every thing must needs be so, where God is absent) in this case as they were then, God, I say, finding them, first brought the same into frame and fashion, by the means of forms and numbers. Furthermore, having said before that it was not work nor of one onely proportion, but of twain, to joyn and frame together the fabrick of the world, a solid mass, as it was, and carrying a depth and thickness with it: and declared moreover, that God after he had bestowed water and ayr, between fire and earth, conjoyned with all and framed the heaven, together with them. Of these things (quoth he) such as they were, and four in number, the body of the world was engendred, agreeable in proportion, and entertaining amity by that means: Insomuch as being once thus united and compact, there is nothing that can make disunion or dissolution, but he alone who first limitted and brought altogether; teaching us hereby most plainly that God was the Father and Author, not of the body simply, nor of the frame, fabrick and matter onely of the world, but also of that proportion, measure, beauty and similitude which is in the body thereof: semblably thus much we are to think of the soul, as if one were not created by God, nor the soul of the world, but a certain power of motion, fantastical, turbulent, subject unto opinion, stirring and moving of it self, and always, but without any order, measure, or reason whatsoever.

The other, when God had adorned it with numbers and proportions conveniente, he ordained to be the Regent and Governess of the world, created like as it self was also created. Now that this is the tru: sentence and meaning of *Plato*, and not by a fantastical maner of speculation and inquisition, as touching the Creation or Generation, as well of the world as of the soul: this, besides many others, may be an argument, that of the soul, he saith it was created and not created: of the world always, that it was engendred and created, but never eternal and not created. To prove this, we need not for to cite testimonies out of the Book *Timeus*, considering that the said Book throughout, from the one end to the other, treateth of nothing else, but of the Generation or creation of the world. And of other books, in his Atlantick *Timeus* making his prayers, nameth him who beforetime was by his work, and now by his word, God. And in his Politique, his Parmonidian guest saith, that the world being framed and made by God, became partaker of many good things: and in case there be any evil thing in it, the same is a remnant mingled within the first habitude and estate wherein it was at first, before the constitution thereof, all irregular and disorderly. And in his Books of Commonwealth, speaking of that number, which some call the Marriage, *Socrates* began to discourse and say thus, The God (quoth he) who is created and engendred, hath his period and conversation, which the perfect number doth comprize. In which place, what can he call the God created and engendred, but the world. *****

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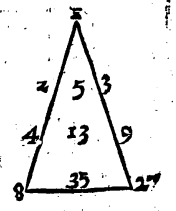
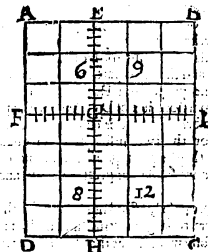
The first copulation is of one and two, the second of three and four, the third of five and six; of which there is not one that maketh a quadrate number either by it self, or by others: the forth is of seven and eight, which being joyned to the first, make in all the square quadrat number six and thirty.



But of those numbers which *Plato* hath set down the quaternary, hath a more perfect and absolute generation; namely, when even numbers are multiplied by even intervals, and uneven numbers likewise by odde intervals: for first it containeth unity as the very common stock of all numbers as well even as odde, and of those under it; two and three be the first flat and plain numbers, and after them four and nine are the first squares, then follow eight and seven and twenty, the first cubique numbers, putting the unity out of this account. By which it appeareth that his will was not, that these numbers should be all set one above another directly in a right line; but apart, one after another alternatively, the even of the one side, and the odd of the other, according to the description above made. Thus shall the files or conjugations also be of like with like, and make the notable numbers, as well by composition or addition, as by multiplication of one with another: by composition, thus, Two and three make five; four and nine make thirteen; eight and seven and twenty arise to five and thirty. For of these numbers the Pythagoreans call five, γαμὸν, as much to say, as a sound, supposing that of the spaces and intervals of Tone, the fift, was the first that spake or sounded: thirteen they termed λεῖμμα, that is to say, the Remanent or Defect, like as *Plato* did; despairing to divide a Tone in two equal portions; and five and thirty they term Harmony, for that it is composed of the first numbers cubique, proceeding from even and odde of the four numbers, to wit, six, eight, nine and twelve, containing an Arithmetical and Harmonical proportion. But this will appear more evidently by this figure here described and represented to the eyes. Suppose then there be a figure set down in form of of a tile, called *Paralellogrammon*, with right angles, A.B.C.D.

Whereof



Whereof the one side (to wit, the less) A. B. is of five; the other, and namely, the longer, A. D. is of the seven parts: let the less side be divided into unequal sections, to wit, two and three, three unto E. and the greater into other two unequal sections, three and four to F. then draw lines from the sections, crossing directly one another, by E. G. H. and F.G.I. So A.E.G.F. shall be six, A.B.I.G. nine: G.H.D.F. eight, and G.I.C.H. twelve. This tile-form figure called *Parallelogrammon*, being more long then broad, compassed of five and thirty parts, containeth in it all the proportion of the first accords and consonances of Musick in the number of the spaces into which it is divided. For six and eight have the proportion Epitritos, to wit, the whole and one third part; wherein consisteth the symphony Diatessaron, that is to say, a fourth. Six and nine carry the proportion Hemiolion, to wit, the whole and half; and therein consisteth Diapente, that is to say, a fifth. Between six and twelve there is the double proportion, and therein consisteth Diapason, that is to say, an eighth. There is also the proportion of Tone sesquioctave, in nine and eight, which is the reason that the number five and thirty containing the proportions of Tones, the consonances also and accords, they call Harmony, which being multiplied by six, ariseth to two hundred and ten, the very just number of days wherein seven moneth children have their perfection in the womb, and are ready to be born. *Item*, go to work another way, and begin by multiplication in this wise, Twice three make six, and four times nine come to six and thirty, and seven and twenty multiplied by eight, ariseth to two hundred and sixteen. Now the perfect number is six, for that it standeth of equal parts, and in regard of the copulation of even and odde it is called the Marriage. Again, that which is more, it consisteth of the beginning and of addition of number, to wit, Unity or One, of the first even number which is two, and of the first and odde number that is three. Moreover, six and thirty is the first number both four-square and also triangular. Four-square, if it arise from the basis, six, and triangular, from eight: for it ariseth by multiplication of two quadrate numbers, to wit, of four, multiplying nine; and by addition of three cubes, one, eight, and seven and twenty, which being put together, make up six and thirty the number before described. Furthermore, it may be drawn out in form of a tile, more one way then another from the two sides, and ariseth by multiplying twelve by three, or nine by four. Now if a man take the numbers of the sides in those figures before described, to wit, six of the four-square, and eight of the triangle; nine of one of Parallelograms, and twelve of the other; he shall finde that they will make the proportions of all the symphonies or accords in Musick. For twelve compared with nine, will be Diatessaron, or the fourth, which is the proportion that Nete hath to Mese; but compared with eight, it is a Diapente, or a fifth, the proportion of Mese or the Mean to Hypate; with twelve, it will be Diapason, or a just eighth, which is the proportion between Nete and Hypate. As for the number of two hundred and sixteen, it is a cubique, arising from six, as the basis, and is equal to the own compass or circuit. These numbers proposed, having such vertues and properties, yet the last seven and twenty hath this peculiar quality by it self, that it is equal unto all the other before it, being put together; namely, one, two, three, four, eight, and nine. Moreover, it containeth the just number of the days of the Moons revolution. The Pythagoreans also do place the Tone of distances and intervals of sounds in this very number, which is the reason that they call 13 λεῖμμα, as one would say, the default, for that it wanteth one of being the half of twenty seven. Moreover, that these numbers contain the proportions of all the consonances and accords in Musick, it is easie to be understood; for there is the proportion double of two to one, and therein consisteth Diapason; the Hemiolion or one and half of three to two, wherein is Diapente: likewise Epitritos, of four to three, and therein consisteth Diatessaron: also the triple of nine and three, wherein you shall finde Diapason and Diapente, to wit, a fift above a duple. *Item*, the quadruple of eight and two, wherein is Dis diapason. There is besides, the sesquioctave, of eight to nine, wherein is Tonizon. If then a man count the unity which is common unto the numbers as well even as odde unto four, the whole yieldeth ten: and the even numbers between it and ten, with the unity being put together make fifteen, a number triangular, arising from the basis five: as for the odde numbers, to wit, one, three, nine, and twenty seven arise to forty, if they be summed together, and this number of forty is composed of thirteen and twenty seven, by which the Mathematicians do precisely measure the intervals of musick & melody

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in song, calling the one Diesis, and the other Tonos: and the said number of forty ariseth by way multiplication, by the vertue of quaternity; for if you multiply four times every one of the four firſt, whereas by themſelves to wit, one, two, three, four, there will ariſe four, eight, twelve, a nd ſixteen, which being all ſummed together, make forty; which number containeth beſides, all the proportions of conſonances and accords: for compare ſixteen with twelve, you ſhall have the proportion Epitritos, that is to ſay, one and the third part, with eight duple, with four quadruple; alſo twelve compared to eight, hath the proportion Hemiolion, that is to ſay, one and a half, to four triple, which comprehend the proportions juſt of Diateſſaron, Diapente, Diapaſon, and Dis-diapaſon: Over and beſides, the foreſaid numbes of forty, is equal to the firſt two quadrats, and the two firſt cubick numbers taken together, for the two firſt ſquares or quadrats be one and four, the cubicks eight and twenty ſeven, which if they be put together, amount to forty: So that the quaternity of *Plato* is in the diſpoſition thereof more ample, of greater variety and perfection then that quaternity of *Pythagoras*.

But foraſmuch as the numbers propoſed, afford not places for the medieties which are inſerted, neceſſary it was to extend the numbers to larger tearms and bonds, retaining ſtill the ſame proportions: in regard whereof, we muſt ſay ſomewhat what they be, and treat firſt of theſe medieties. The former then, is that which both ſurmounting, and being alſo ſurmounted in equal number, is called in theſe days Arithmetical: the other which ſurmounteth, and is ſurmounted by the ſame part of their extremities, is named *Hypenantiæ*, that is to ſay, ſubcontrary; as for example, The two limits or extremities, and the midſt of the arithmetical, be ſix, nine, and twelve: for nine, which is in the midſt, ſurmounteth ſix juſt as much in number as it is ſurmounted of twelve, that is to ſay, by three: but of the ſubcontrary, theſe be the extremities and the mids, ſix, eight, and twelve, for eight, which is the mids, ſurmounteth ſix by two, and is ſurmounted of twelve by four, which four is the third part of twelve, like as two is the third part of ſix. Thus it falleth out in the mediety Arithmetical, the mids ſurmounteth the one of theſe extremities, and is ſurmounted of the other, equally by the ſame part of the own; but in the ſubcontrary by the ſame part, not of the own, but of the extremities out gone of the one, and outgoing the other: and hereupon it is called ſubcontrary, and the ſame they likewiſe call harmonical, becauſe it affordeth to the extremities the firſt reſonances, to wit, between the greateſt and the leaſt Diapaſon, that is to ſay, an eight; between the greateſt and the mids, Diapente, that is to ſay, a five; and between the mids and the leaſt, Diateſſeron, that is to ſay, a fourth: for the greateſt tearm or extremity being ſet upon the note or ſtring Nete, and the leaſt upon Hypate, the mids will be found juſt upon Meſe, that is to ſay, the mean, which maketh in regard of the greateſt Diapente, and of the leaſt Diateſſaron: ſo that by this reaſon, eight ſhall be upon the mean, twelve upon Nete, and ſix upon Hypate: but how to know eaſily and readily theſe medieties aforeſaid, *Eudorus* hath ſhewed the maner plainly and ſimply. And firſt and formoſt in the Arithmetical, conſider thus much: for if you take the two extremities, and put them together, and then the moyetie of the entire ſum, the ſame will fall out to be the mediety Arithmetical: or take the moyetie of each one of the extremities, and adde them one to the other, that which ariſeth thereof ſhall be mediaty Arithmetical, in duples and triples alike: but in the ſubcontrary, or harmonical, if the two extremities be one to the other in proportion duple, take the half of the greater, and the third part of the leſs, and the number ariſing of thoſe two ſhall be the medicty Harmonical: but in caſe the two extremities be in proportion triple, then contrariwiſe a man ought to take the moyetie of the leſs, and the third part of the greater, for then the ſum will be the mediety that he looketh for: as for example, let the leſs extremity be in triple proportion ſix, and the greater eighteen, if you take the half of ſix, which is three, and the third part of eighteen, which is ſix, you ſhall come to nine, for the medicty which doth ſurmount, and is ſurmounted by the ſame part of the two extremities, that is to ſay, the one half. Thus you ſee how the medicties are taken: now the ſame muſt be interjected and placed between, for to fill and make up the places or intervals double and triple; but of the number propoſed, ſome have no place of the middle, others, not ſufficient; and therefore the maner is to augment and ſet them out, in retaining always ſtill the ſame proportion, and ſo by that means make places and receptacle ſufficient for to receive the ſaid medieties or mediocrities: Firſt therefore, for the leſs end or extremity, in ſtead of one, they put ſix, becauſe of all numbers it is the firſt that hath a half and a third, and multiply all the numbers under by ſix, as it is written underneath, for to receive both the medieties in duple intervals.

12. 2.	1.	3. 18.
24. 4.		9. 54.
48. 8.		27. 162.

And as for that *Plato* hath ſaid, the intervals being made ſeſquialteral, ſeſquitertia, and ſeſquioctaves, out of theſe links in the precedent diſtances, he filled all the epitrites, with the interval of ſeſquioctave, leaving one part of each, and this diſtance of this part being left number to number, having for the tearms and extremities, two hundred fifty ſix, and two hundred forty three, &c. Upon theſe words of the text, forced they were to reduce theſe numbers, and make them greater, for by order two ought to have ſeſquioctave proportion, ſeeing that ſix of it ſelf could not have proportion ſeſquioctave, and if it were divided by cutting the unites piece-meal, the intelligence and doctrene thereof would be very intricate and hard to be conceived, therefore he called this operation in ſome ſort multiplication, like as in the harmonical mutation, where if you extend and augment the firſt number, neceſſarily

neceſſarily the deſcription of all the other notes muſt be ſtretched out and enlarged likewiſe. And therefore *Eudorus* following herein *Crantor*, taketh for the firſt number three hundred four-ſcore and four, which ariſeth by multiplying threeſcore and four, by ſix: and theſe were induced ſo to do by the number threeſcore and four, having for the ſeſquioctave, eight, which is the proportion between threeſcore and four, and three-ſcore and twelve, But it agreeth better with the Text, and the words of *Plato*, to ſuppoſe a moyety. For the default which they call λεῖμμα, will have the ſeſquioctave proportion in the numbers which *Plato* hath ſet down, two hundred ſix and fifty, and two hundred three and forty, having put for the firſt one hundred fourſcore and twelve: and if the double of it be ſuppoſed for the firſt, the λεῖμμα ſhall be of the ſame proportion, but in number double, which five hundred and twelve hath to four hundred eighty four: for two hundred fifty and ſix are in epitrite or ſeſquitertial proportion to one hundred fourſcore and twelve, and five hundred and twelve to four hundred fourſcore and four. And verily, the reduction to this number was not without reaſon and proportion, but yieided a propable reaſon to *Crantor*: for the number of threeſcore and four is a cube, proceeding from the firſt quadrate, and a quadrate likewiſe, ariſing from the firſt cube, and being multiplied by three, the firſt odde number: the firſt triangular number, the firſt perfect number and ſeſquialter, make one hundred fourſcore and twelve, which number alſo (as we will ſhew) hath his ſeſquioctave. But firſt of all you ſhall underſtand better what is λεῖμμα, as alſo what is the meaning of *Plato*, if you call to minde a little, that which is uſually taught and delivered in the Pythagoreans Schools: for Diaſtema, that is to ſay, intervals or ſpace in matter of ſong, is whatſoever is between two ſounds different in Tenor or Tenſion. Of theſe intervals, one is called *Tonus*, to wit, that whereof the harmony Diapente ſurmounteth Diateſſaron. Of this entire Tone, as Muſicians do hold, cut in twain, by the moyety are made two intervals, and both of them, the one as well as the other, go under the name *Hemitonium*. But the Pythagoreans do not think that it can be equally divided: whereas therefore the two ſexions be unequal, they call the leſs λεῖμμα, that is to ſay, the default, becauſe it is ſomewhat leſs then the one half. And therefore ſome Maſters of Muſick there be, who make the accord Diateſſeron, of two Tones and a Demi-tone or Hæmitonion: others again of two Tones and a λεῖμμα. So as it ſeemeth that the teſtimony of hearing accordeth with the harmonical Muſicians; and of demonſtration with the Mathematicians: and their proof of demonſtration goeth in this manner. This is put down by them for certain, and approved by their inſtruments, that Diapaſon hath a double proportion, Diapente a ſeſquialteral, Diateſſaron a ſeſquitertial, and a Tone a ſeſquioctave. And the truth hereof, a man may try preſently by an experiment, namely, by hanging two weights double, unto two ſtrings that be equal, or by making two concavities in pipes, the one twice as long as the other, otherwiſe equal: for the Shawme or Hautboys, which is the longer, will ſound more baſe and loud, as Hypate in regard of Nete: and of the two ſtrings, that which was ſtretched by the heavier weight will ſound higher and ſmaller, as Nete in compariſon of Hypate: and this is the very conſonance Diapaſon. Semblably, three compared unto twain, be it in length or in weight, will make Diapente; and four to three, Diateſſaron: for the one hath the proportion epitrite, and the other hemiolion. And if the unequality of the foreſaid lengths or weights be in proportion hemioctave, that is to ſay, of ſeven to eight, it will make the interval *Toniæon*, not altogether an harmonical accord, howbeit (as one would ſay) ſomewhat muſical and melodious; for that theſe ſounds, if one ſtrike, touch or ſound one after another, make a pleaſant noiſe, and delectable to the ears; but if altogether, the noiſe will be troubleſome and offenſive: whereas contrariwiſe, in conſonances and accords, howſoever one touch them, either together, or one after another, the ear receiveth the conſent, and accord with great delight. And yet this may moreover be ſhewed by reaſon, for the harmony Diapaſon is compoſed of Diapente, and of Diateſſaron, like as in number the double is compoſed of Hemiolion and Epitritos; for twelve is in proportion of Epitritos to nine, and Hemiolion to eight, and double to ſix: ſo that the double proportion is compounded of the ſeſquialteral and the ſeſquitertion, like as Diapaſon of Diapente and Diateſſaron: but as there Diapente is greater then Diateſſaron by a Tone, ſo here in numbers, Hemiolion is greater then Epitritos by a ſeſquioctave. This being thus proved by demonſtration, let us ſee now, whether our ſeſquioctave may be divided into two equal ſections; for if it cannot, no more then, can the Tone; and for that eight and nine make the firſt proportion ſeſquioctave, and have no interval between; both the one and the other being doubled, the number falling out between, maketh two intervals; ſo that it appeareth, that if the two intervals be equal, the ſeſquioctave may be equally divided in twain. Now the double of nine is eighteen, and of eight, ſixteen, which admit between them, ſeventeen. So it falleth out, that one of the intervals is greater, and the other leſs; for the former is of eighteen to ſeventeen, and the other of ſeventeen to ſixteen. Then the ſeſquioctave proportion is divided into portions and ſections unequal, and ſo conſequently the tone alſo; and therefore this diviſion being made, none of the ſections is properly a Demytone, but one of them by good right hath been termed by the Mathematicians λεῖμμα: and this is it that *Plato* ſaid: God when he filled the epitrites with ſeſquioctaves, left a portion of each: whereof there is the ſame reaſon and proportion, that two hundred fifty ſix, have unto two hundred forty three; for take a Diateſſaron in two numbers, which have between them a proportion Epitritos, as two hundred fifty and ſix, to one hundred ninety two; of which let the leſs number, one hundred ninety two beſet upon the baſe note of a tetracord, & the greater, to wit, two hundred fifty and ſix upon the higheſt note: It muſt be ſhewed, that if this be filled with two ſeſquioctaves, there remaineth an interval as great as is between two hundred fifty ſix and two hundred forty three. For if the

the baſer ſound be ſtretched one tone; which is the proportion ſeſquioctave, it maketh two hundred and ſixteen: andagain, it it be ſtretched another tone, it becometh two hundred forty three, which ſurmounteth two hundred and ſixteen, by twenty and ſeven, and two hundred and ſixteen ſurmounteth one hundred fourſcore and twelve by four and twenty, of which, the ſeven and twenty is the ſeſquioctave of two hundred and ſixteen, and four and twenty, of one hundred fourſcore and twelve: and therefore of theſe three numbers, the greateſt ſeſquioctave is of the midſt, and the middle of the leaſt; and the diſtance or interval, from the leaſt to the greateſt, to wit, from one hundred fourſcore and twelve, unto two hundred forty and three, two tones filled with two ſeſquioctaves: which interval being taken away, there remaineth the interval of the whole, which is between two hundred forty and three, and two hundred fifty and ſix, and that is thirteen: and that is the reaſon why they called that number λεῖμμα, that is to ſay, a defaulk or reſidue.

For mine own part, I think verily that the ſenſe of *Plato* is moſt clearly expounded and declared in theſe numbers. Others having put down the ends and tearms of Diateſſeron, for the treeble two hundred eighty eight, and for the baſe, two hundred ſixteen; go through with the reſt proportionably, ſave onely that they take the two defaults or remnants, between the two extremities: for the baſe being ſet up one tone or note, maketh, two hundred forty three: and the treeble being let down another note, becometh two hundred fifty ſix: for theſe be ſeſquioctaves, two hundred forty three, and two hundred ſixteen; likewiſe two hundred eighty eight, and two hundred fifty ſix; ſo that either of the intervals is Toniæon; and there remaineth that which is between two hundred forty three, and two hundred fifty ſix, which is not a Demytone, but leſs: for two hundred eighty eight, is more then two hundred fifty ſix. by thirty two; and two hundred forty three, more then two hundred ſixteen, by twenty ſeven; and two hundred fifty ſix, more then two hundred forty three, by thirteen; and both theſe are leſſer then the advantages or ſurpluſſages by half: and therefore Diateſſaron is found to be of two tones and a λεῖμμα, and not of two and a half. And thus you ſee the demonſtration of this; and ſo it is no hard matter to underſtand by that which we have delivered, what is the reaſon why *Plato* having ſaid, that intervals ſeſquialteral, ſeſquitertian and ſeſquioctaves are made by filling the ſeſquitertians with ſeſquioctaves; made no mention of the ſeſquialterons, but hath left them behinde, namely, for that the ſeſquialter is filled, when one patteth a ſeſquioctave to a ſeſquitertial, or rather a ſeſquiterce to a ſeſquioctave.

Theſe things thus ſhewed in ſome ſort by way of demonſtration; now to fill the intervals, and to interject the medieties, if none before had ſhewed the means and manner how, I would leave you to do it for your exerciſe; but the ſame having been done already by many worthy perſonages, and principally by *Crantor Clearchus*, and *Theodorus*, all born in the City *Soli*: It will not be impertinent to deliver ſomewhat as touching the difference between them; for *Theodorus* maketh not two ſiles of numbers as the other do, but rangeth them all in the ſame line directly one after another, to wit, the duple and the triple: and principally he groundeth and fortifieth himſelf by this poſition (which they ſo call) of the ſubſtance drawn out in length, making two branches, as it were from one trunk; and not four of twain: Then he ſaith, that the interpoſitions of the medieties ought ſo to take place; for otherwiſe there would be a trouble and confuſion: and anon paſſeth immediately from the firſt duple to the firſt triple, when they ſhould be that which ought to fulfil the one and the other. On the other ſide, there maketh for *Crantor*, the poſition and ſituation of plain numbers with plain, ſquares with ſquares, and cubes with cubes, which are ſet one againſt another in oppoſite ſiles, not according to their range, but alternatively,

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Here is a great breach in the original.

which is of one ſort as Idea or form; but that which is divided by bodies, is the ſubject and the matter; and the mixture of them both in common, is that which is compleat and perfect.

As touching then the ſubſtance indiviſible, which is always one, and of the ſame ſort; we are not thus to think, that it admitteth no diviſion for the ſmalneſs thereof, like to thoſe little bodies called *Atomi*: but that of it which is ſimple, pure, and moſt ſubject to any paſſion or alteration whatſoever, always like it ſelf, and after one manner, is ſaid to be indiviſible, and to have no parts; by which ſimplicity, when it cometh to touch in ſome ſort, ſuch things as be compounded, diviſible, and carried to and fro, it cauſeth that diverſity to ceaſe, reſtraineth that multitude, and by means of ſimilitude, reduceth them to one and the ſame habitude. And if a man be diſpoſed to call that which is diviſible by bodies, matter, as ſubject unto it, and participating the nature thereof, uſing a certain homonymie or equivocation, it mattereth not much, neither ſkilleth it as touching the thing in queſtion: but thoſe who would have the corporal matter to be mixed with the indiviſible ſubſtance, be in a great error: firſt, becauſe *Plato* hath not now uſed any names thereof, for that he hath evermore uſed to call it a receptacle to receive all; and a nurſe, not diviſible by bodies, but rather a body divided into individual particulars. Again, what difference would there be, between the generation of the world, and of the ſoul, if the conſtitution of the one and the other, did conſiſt of matter and things intelligible?

Certes, *Plato* himſelf, as one who would in no wiſe admit the ſoul to be engendred of the body, ſaith, That God put all that which was corporal within her; and then, that without forth the ſame was encloſed round about with it: In ſum, when he had framed and finiſhed the ſoul according to proportion, he inferreth and annexeth afterwards a Treatiſe of Matter, which before when he handled the creation of the ſoul, he never required nor called for, becauſe created it was without the help of matter.

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The like to this may be ſaid by way of confutation againſt *Poſidonius* and his Sectaries; for very far they went not from matter, but imagining that the ſubſtance of terms and extremities, was that which he called diviſible by bodies, and joyning with the intelligible, they affirmed and pronounced, that the ſoul is the Idea of that which is diſtant every way, and in all the dimenſions, according to the number which containeth harmony, which is very erronious: For the Mathematicks (quoth he) are ſituate between the firſt intelligible and ſenſible things: but the ſoul having of intelligible things an eternal eſſence, and of ſenſible objects, a paſſible nature: therefore meet it is that it ſhould have a middle ſubſtance between both. But he was not ware, that God after he had made and finiſhed the ſoul, uſed the bounds and terms of the body, for to give a form to the matter, determining the ſubſtance thereof diſperſed, and not linked or contained within any limits, by environing it with ſuperficies, compoſed of triangles, all joyned together. And yet more abſurd then that it is, to make the ſoul an Idea, for that the ſoul is always in motion; but the Idea is immoveable, neither can the Idea be mixed with that which is ſenſible, but the ſoul is always linked faſt with the body: beſides, God did imitate Idea as one who followed his patern; but he wrought the ſoul as his piece of work: And that *Plato* held the ſoul not to be a number, but rather a thing ordained by number, we have already ſhewed and declared before.

But againſt both theſe opinions and their patrons, this may be oppoſed in common: That neither in numbers nor in terms and limits of bodies, is there any apparence or ſhew of that puiſſance, whereby the ſoul judgeth of that which is ſenſible; for the intelligence and faculty that it hath, was drawn from the participation and ſociety of the intelligible principle: But opinions, beliefs, aſſents, imaginations, alſo to be paſſive and ſenſitive of qualities inherent in bodies, there is no man will think that they can proceed from unities, pricks, lines, or ſuperficies: and yet not onely the ſouls of mortal men have the power to judge of all the exterior qualities perceptible by the ſenſes; but alſo the very ſoul of the world, as *Plato* ſaith, when it returneth circularly into herſelf, and toucheth any thing that hath a ſubſtance diſſipable and apt to be diſperſed; as alſo when it meeteth with ought that is indiviſible, by moving herſelf totally, ſhe telleth in what reſpect any thing is the ſame, and in what regard divers and different; whereto principally each thing is meet, either to do or to ſuffer, where, when, and how it is affected, as well in ſuch as are engendred, as in thoſe that are always the ſame. Moreover, making a certain deſcription with all of the ten predicaments, he declareth the ſame more clearly afterwards: True reaſon (quoth he) when it meeteth with that which is ſenſible, and if therewith the circle of the other goeth directly to report the ſame, throughout the whole ſoul thereof, then there be engendred opinions and beliefs that be firm and true: but when it is converſant about that which is intelligible and diſcourſing by reaſon, and the Circle likewiſe of the ſame, turning roundly with facility, doth ſhew the ſame, then of neceſſity there is bred perfect and accompliſhed Science: and in whatſoever theſe two things be infuſed, if a man call it otherwiſe then ſoul, he ſaith any thing rather then the truth: whence cometh it then that the ſoul had this motion opinative, which comprehendeth that which is ſenſible, divers and different from the other intellective that endeth in Science? Hard it were to ſet this down, unleſs a man firmly preſuppoſe that in this place, and at this preſent, he compoſeth not the ſoul ſimply, but the ſoul of the world, with the parts above mentioned, of a better ſubſtance, which is indiviſible; and of a worſe, that he calleth diviſible by bodies; which is nothing elſe, but an imaginative and opinionative motion, affected and accordant to that which is ſenſible, not engendred, but as the other, of an eternal ſubſiſtance: for nature having the intellectual vertue, had alſo the faculty opinionative: but the intellective power is unmoveable, impaſſible, founded and ſet upon that ſubſtance, which abideth always in one ſort: whereas the other is diviſible and wandring, in as much as it toucheth a matter that is always floting, carried to and fro, and diſſipable. For the matter ſenſible had before time no order at all, but was without all form, bound or limitation whatſoever, and the faculty therein had neither expreſs opinions, articulate and diſtinct, nor her motions all certain and compoſed in order: but for the moſt part reſembling turbulent and vain dreams, troubling that which was corporal, unleſs haply they fell upon any thing that was better. For between two it was, having a nature conformable, and accordant to the one and the other: challenging matter by that which is ſenſitive, and by the judicial part thoſe things which are intelligible. And this declareth he himſelf in theſe proper terms: By my reckoning (quoth he) let this be the ſum of the whole account, that theſe three things had their being three ways before the heaven was, to wit, eſſence, ſpace, and generation. As for ſpace or place, he calleth matter by that name, as it were the ſeat, and otherwhiles a receptacle: the eſſence, that which is intelligible; and the generation of the world as yet not made, can be no other thing but a ſubſtance ſubject to motions and alterations, ſituate between that which imprinteth a form, and which is imprinted, diſpenſing and diſtributing the images from thence hither; which is the reaſon it was called diviſible, for that of neceſſity both the ſenſitive muſt be divided, and go with the ſenſible, and alſo the imaginative with the imaginable. For the ſenſitive motion being proper unto the ſoul, moveth toward the ſenſible without: but the intelligence and underſtanding was of it ſelf, ſtable, firm and immoveable: howbeit being infuſed once unto the ſoul, and become maſter and lord thereof, it rolleth and turneth upon it ſelf, and accompliſheth a round and circular motion, about that which is always permanent, and touching that principally which is, and hath being. And therefore hard was the mixtion and aſſociation which mingled the diviſible with the indiviſible, that which is every way moveable, with that which never moveth, and forcing in one word *the other* to meet and joyn with *the ſame*. So *the other* was not motion,

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no more then *the same* was ſtation; but the beginning both of Diverſity, and alſo of Identity; or the ſameneſs: For the one and the other deſcend from divers principles, to wit, *the ſame* from unity, and *the other*, from binary, and were at the firſt mingled confuſedly here in the ſoul; as tyed by number, proportions and medieties harmonical: and *the other* being imprinted into *the ſame*, maketh difference: but *the ſame* infuſed into *the other*, cauſeth order; as it appeareth manifeſtly in the firſt powers of the ſoul, to wit, the faculties of moving and of judging. As for motion, it ſheweth incontinently about the heaven, diverſity in identity by the revolution of the Planets, and identity in diverſity by the ſettled order and ſituation of the fixed ſtars: for in theſe, *the ſame* beareth ſway, and is more predominant; but contrariwiſe, *the other*, in thoſe that be nearer to the earth. But judgement hath two principles, to wit, underſtanding, from *the ſame*, for judging of things univerſal; and ſenſe, from *the other*, to judge of particulars. Now reaſon is mingled of them both, being intelligence in things general and intelligible; but opinion onely in matters ſenſible, uſing for inſtruments, both the ſanſies and imaginations between, and alſo the memories; whereof the former make *the other* in *the ſame*; but the latter, *the ſame* in *the other*. For intelligence is the motion of the intelligent about that which is ſtable and permanent; but opinion is the manſion of the ſentient about that which moveth. As for imagination or ſanſie, being a connexion of opinion to the ſenſe, *the ſame*, placeth it in memory; and contrariwiſe, *the other* ſtirreth it in the difference and diſtinction of that which is paſt, and that which is preſent, touching both identity and diverſity together.

Now the better to underſtand the proportion wherewith he made the ſoul; we muſt take a patern and example, from the conſtitution of the body of the world: for whereas the two extreams, to wit, pure fire and earth, were by nature hard to be tempered one with another; or with another; or, to ſay more truly, impoſſible to be mixed and incorporate together; he placed in the midſt between, ayr before fire, and water before earth: and ſo contempered firſt theſe two mean elements, and afterwards by their help, the other extreams alſo, which he fitted and framed together, both with the ſaid means, and alſo with themſelves one with another. And here again, *the ſame and the other*, being contrary puiſſances and extremities, fighting one againſt the other as meer enemies, he brought together, not immediately by themſelves, but by putting between other ſubſtances, to wit, the indiviſible, before before *the ſame*, and the diviſible before *the other*, according as in ſome ſort the one had affinity and congruency with the other: afterwards when theſe were mixed together, he contempered likewiſe the extreams, and ſo warped and wove, as one would ſay, the whole form of the ſoul, making as far as it was poſſible, of things unlike, ſemblable, and of many one. But ſome there be who give out, that it was not well ſaid of *Plato*, That the nature of *the other*, was hard to be mixed and tempered; conſidering (ſay they) that it is not altogether inſuſceptible of mutation, but a friend to it, and rather the nature of *the ſame*, being firm and hard to be turned and removed, admitteth not eaſily any mixture, but flieth and rejecteth it, to the end that it may remain ſimple, pure, and without alteration: but they who reprove this, are ignorant that *the ſame*, is the Idea of ſuch things as be always of one ſort; and *the other*, the Idea of thoſe that change. Alſo that the effect of this, is evermore to divide, ſeparate, and alter that which it toucheth; and in a word, to make many of one: but the effect of that is, to conjoyn and unite by ſimilitude, many things thereby into one form and puiſſance. Thus you ſee what be the powers and faculties of the ſoul of this univerſality, which entring into the frail, mortal, and paſſible inſtruments of bodies, however they be in themſelves incorruptible, impatible and the ſame; yet in them now appeareth more the form of an indeterminate duality: but that form of the ſimple unity, ſheweth it ſelf more obſcurely, as deeply ſetled within; howbeit for all that, hardly ſhall one ſee and perceive in a man, either paſſion altogether void of reaſon, or motion without underſtanding, wherein there is no luſt, no ambition, no joy or grief: and therefore ſome Philoſophers there be, who would have the perturbations of the minde to be reaſons; as if forſooth, all deſire, ſorrow, and anger, were judgements. Others alſo do hold, that all vertues be paſſions: for in valor (ſay they) there is four, intemperance, pleaſure, injuſtice, lucre. Howbeit, the ſoul being both contemplative, and alſo active at once, as it doth contemplate univerſal thing; ſo it practiſeth particulars, ſeeming to conceive the one by intelligence, and to perceive the other by ſenſe: common reaſon reeeiving always *the ſame*, *in the other*, and likewiſe, *the other*, *in the ſame*, endeavoreth verily to ſever by divers bonds and partitions, one from many; and the indiviſible from the diviſible, but it cannot bring it ſo about, as to be purely in the one or the other, for that the principles be ſo enterlaced one within another, and hudled pell-mell together.

In which regard, God hath appointed a certain receptacle for *the ſame*, and *the other*, of a diviſible and indiviſible ſubſtance, to the end, that in diverſity there ſhould be order; for this was as much as to be cugendred. Seeing that without this, *the ſame* ſhould have had no diverſity, and conſequently no motion nor generation; neither ſhould *the other* have had order, and ſo by conſequence alſo, neither conſiſtence nor generation: for if it ſhould happen to *the ſame*, to be divers from *the other*, and again, to *the other*, to be all one with *the ſame*; ſuch a communion and participation, would bring forth of it ſelf nothing generative, but require ſome third matter to receive them, and to be digeſted and diſpoſed by them. And this is that which God ordained and compoſed firſt, in defining and limiting the infinity of nature, moving about bodies, by the firm ſteadineſs of things intellectual. And like as there is one kinde of brutiſh voyce, not articulate nor diſtinct, and therefore not ſignificant; whereas ſpeech conſiſteth in voyce, that giveth to underſtand what is in the minde: and as harmony doth conſiſt of many ſounds and intervals; the ſound being ſimple and the ſame, but

but the interval a difference and diverſity of ſounds, which when they be mixed and tempered together, make ſong and melody: Even ſo the paſſible part of the ſoul, was infinite, unſtable, and diſordinate; but afterwards became determinate, when tearms and limits were ſet to it, and a certain form expelled to that diviſible and variable diverſity of motion. Thus having conceived and comprized *the ſame*, and *the other*, by the ſimilitudes and diſſimilitudes of numbers, making accord of difference: thereof the life of the univerſal world became wiſe and prudent, the harmony conſonant, and reaſon drawing with her neceſſity, tempered with grace and perſwaſion, which the common ſort call fatal deſtiny; *Empedocles* named concord and diſcord together: *Heraclitus* the oppoſite tenſion and harmony of the world, as of a bow or harp, wherein both ends bend one againſt another: *Parmenides*, light and darkneſs: *Anaxagoras*, underſtanding and infinity: *Zoroaſtes*, God, and the Devil; terming the one *Oromaſdes*, and the other *Arimanius*: But *Euripides* did not well to uſe the disjunctive for the copulative, in this verſe,

Jupiter, *Natures neceſſity*,
Or humane minde, *whether ke be?*

For in truth, that puiſſance which pierceth and reacheth through all things, is both neceſſity, and alſo a minde. And this is it which the Egyptians would covertly give us to underſtand, under the vail of their myſtical fables, that when *Horus* was condemned and diſmembred, his ſpirit and blood was given and awarded to his father, but his fleſh and greaſe to his mother: But of the ſoul there is nothing that remaineth pure and ſincere, nothing unmixt and apart from others: for as *Heraclitus* was wont to ſay: Hidden harmony, is better then the apparent: for that therein, God who tempered it, hath beſtowed ſecretly and concealed, differences and diverſities: and yet there appeareth in the unreaſonable part, turbulent perturbations, in the reaſonable ſettled order: in ſenſes neceſſity and conſtraint; in the underſtanding full power and entire liberty: but the terminant and defining power, loveth the univerſal and indiviſible, by reaſon of their conjunctions and conſanguinity. Contrariwiſe, the dividing puiſſance, inclineth and cleaveth to particulars by the diviſible. The total univerſality joyeth in a ſettled order, by the means of *the ſame*, and again, ſo far forth as need is, in a mutation by the meanes of *the other*: but but the difference of inclinations to honeſty or diſhoneſty, to pleaſure, or diſpleaſure; the raviſhments and tranſportations of the ſpirit in amorous perſons, the combates in them, of honor againſt voluptuous wantonneſs; do evidently ſhew, and nothing ſo much, the commixion of the nature divines, and impaſſible with the mortal, and paſſible part in bodily things: of which himſelf calleth the one the concupiſcence of pleaſure ingenerate and inbred in us, the other an opinion induced from without, deſirous of the ſoveraign good: for the ſoul of it ſelf produceth and yieldeth paſſibility; but the participation of underſtanding cometh to it without forth, infuſed by the beſt principle and cauſe, which is God: ſo the very nature of heaven is not exempt from this double ſociety and communion; but that a man may ſee how otherwhiles it doth encline and bend another way, by the revolution of the ſame which is more predominant, and ſo doth govern the world: and a portion of time will come, like as it hath been often heretofore, when as the wiſdom thereof ſhall be dulled and dazzled, yea, and laid aſleep, being filled with the oblivion of that which is meet and decent for it: and that which from the beginning is familiar and conformable to the body, ſhall draw, weigh down, and turn back the way and courſe of the whole univerſality on the right hand: but break and undo the form thereof quite it ſhall not be able, but reduce it again to the better, and have a regard unto the firſt patern of God, who helpeth the endeavors thereof, and is ready to reform and direct the ſame.

Thus it is ſhewed unto us in many places, that the ſoul is not altogether the work of God; but having a portion of evil inbred in her, ſhe hath been brought into order and good diſpoſe by him, who hath limitted infinity by unity; to the end that it ſhould become a ſubſtance bounded with the own terms: and hath ſet by the means of *the ſame* and *the other*, order, change, difference, and ſimilitude: and hath contracted and wrought a ſociety, alliance and amity of all things one with another, as far as poſſible it was, by the means of numbers and proportions. Of which point, albeit you have heard much ſpeech, and read many books and writings; yet I ſhall not do amiſs, but greatly to the purpoſe, if briefly I diſcourſe thereof. Firſt ſetting down the words of *Plato*. "God (quoth he) deducted firſt from "the univerſal world, one part: and then double ſo much; afterwards a third portion, to wit; the "one, and half of the ſecond, and the triple of the firſt: Soon after a fourth, to wit, the double of "the ſecond: and anon a fift, namely the triple of the third: after that a ſixt, to wit, the octuple of "the firſt, and a ſeventh, which was the firſt ſeven twenty fold. This done, he filled the double and "triple intervals; cutting from them alſo certain parcels from thence, which he interjected between "them: in ſuch ſort as in every interval there were two mediecties: the one ſurmounting, and ſurmount-"ed by the ſame portion of the extremities; the other, ſurmounting by equal number, one of the ex-"tremities, and ſurmounted of another by the like. But ſeeing the intervals carry the proportions ſeſ-"quialteral, ſeſquitertian, and ſeſquioctave: of theſe ligaments in the firſt precedent diſtances, he filled "up all the ſeſquiterces with the interval of the ſeſquioctave, leaving of each of them one part: And this "diſtance of the part or number being left of number to number, it had for the terms and bonds there-"of in proportion to that is between, two hundred fifty ſix, and two hundred forty three. Here firſt and formoſt, a queſtion is moved as touching the quantity of theſe numbers: and ſecondly, concerning the order: and thirdly, of their power. For the quantity and ſum: what they be which he taketh in

the duple intervals? For the order, to wit, whether they ought to be set and disposed all in one range, as *Theodorus* did? or rather as *Crantor*, in the figure of the letter *Lamda*, Λ. setting upon the point or top thereof Unity, or the first, and then in one file apart, the duples, and the triples in another, for the use and power, namely, what they confer to the constitution and composition of the soul. As concerning the first, we will reject those who say, that it sufficieth in these proportions to consider of what nature be the intervals, and of what the midieties which fill them up, in what numbers soever a man may suppose that they have places capable between of the proportions aforesaid: for that the doctrine goeth after the same manner. And albeit that which they say, were true, yet the proof and demonstation thereof is but slender without examples, and hindereth another speculation, wherein there is contained a pleasant kinde of Learning and Philosophy. If then, beginning at Unity, we put apart by themselves the numbers duple, and the triple, as he himself teacheth us, there will be of the one side two, four, eight, on the other, three, nine, and twenty seven; which are in all seven, taking the Unity as common, and proceeding forward in multiplication unto four. For it is not in place onely, but also in many others, where the consent and agreement is very evident, that is between the quaternary and the septenary. And as for that quaternity of the Pythagoreans so much voyced, and so highly by them celebrated, it is of thirty six, which hath this admirable matter in it above all others, that it is compounded of the four first even numbers, and of the four first odde numbers: and it ariseth by the fourth couple or conjugation of number, ranged in order one after the other.

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When God did call, he gave attendance,
And never brag'd of all his valance.

meaning and signifying *Cadmus*. The old Theologians and Divines, who of all Philosophers are most ancient, have put into the hands of the Images of the gods, musical instruments, minding nothing less thereby, then to make this god, or that a minstrel, either to play on Lute, or to sound the Flute, but because they thought there was no greater piece of work then Accord and Harmonical Symphonie could beseem the gods. Like as therefore, he that would seek for sesquitertian, sesquialteral or double proportions of Musick, in the neck or bridge, in the belly or back of a Lute, or in the pegs and pins thereof, were a ridiculous fool (for howsoever these parts ought to have a symmetry and proportion one to another in regard of length and thickness; yet the harmony whereof we speak, is to be considered in the sounds onely.) Even so, probable it is, and standeth with great reason, that the bodies of the stars, the distances and intervals of Spheres, the celerity also of their courses and revolutions, should be proportionate one unto another, yea, and unto the whole world, as instruments of musick well set and tuned, albeit the just quantity of the measure be unknown unto us. But this we are to think, that the principal effect and efficacy of these numbers and proportions, which that great and soveraign Creator used, is the consonance, accord, and agreement of the soul in it self; with which she being endowed, she hath replenished both the heaven it self, when she was setled thereupon, with an infinite number of good things; and also disposed and ordained all things upon the earth, by seasons, by changes and mutations, tempered and measured most excellently well, and with surpassing wisdom, as well for the production and generation of all things, as for the preservation and safety of them, when they were created and made.

An Epitome or Breviary of a Treatise as touching the Creation of the Soul, according to Plato *in* Timæus.

THis Treatise, entituled, *Of the Creation of the Soul*, as it is described in the Book of *Plato* named *Timæus*, declareth all that *Plato*, and the Platoniques have written of that Argument; and inferreth certain Propositions and similitudes Geometrical, which he supposeth pertinent to the speculation and intelligence of the nature of the soul: as also certain Musical and Arithmetical Theoremes. His meaning and saying is, that the first matter was brought into form and shape by the soul. He attributeth to the universal world a soul; and likewise to every living creature a soul of the own by it self, which ruleth and governeth it. He bringeth in the said soul in some sort not engendred, and yet after a sort subject to generation. But he affirmeth, that eternal matter to have been formed by God; that evil and vice is an Imp springing from the said matter, To the end (quoth he) that it might never come into mans thought, That God was the author or cause of evil.

All the rest of this Breviary, is word for word in the Treatise it self, therefore may be well spared in this place, and not rehearsed a second time.

Of Fatal Necessity.

This little Treatise is so pitiously torn, maimed, and dismembred throughout, that a man may sooner divine and guess thereat (as I have done) then translate it. I beseech the Readers therefore, to hold me excused, in case I neither please my self, nor content them, in that which I have written.

ENdeavor I will, and address my self to write unto you (most dear and loving friend *Piso*, as plainly and compendiously as possible I can) mine opinion as touching Fatal destiny, for to satisfie your request: albeit you know full well how wary and precise I am in my writing. First and formost therefore, thus much you must understand, That this term of Fatal destiny is spoken and understood two manner of ways: the one, as it is an action, and the other, as it is a substance. In the first place, *Plato* hath figuratively drawn it forth, and under a type described it as an action, both in his Dialogue, entituled, *Phædrus*, in these words: It is an Adrastian Law or inevitable Ordinance, which always followeth and accompanieth God. And also in his Treatise called *Timæus*,

Timæus, after this manner, The Laws which God hath pronounced and published to the immortal soul, in the procreation of the universal world. Likewise, in his Books of Commonwealth, he saith, That Fatal Necessity is the reason and speech of *Lachesis* the daughter of Necessity. By which places he giveth us to understand, not tragically, but after a Theological manner, what his minde and opinion is. Now if a man (taking the said places already cited and quoted) would expound the same more familiarly in other words, he may declare the former description in *Phædrus* after this sort, namely, that Fatal Destiny is a divine reason or sentence intransgressible and inevitable, proceeding from a cause that cannot be diverted nor impeached. And according to that which he delivereth in *Timæus*, it is a Law consequently ensuing upon the nature and creation of the world, by the rule whereof all things past and are dispenced, that be done. For this is it that *Lachesis* worketh and effecteth, who is in truth the daughter of Necessity, as we have both already said, and also shall better understand, by that which we are to deliver hereafter in this and other Treatises at our leisure. Thus you see what Destiny is, as it goeth for an action; but being taken for a substance, it seemeth to be the universal soul of the whole world, and admitteth a tripartite division. The first Destiny is that which erreth not; the second seemeth to err; and the third is under heaven, and conversant about the earth: of which three, the highest is called *Clotho*; the next under it, is named *Atropos*; and the lowest, *Lachesis*: and she receiveth the influences of her two celestial sisters, transmitting and fastning the same upon terrestrial things, which are under her government. Thus have we shewed summarily, what is to be thought and said as touching Destiny, being taken as a substance; namely, What it is, what parts it hath, after what sort it is, how it is ordained, and in what manner it standeth, both in respect of it self, and also in regard of us: but as concerning the particularities of all these points, there is another fable in the Politiques of *Plato*, which covertly in some sort giveth us intelligence thereof; and the same have we assayed to explain and unfold unto you, as well as possible we can: But to return unto our Destiny as it is an action, let us discourse thereof, forasmuch as many questions, natural, moral and rational depend thereupon. Now for that we have in some sort sufficiently defined already, what it is, we are to consider consequently in order, the quality and manner thereof; howsoever, there be many that think it very strange and absurd to search thereinto, I say therefore, that Destiny is not infinite, but finite and determinate, however it comprehend, as it were, within a circle, the infinity of all things that are, and have been time out of minde, yea, and shall be world without end: for, neither law, nor reason, nor any divine thing whatsoever, can be infinite. And this shall you the better learn and understand, if you consider the total revolution, and the universal time, when as the eight Spheres, as *Timæus* saith, having performed their swift course, shall return to the same head and point again, being measured by the circle of *the same*, which goeth always after one manner: for in this definite and determinate reason, all things, as well in heaven as in earth, the which do consist by the necessity of that above, be reduced to the same situation, and brought again to their first head and beginning. The onely habitude therefore of heaven, which standeth ordained in all points, as well in regard of it self, as of the earth, and all terrestrial matters, after certain long revolutions, shall one day return, yea, and that which consequently followeth after, and those which are linked in a continuity together, bring each one by consequence that which it hath by necessity. For to make this matter more plain, let us suppose that all those things which are in and about us, be wrought and brought to pass by the course of the heavens and celestial influences, all being the very efficient cause both of that which I write now, and also of that which you are doing at this present, yea, and in that sort as you do the same: so that hereafter, when the same cause shall turn about and come again, we shall do the very same that now we do, yea, and after the same manner; yea, we shall become again the very same men. And even so it shall be with all other men: and look whatsoever shall follow in a course or train, shall likewise happen by a consequent and dependent cause: and in one word, whatsoever shall befal in any of the universal revolutions, shall become the same again. Thus apparent it is, as hath already been said, That Destiny being in some sort infinite, is nevertheless determinate and not infinite; as also, that according as we have shewed before, it is evident that it is in manner of a circle; for like as the motion of a circle in a circle, and the time that measureth it is also a circle; even so the reason of those things which are done and happen in a circle, by good right may be esteemed and said to be a circle.

This therefore, if nought else there were, sheweth unto us, in a manner, sufficiently, what is Destiny in generality, but not in particular, nor in each several respect: What then is it? It is the general, in the same kinde of reason, so as a man may compare it with Civil Law: For first and formost, it commandeth the most part of things, if not all, at least wise by way of supposition, and then it comprizeth as much as is possible all matters appertaing to a City or Publike State, generally: And that we may better understand both the one and the other, let us exemplifie and consider the same in specialty: The Civil or Politick Law speaketh and ordaineth generally of a valiant man, as also of a run-away coward, and so consequently of others; howbeit, this is not to to make a Law of this or that particular person; but to provide in general principally, and then of particulars by consequence, as comprized under the said general; for we may very well say, that to remunerate and recompence this or that man for his valor is lawful; as also to punish a particular person for his cowardize, and forsaking his colours; for that the Law potentially and in effect, hath comprized as much, although not in express words: like as the Law (if I may so say) of Physicians, and of Masters of bodily exercise, comprehendeth special and particular points within the general: and even so doth the Law of nature, which first and principally doth determine general matters; and then particulars secondarily and by consequence.

Semblably, may particular and individual things in some sort be said to be destined, for that they be so by consequence with the genera's. But haply some one of those who search and enquire more curiously and exactly into these matters will hold the contrary, and say, that of particular and individual things, proceed the composition of the generals, and that the general is ordained and gathered for the particular. Now that for which another thing is, goeth always before that which is for it; but this is not the proper place to speak of these quidditics; for we are to refer them to some other: howbeit, that destiny doth not comprehend all things purely and expressly, but onely such as be universal and general, is resolved upon for this present, and serveth for that which we have to say hereafter, yea, and agreeth also to that which hath been delivered somewhat before; for that which is finite and determinate, properly agreeable to Divine Providence, is more seen in universal and general things, than in particular; of this nature is the Law of God, and such is likewise the Civil Law, whereas infinity consisteth in particulars.

After this we are to declare, what meaneth this term, By supposition: for surely destiny is to be thought such a thing. We have then called, By supposition, that which is not set down of it self, but supposed and joyned after another; and this signifieth a suit and consequence: This is the Law or Ordinance of *Adrastria*, that is to say, a decree inevitables unto which, if any soul can associate it self, the same shall be able to see by consequence, all that will ensue, even unto another general revolution, and be exempt from all evil; which if it may be able always to do, it shall neither sustain any damage, nor do harm. Thus you see what it is that we call, By supposition in general. Now that Fatal Destiny is of this kinde, evidently appeareth, as well by the substance as the name thereof: for it is called in Greek, εἱμαρμένη, as if one would say εἱρμός, that is, as much as dependant and linked, and a Law it is and Ordinance, for that things therein be ordained and disposed consequently, and in manner of those which are done civilly.

Hereunto is to be annexed a Treatise of Relation, that is to say, what reference and respect hath Fatal Destiny unto Divine Providence, as also unto Fortune: Likewise, what is that which is in us; what is contingent, and such like things. Moreover, we are to decide, wherein and how it is false; wherein also, and how it is true; that all things happen and come to pass by Fatal Destiny, for if it import and imply thus much, That all things are comprized and contained in Fatal Destiny, we must grant this Proposition to be true: and say one put thereto all things done among men, upon the earth, and in the very heaven, and place them within Fatal Destiny, let us grant as much for the present. But if we understand that this word Fatal (as it rather seemeth) doth import not all things, but that onely which followeth and is dependant, then we may not grant and say, that all things be comprehended in Fatal Destiny; considering all that which the Law doth comprehend, and whereof is speaketh, is not lawful, nor according to law: for why? it comprizeth treason, it treateth of cowardize, of running away from ones colours and place in battel, of adultery, and many things semblable: of which we cannot say, any one is lawful: forasmuch, as even to perform valorous service in the wars, to kill Tyrants, or to exploit any vertuous deed, I would not term lawful, because properly that is lawful, which is commanded by the Law; and if the Law did command those things, how can they avoid to be rebellious and transgressors of the Law, who have not done valiant exploits in arms, have not killed Tyrants, nor performed any other notable acts of vertue? and in case they be offenders of the Law, why are they not punished accordingly? But if to punish such, be neither just nor reasonable, then confess we must, that these matters be not legal, nor according to Law; for legal and according to law is that, which is namely prescribed, set down, and expressly commanded by the Law, in any action whatsoever. Semblably, those things onely be Fatal and according to Destiny, which are done by a Divine disposition proceeding, so that Fatal Destiny may well comprize all things: howbeit many of those which be comprized therein, and in manner all that went before, to speak properly, cannot be pronounced Fatal, nor according to Fatal Destiny, which being so, we ought to declare now in order consequently, how that which is in our own power, to wit, free will, how fortune, possible, contingent, and other such like things, which be ranged and placed among the premises, may subsist safely with Fatal Destiny, and how Fatal Destiny may stand with them: for Fatal Destiny comprehendeth all, as it seemeth: and yet these things happen not by any necessity, but every of them according to their own nature. The nature of Possible, is to have a presubsistence as the gender, and to go before the contingent, and the contingent as the subject matter ought to be presupposed before the things which are in our power: for that which is in us, as a Lord and Master useth the contingent: And Fortune is of this nature, to intercur between our free will, and what is in us, by the property of contingency enclining to the one side, and to the other, which you may more easily apprehend and understand, if you consider, how every thing that is produced forth, yea, and the production it self and generation, is not without a certain puissance: and no puissance or power there is without a substance: as for example, the generation of man, and that which is produced and engendred, is not without a power, and the same is about the man, but man himself is the substance. Of the puissance or power being between, cometh the substance which is the puissant: but the production, and that which is produced, be both things possible. There being therefore these three, Puissance, Puissant, and Possible: Before Puissance can be, of necessity there must be presupposed a puissant, as the subject thereof: and even so it must needs be that puissance also subsist before that which is possible. By this deduction then, in some sort is declared, what is that which we call possible; so as we may after a gross manner define it to be, that which puissance is able to produce: and to speak more properly of the same, by

by adjoyning thereto thus much, provided always, that nothing without forth do impeach or hinder it. But among possible things, some there be that never can be hindred, as namely in heaven, the rising and setting of the stars, and such like: others may be impeached, as the most part of humane affairs, yea, and many Meteors in the Ayr. As foe the former, as things hapning by necessity, they be called necessary; the other for that they fall out sometime contrariwise, we term contingent; and in this sort may they be described. Necessary is that possible thing, which is opposite to impossible: contingent is that possible, whereof possible also is the contrary. For that the Sun should go down, is a thing both necessary and possible, as being contrary unto this impossibility, namely, that the Sun should not set at all: but that when the Sun is set, there should come rain, or not rain, are both of them possible and contingent. Again, of things contingent, some there be which happen oftentimes, and for the most part, others rare and seldome, some fall out indifferently, as well one way as another, even as it hapneth. And plain it is, that these be opposite and repugnant to themselves: as for those which happen usually, and very often, contrary they be to such things as chance but seldom; and these indeed for the most part, are subject to nature: but that which chanceth equally, one way as well as another, lieth in us and our will: for example sake, that under the Dog-star it should be hot and cold; the one commonly, and for the most part, the other very seldom, are things both, submitted to nature: but to walk, or not to walk, and such things whereof the one and the other be subject to the free will of man, are said to be in us, and in our choice and election: but rather and more generally, they be said to be in us: For as touching this term, To be in us, it is to be understood two manner of ways, and therefore are two kindes, the one proceedeth from passion, as namely, from anger or concupiscence; the other, from discourse of reason, or judgement and understanding, which a man may properly say, to be in our election. And some reason there is, that this possible contingent which is named to be in us, and to proceed from our appetite and will, should be called so, not in the same regard, but for divers: for in respect of future time, it is called possible and contingent; but in regard of the present, it is named, In us, and in our free will: so as a man may thus define and distinguish of these things; Contingent is that which both it self and the contrary whereof is possible: that which in us, is the one part of contingent, to wit, that which presently is in doing according to our appetite. Thus have we in manner declared, that by nature possible goeth before contingent, and contingent subsisteth before that which in us; also, what each of them is, and whereupon they are so called, yea, and what be the qualities adjoyning thereto: it remaineth now, that we should treat of Fortune, and casual adventure, and of whatsoever besides, that requireth discourse and consideration. First, this is certain, that Fortune is a kinde of cause: but among causes, some are of themselves, others by accident: as for example, of an house or ship, the proper causes and of themselves, be the Mason, Carpenter or Shipwright, but by accident, the Musician and Geometrician, yea, and whatsoever incident to the Mason, Carpenter, or Shipwright, either in regard of body or minde, or outward things: whereby it appeereth, that the essential cause which is by it self, must needs be determinate, certain and one; whereas the accidental causes are not always one and the same, but infinite and indeterminate; for many accidents in number infinite, and in nature different one from another, may be together in one and the same subject. This cause then by accident, when it is found not onely in such things which are done for some end, but also in those wherein our election and will taketh place, is called Fortune: as namely, to finde treasure when a man diggeth a hole or grave to plant a tree in, or to do and suffer any extraordinary thing, in flying, pursuing, or otherwise going and marching, or onely in retiring: provided always, that he doth it not to that end which ensueth thereupon, but upon some other intention. And hereupon it is, that some of the ancient Philosophers have defined Fortune, to be a cause unknown, and not forseen by mans reason: But according to the Platoniques, who come neerer unto it in reason, it is defined thus, Fortune is an accidental cause in those things that are done for some end, and which are in our election; and afterwards they adjoyn moreover, not foreseen nor known by the discourse of humane reason: although that which is rare and strange, by the same means, appeareth also in this kinde of cause by accident. But what this is, if it appear not manifestly by that opposition and contradictory disputations, yet at leastwise it will be declared most evidently, by that which is written in a Treatise of *Plato*, entituled, *Phædon*, where these words are found. What? Have you not heard how, and in what manner the judgement passed? Yes, I wis, For one there was, who came and told us of it: whereat we marvelled very much, that seeing the sentence of judgement was pronounced long before, he dyed a good while after. And what might be the cause thereof, O *Phædon?* Surely, there hapned unto him, O *Ethecratos*, a certain fortune: For it chanced that the day before the judgement, the prow of the Galley which the Athenians sent to Isle *Delos* was crowned: In which words it is to be noted, that by this term, There hapned, you must not understand, There was; but rather, it so befel, upon a concourse and meeting of many causes together, one after another. For the Priest adorned the ship with Coronets for another end and intention, and not for the love of *Socrates*; yea, and the Judges had condemned him also for some other cause: but the event it self was so strange and admirable, as if it had hapned by some providence, or by an humane creature, or rather indeed by some superior nature. And thus much may suffice as touching Fortune, and the definition thereof: as also, that necessarily it ought to subsist together with some one contingent thing of those which are meant to some end; whereupon it took the *name: yea, and there must be some subject before of such things which are in us and in our election. *τυχὴ ἀπὸ τοῦ τυγχάνω.

But casual adventure reacheth and extendeth farther then Fortune: for it comprizeth both it, and also many

many other things which may chance as well one way as another: and according as the very Etymology and derivation of the word ἀυτόματον, ſheweth it is that which hapneth for and inſtead of another, namely, when that which was ordinary fell not out, but another thing in lieu thereof: as namely, when it chanceth to be cold weather in the Dog-dayes; for ſometimes it falleth out to be then cold; and not without cauſe. In ſum, like as that which is in us and arbitrary, is part of contingent; even ſo is fortune a part of caſual or accidental adventure: and both theſe events are conjunct and dependent one of another; to wit, caſual adventure hangeth upon contingent, and fortune upon that which is in us and arbitrary: and yet not ſimply and in general, but of that onely which is in our election, according as hath been before ſaid. And hereupon it is, that this caſual adventure is common as well to things which have no life, as to thoſe which are animate; whereas fortune is proper to man onely, who is able to perform voluntary actions. An argument whereof is this, that to be fortunate, happy and bleſſed, are thought to be all one; for bleſſed happineſs is a kinde of well doing; and to do well, properly belongeth to a man, and him that is perfect. Thus you ſee what things are comprized within Fatal Deſtiny, namely, Contingent, Poſſible, Election, that which is within us, fortune, caſual accident, or chance and adventure, together with their circumſtant adjuncts, ſignified by theſe words, haply, peradventure or perchance: howbeit, we are not to infer, that becauſe they be contained within deſtiny, therefore they be fatal.

It remaineth now to diſcourſe of Divine Providence, conſidering that it ſelf comprehendeth Fatal Deſtiny. This ſupreme and firſt providence therefore, is the intelligence and will of the Soveraign God, doing good unto all that is in the world; whereby all divine things univerſally and throughout, have been moſt excellently and wiſely ordained and diſpoſed. The ſecond providence, is the intelligence and will of the ſecond gods, who have their courſe through the heaven; by which, temporal and mortal things are engendred regularly and in order; as alſo, whatſoever pertaineth to the preſervation and continuance of every kinde of thing. The third, by all probability and likelihood, may well be called the providence and proſpicience of the Dæmons or Angels, as many as be placed and ordained about the earth as ſuperintendents, for to obſerve, mark and govern mens actions. Now albeit there be ſeen this threefold providence, yet properly and principally that firſt and ſupreme is named Providence: ſo as we may be bold, and never doubt to ſay, howſoever herein we ſeem to contradict ſome Philoſophers, That all things are done by Fatal Deſtiny, and by Providence, but not likewiſe by nature: howbeit ſome by providence; and that after divers ſorts, theſe by one, and thoſe by another; yea, and ſome alſo by Fatal Deſtiny. As for Fatal Deſtiny, it is altogether by providence; but providence in no wiſe by Fatal Deſtiny: where, by the way, this is to be noted, that in this preſent place I underſtand the principal and ſoveraign providence. Now whatſoever is done by another (be it what it will) is evermore after that which cauſeth or maketh it; even as that which is erected by Law is after the Law; like as what is done by nature, muſt needs ſucceed and come after nature. Semblably, what is done by Fatal Deſtiny, is after Fatal Deſtiny, and of neceſſity muſt be more new and modern: and therefore the ſupreme Providence is the ancienteſt of all, excepting him alone, whoſe intelligence it is or will, or both twain together, to wit, the ſoveraign Author, Creator, maker and father of all things.

"And for what cauſe is it, ſaith *Timæus*, that he hath made and framed this Fabrick of the world? "for that he is all good, and in him being all good, there cannot be imprinted or engendred any en-"vy: but ſeeing he is altogether void and free from it, his will was, that as much as poſſibly might "be, all things ſhould reſemble himſelf. He then who ſhall receive and admit this for the moſt prin-"cipal and proper original of the Generation and Creation of the world, ſuch as wiſemen have de-"livered unto us by writing, is in the right way, and doth very well. For God willing that all things "ſhould be good, and nothing at all (to his power) evil, took all that was viſible, reſtleſs as it was, "and moving ſtill raſhly, confuſedly, irregularly, and without order, which he brought out of con-"fuſion, and ranged into order, judging this to be every way far better than the other: for neither "it was, nor is convenient and meet, for him who is himſelf right good, to make any thing that ſhould "not be moſt excellent and beautiful. Thus therefore we are to eſteem that providence (I mean "that which is principal and ſoveraign) hath conſtituted and ordained theſe things firſt, and then in "order ſuch as enſue and depend thereof, even as far as to the ſouls of men. Afterwards having "thus created the univerſal world, he ordained eight Spheres, anſwering in number to ſo many "principal Stars; and diſtributed to every one of them a ſeveral ſoul; all which he ſet, each one "(as it were) within a Chariot over the nature of the whole, ſhewing unto them the Laws and Ordi-"nances of Fatal Deſtiny * * *

What is he then who will not believe, that by theſe words he plainly ſheweth and declareth Fatal Deſtiny, and the ſame to be (as one would ſay) a Tribunal, and a Politick Conſtitution of Civil Laws, meet and agreeable to the ſouls of men? whereof afterwards he rendreth a reaſon. And as touching the ſecond Providence, he doth after a ſore expreſly ſignifie the ſame in theſe words, ſaying, Having therefore preſcribed all theſe Laws unto them, to the end that if afterwards there ſhould be any default, he might be exempted from all cauſe of evil: he ſpread and ſowed ſome upon the earth, others about the Moon, and ſome again upon other organs and inſtruments of time: after which diſtribution, he gave commandment and charge to the yong gods, for to frame and create mortal bodies, as alſo to make up and finiſh that which remained, and was wanting in mans ſoul; and when they had made perfect all that was adherent and conſequent thereto, then to rule and govern after the

the beſt and wiſeſt manner poſſible, this mortal creature, to the end that it ſelf ſhould not be the cauſe of the own evils and miſeries: for in theſe words where it is ſaid, That he might be exempt, and not the cauſe of any evil enſuing afterwards, he ſheweth clearly and evidently to every one the cauſe of any Fatal deſtiny. The order alſo and office of theſe petty-gods declareth unto us the ſecond providence, yea, and it ſeemeth that in ſome ſort it toucheth by the way, the third providence, in caſe it be ſo, that for this purpoſe theſe Laws and Ordinances were eſtabliſhed, becauſe he might not be blamed or accuſed as the author of any evil in any one afterwards: for God himſelf being clear and exempt from all evil, neither hath need of Laws, nor requireth any Fatal deſtiny: but each one of theſe petty-gods, led and haled by the providence of him who hath engendred them, doth their own devoir and office, belonging unto them. That this is true, and the very minde and opinion of *Plato*, appeareth manifeſtly in my conceit, by the teſtimony of thoſe words which are reported by the Law-giver in his Books of Laws in this manner: If there were any man (quoth he) ſo by nature ſufficient, or by divine fortune ſo happily born, that he could be able to comprehend this, he ſhould require no Laws to command him: for no Law there is, nor Ordinance of more worth and puiſſance, then is Knowledge and Science: neither can he poſſibly be a ſervile ſlave or ſubject to any, who is truly and indeed free by nature, but he ought to command all. For mine own part, thus I underſtand and interpret the ſentence of *Plato*: For whereas there is a triple providence: the firſt, as that which hath engendred Fatal deſtiny, in ſome ſort comprehendeth it: the ſecond being engendred with it, is likewiſe wholly comprized in it: the third engendred after Fatal deſtiny, is comprized under it, in that manner, as, That which is in us, and fortune, as we have already ſaid: for thoſe whom the aſſiſtance of the power of our Dæmon doth aid (according as *Socrates* ſaith) expounding unto *Theages* what is the inevitable Ordinance of *Adraſtia*, theſe (I ſay) are thoſe whom you underſtand well enough: for they grow and come forward quickly with good ſucceſs, ſo as, where it is ſaid, that a Dæmon or an Angel doth favor any, it muſt be referred to the third providence; but that ſuddenly they grow and come to proof, it is by the power of Fatal deſtiny: and to be ſhort, it is very plain and evident, that even this alſo is a kinde of deſtiny. And peradventure it may ſeem much more probable, that even the ſecond providence is comprehended under deſtiny; yea, and in ſum, all things whatſoever be made or done, conſidering that deſtiny, according to the ſubſtance thereof, hath been rightly dividnd by us into three parts. And verily that ſpeech, as touching the chain and concatenation, comprehendeth the revolutions of the heavens, in the number and range of thoſe things which happen by ſuppoſition: but verily of theſe points, I will not debate much, to wit, whether we are to call them, Hapning by ſuppoſition, or rather conjunct unto deſtiny: conſidering that the precedent cauſe and commander of deſtiny it ſelf, is alſo fatal. And thus to ſpeak ſummarily, and by way of abridgement, is our opinion: but the contrary ſentence unto this, ordaineth all things to be not onely under deſtiny, but alſo according to deſtiny, and by it. Now all things accord unto *the other*, and that which accordeth to another, the ſame muſt be granted to be *the other*: according then to this opinion, contingent is ſaid to be the firſt; that which is in us the ſecond; fortune the third; accident or caſual chance and adventure the fourth, together with all that dependeth thereupon, to wit, praiſe, blame, and thoſe of the ſame kinde; the fifth and laſt of all, may be ſaid to be the prayers unto the gods, together with their ſervices and ceremonies. Moreover, as touching thoſe which are called idle, and harveſt arguments, as alſo that which is named beſide, or againſt deſtiny, they are no better then cavils and ſophiſtries according to this opinion; but according to the contrary ſentence, the firſt and principal concluſion is, that nothing is done without cauſe, but all things depend upon precedent cauſes: the ſecond, that the world is governed by nature, which conſpireth and is compatible with it ſelf; the third may ſeem rather to be teſtimonies unto theſe; whereof the firſt is divination, approved by all Nations, as being really and truly in God; the ſecond the equanimity and patience of wiſe men, taking and bearing well all accidents and occurrents whatſoever, as coming by divine ordinance; the third, which is ſo common a ſpeech, and divulged in every mans mouth, namely, that every Propoſition is either true or falſe. Thus have we drawn this diſcourſe into a ſmall number of ſhort Articles, to the end that we might remember and comprize in few words, the whole matter and argument of Deſtiny. All which points, both of the one and the other opinion, are to be diſcuſſed and examined with more diligent inquiſition, whereof particularly we will treat afterwards.

A Compendious Review and Diſcourſe, That the Stoicks Deliver more ſtrange Opinions then do the Poets.

The Summary.

A Petty Declaration this is againſt the ſect of the Stocks, which briefly and in a word it maketh odious; giving out in plain terms, that ſuch perſons be the loudeſt lyers in the world: and that their opinion as touching the change and alteration of that party who rangeth himſelf unto them, is ſo monſtrous and ridiculous, that the diſcovery onely thereof is a ſufficient refutation.

A Compendious Review and Diſcourſe, That the Stoicks deliver more ſtrange Opinions, then do the Poets.

Pindarus was reproved, for that after a ſtrange manner, and without all ſenſe and probability, he feigned *Caneus* one of the *Lapithæ*, to have had a body ſo hard, as it could not be pierced by any weapons of iron and ſteel, but that he remained unhurt; and ſo afterwards.

Went under earth withouten wound,
When with ſtiff foot he cleft the ground.

But this *Lapith* of the Stoicks, to wit, their imagined wiſe man, being forged by them of impaſſibility, as of a metal harder then the Diamond, is not ſuch an one as is not otherwhiles wounded, diſeaſed and aſſailed with pain: howbeit, as they ſay, he abideth ſtill fearleſs, and without ſorrow and heavineſs; he continueth invincible, he ſuſtaineth no force nor violence, howſoever he be wounded, what pain ſoever he ſuffereth, be he put to all tortures, or ſee his native Countrey ſacked and deſtroyed before his face, or what calamities elſe beſide be preſented to his eyes. And verily, that *Caneus* whom *Pindarus* deſcribeth, notwithſtanding he were ſmitten, and bare many ſtrokes, yet was unwounded for all that: but the wiſe man whom the Stoicks imagine, although he be kept enclоſed in priſon, yet is not reſtrained of liberty: ſay he be pitched down from the top of a rock, yet ſuſtaineth no violence; is he put to the ſtrappado, to the wrack or wheel, yet for all that, is he not tormented; and albeit he fry in the fire, yet he hath no harm; nay, if in wreſtling he be foiled and take a fall, yet he perſiſteth unconquered; when he is environed within a wall, yet he is not beſieged; and being ſold in port-ſale by the enemies, yet is he no captive, but remaineth impregnable; reſembling moſt properly for all the world, thoſe ſhips which have theſe goodly inſcriptions in their poups, *Happy voyage, Luckie Navigation, Saving Providence,* and *Remedy againſt all dangers*: and yet the ſame nevertheleſs be toſſed in the Seas, ſplit upon the Rocks, caſt away and drowned. *Iolaus*, as the Poet *Euripides* hath feigned, by a certain prayer that he made unto the gods, of a feeble and decripit old man, became all of a ſudden a yong and luſty gallant, ready for to fight a battel: but the Stoicks wiſe man, who longer ago then yeſterday, was moſt hateful, wretched and wicked, all at once to day is changed into a good and vertuous perſon: he is of a rivelled, pale, lean and poor ſilly aged man, and as the Poet *Æſchylus* ſaith,

Who ſuffereth pangs in flank, in reins and back,
With painful cramps, ſtretcht as upon a wrack,

become, a lovely, fair, beautiful, and perſonable youth, pleaſant both to God and man. *Minerva* in *Homer* rid *Ulyſſes* from his wrinkles, his baldneſs, and ill-favored deformity, that he might appear full of favor and amiable: but this wiſe man of their making, albeit withered old age leave not his body, but contrariwiſe increaſe ſtill and grow more and more with all the diſcommodities that follow it, continuing ſtill for example-ſake, bunch backt, if he were ſo before, one eyed, and toothleſs, yet forſooth is not for all this, foul, deformed and ill-favored. For like, as by report, the Bettils fly from good and ſweet odors, ſeeking after ſtinking ſents, even ſo the Stoicks love (converſing with the moſt foul ill-favored and deformed, after that by their ſapience and wiſdom they be turned into all beauty and favor) departeth and goeth from them. With theſe Stoicks, he who in the morning haply was moſt wicked, will prove in the evening a right honeſt man: and who went to bed fooliſh, ignorant, injurious, outragious, intemperate, yea a very ſlave, a poor and needy begger, will riſe the morrow morning, a King, rich, happy, chaſte, juſt, firm and conſtant, nothing at all ſubject to variety of opinions: not for that he hath all on a ſudden put forth a beard, or become under grown, as in a yong and tender body: but rather engendred in a weak, ſoft, effeminate and inconſtant ſoul, a perfect minde, perfect underſtanding, ſoveraign prudence, a divine diſpoſition, comparable to the gods, a ſettled

ſettled and aſſured Science, not wandring in opinions and an immutable and ſtedfaſt habitude: neither went that lewd wickedneſs of his away by little and little, but all at once (I may well near ſay) he was tranſinuted from a moſt vile beaſt into a demy-god, a Dæmon, or a very god indeed. For ſo ſoon once as a man hath learned vertue in the Stoicks School, he may ſay thus unto himſelf:

Wiſh what thou wilt, and what thou liſt to crave,
All ſhall be done; do thou but aſk and have.

This vertue brings riches, this carrieth with it royalty, this giveth good fortune, this makes men happy, ſtanding in need of nothing, contented in themſelves, although they have not in all the world ſo much as a ſingle drachme of ſilver, or one grey groat. Yet are the fables of Poets deviſed with more probability and likelihood of reaſon: for never do they leave *Hercules* altogether deſtitute of neceſſaries: but it ſeemeth that he hath with him always one living ſource or other, out of which there runneth evermore foiſon and plenty for himſelf and the company about him. But he who hath once gotten the Goat *Amalthea* by the head, and that plentiful horn of abundance which the Stoicks talk of, he is rich incontinently, and yet begged his bread and victuals of others; he is a King, although for a piece of money he teacheth how to reſolve Syllogiſms: he onely poſſeſſeth all things, albeit he pay rent for his houſe, buyeth his meal and meet with the ſilver that many times he taketh up of the Uſurer, or elſe craveth at their hands who have juſt nothing of their own to give. True it is indeed, that *Ulyſſes* the King of *Ithaca* begged alms, but it was becauſe he would not be known; counterfeiting all that he could

To make himſelf a Begger poor,
Like one that went from doot to door.

Whereas he that is come out of the Stoicks School, crying aloud with open mouth, I onely am a King, I am rich, and none but I, is ſeen oftentimes at other mens doors ſtanding with this note,

Give Hipponax *a cloak, his naked corps to fold,*
For that I quake and ſhiver much for cold.

The Contradictions of Stoick Philoſophers.

The Summary.

PLutarch being of the Academick Sect, directly contrary to the Stoicks, examineth in this Treatiſe the opinions of thoſe his adverſaries, and ſheweth by proper teſtimonies out of their own writings, and namely of Chryſippus their principal Doctor, that there is nothing firm and certain in all their Doctrine; perſuing and ſifting to this end the chief points of all the parts of Philoſophy, not binding himſelf preciſely to any ſpecial order, but propoſing matters according as they come into his remembrance, or were preſented to his eyes. Moreover, in the recital of their repugnances and contradictions, he intermingleth certain expoſitions, to aggravate the abſurdity of this Sect of his adverſaries, and to withdraw the Reader from them: which is a very proper and ſingular maner of declaiming and diſputing againſt inveterate errors, amd ſuch as have a great name in the world: for in ſhewing that thoſe who are reputed moſt able and ſufficient to teach and maintain them, know not what they ſay, and do confound themſelves, is as much as to reproach every man who doth adhere unto them, with this imputation, that his is deprived of common ſenſe, in receiving that for a certain verity, wherein their very maſters are not well reſolved, or admitting that which they practiſe, otherwiſe then they ſay.

The Contradictions of Stoick Philoſophers.

FIrſt above all things, I would have to be ſeen a conformity and accord between the opinions of men and their lives: for it is not ſo neceſſary, that the Orator, acording as *Lyſias* ſaith, and the Law, ſhould ſound the ſame note, as requiſite that the life of a Philoſopher ſhould be conformable and conſonant to his words and Doctrine; for the ſpeech of a Philoſopher is a voluntary and particular Law which he impoſeth upon himſelf, if it be ſo as men eſteem, that Philoſophy is (at no doubt it is) the profeſſion of that which is ſerious, grave and of weighty importance, and not a gameſome ſport, or vain and toyiſh prating, deviſed onely for to gain glory. Now we ſee, that *Zeno* himſelf hath written much by way of diſputation and diſcourſe; *Cleanthes* likewiſe, and *Chryſippus* moſt of all, concerning the Politique Government of Commonwealth, touching rule and obedience, of judgment alſo and pleading at the bar: and yet look into all their lives throughout, you ſhall not finde that ever any of them were Captains and Commanders, neither Law-givers nor Senators, and Counſellors of State, ne yet Orators or Adverſaries pleading judicially in Court before the Judges; nay, they were not ſo much as employed in any War, bearing Arms, and performing Martial Service for the defence of they Countrey: you ſhall not finde (I ſay) that any of them was ever ſent in embaſſage, or beſtowed any publick largeſs or donative to the people;

people but remained all the time of their life (and that was not short, but very long) in a strange and forreign Countrey, feeding upon rest and repose, as if they had tasted of the herb Lotus in *Homer*, and forgotten their native soil, where they spent their time in writing Books, in holding Discourses, and in walking up and down. Hereby it manifestly appeareth, that they lived rather according the sayings and writings of other, then answerable to that which themselves judge and confess to be their duty, having passed the whole course of their life in that quiet repose, which *Epicurus* and *Hieronymus* so highly praise and recommend. And verily to prove this be a truth, *Chrysippus* himself in his fourth book entituled, Of Lives, is of opinion, and so hath put down in writing, that a Scholastical life, to wit, that of idle Students, differeth not from the life of voluptuous persons. And to this purpose I think it not amiss to alledge the mans speech word for word: They (quoth he) who think that this Scholastical and idle life of Students even from the first beginning, is most of all beseeming and agreeable to Philosophers, in my conceit, seem much deceived weening as they do, that they are to Philosophize for their pastime or recreation, and so to draw out in length the whole course of their life at their book in their studies, which is as much as to say in plain terms, as to live at ease and in pleasure. Neither is this opinion of theirs to be hindred and dissembled; for many of them give out as much openly, howsoever others, and those not a few deliver the same more obscurely; and yet where is he who grew old and aged more in this idle Scholastical life, then *Chrysippus*, *Cleanthes*, *Diogenes*, *Zeno* and *Antipater*? who forsook and abandoned even their native Countreys, having no cause or occasion in the world to complain of or to be discontent; onely to this end, that they might lead their lives more sweetly at their pleasure, studying and disputing with ease, and letting out their girdle slack as they list themselves. To approve this this that I say, *Aristocreon* the Disciple of *Chrysippus*, and one of his familiar friends, having caused a Statue of brass to be erected for him, set over it these elegant Verses in manner of an Epigram:

This Image Aristocreon
erected fresh and new
For Chrylip, *Academick knots*
who like an ax did hew.

Lo, what maner of person was *Chrysippus*, an aged man, a Philosopher, one who praised the life of Kings, and of those who are conversant in weal publike, and he who thought there was no difference between the idle Scholastical life, and the voluptuous. And yet others among them, as many I mean, as deal in State affairs, are found to be more repugnant and contradictory to the resolutions of their own Sect: for they bear rule as chief Magistrates, they are Judges, they be Senators, and set in Counsel, they ordain and publish Laws, they punish Malefactors, they honor and reward those that do well: as if they were Cities indeed wherein they govern and manage the State; as if those were Senators, Counsellors, and Judges, who yeerly always are by lot created, or otherwise, to such places; Captains and Commanders who are elected by the suffrages and voyces of Citizens; and as if those were to be held good Laws which *Calisthenes*, *Lycurgus* and *Solon* made: and yet the same men they avow and maintain to have been witless fools, and lewd persons. Thus you see, how albeit they administer the common-weal, yet they be repugnant to their own Doctrine.

In like manner *Antipater*, in his Book of the dissention between *Cleanthes* and *Chrysippus*, reporteth, that *Zeno* and *Cleanthes* would never be made Citizens of *Athens*, for fear forsooth lest they might be thought to offer injury to their own Countrey. Now if they herein did well, let *Chrysippus* go, and say we nothing of him that he did amiss, in causing himself to be enrolled and immatriculated in the number of Athenian Citizens: for I will not stand much upon this point, onely this I hold, that there is a strange and wonderful repugnancy in their deeds and actions, who reserve still the bare names of their native Countreys, and yet bereave the same of their very persons and their lives, conversing so far off in forreign Lands: much like as if a man who hath cast off and put away his lawful wedded wife, should dwell, live and lie ordinary with another as his Concubine; yea, and beget children of her body, and yet will in no wise espouse her, and contract marriage with her, lest, forsooth, he might seem to do wrong and injury to the former. Furthermore, *Chrysippus* in his Treatise that he made of Rhetorick, writing thus, that a wise man wil in such sort plead, make Orations to the people, and deal in State-matters, as if riches, reputation and health were simply good things, testifieth hereby and confesseth, that his precepts and resolutions induce men not to go forth of doors, nor to intermeddle in Politick and Civil affairs, and so by consequence that their Doctrine and Precepts cannot sort well with practice, nor be agreeable unto the actions of this life.

Moreover, this is one of *Zeno's* Quodlibets or Positions, That we ought not to build Temples to the honor of the gods; for that a Temple is no such holy thing, nor so highly to be esteemed, considering it is the workmanship of Masons, Carpenters, and other Artificers: neither can any work of such Artizans be prized at any worth. And yet even they who avow and approve this as a wise speech of his, are themselves professed in the religious mysteries of those Churches; they mount up to the Castle, and frequent there the sacred Temple of *Minervæ*; they adore the shrines and images of the gods; they adorn the Temple with Chaplets and Garlands, notwithstanding they be the works of Masons, Carpenters, and such like Mechanical persons. And will these men seem indeed to reprove the Epicureans, as contrary to themselves, who denying that the gods be occupied or employed in the Government of the world, yet offer sacrifice unto them, when as they check and refute themselves much more in sacrificing unto the gods, within their temples and upon their altars, which they maintain that they ought not to stand at all, nor once to have been built?

Zeno putteth down and admitteth many vertues according to their severall differences, like as *Plato* doth, to wit, prudence, fortitude, temperance and justice; saying that they be all in very deed, and in nature inseperable nor distinct asunder: howbeit in reason divers and different one from another. And again when he would seem to define them severally one after another, he saith, That fortitude is prudence in the execution of matters: justice is prudence in the distribution of things, &c. as if there were no more but one sole vertue, which according to divers relations, unto affairs and actions, seeth to differ and admit distinction. So you see, that not *Zeno* alone seemeth to be repugnant unto himself in these matters, but *Chrisippus* also, who reproveth *Ariston* for saying, that all vertues are nothing else but the divers habitudes and relations of one and the same, and yet defendeth *Zeno* when he defineth each vertue in this wise by it self:

As for *Cleanthes* in his commentaries of nature, having set this down, that the vigour and firmitude of things, is the illision, and smiting of fire, which if it be in the soul so sufficient, that it is able to perform the duties presented unto it, is called strength and power, he annexeth afterwards these words: And this very power and strength (quoth he) when as it is employed in such objects wherein a man is to persist, and which he ought to contain, is called Continency; if in things to be endured and supported, then it is named Fortitude; if in estimation of worthinesse and desert, beareth the denomination of Justice; if in choices or refusal, it carrieth the name of Temperance. Against him who was the authour of this sentence.

Forbear thy sentence for to pass,
and judgement see thou stay,
Untill such time as thou hast heard
what parties both can say.

Zeno alledged such a reason as this on the contrary side. Whether the Plaintife, who spake in the first place hath plainly proved his cause or no, there is no need at all to hear the second, for the matter is at an end already, and the question determined: or whether he hath not proved it, all is one, for it is even the same case, whether he that is cited be so stubborn as not to appear for to be heard, or if he appear, do nothing else but cavill and wrangle: so that prove he, or prove he not his cause, needless it is to hear the second plead. And yet even he who made this Dilemma, and wrote against the Books of Policy and common wealth that *Plato* composed, taught his scholars how to assoil and avoid such Sophisticall arguments, yea, and exhorted them to learn Logick with all diligence, as being the art which sheweth them how to perform the same. Howbeit a man might come upon him by way of objection in this manner: Certes, *Plato* hath either proved or else not proved those points which he handled in his Politicks: but whether he did or no, there was no necessity at all to write against him as you did; for it was altogether vain, needless, and superfluous. And even the same may be said of Sophisticall arguments and cavillations.

Chrysippus is of opinion, that yong Scholars and students should first learn those arts which concern speech, as Grammar, Logick, and Rhetorick; in the second place Morall Sciences; in the third Naturall Philosophy; and after all these, in the last place, to hear the doctrine as touching Religion and the Gods: which being delivered by him in many passages of his writings, it shall be sufficient to alledge that only which he hath written thus word for word in the third book of his Lives. First and formost (quoth he) it seemeth unto me, according to the doctrine of our ancients, that of Philosophicall speculations there be three kinds; Logicall, as touching speech; Ethicall, concerning manners; and Physicall, belonging to the nature of things: of which, that which is respective unto speech ought to precede and be ranged first; secondly, that which treateth of manners; thirdly, that which handleth naturall causes. Now of these Physicks and naturall arguments, the last is that which treateth of God: and this is the reason that the Precepts and Traditions of divine matters and of religion, they called τελετάς, as one would say, the very last and coming in the end. Howbeit, this treatise of the Gods, which by his saying ought to be set last, himself in the very same book, rangeth above manners, and setteth before all other morall questions. For neither seemeth he to speak of the ends, nor of Justice, nor of good and evill things, nor of Marriage, nor of the nouriture and education of Children, ne yet of law nor of the government of the Common-wealth, in any sort; but as they who propose and publish decrees unto Cities and States, make some preamble before of good luck, or happy fortune; so he useth the preface of *Jupiter*, of fatall destiny, of Divine providence: also, that there being but one world, the same doth consist and is maintained by one mighty power. Which points no man doth firmly believe, nor can be resolutely perswaded in, unlesse he wade deeply into the profoundest secrets and discourses of all natural Philosophy. But hearken I beseech you a little, to that which he saith of these matters, in his third book of the Gods. It is not possible (quoth he) to find out any other fountain, and originall beginning of Justice, than from *Jupiter* and common nature: for from thence it must needs be, that every such thing is derived, if that we mean to discourse of good things and evill. Again, in his treatise of naturall positions, there is no other way, or at leastwise not a better, of proceeding to the discourse of good things and bad, nor of vertues, nor of soveraign felicity, then from common nature, and administration of the world.

Moreover, as he goeth forward in another place, We are to annex and adjoyn hereunto (quoth he) a treatise of good and evil things, considering there is not a better beginning thereof, nor yet a reference and relation more proper: neither is the speculation and science of nature in any other respect requisite or necessary to be learned, but only for to know the difference of good and evil. And therefore according to *Chrysippus*, this natural science both goeth before, and also followeth after moral things; or to say a truth at once in more expresse terms, it were a strange and difficult inversion of order, to hold, that it, is to be placed after them, considering that without it were impossible to comprehend any of the other: and a very manifest repugnance it were to affirm, that science natural is the beginning of moral, which treateth of good and evil, and yet ordain nevertheless, that it should be taught not before, but after it. Now if any man say unto me, that *Chrysippus* in his book entituled, *The use of speech*, hath written, that he who first learneth Logick, I mean the knowledge and Philosophy concerning words, ought not altogether for to forbear the learning of other parts, but that he ought to take a taste of them, according as he the means thereto, well may he speak a truth, but withal, confirm he shall my accusation still of his fault: for he fighteth with himself, in ordering one while that a man should learn in the last place and after all, the science that treateth of God, as if that were the reason why it was called τελικη, which is as much as τελικωτατη, that is to say, Final; another while teaching clean contrary, that the same is to be learned even with the very first, and at the beginning: for then farewel all order for ever, and welcome confusion, if we must learn all things hudled together at all times. But yet this is not the worst, for having set this down for a resolution: That the doctrine as touching good things and evil, ought to begin and proceed from the knowledge of God; yet, he will not have them who settle themselves and enter into the study of moral Philosophy, to take their beginning there: but that in learning this, to catch somewhat of that by the way, even as much as they have easie means to come by; and afterwards to repaire from morall Philosophy unto Theologie, without which (he saith) there can be neither entrance nor progress in the knowledge of manners.

Moreover (he saith) that, To dispute of one and the same question, *pro & contra*, to and fro, he disalloweth not simply and in generality: but his advise is, to use the same so warily and with such discretion, as otherwhiles orators do in pleading, when they alledge the reasons of their adversaries, not to uphold and maintain the same, but only for to refute & disprove that liklihood and probability which they pretend: For otherwise (quoth he) thus to do, is the manner of those Skepticks, who be alwaies doubtful, and withhold their consent in every thing: a meer shift that serveth their turn for whatsoever they hold: but as for those who would work and establish in mens hearts, a certain science, according to which they might undoubtedly guide and conduct themselves, they ought to sound and search the contrary, and from point to point by stepmeal, to direct their novices newly entred, even from the beginning to the very end: wherein there falleth out otherwhiles fit opportunity to make mention of contrary sentences and opinions, for to refute and resolve that which might seem to have apparence of truth; as the manner is in pleading before Judges: for these be the very words and proper terms that he useth. Now what an absurd and impertinent a thing it is, that Philosophers should think they were to put down the contrary opinions of other Philosophers, and not withal, their reasons and arguments, but only as advocates pleading at the bar to disable and weaken their proofs, and so to weary their adversaries; as if disputation were only to win the honour of victory, and not to find out a truth: we have elsewhere discoursed against him sufficiently. But that himself not here and there in his disputations, but oftentimes and in many places hath confirmed with might and main, yea, and with so great asseveration and contention, contrary resolutions, unto his own opinions, that it were a right hard matter for any man to discern, which of them he approveth most, they themselves in some sort do say, who admire the subtility of the man, and the vivacity of his spirit, who also both think and stick not to affirm, that *Carneades* spake nothing of his own invention, but by the help and means of which argum:nts *Chrysippus* used to prove his own assertions, he returned the same contrariwise upon himself to confute his precepts, insomuch as eftsoons in disputation he would, alluding to a verse in *Homer*, cry out aloud in the manner.

Unhappy man, thus for to do:
Thine own pure strength will work thy wo.

as if he lay open and ministred great advantages and means against himself, to those who went about for to infringe and calumniate his opinions. But as touching those Treatises and discourses which he hath put forth, and set out against ordinary custome, his followers do so gloriously boast, and joy, that they give out, if all the books of the Academiques that ever lived, were laid together, they deserved not to be compared with that which *Chrysippus* wrote in calumniation of the senses: an evident sign either of their ignorance who say so, or else of their own blind self-love. Howbeit, certain it is, that afterwards being desirous to defend custome and the senses, he was found much inferiour to himself, and the latter Treatise came far short of the former, and was nothing at all so pithy; in such sort as he is contradictory and repugnant to himself: whiles he alwaies prescribeth and willeth to confer and oppose contrary sentences, not as one patronizing any but making an ostentation that they be false: and afterwards sheweth himself to be a more vehement accuser, then a defender of his own proper sentences; and counselling others to take heed of repugnant and contrary disputations, as those which distract and impeach their preception, himself is more studious and diligent to addresse such proofs as overthrow preception, than those which are to establish and confirm the same: and yet that he feared no lesse, he declareth plainly in the fourth book of his lives, where he writeth thus: We are not rashly nor without good respect and advisement to admit and allow repugnant disputations and contrary opinions to be proposed, nor to answer those probable arguments which are brought against true sentences; but herein we must warily go to work, and carry our selves so, as fearing alwaies least the hearers being thereby distracted and diverted, let go this apprehension and conception, and be not of sufficient capacity to comprehend their solutions, but after such a feeble sort, as that their comprehensions be ready to falter and shake, considering that even they who customably comprehend sensible objects, and other things which depend of senses, quickly forgo the same, being distracted as well by Megarian interrogatories, as by others more forcible, and in greater number. Now would I gladly demand of these Stoicks, whether they think these Megarian interrogatories more puissant than those which *Chrysippus* hath written in six books; or rather *Chrysippus* himself would be asked the question. For mark I pray you, what he hath written of the Megarian disputation in his book intituled; The use of speech; after this manner: Such a thing as befell in the disputation between *Stilpo* and *Menedemus*, both renowned personages for their learning and wisdom, and yet the whole manner of their arguing is now turned to their reproach and plain mockery, as if their arguments were either very grosse, or else too captious and sophisticall: and yet good Sir these arguments which it pleaseth you to scorn and tearm the reproach of those who make such interrogatories, as containing in them notorious lewdnesse, you fear lest they should divert any from perception, And even your own self writing so many books as you do against custome whereunto you have adjoyned whatsoever you could devise and invent, labouring to surmount and surpasse *Arcesilaus*; did you never expect and look to scare and terrifie any of the Readers that should light upon them? For *Chrysippus* verily useth not onely slender and naked arguments in disputing against custome, but as if he were an advocate pleading at the bar, moveth affections being passionate himself, breaking out eftsoons into these tearmes of giving the fool, and imputing vanity and sottishnesse; and to the end that he might leave no place for contradiction at all, but that he delivereth repugnances and speaketh contraries, thus hath he written in his Positions Naturall. A man may very well, when he hath once perfectly comprised a thing, argue alittle on the contrary side, and apply that defence which the matter it self doth afford: yea and otherwhiles, when he doth comprehend neither the one nor the other, discourse of either of them *pro & contra*, as much as the cause will yeeld. Also in that treatise of his concerning the use of speech, after he had said, we ought not to use the power and faculty of disputation, no more then arms or weapons, in things that tend to no purpose, and when the ease requireth it not, he addeth soon after these words; For we ought to imploy the gift of reason and speech to the finding out of truth, and such things as resemble it: and not contrariwise; howsoever many there be that are wont so to do. And peradventure by these Many, he meaneth those Academicks, who ever doubt and give no assent to any thing: and they verily, for that they comprehend neither the one nor the other, do argue on both parts to and fro, that it is perceptible: as if by this only or speciall meanes the truth yeelded a certain comprehension of it self, if there were nothing in the world comprehensible. But you who excuse and blame them, writing the contrary to that which you conceive as touching custom, and exhorting others to do the same, & that with an affectionate defence, do plainly confesse, that you use the force of speech and eloquence, in things not only unprofitable, but also hurtfull, upon a vain ambitious humour of shewing your ready wit, like to some young Scholar.

These Stoicks affirm, that a good deed, is the Commandement of the Law, and Sin the prohibition of the Law: and therefore it is that the Law forbiddeth Fools and lewd Folk to do many things, but prescribeth them nothing; for that indeed they are not able to do ought well: And who seeth not that impossible it is for him who can do no vertuous act, to keep himself from Sin and Transgression? Therefore they make the Law repugnans to it self, if it command that which to perform is impossible, and forbid that which men as not able to avoid. For he that is not able to live honestly, cannot chuse but bear himself dishonestly; and whosoever he be, that cannot be Wise, must of necessity become a Fool: and even them selves do hold that those Lawes which are prohibitive, say the same thing, when they forbid one, and command likewise another. For that which saith, thou shalt not steal, saith verily the same, to wit, Steal not, but it forbiddeth withall to steal; and therefore the Law forbiddeth Fools and lewd Persons nothing, for otherwise it should command them somewhat. And thus they say that the Physician biddeth his Apprentise or Chyrurgion to cut or to cauterize, without adding thereto these words, handsomely, moderately, and in good time. The Musician likewise commanderh his scholar to sing or play upon the Harp a lesson, without putting thereto, in tune, accord and good measure. Howbeit, they punish and chastice those that do amisse and contrary to the rules of art, for that they were willed and enjoyed to do the thing well, but they did it *ill*. And even so a wise man commanding his servant to say or do a thing, if he punish him for doing it untowardly, out of season, and not as he ought, certain it is that he commanded him to perform a good duty, and not a mean and indifferent action. Now if wise men command fools and lewd persons to do things indifferent, what should hinder them but that the commandements of the lawes may be semblable.

Moreover, that inſtinct or naturall motion which is called ὁρμὴ, according to him, is nothing elſe but the reaſon of man, inciting him do a thing, as himſelf hath written in his treatiſe of the Law, *Ergo*, that Diverſion, contrariwiſe called Ἀποφορμὴ, can be nothing elſe but reaſon withdrawing a man from the doing of a thing: and therefore that inclination is a reaſonable inclination: and this wary caution, is as much as the reaſon of a wiſe man, forbidding him to do a thing: for to beware, and to take heed, is the part and property of wiſe men and not fooles. If then the reaſon of a wiſe man be one thing, and the Law another, wiſe men have this vary caution repugnant unto the Law: but in caſe Law, and the reaſon of a wiſe man be both one, it will be found that the Law forbiddeth wiſe men to do thoſe things, which they doubt and be affraid of. To fooliſh and wicked perſons (quoth *Chryſippus*) there is nothing profitable, neither hath ſuch an one, uſe or need of ought. Having delivered this ſentence in his firſt book of perfect duties or offices, he commeth afterwards and ſaith, that utility or commodiouſneſſe and grace pertain and reach unto mean and indifferent things, whereof according to the Stoicks doctrine there is not one profitable: and more then that, he ſaith there is nothing proper, nothing meet and convenient for a fooliſh lewd man: and ſo by conſequence it followeth upon theſe words; there is nothing ſtrange, nothing unfitting for a wiſe and honeſt man, like as nothing fit and familiar for a lewd fool: for as goodneſſe is proper to one, ſo is lewdneſſe to the other. How commeth it then to paſs that he maketh our heads to ask again, with telling us ſo often in all his books as well of naturall Philoſophy as morall, that preſently from our nativity and birth, we be affectionate to our ſelves, to our proper members, and to the iſſue deſcending from us? and in the firſt book of Juſtice he ſaith, that even wild beaſts are propence and affected unto their young, according as their need and neceſſity requires, all ſave fiſhes: for their yound fry are nouriſhed by themſelves. But there is no ſenſe, where is no ſenſible object, nor appropriation, where nothing is proper and familiar: for ſurely this appropriation ſeemeth to be the ſenſe and perception of that which is familiar. And this opinion is comformable to their principles.

Moreover, *Chryſippus*, albeit in divers places he write many things contrarily, yet he accordeth to this ſentence manifeſtly, that there is no one vice greater, nor ſin more grievous than another; as alſo reciprocally, there is not one vertue more excellent, nor one vertuous deed which (they call perfect duty) better than another, conſidering that he hath this in the firſt book of Nature: that like as it beſeemeth *Jupiter* well, to magnifie and glorifie himſelf and his life, as alſo if we may ſo ſay, to bear his head aloft, highly to eſteem his own greatneſſe, and to ſpeak big, conſidering he leadeth a life worthy of grand eloquence and hauty ſpeech: even ſo it befitteth and becommeth all honeſt men to do the like, conſidering that in no reſpect they be inferiour to *Jupiter*. And yet himſelf again in the third book of Juſtice ſaith, that thoſe who affirm pleaſure to be the end and ſoveraign good of man, overthrow Juſtice; but whoſoever ſay it is ſimply good, do not deſtroy Juſtice. And the very words which he uſeth, be theſe: Peradventure (quoth he) it may be, that if we leave unto Pleaſure this attribute, To be ſimply and onely good, although it be not the end of all good things, and that honeſty and vertue is of the kind of thoſe things which be eligible for themſelves: haply, by this meanes we may ſave Juſtice, in eſteeming Honeſty and Juſtice to be a more perfect and abſolute good thing than is Pleaſure: but in caſe it be ſo, that the thing only which is honeſt is good, he erreth much who affirmeth that pleaſure is good; howbeit, leſſe then he who ſhould ſay, that it is the end of all good things; for that as the one doth aboliſh and deſtroy utterly all Juſtice, the other doth ſo preſerve and maintain it: for according to the latter of the twain, all human ſociety periſheth, whereas the former reſerveth yet ſome place for bounty and civill humanity. I let paſs to relate what he ſaith in the booke entituled, Of *Jupiter*, namely, that vertues grow, that they alſo paſs, becauſe I would not be thought to lie at vantage, and to catch at words; howſoever *Chryſippus* himſelf in this kind of reprehenſion dealeth biterly with *Plato* and other Philoſophers, for taking hold of words: but whereas he forbiddeth to praiſe all that is done vertuouſly, he giveth us to underſtand, that there is ſome difference in duties and offices. Now this is the very text in his treatiſe of *Jupiter*. For albeit vertuous acts be commendable, yet we are not to inſer thereupon and ſay, that we ought to commend all that ſeemeth to proceed from vertue, as namely, to praiſe for a valliant act, the ſtiffe ſtretching out of the finger; or for temperance and continency, the abſtinence from an old trot, who hath one foot already in her grave; or for prudence, to underſtand aright and without error, that there will not make four: for he that went in hand to praiſe and commend a man for ſuch things as theſe, ſhould ſhew himſelf to be very bald and abſurd even in the higheſt degree. And as much as this in a manner writeth he in the third book of the gods: For I think verily (quoth he) that the praiſes of ſuch matters be impertinent and abſurd, although they ſeem to depend of vertue, as namely, to forbear an old trot now at the pits brink, or to abide a flie-biting. What other accuſer ſhould he looke for then of his opinions, but himſelf: for if it be ſo, that he is abſurd who commendeth theſe things, then muſt he be thoughts much more abſurd, who ſuppoſeth each one of theſe vertuous deeds to be not only great, but alſo moſt magnificent. For it be a valliant act to endure the biting of a flie; & likewiſe the part of a chaſt & continent perſon, to abſtain from carnal dealing with an old woman ready to drop unto her grave; then it makes no matter, but it is all one, to praiſe an honeſt man as well for one thing as another. Moreover, in his ſecond book of Friendſhip, when as he giveth a precept, that we ought not to diſſolve amities for every fault or defect, he uſeth theſe very tearmes: For there be faults (quoth he) which we muſt overpaſs quite, & make no ſtay at them; other there be again, whereat we ſhould a little ſtand, and take offence; and others beſides, which require more chaſtiſement; but ſome there are which we muſt think ſufficient to break friendſhip for ever. And more then all this, in the ſame book he ſaith, that we

we ought to converſe and be acquainted with ſome more, and with others leſſe according as they be our friends more or leſſe, which difference and diverſity extendeth very far, inſomuch as ſome are worthy of ſuch an amity, others of a greater; ſome deſerve thus much truſt and confidence, others more than it: and ſo it is in other matters ſemblable. And what other is his drift in all theſe places, but to put a great difference between thoſe things, for which friendſhips are engendred? And yet in his Book of Honeſty, to ſhew that there is nothing good, but that which is honeſt, he delivereth theſe words: a good thing is eligible and to be deſired: that which is eligible and deſirable, is alſo acceptable: that which is acceptable, is likewiſe commendable: and that which is commendable, is honeſt withal. Again a good thing is joyous and acceptable: joyous is venerable, & venerable is honeſt. But theſe ſpeeches are repugnant to himſelf: for be it, that all that is good were laudable (and then chaſtly to forbear for to touch an old riveled woman, were a commendable thing) or ſay that every good thing were neither venerable, nor joyous and acceptable; yet his reaſon falleth to the ground: for how can it be that others ſhould be thought frivolous and abſurd, in praiſing any for ſuch things, and himſelf not worthy to be mocked and laughed at, for taking joy and pleaſing himſelf in ſuch ridiculous toys as theſe?

Thus you ſee how he ſheweth himſelf in moſt part of his writings; and yet in his diſputations which he holdeth againſt others, he is much more careleſſe to be contrary and repugnant to himſelf: for in his Treatiſe which he made, as touching exhortation, reproving *Plato* for ſaying, that it was not expedient for him to live at all, who is not taught, nor knoweth not how to live, he writeth in theſe very Terms: This ſpeech of his (quoth he) is both contradictory and repugnant to it ſelf, and beſides, hath no force nor efficacy at all to exhort: for firſt and foremoſt in ſhewing us that it were expedient for us, not to live at all, and giving us as it were counſell to die, he exhorteth us to any thing rather than to the practice or ſtudy of philoſophy, becauſe it is not poſſible for a man to philoſophize, unleſſe he live: neither can he become wiſe, ſurvive he never ſo long, if he lead an evil and ignorant life. And a little after he ſaith further: That it is as meet and convenient alſo even for lewd and wicked perſons to remain alive. But I care not much to ſet down his very words. Firſt of all, like as vertue barely in it ſelf conſidered, hath nothing in it, for which we ſhould deſire to live: even ſo vice hath as little, for which we ought to leave this life. What need we now turn over other books of *Chryſippus*, and drip leaf by leaf, to prove how contrary and repugnant he is to himſelf: for even in theſe which we now cite and alledge, he cometh out otherwhiles with this ſaying of *Antiſthenes*, for which he commendeth him, namely, that a man is to be provided either of wit to underſtand, or elſe of a with to under-hang himſelf: as alſo this other verſe of *Tyrteus*:

The bounds of vertue firſt come nigh,
Or elſe make choiſe before to die.

And what other meaning is there of theſe words, but this, that it is more expedient for fooliſh and lewd perſons to be out of the world, than to live: and in one paſſage, ſeeming to correct *Theognis*: He ſhould not (quoth he) have ſaid κρεῖσσον πενίην φεύγοντα, &c.

A man from poverty to flie,
(O Cyrus) ought himſelf to caſt
Headlong from rocks moſt ſteep and high,
Or into ſea as deep and vaſt.

But rather thus, κρεῖσσον κακίην φεύγοντα, &c.

A man from ſin and vice to flie, &c.

What other things elſe ſeemeth he to do, than to condemn and ſcrape out of other mens writings, the ſame things, propoſitions and ſentences, which himſelf hath inſerted in his own books? For he reproveth *Plato* when he proveth and ſheweth, that it is better not to live at all, than to lead a life in wickedneſs or ignorance: and in one breath he giveth counſell to *Theognis* to ſet down in his Poeſie, that a man ought to fling himſelf dow headlong into the deep ſea, or to break his neck from ſome high rock for to avoid ſin and wickedneſs. And praiſing as he did *Antiſthenes* for ſending fools and witleſs folk to an halter wherewith to hang themſelves; he blamed him nevertheleſſe who ſaid, that vice was a ſufficient cauſe, wherefore we ſhould ſhorten our lives. Moreover in theſe books againſt *Plato* himſelf, concerning Juſtice, he leapeth directly at the very firſt into a diſcourſe as touching the gods: and ſaith: That *Cephalus* did not divert me well from evil doing, by the fear of the gods: affirming moreover, that the diſcourſe which he made as touching divine vengeance, might eaſily be infringed and refuted, for that of it ſelfe it miniſtreth many arguments and probable reaſons on the contrary ſide; as if the ſame reſembled for all the world the fabulous tales of *Acco* and *Alphito*, wherewith women are wont to ſcare their little children, and to keepe them from doing ſhrewd turns. Thus deriding, and traducing, backbiting *Plato*, he praiſeth elſewhere, and in many places elſe alledgeth theſe verſes out of *Euripides*:

Well, well, though ſome this doctrine do deride,
Be ſure, in heaven with other gods beſide,
Sits Jupiter, the deeds of men who ſee.
And will in time revenged ſurely be.

ſemblably, in the firſt booke of Juſtice, when he had alledged theſe verſes here out of *Heſiodus*,

then Saturnes ſonne, god Jupiter,
great plagues from heaven did ſend,
Even dearth and death, both which, of all
the people made an end.

he saith, that the gods proceed in this wise, to the end that when the wicked be thus punished, others also advertised and taught by their example, might beware how they commit the like, or at leastwise sin less.

What should I say moreover, how in this Treatise of justice, having affirmed, that those who hold pleasure to be good, but not the soveraign end of good, may in some sort withal preserve and maintain justice, for, so much he hath put down in these very terms: For haply, admitting pleasure to be good, although not the supream good or the end: and honesty to be of the kind of those things, which are eligible and to be desired for their own sake, we may by that means save justice, while we permit and allow that which is honest and just, to be a greater good than pleasure. Having (I say) delivered the same also in his books of pleasure: yet in his Treatise against *Plato*, reproving him for rauging health in the number of good things, he affirmeth, that not only justice, but also magnanimity, temperance, and all other vertues are abolished and perish, in case we hold that either pleasure, or health, or any other thing whatsoever, can be numbred and reputed among good things, unless the same be honest. Now as touching the apologie or answer that may be made in defence of *Plato*, I have elsewhere written against *Chrysippus*: but even in this very place there is manifestly to be seen, a repugnancy and contradiction against himself: considering that one while he saith, that justice may stand well enough, if a man suppose pleasure joyned with honesty to be good; and another while contrariwise, he findeth fault with all those, who repute any thing else to be good, but only that which is honest; as if thereby they abolished and overthrew all vertues. And because he would leave no means at all to salve and save his contradictions, writing of justice against *Aristotle*, he challengeth him for untruth in that he affirmeth, that if pleasure were granted to be the soveraign good, both justice were overthrown, and therewith also every vertue besides, For this is certain (quoth he) that those who are of this opinion, do indeed abolish justice; howbeit I see no let why other vertues may not stand, if not those which be of themselves expetible, yet such at leastwise as be good and verteous really. And thereupon he proceedeth presently to name them every one severally. But it were not amiss to recite his own words, as he delivered them: For suppose (quoth he) that by this discourse and reason, Pleasure seem the very end of all good things, yet we are not to infer hereupon, that all is comprised under it: and therefore we must say, that neither any vertue is to be desired, nor vice to be eschewed for it self, but all these things are to be referred unto a scope and mark proposed: and yet in the mean time what should hinder, but that Fortitude, Prudence, Continence, Patience, and other such vertues, may be good and expetible, like as their contraries bad and to be avoided. What man therefore was there ever, in his speeches and disputations more rash and audacious, than he? Considering that he charged the two Princes of Physlosophers with imputations: the one for abolishing all vertue, in that he confessed not that only to be good which is honest: and the other, in that if pleasure were supposed, and set down to be the end of good things, he thought not that all vertues except only justice, might subsist and be maintained? what a wonderful liberty, and monstrous licentiousness rather is this, in discoursing of one and the same subject matter, to tax and reprove that in *Aristotle*, which he setteth down himself: and afterwards in accusing *Plato*, to subvert and undo the very same? And yet in his demonstrations, as touching Justice, he affirmeth expressly that every perfect duty, is a lawful deed and a just action. Now, whatsoever is performed by Continence, by Patience, by prudence, or by Fortitude, is a perfect duty, *ergo*, it followeth, that it is likewise a lawful action. How chanceth it then that he leaveth not justice for them, in whom he admitteth Prudence, Continence, and valour, considering that all the acts which they perform according to these vertues, be perfect duties, and by consequence just and lawful operations?

Whereas *Plato*, in a certain place hath written, that injustice being a certain intestine sedition and corruption of the soul, never casteth off and loseth her power, even in those who have it within them: for she causeth a wicked man to fight with himself, she troubleth, vexeth, and tormenteth him. *Chrysippus* reproving this assertion of his, saith, that it was falsely and absurdly spoken, that any one could do wrong or injury to himself: For (quoth he) all injury and outrage must needs be to another: but afterwards forgetting himself and what he had said, in that Treatise of his entituled, The demonstrations of Justice, he affirmeth, that whosoever doth injustice, wrongeth himself, and in offering injury to another, doth him first wrong, in that he is the very cause why himself transgresseth the laws: wherein unworthily he hurteth and woundeth his own person. Lo what he said against *Plato*, discoursing that injustice could not be against a mans self, but against another: For to be particularly and privately injust, there must (quoth he) be many such as speak contrary one unto another: and otherwise this word injustice is taken as if it were amongst many that are, in such sort injuriously affected one to another: whereas no such matter can properly and fitly agree to one alone, but in as much as he is so disposed and affected to another. But contrary to all this, in his demonstrations he argueth and reasoneth thus, to prove that the injust man doth wrong and injury to himself: The law (quoth he) followeth expressly, to be the author or cause of transgression; but to commit injustice is a transgression: he therefore who causeth himself to do injury, transgresseth the law of himself. Now he that trespasseth against any one, doth him wrong and injury: he therefore who wrongeth any other whomsoever, doth injury to himself. Again, sin is of the kind of hurts and dammages that are done; but every man that sinnith, offendeth and sinneth against himself: and therefore, whosoever sinneth, hurteth also and endamageth himself unworthily; and if he do so, then by consequence he must needs wrong

wrong himself. Furthermore, thus also he reasoneth: He that suffereth hurt and damage by another, woundeth and offendeth himself withal unworthily: and what is that else but to do wrong and injury? he therefore that receiveth injury of any other whatsoever, wrongeth his own self. That the doctrine of good things and evil (which himself bringeth in and approveth) he saith, is most accordant unto mans life, yea, and connexed as much as any thing else with those prenotions and anticipations, which by nature are inbred and ingenerate in us: for, so much hath he delivered in his third book of Exhortations: but in the first book he affirmeth quite contrary, that this doctrine doth divert and withdraw a man from all things else, as if they were of no moment, nor helpful and effectual any jot to the attaining of happiness and soveraigne felicity. See how he accordeth herein with himself, when he affirmeth that doctrine of his which plucketh us away from life, from health, from indolence and integrity of senses; and teacheth besides that whatsoever we crave in our prayers at Gods hands, concern us not at all nor appertain unto us, to be most accordant unto humane life, and the common prenotions and inbred anticipations of knowledge aboveseid. But to the end that no man might denie that he is repugnant and contrary to himself, loe what he saith in his third book of justice. This is it (quoth he) that by reason of the surpassing grandure and beauty of our sentences, those matters which we deliver, seem fained tales and devised fables, exceeding mans power, and far beyond humane nature. How can it be that any man should more plainly confess, that he is at war with himself, than he doth, who saith that his propositions and opinions, are so extravagant and transcendent, that they resemble counterfeit tales, and for their excellency surmount the condition and nature of man: and yet forsooth for all this, that they accord and agree passing well with humane life, yea and come neareſt unto the said inbred prenotions and anticipations that are in us.

He affirmeth that the very essence and substance of felicity, is vice; writing and firmly maintaining in all his books of moral and natural physlosophy, that to live in vice, is as much as to live in misery and wretchednesse: but in the third book of Nature, having said before that it were better and more expedient to live a senseless fool, yea though there were no hope that ever he should become wise, than not to live at all, he addeth afterwards thus much, For there be such good things in men, that in some sort the very evil things go before, and are better than the indifferent in the mids between. As for this, how he hath written elsewhere, that there is nothing expedient and profitable in fools, and yet in this place setteth down in plain terms, that it is expedient to live foolish and senseless, I am content to overpass; but seeing he saith now that evil things go before, and are better than the indifferent or mean (which with them of his sect are neither good nor ill) surely it is as much as if he affirmed that evil things are better than things not evil: and all one, as to say that to be wretched, is more expedient than not to be wretched: and so by that means, he is of opinion, that not to be miserable is more unprofitable than to be miserable; and if it be more unprofitable, than also it must be more hurtful and damageable. But being desirous in some sort to mollifie this absurdity, and to salve this sore, he subnexeth as touching evil things, these words: My meaning is not (quoth he) that they should go before and be preferred, but reason is the thing wherewith it is better to live, although a man should ever be a fool, than not to live at all. First and formost then, he calleth vice an evil thing, as also whatsoever doth participate of vice and nothing else. Now is vice reasonable, or rather to speak more properly, reason delinquent: so that to live with reason, if we be fools and void of wisedome, what is it els, but to live with vice? now to live as fools, is all one as to live wretched. Wherein is it then, and how commeth it about, that this should go before mean and indifferent things? for it was not admitted that happy life should go before misery: neither was it ever any part (say they) of *Chrysippus* his meaning to range and count among good things, To remain alive; no more than among bad, To depart this life: but he thought that these things were of themselves indifferent, and of a middle nature; in which regard otherwhiles it is meet for happy men to leave this life, and for wretches to continue alive. And what greater contrariety can there be, as touching things eligible or refusable, than to say that for them who are happy in the highest degree, it is fit and beseeming to forgo and forsake the good things that be present, for want of some one thing that is indifferent? And yet *Chrysippus* is of this mind, that no indifferent thing is of the own nature to be desired or rejected; but that we ought to chuse that only which is good, and to shun that alone which is bad: so as according to their opinion, it comes to pass, that they never divert their desseignments or actions to the pursuit of things desirable, nor the avoidance of things refusable; but another mark it is that they shoot and aim at, namely, at those things which they neither eschew nor chuse, and according thereto they live and die. *Chrysippus* avoweth and confesseth, that there is a great difference between good things and bad, as possibly may be; as needs there must, in case it be true, that as the one sort of them cause those in whom they are, to be exceeding happy, so the other, extream wretched and miserable. Now in the first book of the end of good things, he saith that as well good things as bad, be sensible; for these be his very words. That good and evil things be perceptable by sense, we must of necessity acknowledge upon these arguments: for not only the very passions indeed of the mind, together with their parts and several kinds, to wit, sadness, fear, and such like, be sensible; but also a man may have a sense of theft, adultery, and semblable sins; yea and of folly, of cowardise, and in one word, of all other vices, which are in number not a few: and not only joy, beneficence, and other dependances of vertuous offices, but also prudence, valour, and the rest of the vertues, are object to the sense. But to let pass all other absurdities contained in these words, who will not confess, but that there is a meer contradiction in that which they delivered, as touching one that becomes a wise man,

and

and knows not thereof? for, considering that the present good is sensible, and much different from that which is evil, that one possibly should of a wicked person prove to be vertuous, and not know thereof, and not have sense of vertue being present, but to think that vice is still within him; how can this otherwise be, but most absurd? for either no man can be ignorant and out of doubt, whether he hath all vertues together; or els he must confesse, that there is small difference and the same hard to be discerned, between vice and vertue, felicity and infelicity, a right honest life, and a most dishonest, in case a man should passe from the one to the other, and possesse one for the other, without ever knowing it.

One work he wrote, entituled, *Of lives*, and the same divided into four Books: in the fourth whereof, he saith, That a wise man medleth not with great affairs, but is occupied in his own businesse only, without being curious to look into other mens occasions: his very words to this purpose, be these; For min own part, of this opinion I am, that a prudent man gladly avoideth a stirring life, intermedleth little, and in his own matters only: for to deal simply in a mans own affairs, and to enter into little businesse in the world, be both alike commendable parts, and the properties of civil and laudable persons. And in a manner the same speeches or very like thereto, he hath delivered in the third Book of such things as be expetible, and to be chosen for themselues, in these terms: For in truth (quoth he) it seemeth, that the quiet life should be without danger, and in perfect security, which few or none of the vulgar sort are able to comprehend and understand. Wherein first and formost, it is evident, that he cometh very neer to the error of *Epicurus*, who in the government of the world disavoweth divine Providence: for that he would have God to rest in repose, idle, and not employed in any thing. And yet *Chrysippus* himself, in his first book of Lives saith: That a wise man wilingly will take a kingdom upon him, yea, and think to make his gain and profit thereby: and if he not able to reign himself, yet he will at leastwise converse and live with a king, yea, go forth with him to war, like sueh as *Hydanthyrthus* the Scythian was, and *Leucon* of *Pontus*. But I will set down his own words, that we may see whether, like as of the treble and base strings, there ariseth a consonance of an eight: so there be an accord in the life of a man, who hath chosen to live quietly without doing ought, or at leastwise to intermedle in few affairs, yea, and yet afterwards accompanieth the Scythians riding on horseback, and manageth the affairs of the kings of *Bosphorus* upon any occasion of need that may be presented? For as touching this poynt (quoth he) that a wise man will go into warlike expeditions with princes, live, and converse with them, we will consider again thereof hereafter; being as it is, a thing that as some upon the like arguments imagine not, so we for the semblable reasons admit and allow. And a little after: Not only with those who have proceeded well in the knowledg of vertue, and been (sufficiently instituted and trained up in good manners, as were *Hydanthyrthus* and *Leucon* abovesaid. Some there be who blame *Callisthenes* for that he passed over the seas to king *Alexander* into his camp, in hope to reedifie the city *Olynthus*, as *Aristotle* caused the city *Stagyra* to be repaired, who highly commend *Ephorus Xenocrates* and *Menedemus*, who rejected *Alexander*: But *Chrysippus* driveth his wise man by the head forward, for his gain and profit, as far as to the city *Panticapeum*, and the deserts of *Scythia*. And that this is (I say) for his gain and profit he shewed before, by setting down three principal means, befeeming a wise man for to practise and seek his gain by: the first by a kingdome, and the beneficence of kings; the second by his friends; and the third besides these, by teaching literature: and yet in many places he weareth us with citing this verse of *Euripides*:

For what need mortal men take pain?
Only for things in number twain.*

But in his books of Nature he saith: That a wise man if he have lost the greatest riches that may be, esteemeth the loss no more than if it were but a single denier of silver, or one grey groat. Howbeit, him whom he hath there so highly extolled and puffed up with glory, here he taketh down and abaseth as much, even to make him a meer mercenary pedante, and one that is fain to teach a school: for he would have him to demand and exact his salary, sometime before hand of his scholar, when he enters into his school; and otherwhile after a certain prefixed time of his schooling is come and gone: And this (quoth he) is the honester and more civil way of the twain; but the other is the surer, namely, to make him pay his money aforehand; for that delay and giving attendance, is subject to receive wrong and sustain loss: and thus much he uttereth in these very terms: Those teachers that be of the wiser sort, call for their schoolage and minervals of their scholar, not all after one manner, but diversely: a number of them, according as the present occasion requireth, who promise not to make them wise men, and that within a yeer; but undertake to do what lies in them, within a set time agreed upon between them. And soon after, speaking of his wise man: He will (quoth he) know the best time: when to demand his pension, to wit, whether incontinently upon the entrance of his scholar, as the most part do; or to give day, and set down a certain time; which manner of dealing is more subject to receive injury, howsoever it may seem more honest and civil. And how can a wise man, tell me now, be a despiser of money, in case he make a contract and bargain at a price to receive money, for delivering vertue; or if he do not deliver it, yet require his salary nevertheless, as if he had performed his part fully? Either how can he be greater than to sustein a loss and damage, if it be so that he stand so strictly upon this point, and be so wary, that he receive no wrong by the payment of his wages? For surely no man is said to be injured, who is not hurt and endamaged: and therefore how ever otherwise he hath flatly denied, that a wise man could receive wrong; yet in this book he saith, that this manner of dealing, is expoſed to loſs and damage. In

In his book of Common-wealth, he affirmeth, that his citizens will never do any thing for pleasure, no nor address and prepare themselves therefore, praising highly *Euripides* for these verses:

We need not men, but for two things, only swink?
Bread for to eat, and water there to drink.

And soon after, he proceedeth forward, and praiseth *Diogenes*, for abusing himself, by forcing his nature to pass from him in the open street, and saying withal to those that stood by: Oh, that I could chase hunger as well from my belly. What reason then is there, in the self same books to commend him for rejecting pleasure, and withal for defiling his own body as he did, so beastly in the sight of the whole world, and that for a little filthy pleasure? In his books of Nature, having written that nature had produced and brought forth many living creatures, for beauty only, as delighting and taking pleasure in such lovely variety, and therewith having adjoined moreover, a most strange and absurd speech, namely, that the Peacock was made for his tailes sake, and in regard of the beauty thereof: clean contrary to himself, in his books of Common-wealth, he reproveth very sharply those who keep Peacocks and Nightingales,, as if he would makes laws quite contrary to the soveraign law-giver of the world, deriding nature for taking delight, and imploying as it were her study in bringing forth such creatures; unto which a wise man will give no place in his City and Common-wealth. For how can it otherwise be but monstrous and absurd, for to find faults with those who nourish such creatures, as if it were wantonness so to do, in case he praise the divine providence for creating them? In his first book of Nature, after he had shewed that wal-lice or punaises serve in good stead to awaken us out of sleep, as also that mice advertise us to beware and take head where we lay up, and bestow every thing; and that it is probable that nature taketh pleasure in producing fair creatures, and joyeth in diversity, he commeth out with this sentence word for word: This appeareth most evidently in the Peacocks tail: for here he signifieth that this bird was made for the tails sake, and not contrariwise; and so when the cock was once created, the hen followed after.

In his book of Common-wealth when he had said, that we are come almost to the painting of dunghils, a little after: There be some (quoth he) who adorn and embelish their Cornfields, with vines climbing and growing upon trees, ranged directly in order, as also with miyrtle rows; who nourish also Peacocks and Doves, yea and Partriges, for to hear them call and record unto them, as also Nightingales for their pleasant song. But I would gladly know of him, what he thinketh, and what his conceit is of Bees and of Honey; for it would by good consequence follow, that he who had said, that Punaises and Wal-lice were profitably created; should also infer that Bees were made for no profit. Now if he allowed these a place in his Commonwealth, how is it that he forbiddeth his Citizens to entertain those things which delight the eare. To be brief, like as he were very absurd who should find fault with those guests at a feast, who fell to eat Comfits, and sweet banquetting conceits, to drink wine also, and to feed of delicate viands; and in the mean while commend the man who invited them to such dainties, and provided the same for them: even so, he who praising the divine Providence for creating delicate Fishes, deinty Birds, sweet Honey, and pleasant Wine, should reprove those who reject not these gifts, nor be content to eat bare bread, and drink sheer water, things that be ever at hand, and which are sufficient for our food, were as far out of reason, and makes no reckoning at all how he doth contradict himself, and what contrary opinions he holdeth.

Moreover, having in his Treatise of Exhortations said, that it was no reason, that folk should be defamed or blamed, for having to do carnally with their own mothers, daughters, or sisters; for eating any kind of meats whatsoever, for going directly out of the bed from a woman, or from a dead body and mortuary, unto attemple or sacrifice: And herein (quoth he) we ought to have a regard and eye unto brute beasts, and taking example by them, to collect and conclude, that in all this, there is no absurdity at all, nor any thing against nature; for fitly, and to the purpose very well a man may alledge this, & compare the usage of other creatures, to shew that they neither being coupled together nor engendring, no nor dying in temples, do pollute and defile the divinity. Contrary to all this, in the fift book of Nature he saith: That the poet *Hesiodus* did very well to admonish and forbid us, not to piss into fountains, nor running rivers yea, and much rather to forbear to make water against an alter, or any statue of the gods: neither mattereth, or skilleth it all, if dogs, asses, and young children, do so, seeing they have no discretion, nor consideration in such things; and therefore it is very absurd to say in one place: That it is meet to consider the savage example of wild beasts; and in another, as absurd to alledge the same.

Some Philosophers there be, who imagine a certain accessary motion from without, in the principal part of our soul; for that a man seemeth, to give the head and liberty unto divers inclinations, when he is forced to a thing by outward causes: which motion appeareth principally in doubtful and variable things; for when of two objects equal in power, and every way semblable, we are of necessity to chuse one, and there is no cause at all to incline us more to the one than to the other, this aforesaid accessary and adventitious puissance, comming in otherwise, and seazing upon the inclination of the soul, decideth all the doubt. Against these philosophers, *Chrysippus* disputing, as if they did violence to nature by the contrary, and by devising an effect without a cause; among sundry other examples, alledgeth the cockal bone, the ballance, & many such like things which cannot fall, incline & bend now on the one side, & then on another, without some cause and difference, which is entirely in them, or else cometh from without forth: for this is generally held, that whatsoever is without cause can have no subsistence,

fistence,no more than meer hazard and chance:but in these adventitious & accessary motions,which they suppose,there be certain hidden irripitious causes which secretly move and induce our appetite & inclination even without our knowledge to one part or other: and this is that which he often repeateth in the most notable works that he hath put forth; but that which himself afterward delivereth clean contrary, because it is not exposed so openly to the view of the whole world,I will alledge *verbatim* as he hath delivered it:For in his Treatise concerning the office of a Judge,supposing for example sake,that two Curriers, who ran a course, were come both together unto the Goale,he demandeth what the Judge should do in this case; namely, whether it were lawfull for him, to give unto whether of them he pleased, the victorious branch of the Date tree? this being supposed withall, that they were both so inward and familiar with him, that he should rather gratifie them both, even out of his own in some sort, than seem to defraud either of them of the victorious Garland; which seemeth to be common to them both: Whether I say, it be lawfull for him to encline unto the one or to the other, and so award the victory, as if they had drawn lots therefore: To encline (I say) casually, and without any reason; like as when two groats are presented unto us, every way semblable one to the other, we incline rather to that which we take. And in the sixth book of Duties, having said, that there be certain things that require no great ado, nor intentive consideration, he is of opinion, that in such cases we are to yield the choise into the casuall propension of the mind, even as to the adventurous hazard of a lot: as for example; if the question be to make triall of the said two groats,one saith this is the better, and another that: but for that we are to take one of the twain without more ado and farther triall of their bitternesse, we take that which comes first; and in another place he saith: in putting this to the adventure of a lot, it falleth out otherwhiles,that we hit upon the worse: in these places, the casuall inclination of the mind to the first object, and the putting of the matter to the hazard of a lot, is nothing else, but to bring in a choise of things indifferent without any cause.

In the third book of Logick, having premised thus much, that *Plato*, *Aristotle*, and their successors and disciples, even as far as to *Polemon* and *Straton*, had bestowed great study, and travelled much there: but above all others, *Socrates*,with this addition, that a man would wish with so many and such noble personages to erre for company: he cometh in afterwards with these words: if they had (quoth he) treated and discoursed hereof cursorily or by the way, a man haply might laugh at this place well enough: but since they have so seriously and exactly disputed of Logick,as if it were one of the greatest faculties,and most necessary sciences,it is not like that were so grossely deceived,being men throughout all the parts of Philosophy, so singular as we repute them to be. How is it then may a man reply and say, that you never rest baying and barking at these so worthy and excellent personages, and convincing them as you suppose to have erred? for there is no likelyhood, that they writing so diligently and exactly as they have done of Logick, should of the Principles, and Elements, of the end of good things, of Justice and the gods, write carelesly and after a loose manner, howsoever you are disposed to tearm their Treatises, and Discourses, blind, repugnant to themselves, and stuffed with an infinite sort of faults and errours. In one place he denieth that the vice ἐπιχαιρεκακία, that is to say a joy to see evill happen unto another, hath any being or reall subsistence: for that (quoth he) no good man was ever known to rejoyce at the harm of another: but in his second book as touching Good, having declared what Envy is, namely a grief for another mans welfare: because men are desirous to detract and debase their neighbours, to the end they might be superiours themselves; he addeth afterwards the joy for another mans harm, and that in these words: Annexed thereunto (quoth he) is the joy for another mans harm, because men are desirous that their neighbours about them should be brought low for the like causes: but when they decline and turn to other naturall affections, there is engendred Pity and Mercy: In which words it appeareth that he ordaineth ἐπιχαιρεκακία to be a thing really subsistent as well as envy and Pity, which notwithstanding elsewhere he said had no being at all in the world, no more than the hatred of wickednesse, or the desire of filthy lucre.

Having in many places affirmed, that men are never a whit more happy, for long continuance of felicity, but that they be still as happy who enjoy felicity but one minute of an hour: in as many other places again he avoucheth the contrary, saying, that a man should not so much as put forth his finger for a transitory and momentany prudence, which endureth but a while, and passeth away like unto the flash and leam of a lightning. But it shall suffice to relate the very words, which he hath written in his sixth Book of Moral Questions as touching this matter: for when he had premised thus much, that every good thing doth not cause equall joy, nor all vertuous duties like vantery, he cometh after with these words: For if a man is to have Prudence for one moment of time; or the last day onely of his life, he should not so much as hold up or stretch out his finger for a prudence that lasteth so small a while: although no man is said to be the more blessed for long continuance of happinesse, neither is eternall beatitude more expetible or desirable, than that which passeth away within a minute of an hour. Now if he had thought that prudence were a good thing bringing forth blessednesse, as *Epicurus* did, a man could have found fault with nothing else but the absurdity onely of so strange an opinion and paradox. But seeing that prudence is no other thing than beatitude of it self, and even very felicity, how can it be avoided that herein there should not be a contradiction and repugnancy of speech, namely to say that transitory happines is as eligible and as much to be desired, as that which is perpetuall: and to hold, that the felicity of one moment is worth nought.

He affirmeth that vertues do follow and accompany one another not onely in this respect, that he who hath one, hath likewise all the rest, but also in this that he who worketh by one, worketh with

withall according to the other: neither (saith he) is any man perfect, unlesse he be possessed of all vertues. Howbeit in the sixth Book of Morall questions, *Chrysippus* saith, that neither a good and honest man doth alwayes bear himself valiantly, nor a naughty man behave himself cowardly, for tha is as certain objects be presented into mens fantasies, it behoveth one man to persevere and persist in his Judgements, and another to forsake and relinquish the same, for probable he saith, it is, that even the wickedman is not alwayes lascivious. Now in case it be so, that to be a valiant man, is as much as to shew valour, and to be a coward, the same that to use cowardise, they speak contraries who affirm, that a naughty person practising one vice,worketh by all together,and that a valiant man useth not alwayes valour, nor a dastard cowardise.

He denieth Rhetorick to be an art, as touching the ornament, dispose and order of an ornament pronounced: and besides in the first book he hath thus written: And in mine opinion requisite it is, to have not onely a regard of an honest, decent and simple adorning of words, but also a care of proper gestures, actions, pauses and stayes of the voice, as also a meet confirmation of the countenance and the hands. Being as you see thus exquisite and curious in this passage: yet in the same book clear contrary, having spoken of the collision of vowels, and hitting one of them upon another: We are not onely (quoth he) to neglect this, and to thing of that which is of greater moment and importance, but also to let passe certain obscurities and defects,soleciſmes also and incongruities of which many others would be ashamed. Now one while to permit and allow such exquisite curiositie in the orderly dispose of a mans tongue, even as far as to the decent setting of the countenance and gesture of the hands: and another while not to bash at the committing of grosse incongruities, defects, and obscurities, is the property of a man who cares not what he saith, but speaks whatsoever comes in his head.

Over and besides in his naturall Positions, treating of those things which require the view of the eye and experience, after he had given warning that we should go warily to work, and not rashly yield our assent thereto, he saith let us not therefore, be of *Platoes* opinion, to think that our liquid food, to wit, our drink passeth directly to the lungs, and our dry nourishment, that is, our meat, into the stomach; neither let us fall into such like errours as these. For mine own part, thus I think, that for a man to reprehend others, and afterwards to incur the same faults and errours which he reproved, is the greatest repugnancy, and contrariety that may be, and the foulest and most shamefull fault of all others. And verily himself saith, that the connexions which are made by the ten principall Axiomes, that is to say Propositions, exceed in number ten hundred thousand; when as neither he had by himself diligently enough enquired and searched into the thing, nor by other men well exercised in that art of Arithmetick, attained to the truth. And yet *Plato* had to testifie on his side, the most renowned Physicians that were, namely, *Hippocrates*, *Philistion* and *Dioxippus*, the disciple of *Hippocrates*: also of Poets, *Euripides*, *Alceus*, *Eupolis* and *Eratosthenes*, who all with one voice affirm, that the drink passeth by the lungs. And as for all the Arithmeticians well practised in the knowledge of numbers, they reprove *Chrysippus*: and *Hipparchus* among the rest, proving, and shewing that in the foresaid speech of his, he erred most grosly in his computation, if it be true, that the affirmative maketh of the said ten Axiomes to the number of 103049 connexions, and the negative 952, over and above three hundreds and ten thousand. Some of the Ancients said of *Zeno* that it befell unto him as unto one who had sowr wine of his own, which he could not sell, and make away, either for vineger or wine: for that precedent of his which they call παραγμάτιον, he could not put off, neither for a thing that is good, nor so much as is indifferent. But *Chrysippus* hath made the matter far more intricate and different: for in some passages of his he saith,that they are stark mad who make no account of riches, health, voidnesse of pain and integrity of the body, nor care how to attain thereto; and having alledged this Verse out of *Hesiodus*,

O Perses, born of noble race,
Thy businesse ply, and work apace.

he addeth thereto and saith, it were madnesse to advise the contrary; and say,

O Perses, born of noble race,
Ply not thy work in any case.

And in his Treatise of Lives he writeth, that a wise man will court it with Kings and Princes, if he may raise his commodity and gain thereby; yea, he will keep a School, and teach for money, taking of some Scholars his Minervals aforehand. and bargaining with others for a certain time. Also in the seventh Book of his Offices he saith, that he will not stick to tumble down upon his head, and that three times, so he may be sure to have a talent for his labour. In his first Book of good things, he permitteth and granteth unto whosoever will, to call those πρηγμένα, or precedents aforesaid, Good,and the contray thereto, Bad, in these very terms: If a man list (quoth he) according to such premutations as these,he may call one thing good unto himself; and another thing ill; so as he have an eye and regard unto the things,and wander not inconsiderately,nor fail in the understanding of things signified, but otherwise accommodate himself to the Use and Custome of the Denomination. Having thus in this place set his Precedent so near and linked it with Good; in other passages he saith clean contrary, that none of all this concerneth us at all, but Reason doth divert and pluck us quite away from all such things: for so much hath he set down in his first Book of Exhortations. But in the third Book of Nature, he saith that some Kings and rich persons are reputed blessed and happy; which is as much, as if they were to be accounted happy, who made water in Golden Chamber-pots, or swept

the

th: flower with the golden trains of their costly robes. But a good man, if he lose his whole patrimony and all his estate, weigheth it no more than the loss of a groat or single denier, and maketh no greater matter of sickness, than of stumbling, or tripping a little with his foot. And therefore, filled he hath with such contrarieties, not vertue only, but also providence. For vertue will appear exceeding base, mechanical and foolish, if it be imployed in things so vile and contemptible, commanding a man to sail for them as far as to *Bosporus*, yea, and to throw himself upon his head. And *Jupiter* is very ridiculous, delighting to be called either *Ctesius*, that is to say, The enricher and donor of possessions, or *Epicarpius*, that is to say, The giver of fruits, or *Charidotes*, that is to say, The gratifier and author of favours: for that unto lewd and wicked persons he affordeth golden chamber-pots, and robes garded and bordered round about the skirts with gold; but vouchsafeth unto good men, trash hardly worth a groate, when they are become rich through the providence of *Jupiter*. And yet *Appollo* is much more ridiculous, if it be so, that he sits, giving answers and oracles as touching golden chamber-pots, gards and fringes of gold, yea and the tripping and stumbling of the foot. This repugnance and contrariety they make more evident and apparent still by their demonstration: For that (quoth they) which may be well or ill used, is neither good nor bad. Now, certain it is, that all evil and foolish persons use riches, health and strength of the body, amiss: and therefore none of these may be called Good. If then, God give not vertue unto men, but Honesty commeth of it self, and yet bestoweth riches and health without vertue, surely it is upon them who will not use the same well but ill, that is to say, unprofitably, shamefully, and mischievously. And verily if the gods can give vertue, they are not good if they do not: and again, if they cannot make good men, neither are they able to help them any way, considering, that without it, there is nothing good nor profitable. For, to say that the gods judge those to be good by vertue, and by strength, who are otherwise good than by them, is to no purpose, but a vain conceit: for even so good men do judge the evil by vertue and by strength: so that by this reckoning, they profit men no more, than they be profited by men. And verily *Chrysippus* judgeth neither himself to be a good man, nor any either of his scholars or teachers. What is their opinion then, think you, of others, if it be not that which themselves say, namely, that they are mad and senseless fools, that they be miscreants and infidels, lawless, and in one word, come to the very heighth and pitch of all infilicity and misery? And yet forsooth they hold, that men so wretched and unhappy as they be, are notwithstanding governed and ruled by divine providence. Now, if the gods, changing their mind, should determine to hurt, afflict, plague, destroy, and crush us quite, they could not bring us to a worse state and condition, than wherein we are already; according as *Chrysippus* saith, That mans life cannot be brought to a lower ebb, nor be in worse plight and case than now it is, insomuch as if it had a tongue and voice to speak, it would pronounce these words of *Hercules*.

Of miseries (to say I dare be bold)
So full I am, that more I cannot hold.

And what assertions or sentences, may a man possibly find more contrary, and repugnant one against another, than those of *Chrysippus*, as touching both gods and men, when he saith, That the gods are most provident over men, and careful for their best; and men notwithstanding are in as woful state as they may be.

Certain Pythagoreans there are, who blame him much, for that in his book of Justice he hath written of dunghil Cocks, that they were made and created profitable for mans use: For (quoth he) they awaken us out of our sleep, and raise us to our work; they hunt, kill and devour Scorpions; with their fighting they animate us to battel, imprinting in our hearts an ardent desire to shew valour: and yet eat them we must, for fear that there grow upon us more pullain, than we know what otherwise to do withal. And so far forth mocketh he and scorneth those who find fault with him for delivering such sentences, that he writeth thus in his third Book of the gods, as touching *Jupiter* the Saviour, Creator and Father of Justice, Law, Equity and Peace: And like as cities (quoth he) and great towns, when they be over full of people, deduct and send from thence certain colonies, and begin to make war upon some other nations; even so God sendeth the causes, that breed plague and mortality: to which purpose he citeth the testimony of *Euripides* and other authors, who write that the Trojan war was raised by the gods, for to discharge and disburthen the world of so great a multidude of men wherewith it was replenished. As for all other evident absurdities delivered in these speeches, I let pass, for my purpose is not to search into all that which they have said or written amiss, but only into their contradictions and contrarieties to themselves. But consider, I pray you, how *Chrysippus* hath alwaies attributed unto the gods the goodliest names, and most plausible terms that can be devised; but contrariwise, most savage, cruel, inhumane, barbarous and Galatian deeds. For such general mortalities and carnages of men, as the Trojan war first brought, and afterward the Median and Peloponnesiacke wars, are nothing like unto colonies that cities send forth to people, and inhabit other places; unless haply one would say, That such multidudes of men that die by war and pestilence, know of some cities founded for them in hell and under the ground to be inhabited. But *Chrysippus* maketh God like unto *Deiotarus* the king of *Galatia*, who having many sons, and minding to leave his realm and royal estate unto one of them and no more, made away and killed all the rest besides him, to the end that he being left alone, might be great and mighty: like as if one should prune and cut away all the branches of a vine, that the main stock might thrive and prosper the better: and yet the cutter of the vine distrancheth it when the shoots be yong, small and tender: and we also take away from a bitch many of her whelps when they be so young as that they cannot yet see, for to spare the damme: whereas *Jupiter* who hath not onely suffered and permitted men to grow unto their perfect age, but also given them himself their nativity and growth, punisheth them, and plagueth them afterwards, devising sundry means, and preparing many occasions of their death and destruction, when as indeed he should rather have not given unto them the causes and principles of their generation and birth. Howbeit this is but a small matter in comparison; and more grievous is that which I will now say: for there are no wars bred among men, but by occasion of some notable vice; seeing the cause of one is fleshly pleasures of another, avarice; and of a third ambition and desire of rule. And therefore, if God be the authour of wars, he is by consequence the cause of wickedness, and doth provoke, excite and pervert men: and yet himself in his Treatise of Judgement, yea and his second Book of the gods, writeth that it stands to no sense and reason that God should be the cause of any wicked and dishonest things. For like as the Lawes are never the cause of breaking and violating the Laws, no more are gods of impiety: so that there is no likelyhood at all that they should move and cause men to commit any foul and dishonest fact. Now what can there be more dishonest, than to procure and raise some to work the ruine and perdition of others, and yet *Chrysippus* saith, that God ministreth the occasions and beginnings thereof. Yea but he contrariwise (will one say) commendeth *Euripides*, for saying thus:

If gods do ought that lewd and filthy is,
They are no more accounted gods amis.

And again,

Soon said that is: Mens faults t' excuse,
Nothing more ready than gods t' accuse.

as if forsooth we did any thing else now, but compare his words and sentences together, that be opposite and meere contrary one unto another. And yet this sentence which now is here commended, to wit,

Soon said that is, &c.

we may alledge against *Chrysippus*, not once, nor twice, nor thrice, but ten thousand times. For first, in his Treatise of Nature, having likened the eternity of motion to a drench or potion made confusedly of many herbs and spices, troubling and turning all things that be engendered, some after one sort, and some after another, thus he saith, Seeing it is so, that the government and administration of the universall world proceedeth in this sort, necessary it is, that according to it we be disposed in that manner as we are; whether it be that we are diseased against our own nature, maimed, or dismembred, Grammarians or Musicians. And again, soon after, according to this reason, we may say the like of our vertue or vice, and generally of the knowledge or ignorance of arts, as I have already said. Also within a little after, cutting off all doubt and ambiguity: There is no particular thing, not the very least that is, which can otherwise happen than according to common nature, and the reason thereof: now that common nature, and the reason of it is fatall destiny, Divine Providence and *Jupiter*, there is not one, search even as far as to the Antipodes, but he knoweth: for this sentence is very rife in their mouths: And as for this verse of *Homer*,

And as each thing thus came to passe,
The will of Jove fulfilled was.

he saith, that well and rightly he referred all to destiny, and the universall nature of the world, whereby all things are governed. How is it possible then, that these two Positions should subsist together, namely, that God is in no wise the cause of any dishonest thing: and that there is nothing in the world, be it never so little, that is done, but by common nature, and according to the reason thereof? for surely, among all those things that are done, necessarily there must be things dishonest: and yet *Epicurus* turneth and windeth himself on every side, imagining and devising all the subtill shifts that he can to unloose, set free, and deliver our voluntary free will from this motion eternall, because he would not leave vice excusable and without just reprehension; whereas in the mean while he openeth a wide window unto it, and giveth it liberty to plead: That committed it is not onely by the necessity of destiny, but also by the reason of God, and according to the best nature that is. And thus much also moreover is to be seen written word for word: For considering, that common nature reacheth unto all causes, it cannot otherwise be, but all that is done, howsoever, and in what part soever of the world, must be according to this common nature, and the reason thereof, by a certain stint of consequence without impeachment; for that there is nothing without, that can impeach the administration thereof, neither moveth any part, or is disposed in habitude otherwise, than according to that common nature. But what habitudes and motions of the parts are these? Certain it is, that the habitudes be the vices, and maladies of the minds, as covetousness, lechery, ambition, cowardise and injustice: as for the motions, they be the acts proceeding from thence, as Adulteries, Thefts, Treasons Manslaughters, Murders, and Parricides. *Chrysippus* now is of opinion, That none of all these, be they little or great, is done without the reason of *Jupiter*, or against Law, Justice, and Providence: insomuch as to break Law, is not against Law; to wrong another, is not against Justice, nor to commit sin against Providence. And yet he affirmeth that God punisheth vice, and doth many things for the punishment of the wicked. As for example, in the second Book of the gods: Otherwhiles there happen (quoth he) unto good men grievous calamities, not by way of punishment, as to the wicked, by another kind of oeconomy, and Disposition, like as it falleth out usually unto Cities. Again, in these words: First, we are to understand, evill things and calamities as we have said heretofore

fore; then to think, that destributed they are according to the reason and disposé of *Jupiter*, either by way of punishment, or else by some other œconomie of the whole world. Now surely, this is a Doctrine hard to be digested, namely, that vice being wrought by the disposition and reason of God, is also punished thereby: howbeit, this contradiction he doth still aggravate and extend in the second book of Nature, writing thus: But vice in regard of grievous accidents, hath a certain peculiar reason by it self: for after a sort it is committed by the common reason of nature, and as I may so say, not unprofitably in respect of the universall world: for otherwise then so, there were no good things at all: and then proceeding to reprove those who dispute *pro & contra*, and discourse indifferently on both parts, he (I mean) who upon an ardent desire to broach alwaies and in every matter some novelties and exquisite singularities above all other, saith, It is not unprofitable, to cut Purses, to play the Sycophants, or commit Joose, dissolute, and mad parts: no more than it is incommodious, that there should be unprofitable members, hurtfull and wretched persons: which if it be so, what manner of god is *Jupiter*, I mean him, of whom *Chrysippus* speaketh, in case (I say) he punish a thing, which neither cometh of it self, nor unprofitably: for vice according to the reason of *Chrysippus* were altogether irreprehensible, and *Jupiter* to be blamed, if either he caused vice, as a thing unprofitable, or punished it when he had made it not unprofitably. Moreover, in the first book of Justice, speaking of the gods that they oppose themselves against the iniquities of some: But wholly (quoth he) to cut off all vice, is neither possible nor expedient, is, if it were possible, to take away all injustice, all transgression of lawes, and all folly. But how true this is, it pertaineth not to this present treatise for to enquire and discourse. But himself taking away and rooting up all vice as much as lay in him, by the meanes of Philosophy, which to extirp, was neither good nor expedient, doth herein that which is repugnant both to reason and also to God. Furthermore, in saying, that there be certain sins and iniquities, against which the gods do oppose themselves, he giveth covertly to understand, that there is some odds and inequality in sins. Over and besides, having written in many places, that there is nothing in the world to be blamed, nor that can be complained of, for that all things are made and finished by a most singular and excellent nature: there be contrariwise, sundry places wherein he leaveth and alloweth unto us certain negligences reprovable, and those not in small and trifling matters. That this is true, it may appear in his third book of Substance; where having made mention that such like negligences might befall unto good and honest men; Cometh this to pass (quoth he) because there be some things whereof there is no reckoning made, like as in great houses, there must need be scattered and lost by the way some bran, yea and some few graines of wheat, although in generality the whole besides, is well enough ruled and governed? or is it because there be some evill and malignant spirits, as superintendants over such things, wherein certainly such negligencies are committed, and the same reprehensible? and he saith moreover, that there is much necessity intermingled among. But I mean not hereupon to stand, nor to discourse at large, but to let pass what vanity there was in him, to compare the accidents which befell to some good and vertuous persons; as for example, the condemnation of *Socrates*, the burning of *Pythagoras* quick by the Cylonians, the dolorous torments that *Zeno* indured under the tyrant *Demylus*, or those which *Antiphon* suffred at the hands of *Dionysius*, when they were by them but to death, unto the barns that he spilt and lost in great mens houses. But that there should be such wicked spirits deputed by the divine providence, to have the charge of such things, must needs redound to the great reproach of God, as if he were some unwise King who committed the government of his provinces unto evill Captaines, and rash headed Lieutenants, suffering them to abuse and wrong his best affected Subjects, and winking at their wretchlesse negligence, having no care or regard at all of them. Again, if it be so, that there is much necessity and constraint mingled among the affaires of this world, then is not God the soveraign Lord and omnipotent master of all, neither be all things absolutely governed & ruled by his reason & counsel.

Moreover, he mightily opposeth himself against *Epicurus* and those who take from the administration of the world divine providence, confuting them, principally, by the common notions and conceptions inbred in us as touching the gods, by which perswaded we are that they be gracious benefactors unto men. And for that this is so vulgar and common a thing with them, needlesse it is to cite any expresse places to prove the same: And yet by his leave, all Nations do not believe that the gods be bountifull and good unto us. For do but consider what opinion the Jewes and Syrians, have of the gods: look into the writings of Poets, with how many superstitions they be stuffed. There is no man in maner to speak of, who imagineth or conceiveth in his mind, that God is either mortall and corruptible, or hath been begotten: And *Antipater* of *Tarsis* (to passe others over in silence) in his book of gods, hath written thus much word for word. But to the end (quoth he) that this discourse may be more perspicuous and clear, we will reduce into few words the opinion which we have of God. We understand therefore by God a living nature or substance happy, incorruptible, and a benefactour unto men: and afterwards in expounding each of these tearmes and attributes, thus he saith: And verily all men do acknowledge the gods to be immortall. It must needs be then, that by *Antipaters* saying, *Chrysippus* of all those, is none. For he doth not think any of all the gods to be incorruptible save *Jupiter* only: but supposeth that they were all engendred alike, and that one day they shall all likewise perish. This generally throughout all his books doth he deliver: howbeit one expresse passage will I alledge out of his third book of the gods. After a divers sort (quoth he) for some of them are engendred and mortall: others not engendred at all. But the proof and demonstration hereof, if it should be fetched from the head indeed, appertaineth more properly unto the

the science of Natural Philosophy. For the Sun and Moon, and other gods of like nature, were begotten: but *Jupiter* is sempiternall. And again somewhat after: The like shall be said of *Jupiter* and other gods, as touching their corruption and generation: for some of them do perish: but as for his parts they be incorruptible. With this I would have you to compare, a little of that which *Antipater* hath written: Those (quoth he) who deprive the gods of beneficence and well doing, touch but in some part the prenotion and anticipation in the knowledge of them: and by the same reason they also who think they participate of generation and corruption. If then he be as much deceived and as absurd, who thinketh that the gods be mortal and corruptible, as he who is of opinion, that they bear no bountiful and loving affection toward men, *Chrysippus* is as far from the truth as *Epicurus*, for that as the one bereaveth God of immortality and incorruption, so the other taketh from him bounty and liberality.

Moreover *Chrysippus* in his third Book of the gods speaking of this point, and namely how other gods are nourished, saith thus: Other gods (quoth he) use a certain nourishment, whereby they are maintained equally: but *Jupiter* and the world after another sort, then those who are engendred and be consumed by the fire. In which place, he holdeth, that all other gods be nourished, except *Jupiter* and the world. And in the first Book of Providence, he saith that *Jupiter* groweth continually untill such a time, as all things be consumed in him. For Death being the separation of the Body and Soul, seeing that the Soul of the world never departeth at all, but augmenteth continually, untill it have consumed all the matter within it, we cannot say that the world dieth. Who could speak more contrary to himself, then he who saith that one and the same god is nourished and not nourished? And this we need not to infer and conclude by necessary consequence considering that himself in the same place hath written it plainly. The world only (quoth he) is said to be of it self sufficient: because it alone hath all in it self whereof it standeth in need, of it self it is nourished and augmented, whereas other parts are transmuted and converted one into another. Not only then is he contradictory and repugnant to himself in that he saith, other gods be nourished, all except the world and *Jupiter*, but also here in much more, when he saith that the world groweth by nourishing it self: whereas contrariwise there had been more reason to say, the world only is not augmented, having for food the destruction thereof: but on the contrary side, other gods do grow and increase, in as much as they have their nourishment from without: and rather should the world be consumed into them, if it be true that the world taketh alwaies from it self, and other gods from it. The second point contained in that common notion and opinion imprinted in us as touching the gods, is that they be blessed, happy and perfect. And therefore men highly praise *Euripides* for saying thus.

If God be God indeed and really,
He needs none of this poets verily,
His praise in hymnes and verses for to write:
Such ditties wretched are which they endite.

Howbeit our *Chrysippus* here, in those places by me alledged saith, that the world alone is of it self sufficient, as comprehending within it all that it hath need of. What then ariseth upon this proposition, that the world is sole sufficient in it self, but this, that neither the Sun nor the Moone, nor any other of the gods whatsoever is sufficient of it self, and being thus insufficient, they cannot be blessed and happy.

Chrysippus is of opinion, that the Infant in the Mothers Wombe, is nourished naturally, no otherwise than a plant within the earth; but when it is born, and by the air cooled and hardned (as it were) like fleele, it moveth the spirit, and becommeth an animall or living Creature; & therefore it is not without good reason, that the Soul was called ψυχὴ, in regard of ψύξις, that is to say, refrigeration. But not forgetting to be contrary unto himself, he supposeth that the Soul is the more subtile, rare, and fine spirit of nature: For how is it possible that a subtile thing should be made of that which is grosse, and that a spirit should be rarefied by refrigeration and affriction or condensation? Nay, that which more is, how cometh it about, that affirming as he doth the soul of an Infant to be engendred by the meanes of refrigeration, he should think the sun to become animate, being as it is of a fiery nature, and ingendred of an exhalation transmuted into fire? For thus he saith in his third Book of Nature: The mutation (quoth he) of fire is in this manner; by the air it is turned into water, and out of water having earth under it, there exhaleth air, which air coming to be subtilized, the fire is produced and environeth it round about; and as for the stars, they are set on fire out of these, together with the Sun; what is more contrary, then to be set on fire and to be cooled? what more opposite to subtilization and rarefraction, than inspissation and condensation? the come maketh water and earth, of fire and air; the other turneth that which is moist and terrestriall, into fire and aire. And yet in one place he maketh kindling of fire, and in another refrigeration, to be the cause of quickning and giving soul unto a thing: for when the said firing and inflammation comes general throughout, then it liveth and is become an animal Creature; but after it cometh to be quenched & thickned, it turneth into water and earth, and so into a corporeal substance. In the first Book of Providence, he writeth thus: For the world being throughout on fire, presently it is withall, the Soul and governour of it self; but when it is turned into moisture and the soul left within it, & is after a sort converted into a Soul and Body, so as it seemeth compounded of them both, then the case is altered: In which text he affirmeth plainly, that the very in inanimate parts of the world by exustion and inflammation, turn and change into the soul thereof; and contrariwise

by extinction, the soul is relaxed and moistened again, and so returneth into a corporeall nature. Hereupon I inferre that he is very absurd, one while to make of sensiteless things, animate and living, by way of refrigeration; and another while to transmute the most part of the soul of the world into insensible and inanimate things.

But over and above all this, the Discourse which he maketh as touching the generation of the soul, containeth a proof and demonstration contrary to his own opinion; for he saith that the soul is engendred after that the Infant is gone out of the mothers womb; for that the spirit then is transformed by refrigeration; even as the temper is gotten of Steel. Now to prove that the soul is engendred, and that after the birth of the Infant, he bringeth this for a principall Argument; Because children become like unto their Parents in behaviour and naturall inclination; wherein the contrariety that he delivereth is so evident, as that a man may see it by the very eye; for it is not possible that the soul which is engendred after birth, should be framed to the manners and disposition of the Parents before nativity; or else we must say (and fall out it will) that the soul before it was in *esse*, was already like unto a soul; which is all one, as that it was by similitude and resemblance, and yet was not, because as yet it had not a reall substance: Now if any one do say, that it ariseth from the temperature and complexion of the bodies, that this similitude is imprinted in them, howbeit, when the souls are once engendred, they become changed, he shall overthrow the argument and proof whereby it is shewed that the soul was engendred; for hereupon it would follow, that the soul, although it were ingenerable, when it entreth from without into the body, is changed by the temperature of the like.

Chrysippus sometime saith, that the air is light, that it mounteth upward on high; and other whiles for it again: that it is neither heavy nor light. To prove this, see what he saith in his second Book of Motion, namely, that fire having in it no ponderosity at all ascendeth aloft: semblably the air; and as the water is more conformable to the earth, so the air doth rather resemble the fire. But in his Book entituled Naturall arts, he bendeth to the contrary opinion, to wit, that the air hath neither ponderosity nor lightnesse of it self: He affirmeth that the air by nature is dark, and for that cause by consequence it is also the Primitive cold; and that tenebrosity or darkness, is directly opposite unto light and clearness, and the coldness thereof to the heat of fire. Moving this Discourse in the first Book of his Naturall Questions, contrary to all this in his Treatise of Habitudes, he saith: That these Habitudes be nothing else but airs: for that bodies (quoth he) be contained by them, and the cause why every body contained by any habitude is such as it is, is the Continent air which in iron is called hardness, in stone spissitude or thickness; in Silver whitenesse; in which words there is great contrariety, & as much false absurdity: for if this air remain the same still as it is in the own nature, how cometh black in that which is not white, to be called whiteness; softness in that which is not hard, to be named hardness; or rare in that which is not solid and massie, to be called solidity? But in case it be said, that by mixture therein it is altered, and so becometh semblable, how then can it be an habitude, a faculty, power or cause of these effects whereby it self is brought under and subdued? for that were to suffer rather than to do; and this alteration is not of a nature containing, but of a languishing impotency, whereby it loseth all the properties, and qualities of the own: and yet in every place they hold, that matter of it self idle and without motion, is subject and exposed to the receipt of qualities, which qualities are spirits, and those powers of the air, which into what parts soever of the matter they get and insinuate themselves, do give a form and imprint a figure into them. But how can they maintain this, supposing as they do, the air to be such as they say it is; for if it be an habitude and power, it will conform and shape unto it self, every body, so as it will make the same both black and soft: but if by being mixed and contempered with them, it take forms contrary unto those which it hath by nature, it followeth then, that it is the matter of matter, and neither the habitude, cause, nor power thereof.

Chrysippus hath written oftentimes, that without the world, there is an infinite voidness; and that this infinity hath neither beginning, middle, nor end. And this is the principall reason, whereby they refute that motion downward of the *Atoms* by themselves, which *Epicurus* hath brought in: For in that which is infinite, there are no locall differences, whereby a man may understand or specifie either high or low. But in the fourth Book of Things possible, he supposeth a certain middle space and mean place between: wherein he saith the world is founded. The very Text where he affirmeth this, runneth in these words. And therefore we must say of the world that it is corruptible: and although it be very hard to prove it, yet me thinks rather it should be so then otherwise. Nevertheless, this maketh much to the inducing of us to believe that it hath a certain incorruptibility, If I may so say, namely the occupation or taking up of the middle place, wherein it standeth, because it is in the mids: for if it were thought otherwise to be founded, it were altogether necessary, that some corruption should take hold of it. And again, a little after: for even so in some sort hath that essence been ordained from all eternity, to occupy the middle Region, being presently at the very first such as if not by another manner, yet by attaining this place, it is eternall and subject to no corruption. These words contain one manifest repugnance and visible contrariety, considering that in them he admitteth and alloweth in that which is infinite a middle place. But there is a second also, which as it is more dark and obscure, so it implieth also a more monstrous absurdity than the other: for supposing that the world cannot continue incorruptible, if it were seated and founded in any other place of the infinity, than in the mids; it appeareth manifestly that he feared, if the parts of the substance did not move and tend toward the mids, there would ensue a dissolution & corruption of the world. But this would he never have feared, if he had not thought that bodies naturally from all sides tend to the mid,

mids, not of the substance, but of the place that conteineth the substance; wherein he had spoken in many places, that it was a thing impossible and against nature, for that within voidness there is no difference, by which bodies can be said to move more one way than another: and that the construction of the world, is cause of the motion to the center, as also that all things from every side do bend to the mids. But to see this more plainly, it may suffice to alledge the very text in his second Book of Motion. for when he had delivered thus much, That the World is a perfect body, and the parts of the World not perfect, because they are respective to the whole, and not of themselves. Having also discoursed as touching the motion thereof: for that it was apt and fitted by nature to move it self in all parts, for to contain and preserve, and not to break, dissolve and burn it self, he saith afterwards, But the universal World tending and moving to the same point, and the parts thereof having the same motion from the nature of the body; like it is, that this first motion is naturally proper to all bodies, namely, to incline toward the mids of the World, considering that the World moveth so in regard of it self; and the parts likewise, in that they be the parts of the whole. How now my good friend, may some one say, what accident is befallen unto you, that you should forget to pronounce these words with all, That the World, in case it had not fortuned for to settle in the mids, must needs have been subject to corruption and dissolution? For if it be proper and natural to the World to tend alwaies to th same middle, as also to address the parts thereof from all sides thereto, into what place soever of the voidness it be carried and transported, certes, thus containing and embracing (as it were) it self? as it doth, it must needs continue Incorruptible, Immortall, and past all danger of fracture or dissolution: for to such things as be broken, bruised, dissipated and dissolved, this is incident, by the division and dissolution of their parts, when each one runneth and retireth into their proper and natural place, out of that which is against their own nature. But you sir, supposing that if the World were seated in any other place of voidness, but in the mids, there would follow a totall ruin and corruption thereof; giving out also as much, and therefore imagining a middle in that where naturally there can be none, to wit, in that which is infinite, have verily quit clean and fled from these tensions, coherences and inclinations, as having in them no assured means for to maintain and hold the World together, and attributed all the cause of the eternall maintenance and preservation thereof, unto the occupation of a place. And yet, as if you took pleasure to argue and convince your self, you adjoyn to the premises, thus much: In what sort every severall part moveth, as it is coherent to the rest of the body, it stands with good reason, that after the same manner it should move by it self alone; yea, if for disputation sake we imagine and suppose it to be in some void part of this world: and like as being kept in and enclosed on every side, it would move toward the mids, so it would continue in in this same motion, although by way of disputation we should admit, that all on a sudden there should appear some vacuity, and void place round about it. And is it so indeed, that every part what ever it be, compassed about with voidness, forgoeth not her natural inclination to move and tend to the mids; and should the world it self, unless some fortune and blind chance had not prepared for it a place in the mids, have lost that vigor and power which containeth and holdeth all together, and so some parts of the substance of it move one way, and some another? Now surely herein there be many other main contrarieties repugnant even to natural reason; but this particularly among the rest, encountreth the doctrine of God, and divine providence, to wit, that in attributing unto them the least and smallest causes that be, he taketh from them the most principal and greatest of all other. For what greater power can there be, than the maintenance and preservation of this universall world, or to cause the substance united together in all parts to cohere unto it self? But this according to the opinion of *Chrysippus*, hapneth by meer hazard and chance: for if the occupation of a place, is the cause of worlds incorruption and eternity, and the same chanced by fortune, we must infer thereupon, that the safty of all things dependeth upon hazard and adventure, and not upon fatal destiny, and divine providence. As for his doctrine and disputation περὶ τοῦ δυνατοῦ, that is to say of things possible, which *Chrysippus* hath delivered directly against that of fatall destiny, how can it chuse but be repugnant to it self: for if that be not possible, according to the opinion of *Diodorus*, which either is or shall be true, but whatsoever is susceptible naturally of a power to be, although the same never come into an act or *esse*, is to be counted possible; there will be a number of things possible, which never shall have being, by destiny invincible, inexpugnable, and surmounting all things. And therefore either this doctrine overthroweth all the force and puissance of destiny: or if it be admitted, as *Chrysippus* would have it, that which potentially may be, will fall out often times to be impossible; and whatsoever is true, shall be also necessary, as being comprised and contained by the greatest, and most powerful necessity of all others; and whatsoever is false, impossible, as having the greatest and most puissant cause, withstanding and impeaching it ever for being true. For look whose destiny it is to die in the Sea, how can it possible be, that he should be susceptible of death upon the Land? And how is it possible, that he who is at *Megara* should come to *Athens*, being hindred and prohibited by fatall destiny?

Moreover, his resolutions as touching Fantasies and imaginations, repugne mainly against fatal destiny: For intending to prove that Fantasie is not an entire and absolute cause of assent, he saith, that Sages and wise men will prejudice and hurt us much, by imprinting in our minds false imaginations, if it be so that such Fantasies do absolutely cause assent. For many times wise men use that which is false, unto lewd and wicked persons, representing unto them a Fantasie that is but only probable, and, yet the same is not the cause of assent: for so also should it be the cause of false opinion, and of decep-

tion. If then a man would transfer this reason and argument from the said wise men unto fatall destiny, saying that destiny is not the cause of assents (for so he should confess that by destiny were occasioned false assents, opinions, and deceptions, yea, and men should be endamaged by destiny) cercea the same doctrine and reason which exempteth a wise man from doing hurt at any time, sheweth withall that destiny is not the cause of all things. For if they neither opine nor receive detriment by destiny: certainly they do no good, they are not wise, they be not firm and constant in opinion, neither receive they any good and profit by destiny: so that this conclusion which they hold for most assured, falleth to the ground and commeth to nothing, namely, that fatall destiny is the cause of all things. Now if peradventure one say unto me, that *Chrysippus* doth not make destiny the entire and absolute cause of all things, but only a procatarctical and antecedent occasion, here again will he discover how he is contradictory to himself: whereas he praiseth *Homor* excessively for saying thus of Jupiter:

Take well in worth therefore what he
to each of you shall send;
And whether good or bad it be,
do not with him contend.

As also where he highly extolleth *Euripides* for these verses:

O Jupiter *what cause have I to say,*
That mortal wretches we should prudent be?
Depend we do of thee, and nothing may
Bring to effect, but that which pleaseth thee.

Himself also writeth many sentences accordant hereunto, and finally concludeth, that nothing doth rest and stay, nothing stir and move, be it never so little, otherwise than by the counsel and mind of *Jupiter*, whom he saith to be all one with fatal destiny. Moreover the antecedent cause is more feeble and weak, than that which is perfect and absolute, neither attaineth it to any effect, as being subdued & kept down, by others mightier than it self, rising up and making head against it. And as for fatal destiny *Chrysippus* himself pronouncing it to be a cause invincible, inflexible, and that which cannot be impeached, calleth it *Atropos* and *Adrastia*, as one would say, a cause that cannot be averted, avoided or undone. Likewise necessity and Prepomene, which is as much to say as setting down *ἄνωθεν*, that is to say, an end and limit unto all things. How then? whether do we not say, that neither assents, vertues, vices, nor well or ill doing, lie in our free will and power: if we affiirm fatall destiny is to be maimed or unperfect and *ἀνεμπόδιστον*, that is to say, a fatality determining all things, to be habitudes of *Jupiters* will to remain imperfect and unaccomplished? for of these conclusions the one will follow, if we say that destiny is an absolute and perfect cause: and the other, in case we hold that it is onely a procatarctical or antecedent occasion. For being an absolute and all sufficient cause, it overthroweth that which is in us, to wit, our free will: and again, if we admit it to be only antecedent it is marred for being effectual and without the danger of impeachment. For not in one or two places onely but every where in manner throughout all his commentaries of natural Philosophy he hath written, that in particular natures and motions there be many obstacles and impediments, but in the motion of the Universal World there is none at all. And how is it possible that the motion of the Universal World should not be hindred and disturbed, reaching as it doth unto particulars, in case it be so, that they likewise be stopped and impeached. For surely the nature in general of the whole man is not at liberty and without impediment, if neither that of the foot nor of the hand, be void of obstacles: no more can the motion or course of a ship be void of let and hinderance, if there be some stay about the sails, and oares, or their works. Over and besides all this, if the fantasies and imaginations, are not imprinted in us by fatal destiny, how be they the cause of assents? Or if because it imprinteth fantasies that lead unto assent, thereupon all assents are said to be by fatal destiny, how is it possible that destiny should not be repugnant to it self? considering that in matters of greatest importance, it mingleth many times different fantasies; and those which distract the mind into contrary opinions? whereas they affirm that those who settle unto one of the said phantasies, and hold not off their assent and approbation do erre and sin: For if they yeeld (say they) unto uncertain fantasies they stumble and fall: if unto false, they are deceived: if to such as commonly are not conceived and understood, they opine. For of necessity it must be one of these three: either that every fantasie is not the work nor effect of destiny; or that every receit and assention of fantasie is not void of errour; or else that destiny it self is not irreprehensible. Neither can I see how it should be blameless, objecting such fancies and imaginations as it doth; which to withstand and resist, were not blamable, but rather to give place and follow them: and verily in the disputations of the Stoicks against the Academicks, the main point about which both *Chrysippus* himself, and *Antipater* also contended and stood upon, was this: That we do nothing at all, nor be inclined to any action, without a precedent consent: but that these be but vaine Fictions and devised Fables and suppositions, that when any proper fantasie is presented, incontinently we are disposed, yea, and incited thereto, whithout yeelding or giving consent. Again, *Chrysippus* saith: That both God and the wise man do imprint false imaginations, not because they would have us to yeeld or give our consent unto them, but that we should do the thing onely, and incite our selves to that which appeareth: As for us, if we be evill by reason of our infirmitie, we condescend to such fancies and imaginations. Now the repugnance and contrariety in these words is easily seen; for he who would not have us to consent unto the fantasies which he

he presenteth unto us, but only to work and do them, be he God or wise man, knoweth well enough that such fantasies are sufficient to cause us to fall to operation; and that those assents are altogether superfluous: and so if he knowing that the fantasie imprinteth no instinct into operation without consent, ministreth unto us false or probable fantasies: wilfull and voluntary is the cause that we stumble erre, and offend, in giving our assent to such things as are not perfectly understood and comprehended.

Of Common Conceptions against the Stoicks.

The Summary.

HAving shewed in my former discourse, that the Stoicks are contradictory to themselves, in all the principall articles of their doctrine, and so consequently that he needed no more but their own words to condemn them: In this dialogue he joyneth more closely to them, disputing against their rules and precepts, which he examineth and refuteth; whereas before he was content to oppugne them by their own selves. For to make anentrance into this dialogue, he bringeth in Lamprias, *requesting* Diadumenus *to rid him of those scruples that certain Stoicks had put into his head: Whereunto the other accordeth, and so they enter into the matter. The summ of whose whole discourse throughout is this: That the Stoicks would by their principles abolish mans senses, and the common conceptions proceeding from thence, thereby more easily to establish their own paradoxes: whom he refuteth, dividing his dialogue into three principall parts: in the first whereof is considered, the morall; in the second, the naturall; in the third, the metaphysicall or supernaturall Physiosophy of the Stoicks: Howbeit he observeth no exact order nor method, in the disposition of his matters, but entreth out of one discourse into another, according as things were presented unto him, and came first into his mind, yet in such sort, as there is sufficient to content the Reader, who is desirous to know what was the sect and doctrine of the Stoicks, and the manner of the ancient Academicks in their disputations: which being referred to the true marke and scope indeed, of all that which we may learn in the world, teacheth every man to humble himself before the Majesty of him who is only wise, and out of whose sacred word we ought to fetch the resolution of the questions debated here in this dialogue, but of those above the rest, which treat of manners, religion, and divinity.*

Of common conceptions against the Steicks.

LAMPRIAS.

IT should seem verily that you *Diadumenus* pass not much what any man, either thinks or saies of you and other Academicks, such as your self, in that you do Philosophize clean contrary to the common notions and conceptions, confessing as you do, that you make no great account of the five natural senses, from whence proceed the most part of the said common conceptions, having for their foundation and feat, the belief and assurance of the imaginations which appear unto us. But I pray you for to assay and go in hand to cure me, either by some words, or charmes and enchantments, or by what other means and kinds of physick that you know, comming as I do unto you, full in mine own conceit of great trouble and strong perturbation, so exceedingly troubled I have been, and held in perplexed suspence, I may tell you, by certain Stoicks; men otherwise the best in the world, and I may say to you, my inward and familiar friends: howbeit, over bitterly bent, and in hostile manner set against the Academic, who for very small matters uttered by me, modestly and in good sort, withal respect and reverence, have (I will not lie unto you) reproved, checked, and taken me up very unkindly, with some hard words, and breaking forth in heat of choler, called our ancient Philosophers, Sophisters, corrupters, and perverters of good sentences in Philosophy, yea, and seducers of those who otherwise walked in the true path, and train of doctrine surely established; with many other most strange terms, both speaking and thinking of them very basely; until in the end as if they had been driven with a tempest, they fell upon the Common conceptions, reproching those of the Academie, as if they brought in some great confusion and perturbations in the said notions: and one among them there was, who stuck not to say; That it was not by fortune, but by some divine Providence, that *Chrysippus* was born and came into the world, after *Arcesilaus*, and before *Carneades*: of which twain, the one was the great author and promoter of the injury and outrage done unto custome; and the other flourished in name and renown above all other Academicks. Now *Chrysippus* comming as he did between them, by his writings contrary to the doctrine of *Arcesilaus*, stopped up the way also against the powerful Eloquence of *Carneades*, and as he left unto the senses many aids and succours, as it were to hold out a long Siege; so he removed out of the way, and fully cleared all the trouble and confusion about anticipations and common conceptions, correcting each one, and reducing them into their proper place; insomuch, as whosoever afterwards would seem to make new troubles, and violently disquiet matters by him settled, should not prevail nor gain ought, but incur the obloquie of the world, and be convinced

vinced for malicious persons, and deceitful Sophisters. Having thus (I say) by these words been chafed and set on fire this morning among them, I had need of some means to quench the heat as it were of an inflamation, and to rid me of these doubts, which are risen in my mind.

Diadumenus.

It fareth haply with you, as with many of the vulgar sort; but if you believe the Poets who give out, that the ancient City *Sipylus* in *Magresia*, was in old time destroyed and overthrown by the providence of the gods, when they chastised and punished *Tantalus*; you may as well be perswaded by our old friends the Stoicks to believe, that nature hath brought forth into the world, not by chance and fortune, but by some speciall divine providence, *Chrysippus*, when she was minded to pervert and overturn the life of man and course of the world, turning all things up side down, and contrariwise down side up: for never was there man better made and framed for such a matter than he. And as *Cato* said of that *Julius Cæsar* dictator, that before him there was never known any to come sober & considerate to manage affairs of state with a purpose to work the ruine of the Common-weal; even so this man in mine opinion, with most diligence, greatest eloquence, and highest conceit of spirit seemeth as much as lieth in him to destroy and abolish custome. And there witnesse against him no lesse even they who magnifie the man otherwise: namely, when they dispute against him as touching that sophisme or Syllogisme, which is called *Pseudomenos*; for to say my good friend, that the argumentation composed of contrary Positions is not notoriously false, and again to affirm, that Syllogismes having their premises true, yea and true inductions, may yet have the contrary to their conclusions true, what conception of demonstration, or what anticipation of belief is there, which it is not able to overthrow.

It is reported of the Pourcuttle or Pollyp fish, that in winter time he knaweth his own cleics and pendant hairy feet, but the Logick of *Chrysippus*, which taketh away and cutteth off the principall parts of it, what other conception leaveth it behind, but that which well may be suspected? For how can that be imagined steady and sure which is built upon foundations that abide not firm, but wherein there be so many doubts and troubles? But like as they who have either dust or durt upon their bodies, if they touch another therewith or rub against him, do not so much trouble and molest him, as they do begrime and beray themselves so much the more, and seem to exasperate that ordure which pricketh and is offensive unto them; even so, some there be who blame and accuse the Academicks, thinking to charge upon them those imputations, wherewith themselves are found to be more burdened: For who be they that pervert the common conceptions of the senses more, than do these Stoicks? But if you think so good, leaving off to accuse them, let us answer to those calumniations and slanders which they would seem to fasten upon us.

Lamprias.

Me thinks *Diadumenus* that I am this day much changed, and become full of variety: me thinks I am a man greatly altered from that I was ere while: For even now I came hither much dismayed & abished, as being depressed, beaten down and amazed; as one having need of some advocate or other to speak for me in my behalf: whereas, now I am clean turned to an humour of accusation, and disposed to enjoy the pleasure of revenge, to see all the pack of them detected and convinced, in that they argue and dispute themselves against common conceptions and anticipations, in defence whereof they seem principally to magnifie their own sect, * * saying that it alone doth agree and accord with nature.

Diadumenus.

Begin we then first, with their most renowned propositions, which they themselves call Paradoxes, that is to say, strange and admirable opinions: avowing as it were by that name, and gently admitting such exorbitant absurdities; as for example, that such Sages as themselves are only kings, only rich and fair, only Citizens, and only Judges: or pleaseth it you that we send all this stuff to the Market of old and stale marchandise, and go in hand with the examination of these matters, which consist most in action and practise, whereof also they dispute most seriously?

Lamprias.

For mine own part I take this to be the better. For as touching the reputation of those paradoxes, who is not full thereof, and hath not heard it a thousand times?

Diadumenus.

Consider then in the first place this, whether according to common notions, they can possibly accord with nature, who think natural things to be indifferent: and that neither health, nor good plight and habitude of body nor beauty, nor clean strength be either expetible, profitable, expedient, or serving in any stead to the accomplishment of that perfection which is according to nature: nor that the contraries hereunto are to be avoided, as hurtful, to wit, maimes and mutilations of members, deformities of body, paines, shameful disgraces and diseases. Of which things rehearsed, they themselves acknowledge that nature estrangeth us from some, and acquainteth us with other. The which verily is quite contrary to common intelligence, that nature should acquaint us with those things which be neither expedient nor good, and alienate us from such as be not hurtful nor ill: and that which more is, that she should either train us to them, or withdraw us from them so far forth, as if men miss in obtaining the one, or fall into the other, they should with good reason abandon this life, and for just cause depart out of the world. I suppose that this also, is by them affirmed against common sence, namely, that nature her self is a thing indifferent: and that to accord and consent with nature, hath in it some part of soveraign good. For neither to follow the rule of the Law nor to obey reason, is good

good and honest, unless both law and reason be good and honest. But this verily is one of the least of their errours. For if *Chrysippus* in his first Book of Exhortations hath written thus: A blessed and happy life consisteth onely in living according to vertue: and as for all other accessaries (quoth he) they neither touch nor concern us at all, neither make they any whit to beatitude: he cannot avoid, but he must avow, that not onely nature is indifferent, but also which is more, senseless and foolish, to associate and draw us into a League with that which in no respect concerneth us, and we our selves likewise are no better than fools, to think that the soveraign felicity, is to consent and accord with nature, which leadeth and conducteth us to that which serveth nothing at all to happiness. And yet what agreeth, and sorteth sooner to common sense, than this, that as things eligible are to be chosen and desired for the profit and help of this life; so naturall things serve for to live answerable to nature? but these men say otherwise: for although this be their supposition, that to live according to nature is the utmost end of mans good, yet they hold, that things according to nature be of themselves indifferent. Neither is this also lesse repugnant to common sense and conception, that a well affected, sensible and prudent man, is not equally enclined and affectionate to good things that be equall and alike: but as some of them he weigheth not, nor maketh any account of, so for others again he is prest to abide and endure all things, although I say the same be not greater or lesse one than another. For these things they hold to be equall, namely, for a man to fight valiantly in the defence of his Countrey, and chastly to turn away from an old trot, when for very age she is at the point of death: for both the one and the other do that alike which their duty requireth. And yet for the one, as being a worthy and glorious thing, they would be prest and ready to lose their lives, whereas to boast and vaunt of the other were a shamefull and ridiculous part. And even *Chrysippus* himself, in the Treatise which he composed of *Jupiter*, and in the third Book of the gods, saith that it were a poore, absurd and foolish thing to praise such acts, as proceeding from vertue, namely to bear valiantly the biting of a flie, or sting of a Wasp, and chastly to abstain from a crooked old woman, stooping forward and ready to tumble into her grave. Do not these Philosophers then teach and preach even against common sense and notion, when those actions which they are ashamed to commend, they avow and confesse to be excellent, and nothing in the world better? For where is that expetible, or how can that be approvable, which deserveth not that a man should praise and admire it, but is such as whosoever do commend and admire the same, they are reputed no better than sots and absurd fools? And yet I suppose you will think it more against common sense and reason, that a wise and prudent man should not care nor regard a jot whether he enjoy or enjoy not the greatest goods in the world, but carry himself after one and the same manner in things indifferent, as he would in the management and administration of those good things which are so singular. For we all,

As many as on fruits do feed,
Which for our use the earth doth breed,

are of this judgement, that the thing which being present bringeth us help and profit, and if it be away, we desire to have, and find a misse of it, is good, expetible and profitable: but that which a man passeth not for, neither in earnest nor in game, and whereof he maketh no account either for his sport, pastime or commodity and ease, the same is indifferent: for by no other mark do we distinguish a diligent, painfull and industrious man indeed, from a vain busie body, and a curious medler in many matters, than by this. That as the one travelleth and troubleth himself in unprofitable trifles or things indifferent, so the other labooreth for such as be commodious and expedient. But these Philosophers do quite contrary: for according to their doctrine, a wise and prudent man, although he meet with many conceptions and the memories of the said comprehensions, yea and remember divers things whereof he hath a certain and perfect knowledge, thinketh some few of them to concern him; and as for the rest, making no reckoning of them, he supposeth that he neither loseth nor winneth, by remembring that he had the other day the comprehension, that is to say, the certain knowledge either of *Dion* sneesing, or *Théon* playing at tennis. And yet every comprehension in a wise man, and all memory that is firm and surely settled, is presently science, yea and a great good thing, nay the greatest that is. How then? for I would gladly know, whether a wise man were secure and careless alike, when his health faileth, when some one of his senses deceaseth, or is amisse, and when he loseth his goods, thinking none of all this to touch him; or whether when he feeleth himself sick, giveth unto Physitians their fees when they come unto him; and for to gain riches, saileth to *Leucon* a great Prince and potentate about *Bosphorus*, or travelleth as far as to *Indathyrsus* the Scythian king, as *Chrysippus* saith; and of his senses, if he lose some, he will not endure to live any longer? How is it then, that these men do not acknowledge and confesse that they deliver doctrine even against common notions, who about things indifferent, carke, care, and travell so much; and yet take the matter indifferently, and reak not much whether they enjoy or be without great good things.

Moreover, this also is an opinion of theirs, even against common Conceptions, That he who is a man, feeleth no joy, when out of the greatest evills and most grievous calamities, he entreth into a world of good things and a most blessed and happy state. And yet thus doth their wise man: for passing from extream vice, unto exceeding great vertue; escaping also out of a most miserable life, and attaining unto the happiest condition that is, he sheweth no sign or token at all of joy: neither doth so great a change lift up his heart, or once move him, seeing himself how he is delivered out of the greatest misery and wickednesse that may be, and arrived now to a most firm assured accomplishment of all felicity and goodnesse. Again contrary it is to common sense, That this should be the greatest good of a man, namely, a constant Judgement, and immutable Resolution; and

yet

yet that he who is mounted up to the height and pitch of all, hath no need hereof, neither careth for it when it is come; in ſo much as many times he will not once put forth his finger for this aſſurance and ſtability, notwithſtanding they eſteem it to be the ſoveraign and perfect good. Neither do theſe Stoicks ſtay here, but ſtill broach more paradoxes and ſtrange opinions, namely, that continuance of time be it never ſo long, augmenteth not any good thing: but if a man chance to be wiſe and prudent but the minute only of an hour, he is nothing inferiour in felicity to him, who all his time hath lived in vertue, and led his whole life bleſſedly therein. Howbeit, as bravely and as ſtoutly as they deliver theſe poſitions, yet in the other ſide, they ſtick not to ſay, that tranſitory vertue which continueth but a while, is worth nothing: for what would it avail or benefit him who incontinently is to ſuffer ſhipwrack and to periſh in the Sea, or otherwiſe to be thrown headlong down from ſome ſteep rock, if he were poſſeſſed of wiſedome a while before? And what would it have booted *Lychas* being ſlung by *Hercules*, as it were out of a ſling into the mids of the Sea, if ſuddenly he had been changed from vertue to vice? Theſe poſitions therefore favour of theſe men, who not only Philoſophize againſt ſenſe and common notions, of the whole world, but alſo confuſedly huddle their own conceits, making a miſh-maſh of them, and contradicting themſelves, if it be ſo that they think, that the holding and poſſeſſing of vertue a ſhort time, wanteth nothing of ſoveraign felicity, and withal, make no account of ſo ſhort a vertue, as it in deed it were nothing worth. And yet this is not it that a man would wonder moſt at in their ſtrange doctrine, but this rather, that they eſtſoons, give out and ſay: That when this ſoveraign vertue and felicity is preſent, he that is poſſeſſed of it, hath no ſenſe nor feeling thereof; neither perceiveth he how being erewhile moſt miſerable and fooliſh, he is now all at once become both wiſe and happy: for not only it were a prety jeſt, and ridiculous conceit to ſay; That a wiſe and prudent man is ignorant even of this one point, that he is wiſe, and knoweth not that he is now paſt ignorance, and want of knowledge: but alſo to ſpeak all in a word; they make goodneſs to be of no moment, nor to carry any weight and poiſe with it, they make it I ſay very obſcure, enervate and feeble, in caſe when it commeth, a man is not able to feel and perceive it: for according to them, it is not by nature imperceptible; and even *Chryſippus* himſelf hath expreſly written in his books entituled, *Of the end*, That good is perceptible by ſenſe; and as he thinketh, ſo he maketh proof and demonſtration thereof. It remaineth therefore that it is long either of weakneſs or ſmalneſs, that it is not perceived, when they who have it preſent, feel it not, nor have any knowledge thereof. Moreover, it were very abſurd to ſay, that the eye ſight ſhould perceive and diſcern things that be but whitiſh a little, or middle colours between, and not be able to ſee thoſe that be exceeding white in the higheſt degree; or that the ſenſe of feeling ſhould apprehend that which is meanly hot or warm, and yet have no ſenſe at all of ſuch things, as be exceeding hot. But there is more abſurdity in this, that a man ſhould comprehend that which meanly and commonly is according to nature, to wit, health, or the good plight of the body; and be ignorant again of vertue, when it is preſent, conſidering withall, that they hold it to be principally, and in the higheſt degree accordant to nature; for how can it otherwiſe be, but againſt common ſenſe, to conceive well enough the difference between health and ſickneſs, and to be ignorant of that diſtinction which is between wiſedome and folly; but to think the one to be preſent when it is gone, and when a man hath the other, not to know ſo much, that he hath it? Now foraſmuch as after that one advanced and proceeded forward as far as may be, he is changed into felicity and vertue, one of theſe two muſt of neceſſity follow; that either this eſtate of progreſs and profit, is neither vice nor infelicity; or elſe that there is no great difference and diſtance between vice and vertue; but that the diverſity of good things and evill is very ſmall, and unperceptible by the ſenſe, for otherwiſe men could not be ignorant when they had the one or the other, or think they had the one for the other: ſo long then as they depart not from any contrariety of ſentences, but will allow, affirm, and put down all things whatſoever, to wit, That they who profit and proceed are ſtill fools and wicked; that they who are become wiſe and good, know not ſo much themſelves, but are ignorant thereof; that there is a great difference between wiſedome and folly: Think you, that they ſhew a wonderful conſtancie and uniformity in the maintenance of their ſentences and doctrines?

Well, if in their doctrine they go againſt common ſenſe, and are repugnant to themſelves; certes, in their life, in their negotiations and affairs, they do much more: for pronouncing ſtatly, that thoſe who be not wiſe, are all indifferently and alike, wicked, unjuſt, diſloiall, faithleſſe, and fooliſh; and yet forſooth, ſome of them they abhor and will not abide, but be ready to ſpit at them; others, they will not vouchſafe ſo much as to ſalute, if they meet with them upon the way; and ſome again they will credit with their monies, nominate and elect by their voices to be magiſtrates, yea and beſtow their daughters upon them in marriage. Now in caſe they hold ſuch ſtrange and extravagant poſitions in ſport and game, let them pluck down their brows, and not make ſo many furrows as they do in their foreheads: but if in earneſt, and as grave Philoſophers, ſurely, I muſt needs tell them, that it is againſt common notions, to reprove, blame, and rail upon all men alike in words, and yet to uſe ſome of them in deeds, as honeſt perſons, and others hardly to intreat as moſt wicked; and for example, to admire *Chryſippus* in the higheſt degree, and make a god of him; but to mock and ſcorn *Alexinus*, although they think the men to be fools alike, and not one more or leſs fooliſh than the other. True it is ſay they; and needs it muſt be ſo. But like as he who is but a cubit under the top of the water, is no leſs ſtrangled and drowned, than he who lies five hundred fathom deep in the bottom of the Sea: even ſo they that be come within a little of vertue, are no leſs in vice ſtill than thoſe who are a great way off: and as blind folk be blind ſtill, although haply they ſhall recover their eye-ſight ſhortly after; even ſo they that have well proceeded and gone forward, continue fools ſtill and ſinful, until ſuch time as they have fully attained to vertue; but contrary to all this, that they who profit in the ſchool of vertue, reſemble not thoſe who are ſtark blind, but ſuch rather as ſee not clearly; nor are like unto thoſe who be drowned, but unto them that ſwim, yea, and approach neer unto the Haven; they themſelves do bear witneſs by their deeds, and in the whole practice of their life; for otherwiſe they would not have uſed them for their Counſellors, Captains, and Law-givers, as blind men do guides for to lead them by the hands, neither would they have praiſed and imitated their deeds, acts, ſayings and lives of ſome as they did, if they had ſeen them all drowned alike, and ſuffocated with folly and wickedneſs.

But letting that go by, conſider theſe Stoicks, that you may wonder the more at them in this behalf, that by their own examples they are not taught to quit and abandon theſe wiſe men who are ignorant of themſelves, and who neither know nor perceive, that they ceaſe to be ſtiffed and ſtrangled any longer, and begin to ſee the light, and being riſen aloft, and gotten above vice and ſin, take their winde and breath again. Alſo it is againſt common ſenſe, that for a man furniſhed with all good things, and who wanteth nothing of perfect bliſs and happineſs, it ſhould be meet and befitting, to make himſelf away and depart voluntarily out of this life; yea, and more than ſo; that he who neither preſently hath, nor ever ſhall have any good thing; but contrariwiſe, is continually haunted and perſecuted with all horrible calamities, miſeries, and miſhaps that can be, ſhould not think it fit and convenient for himſelf, to leave and forſake this life, unleſs ſome of thoſe things which they hold be indifferent, be preſented, and do befall unto him. Well, theſe be the goodly rules and trim laws in the Stoicks ſchool; and verily many of their wiſe men they cauſe indeed to go out of this life, bearing them in hand, that they ſhall be more bleſſed and happy; although by their ſaying a wiſe man is rich, fortunate, bleſſed, happy every way, ſure, and ſecured from all danger: contrariwiſe, a fool and lewd man is able to ſay of himſelf,

Of wicked parts (to ſay I dare be bold)
So full I am, that unneth I can hold.

And yet forſooth, they think it meet and ſeemly for ſuch as theſe to remain alive, but for thoſe to forgo this life. And good cauſe why, quoth *Chryſippus*, for we are not to meaſure our life by good things or evil, but by ſuch as are according to nature. See how theſe Philoſophers maintain ordinary cuſtome, and teach according to common notions. Say you ſo (good ſir) ought not he who maketh profeſſion of looking into the eſtate of life and death, to ſearch alſo and conſider,

What rule at home in houſe, what work there is;
How things do ſtand; what goes well, what amiſs.

Should not he (I ſay) ponder and examin as it were by the ballance, what things incline and bend more to felicity and what to infelicity, and thereby to chuſe that which is profitable? but to lay his ground and make his reckoning to live happily or no by things indifferent, which neither do good nor hurt? According to ſuch preſuppoſitions and principles as theſe, were it not convenient for him who wanteth nothing of all that is to be avoided, to chuſe for to live: and contrariwiſe, for him to leave this life, who enjoyeth all that is to be wiſhed for and deſired? And albeit (my good friend *Lamprias*) it be a ſenſeleſs abſurdity, to ſay that thoſe who taſte of no evill, ſhould forſake this life: yet is it more abſurd & beſide all reaſon, that for the not having of ſome indifferent thing, a man ſhould caſt away and abandon that which is ſimply good; like as theſe men do, leaving felicity and vertue, which they preſently enjoy, for default of riches and health, which they have not. And to this purpoſe we may wel and fitly alledge theſe verſes out of *Homer*:

And then from Glaucus, Jupiter
all wit and ſenſe did take,
When he with Diomedes *would*
a fooliſh bargain make;
For braſen armour to exchange
his own of gold moſt fine,
*An hundred * oxen richly worth,*
for that which went for nine.

* Or pieces of coyn having the form of an ox ſtamped upon them.

And yet thoſe armes made of Braſs, were of no leſs uſe in battell, than the other of Gold: whereas the decent feature of the body and health, according to the Stoicks, yeeld no profit at all, nor make one jote for felicity. Howbeit, theſe men for all that, are content to exchange wiſedome for health, inaſmuch as they hold that it would have become *Heraclitus* well enough and *Pherecydes*, to have caſt off their wiſedome and vertue, had it been in their power ſo to do. In caſe thereby they might have been rid of their maladies, the one of the lowſie diſeaſe, and the other of the Dropſie. And if *Circe* had filled two cups with ſeveral medicines and potions, the one making fools of wiſe men, and the other, wiſe men of fools, *Ulyſſes* ought to have drunk that of folly, rather than to change his humane ſhape into the form of a beaſt, having in it wiſedome withal, and by conſequence felicity alſo. And they ſay, that even wiſedome and prudence it ſelf teacheth as much, and commandeth in this wiſe: Let me alone, and ſuffer me to periſh, in caſe I muſt be carried to and fro in the form and ſhape of an Aſſe. But this wiſedome and prudence will ſome man ſay, which preſcribeth ſuch things, is the wiſedome of an aſſe; if to be wiſe and happy it of it ſelf good, and to bear the face of an aſſe indifferent. There is (they ſay) a nation of the Aethiopians where a dog is their king; he is ſaluted by the ſtile and name of

of a king, and hath all honours done unto him, and Temples dedicated, as are done unto kings. But men they be that bear rule and perform thoſe functions, and offices which appertain unto Governours of Cities and magiſtrates. Is not this the very caſe of the Stoicks? for vertue with them hath the name, and carrieth the ſhew and apparence of good, it alone they ſay, is expetible, profitable, and expedient; but they frame all their actions, they Philoſophize, they live and die, according to the will, preſcript, and commandement as it were of things indifferent. And yet there is not an Aethiopian ſo hardy as to kill that dog their king; but he ſitteth upon a Throne under a cloth of eſtate, and is adored of them in all reverence: but theſe Stoicks deſtroy this vertue of theirs, and cauſe it to periſh whiles they are wholly poſſeſſed of health and riches. But the corollarie which *Chryſippus* himſelf, hath for a final ſet unto theſe their doctrines, eaſeth me of farther pains, that I need not to ſtand more upon this point: For whereas (quoth he) there be in nature things good, things bad, and things mean or indifferent; there is no man, but he would chuſe rather to have that which is ghod, then the indifferent or that which is bad: and to prove the truth hereof, let us take witneſs of the very gods, when as we do crave of them in our prayers and oriſons, principally the poſſeſſion and fruition of good things; If not, yet at leaſtwiſe the power and grace to avoid evills; but that which is neither good nor evill, we never deſire for to have in ſtead of good; mary we can be content and wiſh to enjoy it, in lieu of evill. But this *Chryſippus* here inverting and perverting clean the order of nature, tranſpoſeth and tranſerreth out of the middle place between, the mean and indifferent into the laſt, and reducing the laſt bringeth it back into the mids; giving as tyrants do to wicked perſons, the preeminence of ſuperior place, with authority and credit unto evill things; enjoyning us by order of law, firſt to ſeek for that which is good; ſecondly, for that which is evil; and laſt of all to repute that worſt, which is neither good nor evil: as if a man ſhould next unto heaven ſet hell, and reject the earth and all the elements about it into the pit of *Tartarus* beneath:

Right far remote, where under ground
The gulf that lies, no man can ſound.

Having then ſaid in his third book of Nature: That it is better for a man to live in the ſtate of a fool, yea though he never ſhould become wiſe, than not to live at all; he addeth thus much moreover word for word: For ſuch are the good things of men, that even the evil things after a ſort are preferred before thoſe which are mean, and in the mids between; not that theſe go before, but reaſon, with which joyntly to live, availeth more, although we ſhould continue fools all the daies of our life: yea and to be plain, albeit we ſhould be wicked, unjuſt, breakers of the laws, ennemies to the gods, and in one word, wretched and unhappy; for all theſe concur in thoſe that live fools. Is it better then to be unhappy, than not unhappy; to ſuffer harm, rather than not to ſuffer harm; to commit injuſtice, than not to commit injuſtice; to tranſgreſs the laws, than not to tranſgreſs the laws: which is as much to ſay, as is it fit and expedient to do thoſe things which are not fit and expedient; and beſeemeth it to live otherwiſe than it beſeemeth? Yea forſooth: For worſe it is to be without reaſon and ſenſleſs, than to be fooliſh. What ailе they then, and what takes them in the head, that they will not avow and conſeſs that to be evill, which is worſe than evill? And why do they affirm that we are to avoid folly alone, if it be meet to fly no leſs, nay rather much more, that diſpoſition which is not capable nor ſuſceptable of folly? But wherefore ſhould any man be offended and ſcandalized hereat, if he call to mind that which this Philoſopher wrote in his ſecond Book of Nature, where he avoucheth: That vice was not made without ſome good uſe and profit, for the whole world? But it will be better to recite this doctrine, even in his own words, to the end that you may know in what place they range vice, and what ſpeech they make thereof, who accuſe *Xenocrates* and *Speuſippus*, for that they reputed not health to be an indifferent thing, nor riches unprofitable. As for vice (quoth he) it is limited in regard of other accidents beſide: for it is alſo in ſome ſort according to nature; and if I may ſo ſay, it is not altogether unprofitable in reſpect of the whole, for otherwiſe there would not be any good; and therefore it may be inferred, that there is no good among the gods, in as much as they can have none evill: neither when at any time *Jupiter* having reſolved the whole matter into himſelf, ſhall become one, and ſhall take away all other differences, will there be any more good, conſidering there will be no evill to be found. But true it is that in a daunce or quier, there will be an accord and meaſure, although there be none in it that ſingeth out of tune and maketh a diſcord: as alſo health in mans body, albeit no part thereof were pained or diſeaſed: but vertue without vice can have no generation. And like as in ſome medicinable confections, there is required the poyſon of a viper or ſuch like ſerpent, and the gall of the beaſt Hyæna; even ſo there is another kind of neceſſary conveniency between the wickedneſs of *Melitus*, and the juſtice of *Socrates*; between the diſſolute demeanor of *Cleon*, and the honeſt carriage of *Pericles*. And what means could *Jupiter* have made, to bring forth *Hercules* and *Lycurgus* into the world, if he had not withall made *Sardanapalus* and *Phalaris* for us? And it is a great marvell if they ſay not alſo, that the Phthiſick or ulcer of the lungs, was ſent among men for their good plight of body, and the gout for ſwift footmanſhip: and *Achilles* had not worn long hair, unleſs *Therſites* had been bald. For what difference is there between thoſe that alledge theſe doting fooleries or rave ſo abſurdly; and ſuch as ſay that looſneſs of life and whoredome were not unprofitable for continence, and injuſtice for juſtice? So that we had need to pray unto the gods that there might be alwaies ſin and wickedneſs:

Falſe leaſing ſmooth and gloſing rogue,
Deceitful traine and fraud among.

in

in caſe when theſe be gone, vertue depart and periſh withall. But will you ſee now and behold the moſt elegant deviſe and pleaſanteſt invention of his? For like as Comœdies (quoth he) carry otherwhiles ridiculous Epigrams or inſcriptors, which conſidered by themſelves, are nothing worth; howbeit they give a certain grace to the whole Poeme: even ſo, a man may well blame and deteſt vice in it ſelf, but in regard of others it is not unprofitable. And firſt to ſay that vice was made by the divine Providence, even as a lewd Epigram compoſed by the expreſs will of the Poet, ſurpaſſeth all imagination of abſurdity: for if this were true, how can the gods be the givers of good things, rather than of evill? or how can wickedneſſe any more be enemy to the gods, or hated by them? or what ſhall we have to ſay and anſwer to ſuch blaſphemous ſentences of the Poets, founding ſo ill in religious eares, as theſe:

God once diſpos'd ſome houſe to overthrow,
Twixt men ſome cauſe and ſeeds of ſtrife do ſow.

Again:

Which of the gods twixt them did kindle fire,
Thus to conteſt in terms of wrath and ire?

Moreover, a fooliſh and lewd Epigram doth embelliſh and adorn the Comœdie, ſerving to that end for which it was compoſed by the Poet, namely, to pleaſe the ſpectators, and to make them laugh. But *Jupiter* whom we ſurnamed, Paternall, Fatherly, Supream, Soveraign; Juſt, Righteous, and according to *Pindarus*, θεσπέσιος, that is to ſay, the beſt and moſt perfect Artiſan, making this world as he hath done, not like unto ſome great Comœdie or Enterlude, full of variety, skill, and witty devices, but in manner of a City common to gods and men, for to inhabit together with juſtice and vertue, in one accord and happily, what need had he, to this moſt holy and venerable end, of Theeves, Robbers, Murderers, Homicides, Paracids, and Tirants? for ſurely vice and wickedneſs was not the entry of ſome Moriſque-dance or ridiculous Ear-ſport, carrying a delectable grace with it and pleaſing to God; neither was it ſet unto the affairs of men, for recreation and paſtime, to make them ſport, or to move laughter, being a thing that carrieth not ſo much as a ſhadow, nor repreſenteth the dream, of that concord and convenience with Nature, which is ſo highly celebrated and commended. Furthermore, the ſaid lewd Epigram, is but a ſmal part of the Poem, and occupieth a verry little room in a Comœdie: neither do ſuch ridiculous compoſitions abound overmuch in a play, nor corrupt and marre the pleaſant grace of ſuch matters as ſeem to have been well and pretily deviſed: whereas all humane affairs are full thorowout of vice: and mans life even from the very firſt beginning and entrie, as it were of the Prologue unto the finall concluſion of all and Epilogue, yea and to the very plaudite, being diſordinate, degenerate, full of perturbation and confuſion, and having no one part thereof pure and unblamable, as theſe Men ſay, is the moſt filthy unpleaſant and odious enterlude of all others, that can be exhibited. And therefore gladly would I demand and learn of them, in what reſpect was vice made profitable to this univerſall world: for I ſuppoſe he will not ſay it was not for Divine and Coeleſtiall things: becauſe it were a meer and ridiculous mockery to affirm that unleſs there were bred and remained among men vice, malice, avarice and leaſing, or unleſſe we robbed, pilled and ſpoiled, unleſſe we ſlandred and murdred one another, the Sun would not run his ordinary courſe, nor the Heaven keep the ſet ſeaſons, and uſuall revolutions of time, ne yet the earth ſeated in the midſt and center of the world, yeeld the cauſes of winde and rain. It remaineth then, that vice and ſin was profitably engendred for us, and for our affairs: and haply this is it which they themſelves would ſeem to ſay. And are we indeed the better in health for being ſinfull? or have we thereby more plenty and abundance of things neceſſary? availeth our wickedneſſe ought to make us more beautifull and better favoured, or ſerveth it us in any ſtead to make us more ſtrong and able of body? They anſwer No. But in this a ſilent name onely, and a certain blind opinion and weening of theſe night-walking Sophiſters, and not like indeed unto vice which is conſpicuous enough and expoſed to the view of the whole world, in ſuch, ſort as it is not poſſible that it ſhould bring any detriment or ought that is unprofitable, and leaſt of all, O good God, of vertue, for which we were born. And what abſurdity were it to ſay, that the commodious inſtruments of the husband man, the Mariner or the Carter, ſhould ſerves their turns for to attain unto their purpoſe and intended end: but that which hath been created by God for vertue, ſhould corrupt, mar, and deſtroy vertue? But peradventure it is more than time now, to paſs unto ſome other point, and to let this go.

Lamprias

Nay I beſeech you good ſir of all loues and for my ſake do not ſo: For I deſire to know and underſtand how theſe men bring in evill things before the good, and vice before vertue.

Diadumenus.

You ſay well, and certes my friend this is a point worth the knowledge: much vain jangling and prittle prattle verily do theſe men make, but in the end they come to this concluſion, that prudence is the ſcience of good things and evill together: for that otherwiſe it could not ſtand but muſt needs altogether fall to the ground: For like as if we admit that there be truth, it cannot otherwiſe be but that falſity and untruth ſhould be likewiſe hardby: ſo it is meet and ſtands to good reaſon, that if there be good things, the evill alſo muſt have their being.

Lamprias

To grant the one of theſe not to be amiſs ſaid, yet me thinks I ſee of my ſelf, that the other is cleare contrary. For I diſcern very well the difference: becauſe that which is not truth, muſt immediatly be falſe

but that which is not evill, is not by and by good: For between true and false there is no mean: but betwixt good and evill there: to wit, indifferent. Neither followeth it necessarily, that both good and evill things should have their substance together, and that if the one be, the other likewise should ensue. For it may be that nature had good, and required not the evill, so that it might have that which was neither good nor evill. But as touching the former reason, if your Academicks say ought of it, I would gladly hear from your mouth.

Diadumenus.

Yes marry (quoth he) much there is alledged by them, but for this present relate I will, that which is most necessary. First and formost, a meer folly it is to think that good things and evill have their subsistence for Prudence sake. For contrariwise, when good and evill was before, then Prudence followeth as like as Phy sick ensued upon things holsome and breading diseases, which are supposed to have been before. For surely the good and evill came not up nor were brought forth, to the end that there should be Prudence: but that faculty or power whereby we judge and discern between evill and good is called Prudence: like as the Sight is a sense which serveth to distinguish black from white, which colours had not their being first, to the end that we should have our Seeing, but contrariwise need we had of our Seeing for to discern the said colours. Secondly when the world in that generall conflagration, which they hold and talk of, shall be all on a light fire and burnt, there will remain behind nothing that evill is, but all shall then be wise and prudent: And therefore confesse they must, will they nill they, that there is Prudence although there be no evill, neither is it necessary, that if Wisedom be, evill also should have a being. But say it were absolutely so, that Prudence were the Science of evill and good, what harm or obsurdity would follow, if upon the abollishing and annulling of evill things there were no Prudence any more, but some other vertue in lieu thereof, which were not the science of evill and good together, but onely of good? Like as among colours, if the black were quite perished and gon for ever, who will force us to confesse that the sense of Seeing is likewise lost? And who would impeach or debar us for saying that sight is not the sense of discerning black and white? Surely if any man would force upon us the contrary, whas inconvenience and absurdity were there to answer him thus, Sir if we have not that sense that you speak of, yet have another sense and naturall power instead of it, whereby we apprehend colours that be white and not white. And verily for my own part I do not think that if there were no bitter things in the world, our taste should be therefore utterly lost, or the sense of Feeling in case all dolour and pain were gon: no more am I perswaded that Prudence should be abolished, if all evil were rid out of the way. But like as those senses would remain to apprehend sweet savours and pleasant objects of feeling, so this Prudence also would continue to be the sciences of things good and not good. As for those who are of another opinion, let them take the name to themselves, so they leave us the thing indeed. But over and besides all this, what should hinder us to say, that the evill is in cogitation and intilligence; but good in reality and effence? like as, I suppose the gods enjoy the reall presence of health, where as they have the intilligence of the Fever and Pleurisie: confidering that we also, albeit we were pestred with all the evils in the world, and had no affluence at all of good things as these men say, yet we want not the understanding what is prudence, what is good, and what is good felicity.

And this is a wonderfull thing, if there being no vertue present, yet some there are who reach what Vertue is, & inform us in the comprehension thereof; whereas if there were no such thing, it is impossible to have the intilligence of it; for do but consider what they would perswade us to, who reason Philosophically against common Conceptions, namely, That by foolishnesse and ignorance, we comprehend Wisedom and Prudence; but Prudence without folly and ignorance, cannot conceive so much, as ignorance it self. And if nature had necessarily need of the generation of evill, Certes, one example or two at the most of evill were sufficient; or if you will have it so, requisit it was that there should be brought forth ten wicked persons, or a thousand, or ten thousand, and not such an infinite multitude of vices, as the sands of the sea, the dust, or the feathers of divers plumed birds, could not afford so great a number: but of Vertue not so much as a bare dream or vain vision. They that were the Wardens and Masters at *Lacedemon*, of those publick halles or dining places called *Phiditia*, were wont to bring forth and shew openly unto their youth, two or three of their slaves called *Helote*, full of wine, and stark drunken, that they might know thereby, what a shamefull and foul thing it was to be drunken, and so take heed of that vice, and learn to be sober. But in this life there be many such examples of vice in our actions; for there is not so much as one sober unto vertue, but we all trip and stumble, nay we wander as if our brains turned round about, living shamefully in misery; and so farre forth are we intoxicate with our own reason and Self-conceit, filled with so great perturbation and folly, that we may be well and fitly likened to those Dogs which as *Æsop* tels the Tale, seeing certain skins floating above the water, gaped so greedily for to have them, that that they would needs drink up all the Sea before them, for to be sure of the said skins; but ere they could come by them, they drunk so much as they burst again: and even we hoping, by reason to acquire Glory and Reputation, and thereby to attain unto Vertue, are spoiled, marred, and destroyed therewith, before we can reach thereunto, being before hand loaden with a mighty deal of meer heady, and bitter vice, if it be so, as these men give it out, that even they who have made good progresse and proceeded to the end, feel for all that no Ease, no Alteration, no Remission, or Breathing time at all from Folly and Infelicity. But mark I pray again, how he who saith, that

that Vice was not produced and brought forth into the world unprofitably, depainteth it unto you what manner of thing he described it to be, and what an heritage is it for him who hath it? For in his treatise of Duties or Offices he saith: That the vicious and sinfull person, hath no want nor need of any thing; that nothing is profitable, nothing meet and convenient for him. How then is vice commodious, wherewith neither health it self is expedient, nor store of mony, ne yet advancement and promotion? And hath a man no need of those things, whereof some are precedent, preeminent, and to be preferred, yea, and beleeve me, very profitable and commodious; others according to nature, as they themselves term them? And of all these doth no man find need, unlesse he become wise? And so by this reckoning, hath the lewd and foolish man no need to become wise; neither be men thirsty or hungry, before they are made wise? So that if they be dry, have no need of water, nor if hungry, bread?

Resembling right those gentle guests,
who nought else did require,
But under roofe to shrowd their heads,
and warm themselves at fire.

And so belike he had no need of covert nor of mantle, who said:

Give Hipponax *a cloke of his corps to fold,*
For why, shake and shiver hard for cold?

But will you pronounce a paradox indeed, such an one as is extravagant and singular by it self? Say hardly then; That a wise man wanteth nought, and hath need of nothing; he is rich, he is full and fortunate, he is of himself sufficient, blessed, happy, and every way absolute. But what a dizzinesse and giddinesse of the brain is this to say; That he who is indigent of nothing, yet hath need of the good things which he hath; and that the lewd and vicious person is indigent of many things, and yet needeth nothing? for this is the very assertion which *Chrysippus* holdeth: That wicked persons have no need, and yet are indigent, turling, shifting, and transposing the common notions, like unto Cockall bones or Cheese-men upon the boord. For all men deem thus, that to have need, goeth before indigence, supposing him that standeth in need of things which are not ready at hand, nor easie to be gotten, is indigent. To make this more plain, no man is said to be indigent of horns or of wings, for that he hath no need of them; but we say truly and properly, that some have need of Armour, of Mony, and of Apparell, when in the penury and want of these things, they neither have them nor can come by them, to supply their necessity. But these Stoicks are so desirous to be thought alwaies for to broach somewhat against common sense and Conception, that many times they forget themselves and slip out of their own proper opinions, so much affected they are and given to new conceits; like as in this place, if you please to cast your eye into *Chrysippus* and look somewhat behind, calling to mind what hath heretofore been delivered.

This is one of his Positions, affirmed even against common sense, and vulgar opinion, that no evill and foolish man can find good and profit by any thing; and yet many of them by institution and teaching, proceed forward and profit; many who were slaves, become enfranchised; besieged, are delivered; drunken, are guided and led by the hand; sick and diseased, are cured of their maladies: but for all this forsooth, they are never the better whatsoever is done unto them: no benefits they receive, no benefactours they have, no nor neglect those who deserve well of them: and so vicious persons are not unthanksfull, no more than are good and wise men. And thus ingratitude is not at all nor hath any being; for that the good never intervert, nor miscognize the favour and benefit which they have received; and the wicked are capable of none at all. But see (I pray you) what shifte they make to salve and answer all this: They say (forsooth) that grace, favour, or benefit is ranged in the number of mean things: & that to help or to be helped, appertaineth only to the wise. True it is say they, that wicked men receive also a grace or benefit. What is that? Those who have part in a benefit, have not they also a part of use and commodity? and whereto a grace or benefit reacheth, doth nothing that is commodious and convenient, extend thither? And is there ought else that maketh a demerit or pleasure done to be a grace, than that the party who doth the pleasure should in some respect be commodious unto the needy receiver?

Lamprias.

But let these matters passe, and tell us what is that ὠφέλιμον, that is to say, utility, which they prise so highly, and whereof they make so great account?

Diadumenus.

This is a thing (I may tell you) which they reserve and keep as a great matter and a singularity for their Sages only, and yet leave them not so much as the name of it. If one wise man, say they, do but put forth his finger prudently, wheresoever it be, all the wise men that are in the whole Continent and habitable world find this ὠφέλειαν and utility by it. This is is the only gift and work of the amity that is among them, and in this do determine and end the vertues of wise men, namely the entercourse of common profit and utility, passing to and fro between them. As for *Aristotle*, he doted, *Xenocrates* also doted, who taught and affirmed that men had help from the gods, help from their Parents, and help by their Teachers and Schoolmasters: but never understood they this wonderfull help and commodity, which these wise men receive one from another, when they be moved to vertue, although they be not together, no nor so much as know one another. And verily all men do think, that to gather, to lay up, to keep, to dispense, and bestow, is conducible and profitable, when there is

received profit and commodity by such things. And a good substantial housholder buyes himself locks and keyes, he keepeth his cellars, his closets and coffers,

Taking great joy his chamber door
with hand for to unlock;
Where lies of gold and silver both,
his treasure and his stock.

But to gather and lay up, to keep with great care, diligence and pain, those things which are for nothing profitable, is neither honourable, nor yet seemly and honest. If then *Ulysses* being taught by *Circe* to make that fast knot, had with it tied sure and sealed up as it were, not the gifts and presents which *Alcinous* gave him, to wit, trefeets, pots, plate, clothes, apparell, and gold; but some trash, as sticks, stones, and other pelf raked together, thinking it a great felicity for him to possesse and keep charily such riffe-raffe and trumperie: who would have praised and commended him for it, or imitated this foolish forecast, witlesse providence, and vain dilligence? And yet this is the goodly and beautifull honesty of the Stoicks profession in generall, this is their honourable gravity, this is their beatitude; and nothing else is it, but an heaping up, a keeping and preserving of things unprofitable and indifferent. For such be those which they say are according to nature; and much more those outward matters: forasmuch as sometime they compare the greatest riches, with fringes and Chamberpots of gold, yea and (I assure you) otherwhiles as it falleth out, with oyl Cruets. And afterwards, like as those who think they have most insolently and proudly abused with blasphemous words and polluted the Temples, the sacred cerimonies and religious services of some gods or divine powers, presently change their note, and become penitent persons, and falling down prostrate, or sitting humbly below upon the ground, blesse and magnifie the heavenly power of the God-head; even so they, as incurring the vengeance and plague of God for their presumptuous follies, arrogant and vain speeches, are found puddering and raking again in these indifferent things, nothing indeed pertinent unto them; setting out a throat and crying as loud as they can, what a gay matter, what a goodly and honourable thing it is, to gather and lay up such commodities, and especially the communion and fellowship of enjoying and using them: also that whosoever want the same, and cannot come by them, have no reason to live any longer; but either to lay violent hands on themselves, or by long fasting and abstinence from all viands, to shorten their lives, bidding vertue farewell for ever. And these men verily, howsoever they repute *Theognis* to be a man altogether of a base and abject mind, for saying thus in verse,

A man from poverty to flie,
O Cyrnus, ought himself to cast
Headlong from rocks most steep and hie,
Or into sea as deep and vast.

themselves mean while in prose give these exhortations, and say, that to avoid a grievous malady, and escape exceeding pain, a man ought (if he had not a sword or dagger neer at hand, nor a poysoned cup of Hemlock) to cast himself into the Sea, or else fall headlong and break his neck from some steep Rock: yet affirm they, that neither the one nor the other is hurtfull, evill or unprofitable; nor maketh those miserable, who fall into such accidents. Whence then shall I begin (quoth he) what groundwork and foundation of duty shall I lay, or what shall I make the subject and matter of vertue, leaving Nature, and abandoning that which is according to Nature? And whereat (I pray you, good sir) begin *Aristotle* and *Theophrastus*? what principles take *Xenocrates* and *Polemon*? And even *Zeno* himself, hath he not followed them, in supposing Nature and that which is according to Nature, for to be the Elements of felicity? But these great Clerks verily, rested here in these things, as Eligible and Expetible, good and profitable; adjoyning moreover unto them, vertue, which emploieth the same, and worketh by each of them according to their proper use; thinking in so doing, to accomplish a perfect and entire life, and to consummate that concord and agreement, which is in truth sortable and consonant unto Nature. For they made no confused mish mash, nor were contrary to themselves, as those who leap and mount on high from the ground, and immediatly fall down upon it again, and in naming the same things, meet to be chosen, and yet not Expetible; proper and convenient, and withall not good; unprofitable, and yet fit for good uses; nothing at all pertinent to us, and yet forsooth, the very principles, of duties and offices. But look what was the speech of these noble and famous personages, the same also was their life; their deeds (I say) were answerable and conformable to their words. Contrariwise, the Sect of these Soicks, doth according to that crafty woman whom *Archilochus* describeth, to carry water in the one hand, and fire in the other: for in some of their doctrines and assertions they receive and admit Nature, in another they reject her: or to speak more plainly, in their acts and deeds they adhere and cleave unto those things which are according to Nature, as being Eligible and simply good; but in their disputations and discourses, they refuse and condemn the same as things indifferent, and nothing available to vertue, for the acquiring of felicity: nay, that which worse is, they give her hard and reproachfull tearms. And forasmuch as all men generally are perswaded in their minds, that the soveraign good is a thing joyous, expetible, happy, most honourable, and of greatest dignitie, sufficient of it self, and wanting nothing. See now this soveraign good of theirs, and examin it according to this common opinion: To put forth ones finger like a sage and wise Philosopher, doth this make that joyous good? or what exoptable thing I pray you, is a prudent

a prudent torture? who casteth himself down headlong from an high rock, so he do it with a colour of reason and honesty, is he happy and fortunate? is that most honourable and of greatest price and dignity, which reason many times chuseth to reject, for another thing that of it self is not good? is that all-sufficient in it self, accomplished and perfect, which whosoever do presently injoy, if happily he cannot obtain withall, some one of these indifferent things, they will not deign to live any longer? was there ever known any discourse or disputation wherein use and ordinary custome suffered more outrage and abuse, which stealing and plucking from it the true and naturall conceptions, as legitimate children of her own, putteth in the place, Bastards, Changelings, of a monstrous and savage kind, and constraineth it to love, cherish, and keep them in lieu of the other? And thus have they done in treating of good things and evil, expetible and to be avoided, proper and strange; which ought to have been more clearly and plainly distinguished, than hot from cold, or white colours from black. For the apprehensions and conceits of these qualities, are from without forth brought in by the senses naturall; but the other are within us, taking their originall from those good things that we have within us. Now these men entring into the question, and common place soveraign of felicity, with their Logick subtilties, as if they were to handle the lying sophisme called *Pseudomenos*; or that masterfull manner of reasoning, named *Kyritton* have not solved one of the doubts and questions whichthere were, but moved, and raised an infinite number of others that were not there before.

Moreover, there is no man who knoweth not that there being two sorts of good thing; the one which is the very utmost end, and the other, the means to attain thereto: the one is more excellent and perfect of the twain. And *Chrysippus* himself knoweth well enough this difference, as it may appear by that which he hath written in his third Book of Good things: for he disagreeth with those who are of opinion, that the end or soveraign good, is science; and putteth this down in his Treatise of Justice: If there be any who supposeth that pleasure is the end of good things, he thinketh not that Justice can be safe; if not the finall end, but simply good and no more, he is of another mind. I do not think that you would hear me at this present to rehearse his own words; for his third Book as touching Justice, is extant and to be had every where. When as they say therefore (my friend) elsewhere, that no good thing is greater or less than another, but that the finall end is equall with that which is not the end, and no better than it, it is evident, that they be contrary and repugnant, not onely to the common notions, but also to their own very words. And again, of two evils, the one maketh us worse than we were when it came unto us, and the other hurteth us indeed, but maketh us not worse: that evil in mine opinion is the greater which maketh us worse: neither doth that more hurt, which causeth us not to be the worse. And *Chrysippus* verily confesseth, that there be certain fears, sorrows, and deceitfull illusions, which well may hurt and offend us, but not make us worse. But read over and peruse the first of those Books which are written against *Plato*, as concerning Justice: for in respect of other causes, it were very well done and worth your labour, to note the frivolous babling in that place of this man, where he makes no spare to deliver all matters and Doctrines whatsoever indifferently, even those as well of his own Sect as of other strangers, flat opposite to common sense: as for example, That it is lawfull to propose two ends, and two scopes of our life, and not to referre all that ever we do unto one end. And yet more than that, is this also a common Notion, That the end verily is one, but every thing that is done, ought to have a Relation to another; and yet of necessity they must abide the one or the other. For if the first things according to nature be not expetible for themselves and the last end; but rather, the reasonable election and choice of them; and if every man doth what lies in him, to have and obtain those things which are first according to nature, and all actions and operations have their reference thither, namely to acquire and enjoy the principall things according to nature: if (I say) they think so, it must needs be that without aspiring and aiming for to get and attain those things, they have another end to which they must referr the election and choice of the said things, and not the things themselves: for thus will be the end, even to know how to chuse them well and to take them wisely; but the things themselves and the enjoying of them, will be of small moment, being as a matter and subject which hath the dignity and estimation: for thus I suppose they use and put down in writing this very word to shew the difference.

Lamprias.

Certes you have passing well and worthily reported unto us, both what they say, and how they deliver it.

Diadumenus.

But mark I beseech you, how they fare like unto those who will needs strein themselves to leap over and beyond their own shadow; for they leave not behind, but carry evermore with them some absurdity in their speech, and the same far remote alwaies from common sense: for as if one should say, That an archer doth all that lieth in him, not to hit the mark, but to do all that ever he can; he might be justly taken for a man, who spake ænigmatically and by dark riddles, and uttered strange and prodigious words: even so do these old doting fooles, who with all their power endeavour to maintain, that to obtain the things according to nature, is not the end of aiming and aspiring to things according to nature; but forsooth to take and chuse them; and that the desire of health and seeking after it in any man, endeth not in health of each one, but contrariwise, that health is referred to the appetite and seeking after it: saying moreover, that to Walk, to read, or speak aloud, to endure Sections or Incisions, yea and to take purging Medicines, so all be done by reason, are the ends

ends of health, and not it, the end of thoſe meanes. Certes, theſe men dote, rave, and ſpeak idly, as w ll as they who ſhould ſay; let me go to ſupper, that we may ſacrifice, bath, or ſwear in the ſtouph. Nay (that which more is) that which theſe men ſay, perverteth order and cuſtom, and containeth a confuſion, ſhuffling and turning upſide down all our affairs whatſoever: We ſtudy not ſay they, to walk in due time, for to concoct and digeſt our meats well; but we concoct and digeſt our meat, becauſe we might walk in due ſeaſon. Why? Hath nature given us health for Ellebore, or rather brought forth Ellebore for health ſake? For what could be uttered more ſtrange and abſurd, than ſuch propoſitions as theſe? and what difference is there between him who ſaith, that health was made for medicinable drogues, and not drogues medicinable for health, and another who holdeth, that the gathering, the choiſe, the compoſition and uſe of ſuch medicines, is to be preferred before health in ſelf? or rather he thinks that health is not in any reſpect expetible: but he ſetteth down the very end in the peiſing and handling of thoſe medicines, affirming forſooth that appetite is the end of fruition, and not fruition of appetite: And why not (quoth he) all while there be added thereto theſe terms; conſideratley and with reaſon. True will we ſay again, if a man have regard unto the obtaining and enjoying of the thing which he purſueth; for otherwiſe that conſiderate reaſon is to no purpoſe, in caſe all be done for to obtain that, the fruition whereof is neither honourable nor happy.

Lamprias.

And ſince we are fallen upon this diſcourſe, a man may ſay, that any thing elſe whatſoever, is according to common ſenſe rather, than to hold, that without having notice or conception of good, a man may deſire and purſue after it; for you ſee how *Chryſippus* himſelf driveth *Ariſton* into theſe ſtreights, as to imagine and dream of a certain indifference in things tending to that which is neither good nor ill, before that the ſaid good and ill is ſufficiently known and underſtood; for ſo it might ſeem that this indifference muſt needs ſubſiſt before it be ſo, that a man cannot conceive the intelligence of it, unleſſe the good were firſt underſtood, which is nothing elſe but the onely and ſoveraign good indeed.

Diadumenus.

* ἀπρεμπτον, not ἀπρακτον. But conſider I pray you, and mark now this indifference * taken out of the Stoicks ſchoole, and which they call ὁμολογίαν, after what manner, and whereby is hath given us the mean to imagine and and conceive in our mind that good? for if without the ſaid good, it is not poſſible to conceive and imagine the indifference reſpective to that which is not good; much leſſe the intelligence of good things yeelded any cogitation unto them, who had not before ſome prenotion of the good. But like as there is no cogitatton, of the art of things which be wholſome or breeding ſickneſſe in them who had not a precogitation before of thoſe things: even ſo it is impoſſible for them to conceive the ſcience of good and evill things, who had no fore-conceit what were good and what were evill? What then is good? nothing but Prudence; and what is Prudence, nothing but Science: and ſo according to that old common proverb, * Διὸς Κόρινθος, that is to ſay *Jupiters* Corinth; is oftentimes applied unto their manner of reaſoning. For let it be I pray you, the turning of the Peſtill round about, becauſe you may not be thought to ſcoffe and laugh at them, although in truth their ſpeech is much after that manner; for it ſeemeth that for the intelligence of good; one hath need to underſtand Prudence: and again, to ſeek for Prudence in the intelligence of good; being driven to purſue the one alwaies for the other, and ſo to faile both of the one and the other, which implieth a meer contrariety, that we muſt alwaies underſtand the thing before, which cannot be underſtood apart. Beſides, there is another way, whereby a man may perceive and ſee, not the perverſion and diſtortion, but the very everſion, and deſtruction of all their reaſons.

* As by-word which noteth the paralogiſme or fault in arguing, called *Petitio principii*, for like as doth the turning alſo of the peſtil round within the morter.

They hold that the very ſubſtance of good, is the reaſonable and conſiderate election of that which is according to nature; now this election is not conſiderate which is directed to ſome end, as is before ſaid: And what is this? Nothing elſe ſay they, but to diſcourſe with reaſon in the elections of thoſe things, which be according to nature. Firſt and foremoſt then: the conception of the Soveraign good, is periſhed and clean gone; for this conſiderate diſcourſing in elections, is an operation depending of the habitude of good Diſcourſe, and therefore being compelled to conceive this habitude from the end, and the end not without it, we come ſhort of the intelligence of them both. And again, that which yet is more, by all the reaſon in the world, it muſt needs be that the ſaid reaſonable and conſiderate election, was the election of things good, poſitable and cooperant to the attaining of the end. For to chuſe ſuch things which be neither expedient, nor honourable, nor yet any way eligible; how can it ſtand with reaſon: for ſuppoſe it were as they ſay, that the end were a reaſonable election of things which have ſome dignity and worthineſſe, making unto felicity, ſee I beſeech you how their Diſcourſe and diſputation ariſeth unto a trim point and goodly concluſion in the end: For the end (ſay they) is the good Diſcourſe, in making choiſe of thoſe things which have dignity, making unto happineſſe. Now when you hear theſe words, think you not my good friend, that this is a very ſtrange and extravagant opinion?

Lamprias.

Yes verily; but I muſt willingly know, how this happeneth?

Diadumenus.

Then muſt you lay your ear cloſe, and hearken with great attention, for it is not for every one to conceive this ænigmaticall Riddle, but hear you Sir, and make me anſwer: is not the end by their ſaying, the good Diſcourſe in elections according to nature?

Diadumenus

Diadumenus.

That is their ſaying.

Lamprias.

And theſe things which be according to nature, they chuſe, (do they not) as good, or having ſome dignities and preferences inducing to the end, or to ſome other thing elſe.

Diadumenus.

I think not ſo: but ſurely, to the end.

Lamprias.

Having diſcovered thus much already, ſee now to what point they are come, namely, that their end is to diſcourſe well of felicity.

Diadumenus.

They ſay directly, that they neither have nor conceive any other thing of felicity, but this precious rectitude of Diſcourſe touching the elections of things, that are of worth. Howbeit ſome there be who ſay, that all this refutation is directed againſt *Antipater* alone, and not the whole Sect of the Stoicks, who perceiving himſelf to be urged and hardly preſſed by *Carneades*, fell into theſe vanities and fooliſh ſhifts for his evaſion.

Moreover, as touching that which is diſcourſed and taught in the Stoicks School, Of Love, even againſt common notions, it concerneth all the Supposts in generall of that Sect, who have every one of them their hand in the abſurdity thereof: for they avouch that young youths, are foul and deformed, if they be vicious and fooliſh: but the wiſe onely are beautifull: and yet of theſe that are thus fair and beautifull, there was never any one yet either beloved, or lovely and amiable. And yet this is not ſo abſurd: but they ſay moreover, that ſuch as are in love with thoſe who be foul, ceaſe to love them when they are become fair. And who hath ever ſeen or known ſuch a kind of love which ſhould kindle and ſhew it ſelf preſently upon the diſcovery of the bodies deformity, and the ſouls vice: and incontinently, be quenched, and vaniſh away after the knowledge of paſſing beauty, together with Juſtice and temperance? And verily, ſuch I ſuppoſe do properly reſemble theſe gnats, which love to ſettle upon Vineger, ſowre Wine, or the ſome thereof: but the good and pleaſant potable Wine they care not for, but flie from it. As for that emphaticall apparence of beauty (for that is the term they give it) which they ſay is the alluring and attractive bait of love: firſt and foremoſt it carrieth no probability with it, nor likelihood of reaſon. For in thoſe who are moſt foul and wicked in the higheſt degree, there can be no ſuch emphaticall apparence of that beauty: in caſe it be ſo as they ſay, that the lewdneſſe of manners ſheweth in the face, and infecteth the viſage: for there be ſome of them who expound this ſtrange Poſition as ſtrangely, ſaying that a foul perſon is worthy to be loved, becauſe there is ſome hope and expectance, that one day he will become fair: marry when he hath gotten this beauty once, and is withall become good and honeſt, then he is beloved of no man. For love ſay they is a certain hunting, as it were after a young body, as yet rude and unperfect, howbeit framed by nature unto vertue.

Lamprias.

And what other things do we now, my good friend, but refute the errours of their Sect, who do thus force pervert, and deſtroy all our common conceptions with their actions which be ſenſeleſſe, and their words and terms as unuſuall and ſtrange? for there was no perſon to hinder this Love of wiſe men toward young folk, if Affection were away: although all men and women too, both think and imagine Love to be ſuch a paſſion, as the Woers of *Penelope* in *Homer* ſeem to acknowledge,

Whoſe heat of Love was ſuch, that in their heart
They wiſht in bed to lie with her apart.

Like as *Jupiter* alſo ſaid to *Juno* in another place of the ſaid Poet:

Come let us now to bed both go, and there with ſweet delight
Solace our ſelves: for never earſt before remember I,
That any Love to women fair, no nor to goddeſſe bright
Thus tam'd my heart, or prick'd me ſo, with them to company.

Diadumenus.

Thus you ſee how they expell and drive Morall Philoſophie into ſuch matters as theſe,

So intricate and tortuous,
So winding quite throughout,
That nothing found is there in ſound,
But all turns round about.

And yet they deprave, vilipend, diſgrace, and flout all others, as if they were the men alone who reſtored nature and cuſtome into their integrity as it ought to be, inſtituted their Speech accordingly: But nature of it ſelf doth divert and induce, by appetitions, purſuits, inclinations and impulſions, each thing to that which is proper and fit for it. And as for the Cuſtome of Logick, being ſo wrangling and contentious as it is, it receiveth no good at all nor profit: like as the Ear diſeaſed by vain ſounds is filled with thickneſſe and hardneſſe of hearing. Of which if you think ſo good we will begin anew and diſcourſe elſe where another time: But now for this preſent, let us take in hand to run over their naturall Philoſophy, which no leſſe troubleth and confoundeth common Anticipations, and Conceptions in the main Principles, and moſt important Points, than their Morall Doctrine

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as touching the ends of all things First and foremoſt, this is apparently abſurd, and againſt all common ſenſe, to ſay that a thing is, and yet hath no being nor eſſence: and the things which are not, yet have a being: which though it be moſt abſurd, they affirm even of the univerſall world: for putting down this ſuppoſition that there is round about the ſaid world a certain infinite voidneſſe, they affirm that the univerſall world is neither body nor bodileſſe: whereupon enſueth that the world is, and yet hath no exiſtence. For they call bodies onely, exiſtent: for as much as it is the property of a thing exiſtent to do and ſuffer ſomewhat: And ſeeing this univerſall nature hath no exiſtence; therefore it ſhall neither do nor ſuffer ought; neither ſhall it be in any place, for that which occupyeth place is a body, but that univerſall thing is not a body. Moreover that which occupieth one and the ſame place, is ſaid to remain and reſt: and therefore the ſaid univerſall nature doth not remain, for that it occupieth no place: and that which more is, it moveth not at all, firſt becauſe that which moveth, ought to be in a place and room certain. Again, becauſe whatſoever moveth, either moveth it ſelf, or elſe is moved by another: now that which moveth it ſelf hath certain inclinations either of lightneſs or ponderoſity: which ponderoſity and lightneſſe, be either certain habitudes, or faculties and powers, or elſe differences of each body: but that univerſality, is no body: whereupon it muſt of neceſſity follow that the ſame is neither light nor heavy, and ſo by good conſequence hath in it no Principle or beginning of motion; neither ſhall it be moved of another, for without and beyond it there is nothing: ſo that they muſt be forced to ſay, as they do indeed, that the ſaid univerſall nature doth neither reſt nor move. In ſumme, for that according to their opinion, we muſt not ſay in any caſe that it is a body, and yet the Heaven, the Earth, the living Creatures, Plants, Men, and Stones, be Bodies: that which is no body is ſelf ſhall by theſe reckonings have parts thereof, which are bodies, and that which is not ponderous, ſhall have parts weighty, and that which is not light ſhall have parts light; which is as much againſt common ſenſe and conceptions, as dreams are not more; conſidering that there is nothing ſo evident and agreeable to common ſenſe than this diſtinction, If any thing be not animate, the ſame is inanimate: and again, if a thing be not inanimate, the ſame is animate. And yet this manifeſt evidence they ſubvert and overthrow, affirming thus as they do, that this univerſall frame is neither animate, nor inanimate. Over and beſides, no man thinketh or imagineth that the ſame is unperfect, conſidering, that there is no part thereof wanting: and yet they hold it to be unperfect: For (ſay they) that which is perfect, is finite and determinate; but the whole and univerſall world, for the infiniteneſſe thereof is indefinite. So by their ſaying, ſomething there is, that is neither perfect, nor unperfect. Moreover, neither is the ſaid univerſall frame a part, becauſe there is nothing greater than it; nor yet the whole: for that which is whole muſt be affirmed likewiſe to be digeſted and in order; whereas being as it is, infinite, it is indeterminate and out of order. Furthermore, *The other*, is not the cauſe of the univerſall world, for that there is no other beſide it; neither is it the cauſe of *The other*, nor of it ſelf, for that is not made to do any thing, and we take a cauſe to be that which worketh an effect. Now ſet caſe we ſhould demand of all the men in the world, what they imagine *Nothing* to be, and what conceit they have of it, would they not ſay (think you) that it is that which is neither a cauſe it ſelf, nor hath any cauſe of it; which is neither a part, nor yet the whole; neither perfect nor unperfect; neither having a ſoul, nor yet without a ſoul; neither moving nor ſtill and quiet, nor ſubſiſting; and neither body, nor without body? For what is all this, but *Nothing*? yet what all others do affirm and verifie of *Nothing*, the ſame do they alone of the univerſall world: ſo that it ſeemeth they make *All* and *Nothing*, both one. Thus they muſt be driven to ſay, that Time is nothing, neither Predicable, nor Propoſition, nor Connexion, nor Compoſition, which be terms of Logick, that they uſe, no Philoſophers ſo much; and yet they ſay, that they have no exiſtence nor being. But (that which more is) they hold that truth, although it be, yet it hath no being nor ſubſiſtence, but is comprehended onely by intelligence, is perceptible and believed, although it have no jot of eſſence. How can this be ſalved, and ſaved, but that it muſt ſurpaſſe the moſt monſtrous abſurdity that is? But becauſe it may not be thonght that all this ſmelleth overmuch of the quirks and difficulties in Logick, let us treat of thoſe which are more proper unto naturall Philoſophie. Forasmuch therefore, as

Jupiter is the firſt, the midſt, the laſt, even all in all,
Bythim all things begin, proceed and have their finiall.

they themſelves give out, they of all men eſpecially ought to have reformed, rectified, redreſſed, and reduced to the beſt order, the common conceptions of men as touching the gods, if haply there had crept into them any errour and perplexed doubt; or if not ſo, yet at leaſtwiſe to have, let every man alone, and left them to the opinion which the Laws and Cuſtomes of the Countreys wherein they were born, preſcribed unto them as touching Religion and Divinity.

For neither now nor yeſterday
Theſe deep conceits of God began,
Time out of mind, they have been ay,
But no man knowes, where, how, nor whan.

But theſe Stoicks having begun even from the domeſticall goddeſſe *Veſta* (as the proverb ſaith) to alter and change the opinion eſtabliſhed and received in every Countrey, touching Religion and the belief of God, they have not left ſo much as one conceit or cogitation that way ſound, ſyncere and incorrupted. For where is or ever was the man, beſides themſelves, who doth not conceive in his minde, that God is Immortall and Eternall? what is more generally ackowledged in our common

common Conceptions as touching the gods, or what is pronounced with more aſſent and accord than ſuch ſentences as theſe?

And there the gods do alwaies joy
In heavenly bliſſe, without annoy.

Alſo,

In heaven the gods immortall ever be:
On earth below, poor mortall men walk we.

Again,

Exempt from all diſeaſe and craſie age,
The gods do live in joy, and pain feel none:
They fear no death, nor dread the dark paſſage
Over the Frith of roaring Acheron.

There may peradventure be found ſome barbarous and ſavage Nations, who think of no God at all; but never was there man having a Conception and imagination of God, who eſteemed him not withall to be Immortall and everlaſting. For even theſe vile wretches called Aθεοι that is to ſay, Atheiſts, ſuch as *Diagoras*, *Theodorus*, and *Hippon*, godleſs though they were, cculd never finde in their hearts to ſay and pronounce, That God was corruptible. Only, they cculd not beleeve and be perſwaded in their mind, that their was any thing in the world not ſubject to corruption. Thus howſoever they admitted not a ſubſiſtence of Immortality and incorruptibility, yet retained they the common anticipation of the gods: but *Chryſippus* and *Cleanthes*, having made the Heaven, the Earth, the Air and Sea to ring again, as a man would ſay, with their words, and filled the whole world with their writings of the gods, yet of ſo many gods, they make not one Immortall, but *Jupiter* only; and in him they ſpend and conſume all the reſt: ſo that this property in him, to reſolve and kill others, is never a jote better, than to be reſolved and deſtroyed himſelf. For as it is a kind of infirmity, by being changed into another for to die; ſo it is no leſs imbecility to be maintained and nourihed by the reſolution of others into it ſelf. And this is not like to many other abſurdities collected and gathered by conſequence out of their fundamentall ſuppoſitions, or inferred upon other aſſertions of theirs; but even they themſelves crie out with open mouth expreſly in all their writings, of the gods, of p ovidence, of deſtiny and nature, that all the gods had a beginning of their Eſſence, and ſhall periſh and have an end by fire, melted and reſolved, as if they were made of Wax or Tinn. So that to ſay that a man is Immortall, and that God is mortall, is all one, and the one as abſurd and againſt common ſenſe as the other: nay rather I cannot ſee what difference there will be between a man and God, in caſe God be defined, a reaſonable animall, and corruptible: for if they oppoſe and come in with this their fine and ſubtile diſtinction, that man indeed is mortall, but God not mortall, yet ſubject to corruption; mark what an inconvenience doth follow and depend thereupon: for of neceſſity they muſt ſay, either that God is Immortall and corruptible withall; or elſe neither Mortall nor Immortall: then which a man cannot (if he would of purpoſe ſtudy for it) devile a more ſtrange and monſtrous abſurdity. I ſpeak this by other; for that theſe men muſt be allowed to ſay any thing, neither have there eſcaped there tongues and pens, the moſt extravagant opinions in the world.

Moreover *Cleanthes* minding ſtill to fortifie and confirm that burning and conflagration of his, ſaith; That the Sun will make like unto himſelf, the Moon with all other Stars, and turn them into him. But that which of all others is moſt monſtrous, the Moon and the other Stars, being forſooth gods, work together with the Sun, unto their own deſtruction, and conſer ſomewhat to their own inflammation. Now ſurely this were a very mockery, and ridiculous thing for us to powre out our prayers and oraſons unto them for our own ſafety, and to repute them the Saviours of men, if it be kind and naturall for them to make haſt unto their own corruption and diſſolution. And yet theſe men ceaſe not by all the means they can to inſult over *Epicurus*, crying, Fie, fie for ſhame, and redoubling, Out upon him, for that by denying the divine Providence, he troubled and confounded the generall prenotion and Conception in our minds of the gods; for that they are held and reputed by all men, not only Immortall and happy, but alſo humane and benigne, having a carefull eye, and due regard to the good and welfare of men, as in truth they have. Now if they who take away the Providence of God, do withall aboliſh the common prenotion of men as touching God; what do they then, who avouch that the gods indeed have care of us; but yet are helpfull to us in nothing, neither give they us any good things, but ſuch only as be indifferent; not enduing us with vertue, but beſtowing upon us riches, health, procreation of Children, and ſuch like, of which there is not one profitable, expedient, eligible or available. Is it not certain that theſe overthrow the common Conceptions that are of the gods? neither reſt they here, but fall to flouting, frumping, and ſcoffing, whiles they give out that there is one god, ſurnamed Επιδοτης, that is to ſay, the ſuperintendent over the fruits of the earth; another Γενναιος, that is to ſay, the Patron of generation; another Φυταλμιος that is to ſay, the Protector of Plants; another Κτιστης, and Καρπος, that is to ſay, the preſident of Phyſick and Divination; mean while neither is health ſimply good, nor generation, ne yet fertility of the ground and abundance of fruits, but indifferent, yea and unprofitable to thoſe who have them.

The 3d. point of the cõmon Conception of the gods is, that they differ in nothing ſo much from men, as in felicity & vertue: but according to *Chryſip.* they are in this reſpect nothing ſuperior to men: for he holdeth, that for vertue *Jupit.* is no better than *Dion*; alſo that *Jupi.* & *Dion* being both of them wiſe, do equally

equally and reciprocally help one another; for this is the good that the gods do unto men, and men likewise unto the gods, namely, when they prove wise and prudent, and not otherwise. So that if a man be no less vertuous, he is not less happy; insomuch as he is equall unto *Jupiter* the Saviour in felicity, though otherwise infortunate, and who for grievous maladies and dolorous dismembring of his body, is forced to make himself away, and leave his life, provided alwaies that he be a wise man. Howbeit, such an one there neither is, nor ever hath been living upon the earth: whereas contrariwise, infinite thousands and millions there are, and have been of miserable men, and extream infortunate under the rule and dominion of *Jupiter*, the government and administration whereof is most excellent. And what can there be more against common sense, than to say, that *Jupiter* governing and dispensing all things passing well, yet we should be exceeding miserable? If therefore (which unlawfull is once to speak) *Jupiter* would no longer be a Saviour, nor a Deliverer, nor a Protector, and surnamed thereupon *Soter*, *Lycius*, and *Alexicacos*, but clean contrary unto these goodly and beautifull denominations, there can not possibly be added any more goodness to things that be, either in number or magnitude, as they say; whereas all men live in the extremity of misery and wickenesse, considering that neither vice can admit no augmentation, nor misery addition: and yet this is not the worst nor greatest absurdity: but mightily angry and offended they are with *Menander* for speaking as he did thus bravely in open Theater:

I hold, good things exceeding mean degree,
The greatest cause of humane misery.

For this (say they) is against the common Conception of men; mean while themselves make God, who is good and goodness it self, to be the author of evills: for matter could not verily produce any evill of it self, being as it is without all qualities; and all those differences and varieties which it hath, it received of that which moved and formed it, to wit, reason within, which giveth it a form and shape, for that it is not made to move and shape it self. And therefore it cannot otherwise be, but that evill if it come by nothing, should proceed and have being from that which is not; or if it come by some moving cause, the same must be God. For if they think that *Jupiter* hath no power of his own parts, nor useth each one according to his own proper reason; they speak against common sense, and do imagine a certain animal, whereof many parts are not obeisant to his will; but use their own private actions and operations, whereunto the whole, never gave incitation, nor began in them any motion. For among those creatures which have life and soul, there is none so ill framed and composed, as that against the will thereof, either the feet should go forward, or the tongue speak, or the horn push and strike, or the teeth bite; whereof God of necessity must endure and abide the most part, if against his will, evil men being parts of himself do lie, do circumvent and beguile others, commit Burglary, break open houses, to rob their neighbors, or kill one another. And if according as *Chrysippus* saith, it is not possible that the least part should behave it self otherwise than it pleaseth *Jupiter*, and that every living thing doth rest, stay, and move, according as he leadeth, manageth, turneth, staieth, and disposeth:

Now well I wot, this voice of his
Sounds worse and more mischeivous is.

For more tollerable it were by a great deal to say, that ten thousand parts, through the impotencie, and feeblenesse of *Jupiter*, committed many absurdities perforce, even against his nature and will than to avouch that there is no intemperance, no deceit and wickednesse, whereof *Jupiter* is not the cause.

Moreover seeing that the world by their saying is a City, and the Sarres Citizens: if it be so, there must be also Tribes and Magistracies: yea and plain it is, that the Sun must be a Senatour, yea and the evening Star, some Provost, Major or Governor of the City. And I wot not well whether he who taketh in hand to confute such things, can broach and set abroad other greater absurdities in natural matters than those do, who deliver and pronounce these doctrines. Is not this a Position against common sense to affirm, that the Seed should be greater and more than that which is engendred of it? For wesse verily that nature in all living creatures, and plants, even those that be of a wild and savage kind, taketh very small and slender matters, such as hardly can be seen, for the beginning and the generation of most great and huge bodies. For not only of a grain or corn of Wheat it produceth a stalk with an Ear, and of a little grape stone it bringeth forth a Vine tree, but also of a Pepin, Kernill, Acorn, or Berry, escaped and fallen by chance from a bird, as if of some sparkle it kindled and set on fire generation, it sendeth forth the stock of some bush or thorn, or else a tall and mighty body of an Oak, a Date or Pine-tree. And hereupon it is that general seed is called Σπέρμα, in Greek, as one would say σπείρεσθαι, that is to say, the unfolding and wrapping together of a great mass into a small quantity: also nature taketh the name of φύσις, as it were ἐμφύσωσις, that is to say, the inflation and desusion of proportions and numbers, which are opened and loosned under it. And again, the fire which they say is the seed of the world, after that general conflagration, shall change into the own seed, the world, which from a smaller body and little mass, is extended into a great inflation and desusion, yea and moreover, occupieth an infinite space of voidness, which it filleth by his augmentation: but as it is engendred, that huge greatness retireth and settleth anon, by reason that the matter is contracted and gathered into it self upon the generation. We may hear them dispute, and read many of their books, and discourses, wherein they argue and cry out aloud against the Academicks, for confounding all things with their *Aparalaxies*, that is to say, indistinguible identities striving and forcing to make in two natures, one indued with the like quality. And yet what man living is there who conceiveth and knoweth not as much? or supposeth not the contrary, namely, that it were a marvellous strange thing and a very absurdity, if neither stock-dove to stock-dove, Bee to Bee, Wheat-corn to Wheat-corn, and as the common proverb goeth, one Fig unto another, hath been at all times alike and semblable.

But this in very deed and truth is clean contrary to all common sense, that these men hold and affirm: how in one substance, there be properly and particularly two qualified, and how the same substance having particularly one qualified, when there commeth another to it, receiveth and keepeth them both, the one as well as the other. For if we admit two, I avouch it may as well have three, four, five, and many as one will name, in one and the same substance, I say not in divers parts, but all equally and indifferently, though they were infinit, even in the whole. Now *Chrysippus* saith, that *Jupiter*, as also the world, resembleth a man, and providence the Soul: when as then that conflagration of the world shall be, *Jupiter*, who only of all the gods is Immortall, shall retire unto providence, and both twain shall remain together in the substance of the skie. But leave we now the gods for this present, and pray we unto them that they would vouchsafe to give unto the Stoicks, a common sense and understanding according with other men, and let us see now what they say as touching the Elements. This first and formost standeth not with the received conceit and opinion of the world, that a body should be the place of a body, and that one body should enter and pierce through another body, considering that neither the one nor the other containeth vacuity: but that which is full entreth into that which is full, and that which hath no distance receiveth into it self that which is mingled with it, but that which is full and solid, hath no void distance in it self by reason of continuity. And these men verily not thrusting one into one, nor two nor three, nor ten together, but cast all parts of the world cut piece-meal, into one, which they first meet with, even the least that is by sense perceptible: saying moreover that it will contain the greatest that shall come unto it. Thus in a bravery after their old manner in many other things, make of that which convinceth and refelleth them, one of their sentences and resolutions, as they who take for suppositions, those things which be repugnant to common sense. And thus upon this supposal, there must needs ensue many monstrous and prodigious positions, when they once confusedly mingle whole bodies with whole: and among those absurd Paradoxes this also may go for one, That three be four. For even that which others bring in and alledge for an example of that which cannot fall into mans imagination, they hold for an undoubted truth: saying, that when one cyath of wine is mingled with two of water, it wanteth not but is equall in the whole, and this confounding them together, they bring it so about, that one is made twain, by the equall mixture of one with two: for that one remaineth, and is spred as much as twain, making that which is equal to duple. Now if by the mixture with two, it taketh the measure of two in the defusion, this must needs be the measure together, both of three and of four: of three, because one is mingled with twain: and of four, for that it being mingled with twain, it hath as much in quantity, as those wherewith it is mingled. This fine device hapneth unto them, because they put bodies within a body, and for that it cannot be imagined how they cause one to contain another. For, of necessity it must be that bodies making a penetration one within another by mixture, that the one should not contain, and the other be contained, nor the one receive and the other be received within. For so this should not be a commixion, but a contiguity and touching of superficies one close to another, whiles one entreth within forth, and the other encloseth without, when the other parts remain pure and entire without mixture, and so shall be one of many divers and differing asunder. But it cannot otherwise be as they would have it, that when there is a mixture, the things mingled, should not be mixed one within another: and that one self same thing being, within, should not withall be contained: and likewise in receiving, contain another: and possible it is not, that either the one or the other should be: but fall out it will, that the two which be mingled, should pierce one within the other; neither can so much as one part of the one or the other, remain by it self apart, but necessarily they be all full one of another. And here ariseth that legg of *Arcesilaus*, so much talked of in the schools, which insulteth and danceth upon their monstrous absurdities with much laughter; for if these mixtions be through the whole, what should hinder, but that if a legg be cut off, putrified, cast into the Sea, and in process of time all diffused; not only the fleet of *Antigonus* might sail in and thorow it, as said *Arcesilaus*, but also the 1200. sail of *Xerxes*, yea, and the three hundred Gallies of the Greeks might give a navall battel within the said legge? for sail it never will to be extended and spread more and more, nor the lesse cease within the greater, ne yet will that mixture ever come to an end, no nor the extremity of it touch where it will end, and so pierce not thorow the whole, but will give over to be mingled: or if it be not mixed thorowout the whole, surely the said legge will not afford room so much as for the Greeks to give a navall battel in it, but even the same must needs putrifie and be changed. But if a cyath of wine, or no more but one drop, falling into the Aegean or Candiot-sea, passe directly into the Ocean, or main Atlantique-sea, it shall not touch only the superficiall part of the water aloft, but spread throughout, in breadth, depth, and length. And verily *Chrysippus* admitteth so much in the very beginning of his first book, as touching Natural questions, saying that one drop of wine will not fail, but be mingled throughout the whole sea. And that we should not marvell so much hereat, he saith moreover, that the said drop by the means of mixture, will extend throughout the whole world: which is so absurd and without all appearance of reason, as I cannot devise any thing more. And is not this also against common sense, that in the nature of bodies, there is no supreame,

ſupream, nor firſt or laſt, to conclude and determine the magnitude of the Body? but that which is propoſed as the ſubject, runneth on ſtill infinitely without end, ſo as whatſoever is added, yet ſomewhat more ſeemeth may be put thereto? for we cannot conceive or comprehend one magnitude greater or leſſe than another, if it be incident to both parts thus to proceed *in infinitum*, which is as much as to take away the whole nature of inequality. For of two magnitudes that be underſtood unequall, the one cometh firſt ſhort of the laſt parts, and the other goeth beyond and ſurpaſſeth; but if there be no inequality of length in them, it followeth that there will be no unevenneſſe in the upper ſuperficies nor aſperity: for this unevenneſſe is nothing elſe, but the inequality of the ſuperficies with it ſelf; but aſperity is an inequality of the ſuperficies with hardneſſe. Of which qualities they allow none, who determine no body in an extream or utmoſt part, but draw out all ſtill by a multitude of parts infinitely: and yet who knoweth not evidently, that man is compounded of a greater number of parts, then is his finger, and the world more then a man? for all men know and think as much; unleſſe they become Stoicks: but prove they once to be Stoicks, they both ſay and opine the contrary: namely, that man is not compoſed of more parts, then is his finger, nor the world of more than is man; for ſection reduceth bodies into *infinitum*; and in things infinite there is neither more nor leſſe, neither is there any multitude that ſurpaſſeth; neither ſhall the parts of that which is left, ceaſe to be alwaies ſubdivided ſtill, yea and to furniſh out a multitude of themſelves. How then do they wind out of theſe difficulties and unty theſe knots? Certes, with great ſlight, very ſubtilly and valiantly: for *Chryſippus* ſaith, that when we be demanded, if we have any parts, and how many there be? alſo whether there be compounded of other, and of how many? we are to flie unto this diſtinction; ſuppoſing and ſetting down, that the whole entire body conſiſteth of head, breaſt and legs, as if this were all that was demanded and doubted of. But if they ſhould proceed in their interrogatories to the extream parts: then ſaith he, no ſuch anſwer is to be made, but we are to ſay, neither that they conſiſt of any certain parts, nor likewiſe of how many; neither of infinite nor determinate. But I think it were better if I alledged his very own words, to the end you may ſee how he keepeth and obſerveth the common Conception, forbidding us as he doth, to think, imagine or ſay, of what parts, and how many each body is compounded, and that it conſiſteth neither of finite or infinite. For if there were a mean between finite and infinite, like as there is between good and bad, to wit, indifferent; he ſhould prononnce what the ſame was, and ſo ſalve the difficulty. But, if as that which is not equall, incontinently becommeth unequall; and that which is not corruptible, preſently is incorruptible; ſo that which is not finite, is immediatly infinite, I ſuppoſe that to ſay, A body is compoſed of parts neither finite or infinite, is all one as to ſay, that an argument is compoſed neither of true nor of falſe propoſitions, and a number neither of even nor odd. But after all this, vaunting himſelf youthfully, he letteth not to ſay, that whereas a pyramis conſiſteth of triangles, the ſides inclining to the commiſſure or joynt, are unequall, and yet exceed one another, in that they be bigger. Thus you ſee how trimly he kept and obſerved common Conceptions: for if there be any thing greater, and yet ſurpaſſeth not, there muſt be alſo ſomewhat leſſe, and yet the ſame faileth not, and ſo there ſhall be alſo ſomething unequall, that neither exceedeth nor wanteth, which is as much to ſay, as it ſhall be equall and yet unequall, not greater but yet greater, not leſſe and yet leſſe. See moreover I pray you a little, how he anſwered unto *Democritus*, diſputing and doubting Phyſically and earneſtly, if a cone or round pyramis be cut at the baſe thereof by the Plumb or Levell, what we ought to conceive and judge as touching the ſuperficies of the ſections whether they be equall or unequall: for if they be unequall, they will make the ſaid cone or pyramis uneven; and admitting many deep rabbotted inciſions, and rough aſperities in manner of ſteps & grees: and if they be equall, then the ſections alſo muſt be equall, and ſo it will be found that the round pyramis or cone ſhall have the ſame befall unto it that a cylindar hath, namely, to conſiſt of circles equall and not unequall, which were very abſurd. Herein, making *Democritus* to be an ignorant perſon and one who knew not what he ſaid, he commeth in with this, and ſaith, that the ſuperficies be neither equall nor unequall, but that the bodies be unequall, in that the ſuperficies be neither equall nor unequall. Now to ſet down by way of ordinance and to affirm, that allowing the ſuperficies to be unequall, it may fall out, that bodies ſhould not be unequall, were the part of a man who permitteth himſelf to have a wonderfull liberty to write and ſpeak whatſoever comes into his head. For both reaſon and manifeſt evidence, giveth us to underſtand quite contrary, namely, that of unequall bodies the ſuperficies alſo be unequall, and the bigger that a body is, the greater is the ſuperficies, unleſſe the exceſſe whereby it ſurpaſſeth the ſmaller, be altogether devoid of a ſuperficies: for if the ſuperficies of greater bodies exceed not thoſe of the leſſer, but rather faile before they come to an end, then we muſt of neceſſity ſay, that a part of that body which hath an end, is without end, and not determinate: for if he alledge and ſay that he is driven perforce thereunto, leſt the inequality of ſuperficies might ſeem to make unequall inciſions, there is no ſuch cauſe why he ſhould fear: for thoſe rabbotted inciſion which he ſuſpected in no ſuch cauſe why he would fear: for rabbotted inciſions which he ſuſpecteth in a cone or round pyramis, it is the inequality of the bodies, and not of the ſuperficies that cauſeth them. So that it were a ridiculous folly, by taking away the ſuperficies, for to be convinced to leave an inequality and unevenneſſe of the bodie. But to perſiſt ſtill in this matter, what can there be more contrary to common Conception, then to fain and deviſe ſuch ſtuffe? for if we admit that one ſuperficies is neither equall nor unequal to another, we may conſequently affirm that neither magnitude is equall or unequall, nor number either even or odd; conſidering that we can not ſee down nor conceive in our mind, any mean between unequal and unequal, which is neuter. Moreover, if there were any ſuperficies neither equal nor unequal, what ſhould let but that we may imagine circles alſo neither equal nor unequal? for verily theſe ſuperficies of the ſections of cones or round Pyramides, be circles: and if we allow thus much in circles, then we may as well admit ſo much of the Diameters of circles, namely, that they be neither equal nor unequal. And if this go for good, of angles likewiſe and triangles, of Parallelograms, and of ſuperficies parallel or equally diſtant. For if longitudes be neither equal nor unequal one to another, then ſhall not weight, nor percuſſion, no nor bodies be equal nor unequal. Furthermore, how dare they reprove thoſe who bring in vacuities, and certain indiviſible bodies mainraining combate one again another, ſuppoſing that they neither ſtir nor ſtand ſtill; when as they themſelves maintain that ſuch propoſitions as theſe be falſe? If any things be not equal one to the other, the ſame be unequal one to the other: and theſe things here be not equal one to the other; neither are they unequal one to the other. But foraſmuch as he ſaith, that there is ſomething greater, which notwithſtanding ſurpaſſeth not: it were good reaſon therefore to doubt and demand, whether the ſame be agreeable and fitting one to the other? and if they agree, how then can either of them be the bigger? Now if it be not ſortable, how is it poſſible that the one ſhould not exceed, and the other come ſhort? for theſe things cannot hang together, to ſay, that neither the one nor the other ſurpaſſeth: and it agreeth not with the greater: or it agreeth, and yet the one is greater than the other. For of neceſſity it muſt follow, that thoſe who retain not, nor obſerve common conceptions, be troubled with ſuch perplexities.

Over and beſides, it is againſt all common ſenſe, to ſay that no one thing toucheth another: as alſo, that bodies touch one another, and yet do in no part touch. Now it muſt needs be, that they admit this, who allow not the leaſt parts of a body, and ſo they ſuppoſe always ſomething before that which ſeemeth to touch, and never ceaſe to paſs on farther ſtill: which is the thing that they principally object againſt thoſe, who defend and maintain the indiviſible parcels called Atomes; namely, that there is no total touching, but that it is a mixture, conſidering that ſuch indiviſible bodies have no parts. How is it then, that they themſelves fall not into the like inconvenience, ſeeing they admit no part to be either firſt or laſt? for that they ſay, bodies do touch one another mutually in the whole by a certain term or extremity, and not by a part, and the ſaid term or point is no body. Then a body ſhall touch a body, by a thing which is no body: and contrariwiſe, ſhall not touch, the incorporal being between. And if it touch, it ſhall do likewiſe, and ſuffer ſomewhat, being it ſelf a body, by that which is incorporal and no body. For the propertie of bodies, is to do and ſuffer ſomewhat mutually, yea, and to touch one another: and if the body have a touching in part by the means of that which is incorporal, it ſhall likewiſe have a general and total connexion, even a mixtion and incoporation. Again, in theſe connexions and mixtures, neceſſary it is that terms or extremities of bodies, either continue or not continue, but periſh: but both the one and the other is againſt common ſenſe. For even they themſelves allow not corruptions and generations of things incorporal: and impoſſible it is, that there ſhould be a mixion or total touching of bodies retaining ſtill their proper terms and extremities. For it is this term or extremity that determineth and conſtituteth the nature of a body: and as for mixions (if there were no approaching nor application of parts to parts) they confound all things wholly which are mixed. And as theſe men ſay, we muſt admit the corruption of extremities in mixtures; and likewiſe again, their generations, in the diſtractions and Separations of them. But no man there is able to comprehend this eaſily: for in regard that bodies touch one another, they alſo are preſſed, thruſt and cruſh'd one by the other. And impoſſible it is, that a thing incorporal ſhould ſuffer or do thus; neither can we imagine ſo much: yet would they conſtrain us to think no leſs. For if a ſphere or boul touch a flat or plain body onely by a point, certain it is, that it may be trained and rolled along the ſaid plain or flat body, by a point. And if the foreſaid boul be painted in the ſuperficies thereof with vermillion, it ſhall imprint a red line onely upon the ſame plain body; and being yellow, or of a fiery colour, it ſhall likewiſe give the ſame tincture to the ſuperficies of the flat body. Now that a thing incorporal ſhould either give or take a colour, is againſt all common ſenſe. And if we imagine a boul of earth, of cryſtal or glaſs, to fall from on high upon a ſmooth body of ſtone, it were againſt all reaſon to think that it would not break the ſame into pieces, namely, when as it ſhall light upon that which is ſolid, hard, and able to make reſiſtance: But more unreaſonable it were to ſay, that it were broken by a term or point that is incorporal: In ſuch manner, as in every ſort, their anticipations and common conceptions as touching things incorporal and bodies, muſt needs be troubled and confounded, or rather utterly aboliſh'd, in ſuppoſing thus many things impoſſible.

Againſt common ſenſe it is to ſay, that there is a future time, and a time paſt, but none at all preſent; as alſo, that the time which was erewhile, and not long ſince, hath a ſubſiſtence, whereas that which now is hath no being at all. And yet this is an uſual and ordinary matter with theſe Stoick Philoſophers, who admit not the leaſt time that is between, and will not allow the preſent to be indiviſible; but of all that which a man doth think and imagine as preſent, they affirm the one part to be of that which is already paſt, and the other of the future; inſomuch, as there remaineth and is left in the midſt no piece at all of the time preſent; in caſe of that which is ſaid to be the very inſtant, part is attributed unto things paſt, and part to things to come; whereupon of neceſſity one of theſe twain muſt follow, that either in admitting the tenſe, It was, or It ſhall be; the tenſe it is, muſt wholly be aboliſhed; or in admitting the preſent time, It is, one part thereof is paſt, and the other to come: as alſo to ſay, that of that which is, part is yet future, and part already paſt: likewiſe of that which now is preſent,

one parcel is before, and another behinde; in such sort as present, is that which yet is not present, and not present any more; for that is not present any longer, which is already past; nor present at all, which is yet to come: And thus in dividing the present, they must also needs say, that of the year, and of the light, part was of the year past, and part of the year to come; likewise of that which is together and at once, there is some before, and some after: For no less troubled are they, in hudling and confounding after a strange manner these terms, Not yet, Already, No more, Now and not now, as if they were all one; whereas other men do conceive and think, that these tearms, Ere while, or not long since, and a while after, or anon, are different parts from the present time, setting the one before, and the other after the said present. And among these, *Archidemus* who affirmeth, that the present Now, is a certain beginning, joynt or commissure of that which is already past, and near at hand to come, seeth now how in so saying, he utterly aboliseth all time; for were it true, that Now is no time, but onely a term of extremity of time, and that every part of time is as it were Now, it would seem then, that this present Now, hath no part at all, but is resolved wholly into ends and extremities, joynts, commissures, and beginnings. As for *Chrysippus*, willing to shew himself witty and artificial in his divisions, in that Treatise which he composed as touching voidness, and in other places affirmeth, that the Past and the Future of time subsisteth not, but hath subsisted; and that the present onely hath being: But in the third, fourth, and fifth Books of Parts, he avoucheth, that of the instant or present, part is Future, and part Past; in such sort, as by this means he divideth the substance of time, into those parts of subsistent, which are not subsistent; or to speak more truly, he leaveth no part at all subsistent, if the instant and present hath no part at all, which is not either past or to come; and therefore the conceit that these men have of time, resembleth properly the holding of water in a mans hand, which runneth and sheddeth the more, by how much harder it is pressed together. Come now unto actions and motions, all light and evidence is by them darkned, troubled, and confounded; for necessarily it ensueth, that if the Instant or Present is divided into that which is past, & to come, part of that which now moveth at this instant, should partly be moved already, and in part to remove afterwards, and withal, that the beginning and end of motion should be abolished: also, that of no work there should be any thing first or last, all actions being distributed and dispersed together with time: for like, as they say, that of the present, some is past, and some to come: even so of every action in doing, some part is already done, and other resteth to be done. When had then beginning, or when shall have end, To dine, to write, and to go, if every man who dineth, hath dined already, and shall dine: and whosoever goeth, hath gone, and shall go? and that which is (as they say) of all absurdities most monstrous, if it be granted, that he who now liveth, hath lived already, and shall live; life had neither beginning, nor ever shall have end: but every one of us as it should seem by this reckoning, was born without beginning of life, and shall dye without giving over to live: for if there be no extream part, but ever as one that now liveth, shall have somewhat of the present remaining for the future, it will never be untruly said, *Socrates* shall live, so long as it shall be truly said, *Socrates* liveth; so that as often as it is true, *Socrates* liveth, so often it is false, *Socrates* is dead. And therefore if it be truly said in infinite parts of time, *Socrates* shall live; in no part of time shall it ever be truly said, *Socrates* is dead. And verily what end shall there be of any work? and where shall any action stay and cease, in case as often as it shall be truly said, a thing is now doing, so often likewise it shall be truly said, It shall be done: for lye he shall who saith, This is the end of *Plato* writing or disputing; for that one day *Plato* shall cease to write or dispute: if at no time it be a lye to say, of him that disputeth, He shall dispute; or of him who writeth, He shall write. Moreover, of that which is done, there is no part, which either is not finished already, or shall be finished, and either is past or to come. Besides, of that which is already done, or of that which shall be done, of that which is past or future, there is no sense. And so in one word, and to speak simply, there is no sense of any thing in the world; for we neither see nor hear that which is past or to come; ne yet have we any sense of things which have been, or which shall be; no, nor although a thing should be present, is it perceptible and subject to sense, in case that which is present, be partly to come, and in part past already; if I say, one part thereof hath been, and another shall be: and yet they themselves cry out upon *Epicurus*, as if he committed some great indignity, and did violence to common conceptions, in moving as he doth all bodies with equal celerity, and admitteth no one thing swifter than another: But far more intolerable it is, and farther remote from common sense to hold, that no one thing can reach or overtake another:

No not although Adrastus *horse*
So swift, a Tortois slow should course.

according as we say in our common proverb: which must of necessity fall out, if things move according to Before and Behinde; and in case the intervals which they pass through, be divisible into infinite parts, as these men would have them: for if the Tortoise be but one furlong before the horse, they who divide the said interval or space between into infinite parts, and move both the one and the other according to *Prius* and *Posterius*, shall never bring the swiftest close unto the slowest, for that the slower always winneth some space or interval, before that which is divisible, into other infinite intervals. And to say, that water which is poured forth out of a cup or boul, shall never be poured all clean out; how can this chuse but be against common sense? and doth not this consequently follow upon those things that these men avouch? for never shall a man comprehend or conceive that the motion of things infinitely divisible, according to before, hath fully performed the whole interval, but leaving always some space divisible, it will evermore make all the effusion, all the running forth or shedding

shedding of the liquor, all the motion of a solid body; or the fall of a weighty poise, to be imperfect. I let passe many absurdities delivered in their doctrine; and touch these onely, which are directly against common sense.

As for the question touching augmentation, it is very ancient: For according as *Chrysippus* saith; it was by *Epicharmus* put forth. And for that the Academicks thought it to be not very easie and ready all of a sudden to be cleared; these men come with open mouth against them, accusing them for overthrowing all anticipations, whereas they themselves keep not at all the common conceptions: and that which more is, pervert the very senses. For whereas the question is plain and simple; these men grant and allow such suppositions as these, that all particular substances flow and run, partly by yeelding and sending forth somewhat out of themselves, and in part by receiving other things from without; and that by reason of the number and multitude of that which comes in, or goes out, things continue not one and the same, but become altered and divers by the foresaid additions and detractation, so as their substance receiveth a change. Also that contrary to all right and reason, custome hath so far prevailed, that such mutations be called augmentations and diminutions: whereas rather they ought to be termed generations, and corruptions, for that they force an alteration of one present state and being, into another; but to grow and diminish are passions and accidents of a body, and subject that is permanent. Which reasons and assertions being after a sort thus delivered in their Schooles, what is it that these defenders of Perspicuity and Evidence, these Canonical reformers (I say) of common notions would have? namely, that every one of us should be double like twinnes, or of a twofold nature: not as the Poets feigned the Molionides, to be in some parts conjunct and united, and in other severed and disjoyned, but two bodies, having the same colour, the same shape, the same weight and place: a thing that no man ever saw before: marry these Philosophers onely have perceived this duplicity, this composition and ambiguity; whereby every one of us are two subjects, the one being substance, the other

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the one of them runneth and floweth continually, and yet without augmentation and diminution, or remaining in the same state such as it is; the other continueth still, and yet groweth and decreaseth, and yet suffereth all things quite contrary to the other, wherewith it is concorporate, united, and knit, leaving to the exteriour sense no shew of distinct difference. And yet verily it is said of that *Lynceus*, how in old time he had so quick and piercing and eye-sight, that he was able to see through stocks and stones. And one there was by report, who sitting in *Sicily*, could from a watch-tower sensibly discern the ships sailing out of the Haven of *Carthage*, which was distant a day and a nights a sailling with a good forewind. And as for *Callicrates* and *Mymercides*, they have the name to have made Chariots so small, as that the wings of a fly might cover them: yea and in a millet grain or sesam seed to have engraven *Homers* verses. But surely this perpetual fluxion and diversity in us, there was never any yet that could divide and distinguish: neither could we our selves ever finde that we were double, and that partely we ran out continually, and in part again remained alwaies one and the same, even from our nativity to our end. But I am about to deal with them more simply and plainly; for whereas they devise in every one of us four subjects, or to speak more directly, make each of us to be four, it shall suffice to take but two, for to shew their absurdity. When we do hear *Pentheus* in a Tragedy saying, that he seeth two Suns, and two Cities of *Thebes*, we deem of him, that he seeth not two, but that his eyes do dazel and look amisse, having his discourse troubled, and understanding clean transported. And even these persons, who suppose and set down, not one City alone, but all Men, all Beasts, all Trees, Plants, Tooles, Vessels, Utensils, and Garments, to be double, and composed of two Natures; reject we not and bid farewel, as men who would force us not to understand any thing aright, but to take every thing wrong? Howbeit, haply herein they might be pradoned and winked at, for feigning and devising other natures of subjects, because they have no means else, for all the paines they take, to maintain and preserve their augmentations: But in the Soul, what they should aile, what their meaning might be, and upon what grounds and suppositions, they devised to fram other different sorts and forms of bodies, and those in manner innumerable, who is able to say? or what may be the cause, unless they ment to displace, or rather to abolish and destroy altogether the common and familiar conceptions, inbred in us, for to bring in and set up new fangles, and other strange and forreign novelties? For this is wonderful extravangant and absurd, for to make bodies of vertues and Vices, and besides of Sciences, Arts, Memories, Fansies, Apprehensions, Passions, Inclinations, and Assents: and to affirm that these neither lye, nor have any place subsisting in any subject, but to leave them one little hole like a prick within the heart, wherein they range and draw in, the principal part of the soul, and the discourse of reason, being choked up as it were with such a number of bodies, that even they are not able to count a great sort of them, who seem to know best how to distinguish and discern one from another. But to make these not onely bodies, but also living creatures, and those endued with reason, to make (I say) a swarm of them, and the same not gentle, mild, and tame, but a turbulent sore and rable by their malicious shrewdnesse, opposit and repugnant to all evidence, and usual custom, what wanteth this of obsurdity in the highest degree. And these men verily do hold that not onely vertues and vices be animal and living creatures, nor passions alone, as anger, wrath, envy, grief, sorrow and malice, nor apprehensions onely fantasies, imaginations, and ignorances, nor arts and mysteries, as the Shoomakers and Smithscraft: but also over and besides all these things, they make the very operations and actions themselves to be bodies, yea and living creatures: they would have walking to be an animal dancing likewise, shewing, saluting, & reproachful railing: and so consequently they

they make laughing and weeping to be animal. And in granting theſe, they admit alſo, coughing, ſneeſing and groaning, yea, and withal, ſpitting, reaching, ſnitting and ſnuffing of the noſe, and ſuch like actions, which are as evident as the reſt. And let them not think much, and take it grievouſly, if they be driven to this point by way of particular reaſoning, calling to minde *Chryſippus*, who in his third book of Natural Queſtions, ſaith thus, What ſay you of the night, is it not a body: evening, morning, midnight, are they not bodies? Is not the day a body? The New-Moon is it not a body? the tenth, the fifteenth, the thirtieth day of the Moon, the moneth it ſelf, Summer, Autumn, and the whole year, be they not bodies? Certes, all theſe things by me named they hold with tooth and nail, even againſt common prenotions: But as for theſe hereafter, they maintain contrary to their own proper conceptions, when as they would produce the horſeſt thing that is by refrigeration, and that which is moſt ſubtile by inſpiſſation. For the ſoul is a ſubſtance moſt hot, and conſiſting of moſt ſubtil parts: which they would make by the refrigeration and condenſation of the body, which, as it were, by a certain perfuſion and tincture it hardeneth and altereth the ſpirit, from being vegetative to be animate. They ſay alſo, that the Sun is become animate, by reaſon of the moiſture turned into an intellectual and ſpiritual fire. See how they imagine the Sun to be engendred and produced by refrigeration? *Xenophanes*, when one came upon a time, and told him, that he had ſeen Eeles to live in hot ſcalding water: Why do we not ſeethe them then (quoth he) in cold water? If therefore they will cauſe heat by refrigeration, and lightneſs by attrition and condenſation: it followeth on the other ſide again, by good conſequence, that by keeping a certain proportion and correſpondency in abſurdity, they make heat by cold, thickning by diſſolving, and weighty things by rarefaction. As for the very ſubſtance and generation of common conception and ſenſe, do they not determine it even againſt common ſenſe it ſelf? For conception is a certain phantaſie or apprehenſion; and this apprehenſion is an impreſſion in the ſoul. The nature of the ſoul is an exhalation, which by reaſon of the rarity thereof can hardly receive an impreſſion: and ſay that it did receive any, yet impoſſible it were to keep and retain it. For the nutriment and generation of it conſiſting of moiſt things, holdeth a continual courſe of ſucceſſion and conſumption. The commerce alſo and mixture of reſpiration with the ayr, engendreth continually ſome new exhalation turning and changing by the flux of ayr coming in and going forth reciprocally. For a man may imagine rather that a river of running water keepeth the forms, figures and images imprinted therein, then a ſpirit carried in vapors and humors, to be mingled with another ſpirit, or breath from without continually, as if it were idle and ſtrange unto it. But ſo much forget they, or miſunderſtand themſelves, that having defined common conceptions to be certain intelligences laid up apart: memories to be firm, permanent, and habitual impreſſions having fixed Sciences likewiſe, every way faſt and ſure, yet within a while after they ſet under all this a foundation and baſe, of a certain ſlippery ſubſtance, eaſie to be diſſipated, carried continually, and ever going and coming to and fro. Moreover, this notion and conception of an element and principle, all men have imprinted in their minde, that it is pure, ſimple, nor mingled nor compoſed: for, that which is mixed, cannot be an element nor a principle, but rather that, whereof it is mixed and compoſed.

Howbeit, theſe men deviſing God the principle of all things to be a ſpiritual body, and a minde or intelligence ſeated in matter, make him neither pure nor ſimple, nor uncompound, but affirm that he is compoſed of another, and by another. As for matter, being of it ſelf without reaſon, and void of all quality, it carrieth with it ſimplicity, and the very natural property of a principle: and God, if it be true, that he is not without body and matter, doth participate of matter as of a principle. For if reaſon and matter, be all one and the ſame, they have not done well to define matter for to be reaſonleſs: but if they be things different, then doth God conſiſt of both twain, and not of a ſimple eſſence, but compounded, as having taken to his intellectual ſubſtance, a bodily nature out of matter. Furthermore, conſidering they call theſe four primitive bodies, to wit, earth, water, air, and fire, the firſt elements, I cannot ſee how they ſhould make ſome of them ſimple, and others mixed or compound; for they hold, that the earth and water cannot contain either themſelves or any other, and that it is the participation of ſpirit and fellowſhip of fire, whereupon dependeth the preſervation of their unity: as for the air and fire by their own power they fortifie themſelves, which being medled with the other two, give them their force, vigour and firmitude of ſubſtance. How is it then, that either earth is an element or the water, ſeeing neither of them both is ſimple, firſt, or ſufficient to keep and preſerve it ſelf, but having need of another without to contain them always in their being, and to ſave them? for they have not left ſo much as any thought that they be a ſubſtance. But ſurely this reaſon of theirs as touching the earth, that it conſiſteth of it ſelf, containeth much confuſion and great uncertainty, for if the earth be of it ſelf, how cometh it to paſs that it hath need of the ayr, to binde and contain it; for ſo it is no more earth of it ſelf, nor water; but the air hath by thickning and hardning matter, made thereof the earth; and contrariwiſe, by diſſolving and mollifying it, hath created the water: and therefore we may infer thus much, that neither of theſe is an element, ſeeing that ſome other thing hath given them their eſſence and generation. Over and beſides, they affirm, that ſubſtance and matter are ſubject to qualities, and ſo in manner do yield their limit and definition: and then on the other ſide, they make the ſaid qualities to be bodies; wherein there is a great confuſion: for if qualities have a certain proper ſubſtance, whereby they are termed and be really bodies indeed, they require no other ſubſtance, for that they have one of their own: but if they have this onely under them which is common, and which they call eſſence or matter, certain it is, that they do but

but participate of the body; for bodies they are not. For that which is in the nature of the ſubject, and doth receive, muſt of neceſſity differ from thoſe things which it receiveth, and whereof it is the ſubject. But theſe men ſee by the half; for they term the matter ἄποιον, that is to ſay, without qualities: But they will not name the qualities ἄυλως, that is to ſay, void of matter. And yet how is it poſſible to make a body without quality, but we muſt imagine a quality without a body? for that reaſon, which coupleth a body with all manner of qualities, permitteth not the thought to comprehend any body without ſome quality. Either therefore he that fighteth againſt a bodileſs quality, ſeemeth to reſiſt likewiſe a matter void of quality; or if he ſeparate the one from the other, he parteth and divideth them both aſunder. And as for that reaſon which ſome of them ſeem to pretend, as touching a ſubſtance which they name ἄποιον, not becauſe it is void of all quality, but becauſe it is capable, forſooth, of every quality; it is contary to common notion, and nothing ſo much. For no man taketh or imagineth that to be ἄποιον, that is to ſay, unqualified, which is participant of all qualities, and uncapable of none; nor impaſſible, that which is apt to receive and ſuffer every paſſion; nor immoveable, which is moveable every way. And as for this doubt, it is not ſolved, that howſoever we always underſtand matter with ſome quality, yet we conceive withal, that matter and quality be different one from the other.

Againſt *Colotes* the Epicurean.

The Summary.

WE have in many places before, but principally in two ſeveral Treatiſes of the former Tome, perceived how Plutarch *is quite contrary unto the Epicureans; and namely, in one of thoſe Treatiſes he dealeth with a certain Book (which he now expreſly refuteth) where* Colotes *endeavoreth to prove, that a man cannot poſſibly live well, according to the opinions of other Philoſophers,* Plutarch *ſheweth on the contrary ſide, that impoſſible it is to lead a joyful life after the doctrine of* Epicurus, *and that it is accompanied with overweening, impudency, and ſlanderous calumniation. And not contenting himſelf thus to have confuted them of purpoſe once or thrice, he ſetth upon them in this Diſcourſe, and particularly he copeth with* Colotes, *whoſe ſloth, filthineſs, and impiety, he here deſcribeth. The ſum of all which Declamation, is this, That theſe Epicureans are not any way worthy the name of Philoſophers, who contrariwiſe tread and trample under foot all the parts of true Philoſophy diſcovering in their writings, as well as throughout all their lives, meer beaſtly brutality. But all that is delivered in this Treatiſe, may be reduced well to two principal points: The one containeth a defence or excuſe of the Doctrine taught by* Democritus, Empedocles, Parmenides, Socrates, *and other ancient Philoſophers, ſlandered by* Colotes, *who extolled far above them, the Traditions and Precepts of his Maſter. The other diſcovereth divers abſurdities and ſtrange opinions of the Epicureans, even by their own teſtimonies: whom* Plutarch *refelleth ſoundly, handling in this Diſputation many Articles of Philoſophy, Natural, Moral and Supernatural; and particularly, of the Senſes, of Nature, of the Atomes, of the Univerſal World, of the Knowledge of Man, of the Opinion of the Academicks, of the Apprehenſions, Faculties, Paſſions, and Affections of the Soul: Of the certainty of things ſenſible, of the falſity and truth of imaginations, of the uſe of Laws, of the profit of Philoſophy, of the Soveraign Good, of Religion, and of other ſuch matters, the principles whereof the Epicureans aboliſhed, bringing in Paradoxes wonderful ſtrange, for to ſuffle things confuſedly, and make all uncertain. All which is marked particularly in the train and courſe of the Authors own words, and therefore needleſs is is to ſpecifie thereof any more, becauſe I would avoid tautologies and unneceſſary repetitions. True it is, that in certain refutations* Plutarch *is not ſo firm as were to be deſired: but that may be imputed to his ignorance of the true God. As for the reſt, it may ſuffice and ſerve, to know the miſery and wretchedneſs of the Epicureans: And that other Philoſophers had many good parts, and delivered many beautiful ſpeeches, whereof all vertuous perſons may reap and gather great fruit in applying and referring the ſame to their right uſe. And for to cloſe up all, he maketh a compariſon between true Philoſophers, and the Epicureans, proving in very many places, that* Colotes, *and his fellows like himſelf, are people not onely unprofitable, but alſo moſt pernicious, and ſo by conſequence unworthy to live in the world.*

Against Colotes *the Epicurean.*

Colotes, whom *Epicurus* was wont (O *Saturninus*) to call by way of flattering diminution, *Colatas* and *Colatarius*, compoſed and put forth a little Book, which he entituled, That there could be no life at all according to the opinions of other Philoſophers: and dedicated the ſaid Book unto King *Ptolemæus*. Now what came into my minde to ſpeak againſt this *Colotes*, I ſuppoſe you would take pleaſure to read the ſame in writing; being, as you are, a man who loveth elegancy, and all honeſt things, eſpecially ſuch as concern the knowledge of antiquity, and beſides, eſteemeth it the moſt Prince-like exerciſe and Royal ſtudy, to bear in minde, and have always in hand, as much as poſſibly may be, the Diſcourſes of ancient Sages. Whereas therefore of late this book was in reading, one of our familiar friends, one whom you know well enough, *Ariſtodimus* by name, an Ægian born, a man exceeding paſſionate, and of all the Academicks a moſt frantick Sectary of *Plato*, although he carry not the *Ferula* like unto the mad ſuppoſts of *Plato*, I wot not how contrary to his uſual manner, was very patient and ſilent all the while, giving ear moſt civilly even to the very end. But ſo ſoon as the Lecture was done: Go to now my maſters (quoth he) whom were we beſt to cauſe for to ariſe and fight with this fellow, in the quarrel and defence of Philoſophers? For I am not of *Neſtors* minde, neither do I greatly praiſe him, for that when there was to be choſen the moſt valiant Warrior of thoſe nine hardy Knights who were preſented, to enter into combate with *Hector* hand to hand, committed the election unto Fortune, and put all to the lot: But you ſee alſo (quoth I) that even he referred himſelf to be ordered by the lot, to the end that the choice might paſs according to the diſpoſe and ordinance of the wiſeſt man:

The lot out of the Helmet then did fall,
Of Ajax, whom themſelves wiſht moſt of all.

And yet if you command me to make election,

How can I ever put out of minde,
Divine Ulyſſes, a Prince ſo kinde?

Conſider therefore, and be well adviſed how you may be able to reſell this man. Then *Ariſtodemus*: But you know full well (quoth he) what *Plato* ſometime did, who being offended with his Boy that waited upon him, would not himſelf ſwindge him, but cauſed *Speuſippus* to do ſo much for him, ſaying withal, That he was in a fit of choler. And even ſo, I ſay as much to you, Take the man to you, I pray, and entreat him at your pleaſure; for my ſelf am very angry with him. Now when all the reſt of the company were inſtant with me, and prayed me to take this charge in hand: Well I ſee (quoth I) that I muſt ſpeak, ſeeing you will needs have it ſo: but I am afraid leſt I may ſeem my ſelf to be more earneſtly bent againſt this book then it deſerveth, in the defence and maintenance of *Socrates*, againſt the incivility, rudeneſs, ſcurrility, and inſolence of this man, who preſenteth (as one would ſay) unto him hay, as if he were a beaſt, and demandeth how he may put meat into his mouth, and not into his ear: whereas haply the beſt way were to laugh onely at him for ſuch railing, eſpecially conſidering the mildeneſs and gentle grace of *Socrates* in ſuch caſes. Howbeit, in regard of the whole hoſt, beſide of other Greek Philoſophers, namely, *Democritus*, *Plato*, *Empedocles*, *Parmenides*, and *Meliſſus*, who by him are foully reviled, it were not onely a ſhame to be tongue-tied, and keep ſilence, but alſo meer ſacrilege and impiety, to remit any jot, or forbear to ſpeak freely to the utmoſt in their behalf, being ſuch as have advanced Philoſophy to that honor and reputation which it hath. And verily our Parents, together with the gods, have given us our life: but to live well, we ſuppoſe, and that truly, it cometh from the Philoſophers, by the means of that doctrine which we have received from them, as co-opperative with law and juſtice, and the very bridle that doth chaſtiſe and reſtrain our luſts. Now to live well, is to live ſociably, friendly, temperately, and juſtly: of which good qualities and conditions, they leave us not ſo much as one, who cry out with open mouth, that the ſoveraign good of man lieth in his belly, and that all the vertues in the world, if they were put together, they would prize no better worth then one crackt brazen piece of coyn, without pleaſure, and in caſe all manner of delights were quite removed from them. Alſo, they annex hereto, their diſcourſes, as touching the ſoul and the gods, wherein they hold that the ſoul periſheth, when it is once ſeparate from the body: and that the gods meddle not with our affairs. Moreover the Epicureans reproach other Philoſophers, for that by their wiſdom and ſapience, they undo mans life: and they again object unto them, that they teach men to live looſely, baſely, and beaſtly. And verily ſuch matters as theſe be mingled in all the writings of *Epicurus*, and ſpread throughout his whole Philoſophy. But this *Colotes* here having made an extract of certain words or voyces void of matter and ſubſtance, and drawn ſome pieces and broken fragments without reaſons and arguments for to prove and confirm his doctrines, or to give light for their underſtanding and credit, hath made his book in manner of a ſhop full of all ſort of wares; or of a table or ſtall repreſenting ſtrange ſhews and monſters: Which you (I ſay) know beſt of all others, for that you have continually in your hands, and do read the works of ancient writers. So he ſeemeth unto me that like to the Lydian, he openeth not one gate, and no more upon him, but enwrappeth *Epicurus* in very many doubts and difficulties, and thoſe of all other, the greateſt: for he begins with *Democritus*, who no doubt received at his hands a goodly ſalary and reward

reward for his apprentiſſage, being a thing certainly known, that for a long time *Epicurus* called himſelf a Democritian, like as others alſo do ſay, and namely, *Leontus*, one of the Scholars, and Diſciples of *Epicurus*, in the higheſt form: who in a letter which he wrote unto *Lycophron*, ſaith, that *Epicurus* honored *Democritus*, for that he attained before him to the true and ſound underſtanding of the truth: and that in general the whole Treatiſe of natural things, was called Democritian, becauſe he light firſt upon the principles, and met with the primitive fountains and foundations of nature. And *Metrodorus* ſaid directly and openly of Philoſophy, That if *Democritus*, had not led the way, *Epicurus* had never arrived to wiſdom and learning. Now if it be true, as this *Colotes* ſaith, That to live according to *Democritus*, and other Philoſophers opinions, is no life at all, *Epicurus* was a very fool for following *Democritus* as he did, leading him to that doctrine whereby a man could not live. And firſt he reproveth him, for that in ſaying that every thing is no more ſuch then ſuch, he made a confuſion of mans life. But ſo far off was *Democritus* from holding the ſaid opinion, namely, that nothing is rather ſuch then ſuch: that he oppugned *Protagoras* the Sophiſter for ſaying ſo, againſt whom he wrote many elegant Commentaries, full of good arguments, concluding the contrary: which our *Colotes* never ſeeing, nor ſo much as dreaming of, was much deceived in the right underſtanding of the mans words, and namely in one place where he diſcerly ſaith and determineth that τὸ μᾶλλον, is no more then τόδε τι: in which place he nameth a body τόδε τι, and voidneſs μηδὲν τόδε τι: meaning thereby, and giving us to underſtand, that voidneſs had a proper nature and ſubſiſtence of the own, as well as a body. But he who is of opinion, that nothing is more ſuch then ſuch, followeth one of the Decrees and Sentences of *Epicurus*, wherein he delivered, that all apprehenſions and imaginations that come by ſenſe, are true. For if when two men give out and ſay, the one, that the wine is hard: the other, that it is ſweet and pleaſant, neither of them is deceived in his ſenſe, but ſpeaketh true, why ſhould the wine be rather harſh then ſweet. And yet it is ſeen oftentimes that one and the ſame bath, ſome finde to be hot, and others cold: for that, as theſe command cold water, ſo thoſe bid hot water to be poured in. It is ſaid, that a certain Dame or good Wife of *Lacedemon*, went upon a time to viſit *Berronice* the wife of *Deiotarus*, but when they approached neer together, they turned away immediately one from the other: the one, as it ſhould ſeem, abhorring the ſmel of rank butter, and the other offended with the perfume of a ſweet ointment or pomander. If then the ſenſe of one, be not more true then the ſenſe of another, probable it is, and very like, that both water is not more cold then hot, and that the ointment and the butter no more ſenting pleaſantly, then ſtinking ſtrongly. For if a man ſay, that it ſeemeth thus to one, and ſo to another, he affirmeth before he is aware, that they be both the one and the other. And as for theſe ſymmetries, proportions and accords of the pores or paſſages in the organs of the ſenſes, whereof they talk ſo much: as alſo the divers mixtures of ſeeds, which they ſay being diſſeminate and diſperſed throughout all ſavors, odors and colours, do move the ſenſe; do they not directly drive them to this point, that things are no more one then another? For ſuch as think that the ſenſe is deceived, for that they ſee contrary events and paſſions do proceed from the ſame objects, they pacifie again, and ſalve this objection, by teaching, that whereas all things be mingled and confounded together, yet nevertheleſs this is more fortable and fitting to one, and that to another: whereby there is not the contractation and apprehenſion of one and the ſame quality, neither doth the object move all indifferently at once and alike in all parts, but every one meeting with thoſe qualities onely, whereunto they have all ſenſe proportionate, they do not well to ſtand ſo ſtifly upon this, that a thing is coloured or not coloured, white or not white, thinking to fortifie and eſtabliſh their own ſenſes by deſtroying thoſe of others. Whereas it behoveth neither to oppugn the ſenſes, for they all touch and reach one quality or other (each one drawing as out of a lively and large fountain, from this confuſed mixture, that which is fit and ſuitable) nor accuſe and blame the whole, in touching onely the parts; ne yet think that all ought to ſuffer the ſame thing, conſidering that one ſuffereth by one quality and power of it, and another by another. So that now we are to conſider and ſearch, what men they be, who bring in this opinion, as touching things that be not ſuch rather then others, rather then theſe who hold, that whatſoever is ſenſible is a confuſed mixture of all qualities together, like unto a wind-inſtrument compoſed for all kindes of melodious muſick? But they confeſs that all their rules are loſt, and their judgement quite gone, if they admit any object in ſome ſort pure and ſincere, and allow not each one thing to be many.

See moreover in this place, what Diſcourſe and Diſputation *Polyænus* held with *Epicurus* in his Banquet as touching the heat of wine. For when he demanded in this manner, How now *Epicurus*, ſay you not that wine doth heat? One made anſwer, That he affirmed not univerſally, that wine did cauſe heat: and a little after, For it ſeemeth that wine is not univerſally a heater, but rather, that ſuch a quantity of wine may be ſaid to enchafe and ſet ſuch an one in heat. And then adjoyning the cauſe, he alledgeth the concurrences, compreſſions and diſperſions of the Atomes; the commixions and conjunctions of others, when the wine cometh to be mingled with the body: & then he added this concluſion, And therefore generally we are not to ſay, that wine doth heat; but ſo much wine may well heat ſuch a nature, and ſo diſpoſed: whereas another nature it cooleth in ſuch and ſucha quainty. For in ſuch a maſs, there be thoſe natures and complexions, of which, cold if need were, may be compoſed, and being joyned with others as occaſion ſerveth, may cauſe a vertue refrigerative. And hereupon it is, that ſome are deceived, ſaying that wine univerſally is hot, and others again, affirming it to be univerſally cold. He then who ſaith, that the multitude, and moſt part of men do erre, in holding that to be ſimply hot, which doth heat, and that likewiſe to be cold, which doth cool, is deceived himſelf,

himselt, if he thinketh not, that it followeth by good consequence upon that which hesh ath said, that one thing is more such then such. And afterwards he inferreth this speech, that many times wine entring into the body, bringeth with it neither a calefactive nor a refrigerative vertue; but that when the mass of the body is moved and stirred, so as there is a transposition made of the parts, then the Atomes which are effective of heat, concur together one while into one place, and through their multitude, set the body into an heat and inflamation; but another while by dispersing and severing themselves asunder, infer coldness.

Moreover, he dissembleth not but that he is proceeded thus far, as to say, that whereas we take things to be, and do call them bitter, sweet, purgative, soporiferous, and lightsome, none of them all have any entire quality or perfect property to produce such effects, nor to be active more then passive, all while they be in the body, but that they be susceptible of sundry temperatures and differences. For even *Epicurus* himself, in his second Book against *Theophrastus*, in saying that colours are not natural unto bodies, but are engendred according to certain situations and positions, respective to the eye-sight of man, saith by this reason, that a body is no more destitute of colour, then coloured. And a little before, word for word he writeth thus, But over and beside all this, I know not how a man may say, that these bodies which be in the dark, have any colour at all: and yet oftentimes, when the air alike dark is spread round about, some there be who can distinguish the diversity of colours, others perceive nothing at all, by reason of their feeble and dim-sight. Again, when we go into a dark house, we see not at our first entrance, any colours, but after we have been there a pretty while, we perceive them well enough: And therefore we are to say, that each body is not rather coloured then not coloured. If then colour be a relative, and hath being in regard of some other things, white also is a relative, and blew likewise: if these, then sweet and bitter semblably: so that a man may truly affirm of every quality, that it is not more such, then not such. For to those who are so disposed, a thing shall be such, and to them that are not so affected, not such. So that *Colotes* doth all to dash and bewray both himself and his Master also, with the same mire and dirt, wherein he saith those do stick who hold that things are not more such then such. What then? doth this egregious Clerk herein onely shew himself, according to the old Proverb:

A Leech professing others for to care,
Whiles he himself is full of sores impure?

No verily: but much more yet in his second reprehension, he chaseth ere he is aware *Epicurus*, together with *Democritus*, out of this life: for he giveth out that *Democritus* said, The Atomes are unto the senses by a certain law and ordinance colour, by the said law sweet, and by the same law bitter: Also, that he who useth this reason, and holdeth this opinion, knoweth not himself, if he be a man? nor whether he be dead or alive? To contradict these speeches, I wot not well how: but thus much I say, that this is as much inseparable from the Sentences and Doctrine of *Epicurus*, as figure and weight by their saying from the Atomes: for what saith *Democritus*? That there be substances in number infinite, which are called Atomes, because they cannot be divided: howbeit different, without quality and impassible, which do move and are carried, dispersed to and fro in the infinite voidness, which when they approach one another, or concur and meet together, or else be enterlaced and enfolded one about another, then appeareth of these thus heaped and hudled together, one thing water, another fire, another a plant, and another a man: That all these be Atomes still, termed by him *Idea*, and nothing else. For there can be no generation of that which is not; no more then that which once was can become nothing, by reason that these Atomes are so firm and solid, that they can neither change nor alter, nor suffer. And therefore neither can there be colour made of those things which have no colour, nor nature or soul of such as be without quality, and are impassible. Whereupon *Democritus* is to be blamed, in that he confesseth not those things that be accident unto principles, but supposeth those to be principles, whereto these happen: For he should not have put down principles immutable; or at leastwise, when he had supposed them to be such, not to see withal, that therewith the generation and breeding of all qualities perisheth. And to deny an absurdity, when one seeth it, is impudence in the highest degree. As for *Epicurus*, he saith verily, that he supposeth the same principles that *Democritus* doth, but he saith not, that colour sweet, white, and other qualities are by law and ordinance. Now if he confess not that he saith, which nevertheless he said, it is no other but an old custom of his, and that which he is wont to do. For much like it is to this, that he will seem to take away divine providence; and yet he saith, that he alloweth piety and religious devotion toward Gods: And albeit he giveth out, that for pleasure, he maketh choice of amity and friendship, yet for his friends sake, he willingly endureth most grievous pains: also, for all he supposeth the universal world to be infinite, yet he taketh not away, above and beneath. But this is not like unto the manner of drinking one unto another at a table, where a man may take the cup in hand, and drink what he will, and so give back the rest. But in this Disputation especially, it behoveth to remember well the notable Apophthegm or Saying of the wise man. Of what things the beginnings are not necessary, the ends and consequences fall out to be necessary. Necessary it was not therefore to suppose, (or to speak more cruly) to wring from *Democritus* thus much, That Atomes be the principles of the whole and universal world: or when he had supposed and set down this doctrine, and withal made a glorious shew of the first probabilities and fair apparences thereof, he should likewise have swallowed that which was troublesome therein, or shewed how those bodies which have no quality, could give unto others all sorts of qualities, onely by meeting and joyning together. As for example, to speak of that which is

is next to hand, this that we call fire, whence came it, and how groweth it to these indivisible bodies called *Atomi*? if they had neither heat when they came, nor became hot after they met together? for the former presupposeth that they had some quality, and the latter, that they were fit to receive the same, and to suffer: But neither of them twain, ye say, sitteth well with the Atomes, in that they be incorruptible. How then? did not *Plato*, *Aristotle*, and *Xenocrates* produce gold, of that which was not gold; and stone, of that which is not stone; yea, and many other things out of the four simple bodies called elements? Yes, I wis: but together with the said bodies there concur immediately at the first, the principles also, to the generation of every thing, bringing with them great contribution, to wit, the first qualities which be in them: afterwards, when there come to meet in one, and joyn together, dry with moist, cold with heat, solid and firm with that which is gentle and soft; that is to say, active bodies with such as be apt to suffer, and to receive all change and alteration, then ensueth generation, which is the passage from one temperature to another; whereas this Atome or indivisible body being of it self naked and alone, is destitute of all quality and generative faculty; but when it happeneth to run upon others, it can make a sound and noise onely, by reason of the hardness and solidity thereof, but no other accident else: for strike they do, and are straken again continually: and so far be they off from composing and making by this means a living creature, a soul, or a nature, that they are not able so much as to raise a round mass or heap of themselves together: for that as they jar and beat one upon another, so they rebound and fly back again asunder. But *Colotes* verily, as if he dealt with some King that was ignorant and unlettered, falleth again upon *Empedocles*, breathing out these verses:

One thing will I say more to thee:
there is no true nature
Of mortal weight: of grisly death,
no seed nor geniture.
A mixture onely first there is
of things, then after all,
The same grow to difusion:
and this men Nature call.

For mine own part, I do not see how this is repugnant and contrary unto life, among them especially who are of opinion that there is no generation of that which is not at all, nor corruption of that which is and hath being: but the meeting and union of such things as be, is called Generation; the dissolution likewise and disunion of the same, is termed death and corruption. For, that he taketh Nature for Generation, and that he meaneth so, himself hath declared, when he set Nature opposite unto Death. And if those live not, nor can live, who put generation in union, and death in disunion; what thing else do these Epicureans? And yet *Empedocles*, sodering, as it were, and conjoyning the elements by heats, softness and humidities, giveth them in some sort a mixion and composition unitive: but they who drive together the Atomes, which they say to be immutable, sturdy and impassible, compose nothing that proceedeth from them, but rather make many, and those continual percussions of them. For their interlacing which impeacheth dissolution, doth still augment their collision: in such sort, as this is no mixion nor conglutination, but a certain troublesome striving and combate, which according to them is called Generation. And these Atomes or indivisible bodies which meet together but a moment, if one while they recule and start back for the resistance of the shock which they have given, and another while return again and recharge after the blow past, they are more then twice so long apart one from another, without touching or approaching, so as nothing can be made of them, not so much as the very body without a soul. But sense, soul, understanding and prudence, there is no man able to think and imagine, would he never so fain, how they can be formed of voidness, and of these Atomes: which neither of themselves apart have any quality, nor yet passion or alteration whatsoever, when they are met together, considering that this meeting is no incorporation, nor such a coition as might make a mutual mixture and conglutination, but rather jars and reciprocal concussions: in such maner, as according to the doctrine of these folk, supposing as they do, such void, impassible, invisible, undibine and unhelpful principles, yea, and such as will not receive any mixture or incorporation whatsoever, To live, and to be a creature animal, falleth to the ground, and comes to nothing. How cometh it then, that they admit or allow Nature, Soul, and Living creature? Forsooth, even as they do an oath, a vow, prayer, sacrifice and adoration of the gods, to wit, in word and mouth onely; pronouncing and naming in semblance and outward appearance, that which by their principles and doctrines they quite abolish and annul. And even so, that which is born they term Nature, and that which is engendred, Generation: like as they who ordinarily call the frame of wood and timber, Wood it self, and those voyces or instruments that accord together, Symphony. And what should he mean to object such speech against *Empedocles*? Why trouble we and weary our selves (quoth he) in being so busie about our own selves, in desiring certain things as we do, and avoiding others? for neither are we our selves, neither live we by using others. But be of good cheer, (may one haply say) my loving and sweet *Colotarion*: have no fear man: no man hindreth you, but that you may regard your self, teaching that the nature of *Colotes*, is *Colotes* himself and nothing else: neitheir that you need or desire to use certain things. As for these things among you, they be pleasures: shewing withal, that it is not the nature of Tarts, Cakes and Marchpanes, nor of Odors,

nor

nor of love sports that you desire, but Tarts and Marchpanes themselves, sweet perfumes and women they be that you would have. For the Grammarian who saith, the force and strength of *Hercules* is *Hercules*, denyeth not thereby that *Hercules* is: nor those who say that symphonies, accords or opinations are bare prolations or pronounciations, affirm not there withall, that there be no sounds, nor voices, nor opinions: forasmuch as there be some, who abolishing the soul and prudence, seem not to take away either to live or to be prudent. And when *Epicurus* saith, the nature of things that have being, are the bodies and the void place of them, do we take his words, as if he meant that nature were somewhat else than the things that be? or that things being, do shew their nature and nothing else? even as for examples sake, the nature of voidness; he is wont to call voidness it self: yea, and I assure you, the Universal World it self, the nature of all. Now if a man should demand of him: How now *Epicurus*, say you indeed that this is voidness, and that is the nature of voidness? Yes verily, will he answer again, but this communication of names the one for another, is taken up and in use. And in truth, that the law and custom warranteth this manner of speech, I also avouch.

And what other thing I pray you hath *Empedocles* done than taught that nature is nought else but that which is bred and engendred, nor death any thing but that which dyeth? But like as Poets otherwhiles by a trope or figurative speech representing as it were the image of things say thus:

Debate, tumult, uproar and stomack fell,
With deadly hate and malice there did dwell.

Even so the common sort of men do use the termes of generation and corruption in things that are contracted together and dissolved. And so far was he from stirring or removing those things that be, or opposing himself against things of evident appearance, that he would not so much as cast one word out of the accustomed use: but so far forth as any figurative fraud might hurt or endamage things, he rejected and took the same away, rendring again the usual and ordinary signification to words, as in these verses:

And when the light is mixed thus
with aire in heavenly skie.
Some man is made or wilde beasts kinde,
or birds aloft that fly:
Or else the shrubs: and this rightly
is cleap'd their geneture,
But death, when as dissolved is
the foresaid fast joynture.

And yet I say my self, that *Colotes* having alledged thus much, knew not that *Empedocles* did not abolish men, beasts shrubs or birds in as much as he saith, that all these are composed and finished of the Elements mixed together: But teaching and shewing them how they were deceived, who finde fault with naming this composition a certain nature or life: and the dissolution unhappy fortune and death to be avoided, he annulled not the ordinary and usual use of words in that behalf. For mine own part I think verily that *Empedocles* doth not alter in these places the common manner of pronouncing and using the said words: but as before it was related, is really of a different minde as touching the generation of things that had no being, which some call nature. Which he especially declareth in these verses:

Fooles as they be of small conceit,
for far they cannot see,
Who hope that things which never were,
may once engendred be,
Or fear that those which are shall dye,
and perish utterly.

For these verses are thundred out and do sound aloud in their hearing who have any eares at all, that he doth not abolish generation absolutely, but that alone which is of nothing: nor yet corruption simply, but that which is a total destruction, that is to say, a reduction to nothing. For unto a man who were not willing, after such a savage, rude and brutish manner but more gently to cavil, the verses following after might give a colourable occasion to charge *Empedocles* with the contrary, when he saith thus:

No man of sense and judgement sound,
would once conceive in minde
That whiles we living here on earth,
both good and bad doe finde,
So long onely we being have:
(yet this, men life doe call)
And birth before, or after death,
we nothing are at all.

Which words verily are not uttered by a man, who denyeth them their being who are borne and live, but rather by him who thinketh that they who are not yet borne, as also those that be already dead have their being. And even so *Colotes* doth not altogether reprove him for this: but he saith that according to his opinion we shall never be sick nor wounded. And how it is possible that he who saith that men before life and after life, are accompanied with good and bad indifferently, should not leave for them that be

be alive the power to suffer? What be those then, good *Colotes*, who are accompanied with this immunity, that they can neither be hurt nor diseased? Even your self, and such as you are, who be altogether made of an Atome and Voidness, for by your own saying, neither the one nor the other hath any sense. But no force. For I hear of no harm yet. Marry here is the grief, that by this reason you have nothing in you to cause delight and pleasure, seeing that an Atome is not capable of such things as move pleasure: and Voidness is unapt to be affected by them. But for as much as *Colotes* for his part would needs immediately after *Democritus* seem to inter and bury *Parmenides* for ever, and my self in putting off a little, and passing over the defence of *Parmenides*, have between both taken in hand the maintenance of that which was delivered by *Empedocles*, because methoughts they did more properly adhere and hang to those first imputations, let us now come again to *Parmenides*. And whereas *Colotes* chargeth him with setting abroad certain shameful Sophistries, yet hath the man thereby made Friendship nothing less honorable, nor Voluptuousness and Sensuality more audacious and unbridled. He hath not bereft Honesty of that attractive property to draw unto it self, nor of the gift of being venerable of it self: neither hath he troubled and confounded the opinions as touching the gods. And in saying that All is One, I see not how he hath hindred our life. For when *Epicurus* himself saith, that [All] is infinite, ingenerable and incorruptible, that it cannot be augmented nor diminished, he speaketh and disputeth of All, as of some one thing. And in the beginning of his Treatise concerning this matter, having delivered that the nature of All things being, consisteth in small indivisible bodies which he termeth Atomes, and in Voidness: he made a division, as it were, of one thing into two parts: whereof the one in truth is not subsistent, but termed by you impalpable, void and bodiless: whereby it cometh to pass, that even with you, All cometh to be but One: unless you will use vain words, and void of sense, speaking of voidness, and fighting in vain, as with a shadow, against those ancient Philhsophers.

But these Atomes, you will say, are according to the opinion of *Epicurus* in number infinite, and every thing that appeareth unto us, ariseth from them. Behold now what principles you put down for generation, to wit, Infinity and Voidness: whereof the one is without action, impassible and bodiless; the other, namely, Infinity, disorderly, void of reason, incomprehensible, dissolving and confounding it self, for that by reason of multitude it cannot be circumscribed nor contained within limits. But *Parmenides* hath not abolished either fire or water, or any rock, no nor the Cities (as *Colotes* saith) inhabited as well in *Europe* as *Asia*, considering that he hath both * instituted an orderly dispose and digestion: and also tempering the elements together, to wit, light and dark, of them, and by them absolutely finisheth all things visible in the world, for written he hath as large of Earth, of Heaven, of Sun, Moon and Stars; as also, spoken much of mans Generation: and being as he was, a very ancient Philosopher, he hath left nothing in Physiologie unsaid, and whereof he hath not delivered both by word and writing his own doctrine, not borrowed elsewhere, passing over the repugnancy of other received principal opinions. Moreover, he of all others first, and even before *Socrates* himself, observed and understood, that in nature there is one part subject to opinion, and another subject to intelligence. As for that which is Opinable, inconstant it is and uncertain, wandring also and carried away with sundry passions and mutations, apt to diminish and pair: to increase also and grow, yea, and to be diversly affected, and not ever after one sort disposed to the same in sense alike. As for the Intelligible part, it is of another kinde:

* *Διάκοσμησιν.* Some divide this and read *Διακοσμῆ* that is to say, hath made *Iupiter* the world.

For sound it is, whole and not variable,
Constant and sure, and ingenerable.

as himself saith, always like to it self, and perdurable in the own nature and essence. But *Colotes*, like a sycophant, cavilling at him, and catching at his words, without regard of the matter, not arguing against his reasons indeed, but in words onely, affirmeth flatly, that *Parmenides* overthroweth all things in one word, by supposing that All is One. But he verily on the contrary side, abolisheth neither the one nature nor the other, but rendreth to each of them that which is meet, and appertaineth thereto. For the Intelligible part he rangeth in the *Idea* of One, and of That which is, saying that it is and hath being, in regard of eternity and incorruption; that it is one, because it always resembleth it self, and receiveth no diversity. As for that part which is Sensible, he placeth it in the rank of that which is uncertain, disorderly, and ever moving. Of which two, we may see the distinct judgement in the soul, by these verses:

The one retains to truth which is sincere,
Perswasive, breeding Science pure and clear.

For it concerneth that which is intelligible, and evermore alike and in the same sort.

The other rests on mens opinions vain,
Which breed no true belief but uncertain.

For that it is conversant in such things as receive all manner of changes, passions, and mutabilities. And verily how possibly he should admit and leave unto us sense and opinion, and not withal allow that which is sensible and opinable, a man is not able to shew. But forasmuch as to that which is existent indeed, it appertaineth to remain in being, and for that things sensible, one while are, and another while are not, but pass continually from one being to another, and alter their estate, insomuch as they deserve rather some other name than this, of being: This speech as touching All, that it should be one, is not to take away the plurality of things sensible, but to shew the difference between them and those that be intelligible, which *Plato* in his Treatise of *Idea*, minding to declare more plainly, gave

Colotes

Colotes some advantage for to take hold of him. And therefore methinks it good reason to take before me all in one train, that also which he hath spoken against him. But first let us consider the diligence, together with the deep and profound knowledge of this Philosopher *Plato*, considering that *Aristotle*, *Xenocrates*, *Theophrastus*, and all the Peripatetricks have followed his doctrine. For in what blinde corner of the world unhabitable wrote he his Book that you *Colotes* in heaping up together these criminations upon such personages, should never light upon their works, nor take in hand the Books of *Aristotle*, as touching the Heaven and the Soul: Nor those Compositions of *Theophrastus* against the Naturalists, nor that *Zoroastres* of *Heraclius*, one Book of Hell and Infernal Spirits, another of Doubts and Questions Natural; That also of *Dicearchus* concerning the Soul. In all which Books they are contradictory and repugnant, in the main and principal points of Natural Philosophy unto *Plato*? And verily the Prince of all other Peripatetick, *Strato*, accordeth not in many things with *Aristotle*, and maintaineth opinions clean contrary unto those of *Plato*, as touching Motion, Understanding, the Soul, and Generation. And in conclusion, he holdeth, that the very world is not animal; and whatsoever is natural, is consequent unto that which is casual, and according to fortune. As for the *Idea* for which *Aristotle* every where seemeth to course *Plato*, and moveth all manner of doubts concerning them, in his Ethicks or Moral Discourses, in his Physicks, in his Exoterical Dialogues, he is thought of some to dispute and discourse with a more contentious and opinative spirit than became a Philosopher, as if he propounded to himself for to convel and debase the Philosophy of *Plato*, so far was he from following him. What impudent and licentious rashness therefore is this, that one having never known nor seen what these learned Clerks had written, and what their opinions were, should coyn and devise out of his own fingers ends, and fallly charge upon them, those things which never came into their heads, and in perswading himself that he reproveth and refuteth others, to bring in a proof and evidence written with his own hand, for to argue and convince himself of ignorance, or rash and audacious impudence, saying, that those who contradict *Plato*, agree with him, and they that repugn against him do follow him? But *Plato* (quoth he) hath written, That horses are in vain counted by us horses, and men likewise. And in what odd corner of *Plato*'s works hath *Colotes* found this hidden? As for us we read in all his books, that horses be horses, and men be men, and that five even by him is esteemed five; for he holdeth every one of these things to be sensible and opinable, and so he nameth them. But this our trim man *Colotes*, as though he wanted never a jot of the highest pitch of sapience and knowledge, presumeth, forsooth, and taketh it to be all one and the same, to say, A man is not, and A man is that which hath no being. But *Plato* thinketh that there is a wonderful great difference between these terms, Not to be at all, and To be that which is not: for the former importeth a nullity and abolishment of all substance; and the other sheweth the difference of that which is participated, and that which doth participate: which distinction and diversity they who came after, have reduced onely unto a different range, of Kinds, Forms, and of certain common and proper qualities or accidents, but higher than so they mounted not, falling down upon some doubts and difficulties more reasonable: for the same reason and proportion there is between the thing participated and participating, as is between the cause and the matter, the original and the image, the power and the passion. Wherein principally differeth that which is by it self, and ever the same, from that which is by another, and never keepeth one state: for that the one never shall be, nor ever was not existent; and for this cause, it is truly and altogether subsistent; whereas the other hath not so much as that being constant, which it hapneth to participate from another, but doth degenerate and grow out of kinde, through imbecility; in that the matter doth glide and slide about the form, receiving many passions and mutations, bending toward the image of substance, in such sort, as continually it moveth and shaketh to and fro. Like as therefore he who saith, that *Plato* is not the image of *Plato*, taketh not away the sense and substance of an image, but sheweth the difference between that which is of it self, and the other which is in regard of it: even so they abolish not the nature, the use nor sense of man, who say, that every one of us by participating the *Idea* of a certain common substance, is become the image of that which giveth similitude and affinity unto our generation. For neither he who saith, that iron red hot is not fire, or the Moon, the Sun, but (to use the very words of *Parmenides*)

A flame that bears a borrowed light,
Wandring about the earth by night,

doth take away the use of a burning gleed, or the nature of the Moon: But if he should affirm, that it were no body, nor illuminate, then he went against the senses, as one who admitted neither body, nor living animal, nor generation, nor sense. But he that by opinion imagineth these things to have no subsistence but by participation, and withal, how far they are short and distant from that which hath always being, and which gave them the power to be, considereth not amiss the sensible, but is dimsighted in the intelligible: neither doth he annihilate and overthrow the passions which arise and appear in us, but sheweth unto them that are docible and follow him, that there be other more firm and stable things than these, as touching essence, for that they neither are engendred nor perish, nor yet suffer ought: but teacheth more clearly and purely, noting and touching the difference by the very terms and names, calling the one sort existent, and the other breeding or ingendred. The same usually befalleth also to our late Modern Writers, who deprive many great and weighty things of this denomination of subsistence, as namely, Voidness, Time, Place, and generally the whole kinde of

of those speeches, wherein are comprised all things true. For these things being, they say are not; and yet they say some are; yea and use the same as well in their life, as their doctrine and Philosophy, as having subsistence and being. But I would gladly demand of this accuser of ours himself, whether he and his fellowes in their affairs perceive not this difference, [whereby things be permanent and immutable in their substances, like as the yaffirm of their Atomes, that they be at all times and continually after one and the same sort, by reason of their impassibility and stiffe solidity? whereas all things compounded and compact of them, be flexible, pliable, mutable, breeding and perishing: for that an infinite number of images do pass, and flow from them evermore, yea and an innumerable sort of other things, by all likelihood, from out of the ambuent air do reflow and have recourse unto them, for to supply and fill up the heap still, which mass is become much altered, diversified and transversed as it were by this permutation, in that the Atomes which are in the bottom of the said mass, can never cease or give over stirring, but reciprocally beat one upon another, as they themselves affirm. So there is in things such a difference of substance as this: and yet *Epicurus* is more wise and learned than *Plato*, in that he termeth all things equally subsisting, Voidnesse impalpable, the Body solid and resisting, the principles, things composed: and for that he thinketh that the eternall doth not so much as participate in the common substance with that which is engendred; the immortall with that which doth perish; the natures impassible, perdurable, immutable, which never can fall or be deprived from their being, with those which have their essence in suffering or changing, & never can continue in one and the same state. Now were it so, that *Plato* had most justly of all men in the world deserved to be condemned for his errour herein, yet my good friend, there should no imputation be charged upon him by these our great masters here, who speak purer or finer Greek and more exquisitly than he, but only for confounding some words and speaking improperly; nor to be blamed for abolishing the matters themselves, or taking out of this life, he termed because them ingendred, and not existent, as these men do.

But seeing we have passed over *Socrates*, after *Parmenides*, we must now take his defence in hand. *Colotes* then began directly at the first (as we say in the common proverb) to remove him from the sacred line or tribe: and having related how *Cherephon* had brought an answer from the Oracle at *Delphos*, as touching *Socrates*, which we all know to be so, saith thus: As for this discourse & narration (quoth he) of *Cherephon*, for that it is altogether odious, captious, sophistical, & full of untruth, we will overpass. Then is *Plato* likewise (to say nothing of others) odious & absurd, who hath put the said down in writing. Then are the Lacedemonians more odious and intollerable, who hath kept that Oracle delivered, as touching *Lycurgus*, among their most ancient writings & authentical records. Semblably, the discourse & narration of *Themistocles* was a sophistical & counterfeit device, whereby he perswaded the Athenians to abandon their City, and so in a navall battell defeated the barbarous Prince *Xerxes*. And even so all the noble Lawgivers and founders of *Greece* are to be counted odious and intolerable, who established the most part of their Temples, their Sacrifices and solemn feasts, by the answer from the Oracle of *Apollo*. But if it be so, that the Oracle brought from *Delphi* as touching *Socrates*, a man ravished with a divine and heavenly zeal to vertue, whereby he was declared and pronounced wise, were odious, fained and sophisticall: by what name shall we truly and justly call your cries, your shouts, your hideous noises, your applauses and clapping of hands, your adorations and canonizations wherewith you exalt and celebrate him, who incited and exhorted you to continuall pleasures one after another, who in one of his letters sent unto *Anaxarchus* hath written thus: As for me, I invite and call you to continuall pleasures, and not to these vaine and unprofitable vertues, such as have nothing but turbulent hopes of uncertain fruits. And yet *Metrodorus* writing unto *Timarchus*, saith thus unto him, Come on (quoth he) let us do some goodly and honest thing for those who are fair and beautifull, so that we be not plunged in these semblable and reciprocall affections, but retiring anon out of this base and terrestriall life, let us advance our selves to these true, holy and divine ceremonies and mysteries of *Epicurus*. And even *Colotes* himself hearing *Epicurus* one day discourising of naturall things, fell down at his feet immediatly, and took hold of his knees, as if he had been a God. And *Epicurus* likewise taking no small pride and glory herein, writeth thus unto him again: For as if you adored that which then was delivered by me, there came upon you suddenly a desire and zeal proceeding from no cause in nature, to come goward me, to prostrate your self upon the ground, to clip and clasp my knees, and to use those gestures unto me, which ordinarily they do, who worship the Gods and pray unto them: So that you have (quoth he) made me also reciprocally to desire and adore you. Certes I would find in my heart to pardon them, who say they would not spare for any cost, but give they cared not what for a table or picture, wherein they might see lively represented to the eye this story depainted, namely, how the one lieth prostrate at the others feet, and embraceth his knees: who mutually again adoreth him, and maketh his devote praiers unto him. And yet this devotion and service of *Colotes*, how well so ever it was by him ordered and precisely observed, reaped not the condign fruit thereof: for as he was not by him declared a wise man: only this besting he had from him again, Go thy wales and walk immortall, and repute us also semblably immortall. These men knowing full well in their own consciences that they use such foolish words, ridiculous jestures, and fond passions, yet forsooth they are so bold as to call other men odious. And *Colotes* verily having given us a tast of his goodly first fruits, and wise Positions as touching Naturall senses, namely, That we do eat our viands and cates, not hay or forage, and that when the rivers be high, we ferry them in boats, but when they be low and passable, we wade easily on foot through the foord, exclameth & cried out afterwards: you use O *Socrates* vain speeches, you entertain those who come and speak unto you with one thing in the word, and do practise others clean contrary in deed. And say you so *Colotes*? First I would gladly know wherein the words of *Socrates* were vaine and arrogant, considering that that he was wont ordinarily to say, that he knew nothing at all, but was a learner continually, and went to search and find out the truth? But if haply you should light upon such speeches from *Socrates* his mouth as those were which *Epicurus* wrote unto *Idomeneus*, send us then the first fruits, for the furniture of our sacred body, for us (I say) and our children: For thus it comes upon me to speak, what more insolent and sottish words could you devise to speak? And yet, that *Socrates* never said otherwise than he did he hath given us marvellous

proofs in the battell of *Delium*, and in that of *Potidea*: That which he did during the time of the thirty Tyrants against *Archelaus*, and against the people of *Athens*: his poverty; his death; his carraige and demeanour in all these times and occasions, be they not answerable every way to the sayings and doctrines of *Socrates*? This had been a true proof indeed, to have shewed that he lived and did otherwise than he spake and taught, in case he had proposed the end of man to be a joyfull and pleasant life, and then lived as he did. Thus much as touching the reproachfull terms that he hath given *Socrates*. Moreover, he perceiveth not how himself is attaint even in those points which he reproveth and objected as touching things evident and apparent. For one of the positions and decrees of *Epicurus*, is this, That no person ought ir revocably to beleeve or be perswaded to a thing, but only the wise man. Now seeing that *Colotes* became not one of the Sages, for all that adoration and worship which he performed unto *Epicurus*, let him demand first and formost these questions, How it is, that he falleth to cates, and not to hay, when he hath need of victualls? and why he casteth a Robe about his own body, and not upon a Piller? considering that he is not assuredly perswaded, that Cates be Cates, or that a Robe is a Robe: But if he do so, namely, feed upon vidands, and wear a Robe: if he venture not to wade through rivers when they be risen and high; if he flie from Serpents and Woolves, being not in a sure beleef that any thing is such as it seemeth, but doing every thing according as it appeareth unto him; the opinion as touching Senses, would not hinder *Socrates* at all, but that he might likewise use that which seemeth not him. For bread seemed not bread unto *Colotes*, nor hay to be hay, because he had read those holy Canons and sacred rules of *Epicurus*, which fell from heaven out of *Jupiters* lap: and *Socrates* upon a vain arrogance of his own, conceived an imagination of bread that it was hay, and of hay that it was bread. For these wise men here, have better opinions and rules to goe by than we. But to have sense and to receive an impression in the imagination of things evident, is common as well to ignorant persons as to Sages, for that it proceedeth from Causes that need no Discourse of Reason. But that Position, that our naturall senses are not certain nor sufficient enough to prove a thing, and cause belief, is no hinderance, but that every thing may appear unto us: But when we use the Senses in our Actions, according to that which appeareth, it permitteth us not to trust them, as if they were every way true and without errour: for that sufficeth in them, which is necessary and commodious for use, because there is nothing better. As for Science, Knowledge, and Perfection, which the soul of a Philosopher desireth to have of every thing, the Senses have just none. But of these matters which *Colotes* hath charged upon many others, he will give us occasion else-where to discourse thereof.

Furthermore, that wherein he doth vilipend and mock *Socrates* most, in that he demandeth the question, What is man? and in a youthfull bravery, and childishly as he saith, affirmeth that he knoweth not, it is evident that even he who derideth him, never came himself where it was, nor attained thereto: whereas *Heraclitus* contrariwise, as one who had done a great and worthy matter, said thus, I have been seeking out my self. And of all those sentences which are written over the gates of *Appollo's* temple at *Delphos*, this was thought to be most heavenly and divine, Know thy self: which gave unto *Socrates* occasion first to doubt and enquire thereof; according as *Aristotle* hath set down in his Platonique questions. But this forsooth seemeth unto *Colotes* to be a foolish and ridiculous thing. I marvell then why he mocketh not his master likewise for doing so as often as he writeth and discourseth as touching the substance of the soul, and the beginning of that confused masse: for if that which is compounded of both, as they themselves do teach, to wit, of such a body and soul, be man, he who searcheth the nature of the soul, searcheth consequently the nature of man, even from his principall and Chief principle. Now that the same is hardly by reason to be comprehended, but by the outward sense altogether incomprehensible, let us learn not of *Socrates*, a vain-glorious man and sophistical disputer, but rather of these wise men here, who do forge and frame the substance of the soul so far only as to the faculties extending to the flesh, whereby she giveth heat, softnesse, and strength to the body, of I wote not what heat and aerious spirit, never wading so far as to that which is the principall, but faint and give over in the way. For that faculty whereby she judgeth, whereby she remembreth, whereby she loveth or hateth, and in one word, that reason which wisely foreseeth and discourseth, he saith, is made of a certain quality which is nameleese. Now that this nameless thing is a meer confession of shamefull ignorance, in them that say they cannot name that, which indeed they are not able to comprehend and understand, we know well enough. But this also may well deserve pardon, as they are wont to say. For it seemeth that this is no small and light matter, neither a thing that every one can find out and reach unto, being deeply settled in the bottom of some by-place far remote, and in some obscure and hidden corner, seeing that among so many words and terms which be in use, there is not one significant enough, and sufficient to declare and explain the same. And therefore *Socrates* was no fool nor lob, for seeking and searching what himself was, but they rather be dolts who go about enquiring after any other thing before this, the knowledge whereof is so necessary and hard to be found. For hardly may he hope to attain unto the knowledge of any other thing, who is not able to understand the principall part of himself. But say we should grant and yield thus much unto him, as to confesse there is nothing so vain, so unprofitable, and so odious, as for a man to seek himself? we will be so bold as to demand, what confusion of mans life this should be, or how is it that a man cannot continue in this life, when he comes to discourse and reason thus with himself, Who and what mought I be? Am I after the manner of some Composition, confected and mingled of Soul and Body? or rather a Soul making use of the Body, as the Horse-man doth of his Horse? and not a Subject composed of Horse and Man? or whether the principall part of the Soul whereby we understand, we Discourse, we Reason, and Do every Action, is every each one of us? and all the parts besides both of Soul and Body, bee nothing but the Organs and Instruments serving to this Puissance

sance and faculty? Or to conclude, whether there be no substance of the Soul apart, but only a temperature and complexion of the body, so disposed, that it hath power to understand and to live. But *Socrates* herein saith he doth not overthrow the life of man, considering that all naturall Philosophers do handle this argument. Marry they be those monstrous questions that trouble the common-wealth, and turn all upside down, which are in the Dialogue *Phedrus*, wherein he thinketh that he ought to examine and consider himself, namely whether he be a beast more savage, more subtile, cautelous, and furious than ever was *Typhon*: or rather some animall more tame and gentle by nature, and endued with a portion more divine, and a condition nothing proud and insolent. But yet by these discourses and reasonings he overturneth not the life of man, but he chaseth out of it presumption and arrogance, proud and puffed up opinions and vain overweenings of a mans self: For this is that fell *Typhon*, which your Master and Teacher hath made to be so great in you, warring as he doth both against the gods, and all good and godly men.

After he hath done with *Socrates* and *Plato*, he falleth in hand with the Philosopher *Stilpo*. As for the true doctrines and good discourses of the man, whereby he ordered and governed himself, his native Country, his Friends, and those Kings and Princes who affected him, and made good account of him, he hath not written a word: neither what Gravity and Magnanimity, was in his heart, and the same accompanied with Mildnesse, Moderation, and Modesty: but of those little sentences or propositions which *Stilpo* was wont to use and cast forth in merriment against the Sophisters, when he was disposed to laugh and play with them, he made mention of one: and without alledging any reason against it or solving the subtilty thereof, he made a Tragedy, and kept a foul stir with him about it, saying that by him the life of man and the whole course of this world was subverted: because he said, that one thing could not be affirmed and verified of another. For how should we live (quoth *Colotes*) if we may not say a good man, or a man is a Captain, but to pronouce a part, man is man, good is good, and Captain is a Captain: neither ten thousand Horsemen, nor a fenced City, but Horsemen be Horsemen, ten thousand be ten thousand, & so of the rest? But tell me I pray you, what man ever lived the worse for saying thus? And who is he who having heard these words and this manner of arguing, did not conceive and understand streight waies that it was the speech of a man, disposed to make some game & disport learnedly, or to propose unto others this Logicall quillet for exercise sake? It is not *Colotes*, such a grievous scandal and hainous matter as you would make it, to say man is not good, or horsemen be not ten thousand: marry to affirm that god is not god as you & the rest do, who will not confesse that there is a *Jupiter* president over generaation, or a *Ceres* that giveth laws, or a *Neptune* superintendent over plants, is a dangerous point. This is the seperation of names & words that is pernicious, this filleth our life with contemptuous impiety, atheism, & dissolute audaciousness: For when you pluck from the gods these attributes & appellations that essentially be linked & tyed to them, you abolish therewithal holy sacrifices, divine mysteries, sacred processions & solemn feasts: for unto whom shall we perform the nuptial sacrifices called *Protoleia*; unto whom we shall offer the oblations for health named *Soteria*? How shall we accomplish the rites of *Phosporia*, the Bacchanals, & the ceremonies going before mariage, if we leave not any Priests of *Bacchus*, if we admit not *Phospori Proeresii*, & the saving gods *Soteres*? For I tell you, this toucheth the main & principal points, this breedeth errour in the things themselves & not about certain bare voices in the *Syntaxes* and construction of words, or use of tearms. Now if these be matters that trouble & subvert this life of ours, who be they that offend & be delinquent more in their phrase & language than you? who making propositions to be the only substance of speech, abolish altogether all simple voices, & admitting such as come next hand, you abolish in the mean while the things by them signified; whereby all discipline, doctrine, erudition, anticipations, intelligences, inclinations & assents are performed, and hold generally that all these be just nothing. But as for *Stilpo* thus the case standeth: If we affirm of an horse, to run: he doth not say that the thing affirmed which the logicians cal *Predicatum*, is all one with the *Subjectum*, of which it is affirmed; but that the essential definition of a man is one, and that of good is another; as also, to be an horse is different from to be running: For if we asked the definition of the one & the other, we will not give the same for both, & in that regard, they do amiss who affirm the one of the other. For if a man & good were all one: likewise, an horse, & to run were both one: how commeth it pas that the tearm good is affirmed of some meat, drougue, or medecine, & to run likewise, of a lion & a dog? But if the *Predicatum* or thing affirmed be different, then we do not well, to say, good man, or the horse runneth. Now if *Stilpo* in these matters do exorbitate & be fouly deceived, admitting no copulation at all nor connexion of such things are said to be in or about the subject, together with the said subject it self: but every one of them if it be not absoutely the very same with that unto wch it happeneth he thinketh not that the same ought to be said & affirmed thereof as an accident: & if therein he be offended with some tearms, & go against the ordinary custom of speech, he doth not therefore streightwayes subvert and overthrow mans life, nor humane affaires, as all the world may see well enough.

Colotes now having done with the ancient Philosophers, turneth himself to those of his own time, and yet he nameth not one. Howbeit, he should have done better to have argued aswell against these modern as those ancients, by name, or not at all to have named those of old time. But he who so often hath pricked *Socrates*, *Plato*, and *Permenides* with his pen, sheweth plainly, that it was for meer cowardise that he durst not be seen to deal with the living; and not upon any Modesty or Reverence that he spared, their names, considering that he used them, who were more far excellent than they, in no good sort and respect. His meaning was as I suspect and guesse, to assail the Cirenaiques first, and then in a second place the Academicks, Sectaries of *ARCESILAUS*: for as these

were the Philosophers who doubted of all things and yeelded their assent in nothing at all; so the other repoſing paſſions and imaginations in themſelves; thought that the beleef proceeding from thence, was not ſufficient to aſſure and confirm things, but ſaring like unto thoſe who are beſieged within a City, abandoning and forſaking all without, they keep themſelves ſhut within their paſſions, uſing this word ordinarily, It ſeemeth: and of things without, affirming and pronouncing, It is. And therefore (quoth *Colotes*) they cannot live nor have the uſe of things. And then, playing his part as it were in a Comedy: Theſe men (ſaith he) deny that a Man, a Horſe and a Wall are; but they ſay, that they become Walls, Horſes, and Men; abuſing firſt and formoſt cautelouſly and wickedly theſe terms, like ſlanderous and foul mouthed Sycophants: for ſurely this is an ordinary caſt and uſual with theſe men. But it behoved to declare the thing it ſelf, according as they teach: for they affirm, that things become ſweet, wax bitter, prove lightſome, or grow dark, when each of theſe hath the proper efficacy of theſe paſſions in it ſelf naturally inbred, and ſuch as can not be diſtracted from it. But if honey be ſaid ſweet, an olive branch bitter, hail cold, meer wine hot, the air of the night dark; there be many beaſts, many things, and many men, that will teſtifie the contrary: whiles ſome are offended with it, and abhor it, others are delighted with the taſt of the olive branch; ſome are burnt and ſinged by hail, others cooled with wine; ſome can not abide the light of the Sun but their ſight therewith is dazled and dimmed, others again ſee well enough by night. And therefore opinion perſiſting ſtill and abiding in the paſſions, keepeth it ſelf from offence and errour: but going forth once, and buſily judging or pronouncing of things exterior, it troubleth many times it ſelf, and repugneth with others, who of the ſame objects receive contrary paſſions, and different imaginations. And as for *Colotes*, he reſembleth for all the world young Children who newly begin to learn their A. B. C. for being uſed to pronounce and name the letters which they ſee engraven in their own battledores, when they find them written elſewhere, they ſtick at them, and are much troubled: and even ſo the very words and ſayings which he approveth, praiſeth and embraceth in the writings of *Epicurus*, he will not underſtand nor acknowledge, when they are uttered by others. For when there is preſented unto us one image round and another broken, they who ſay that the ſenſe verily is truly informed and hath a true impreſſion, but will not ſuffer us to pronounce that the Tower is round, but the Oare broken, ſurely they confirm thereby that their paſſions be their own ſenſes and imaginations, but they will not avow and confeſſe, that the things without are ſo affected. But as they before that are to ſay, that they be not Horſe or Wall, but become Horſe and Wall; even ſo of neceſſity we muſt ſay, that the ſight is imprinted with a round figure or triangular with three unequall ſides, but not that a Tower is neceſſarily either triangular in that ſort or round: for that the Image wherewith the ſight is affected may well be broken, but the Oare from whence proceedeth the Image is not broken. Seeing then there is a difference between the paſſion and the ſubject without, either we muſt ſay that the beleef abideth in the paſſion, or elſe that the being, which is affirmed by the appearance is convinced of untruth, and not found to be ſo. And whereas they cry out and be offended and angry about the ſenſe, they do not ſay that the thing without is hot, but that the paſſion in the ſenſe is ſo: is it not all one with that which is ſpoken as touching the taſt, as if one ſhould ſay, that the thing without is not ſweet, but that it is ſome paſſion and motion about the ſenſe, that is become ſuch? And he who ſaith, that he apprehendeth the imagination of a mans form, but perceiveth not that it is a man, whereupon hath he taken occaſion to ſay ſo? Came it not from them who ſay that they receive an imagination and apprehenſion of a bowing form and figure, but the ſight doth not affirm that it is bowing and bending, neither that it is round, but ſome imagination and impreſſion about the ſenſe is become round? True it is will ſome one ſay, but as I approach near unto a Tower, or elſe touch an Oare, I will pronounce and affirm, that the one is ſtreigh, and the other hath many Angles and many Faces: But he when he ſhall come near, will confeſſe and ſay that it ſeemeth ſo and that it appeareth ſuch unto him, but no more. O yes good Sir, and more then ſo, when he ſeeth and obſerveth the conſequence hereupon, namely, that every fantaſie and imagination is ſemblably of it ſelf ſufficient to procure beleefe, and none at all, in regard of another, but be all of equall condition. But this your opinion is come juſt to nothing, namely, that fantaſies be all true, and none falſe and incredible, in caſe you think that theſe ought to pronounce affirmitively of that which is without, and beleeve not the other a far off no farther than in that which they ſuffer: for if they be of equall condition and beleeved alike, when they are near, and when they be far off, meet it is and juſt, that either all indifferently or elſe not theſe, ſhould have the affirmative Judgement following upon them, to pronounce, that a thing is. But if there be a difference of paſſion in things that be near, and thoſe which are farther off, than it is falſe that neither imagination nor ſenſe is one more expreſſe and evident than an other: like unto thoſe which they call atteſtations which are nothing to the ſenſe, but unto the opinion: ſo that in following them, they would have their followers to affirm and pronounce of exteriour things, attributing to opinion the judgement, that a thing is, and to ſenſe, the paſſion that appeareth: whereby they tranſport the judgement from that which is alwaies true, unto that which falleth oftentimes to be ſo. But what needs there at this time to ſhew, the confuſion and contradiction that is herein? But it ſeemeth that the reputation of *Arceſilaus*, who of all Philoſophers in his time was beſt beloved and moſt eſteemed, was no ſmall thorn in *Epicurus* his eyes, but troubled him beyond all meaſure: For he gi-veth out of him, that delivering as he did nothing of his own invention he imprinted in the minds of ignorant and unlettered men a certain opinion and conceit of him, that he was a deep Clerk, and very well ſeen in all kind of literature. But ſo far was *Arceſilaus*, from affecting any glory and reputation,

tion in the world by broaching novelties or ſtrange opinions and derogating from the ancients or aſcribing any thing of theirs to himſelf, that the Sophiſters in his dayes reproved and charged him for fathering upon *Socrates*, *Plato*, *Parmenides*, and *Heraclitus* the opinions as touching the retention of aſſent and the incomprehenſibility of things who indeed never ſought nor deſired ſo much at his hands, onely becauſe he would referre the ſame unto ſuch famous Perſonages, the better to be confirmed by the authority of their name. Howbeit for this, thanks be to *Colotes* and every one who ſaith, that the Academick Doctrine was more ancient than *Arceſilaus*, and was derived from others before his time unto him. But as for the retension of aſſent, and the doubting of all things, not ſo much as they verily who have greatly travelled in the matter, and have ſtrived to that purpoſe for to write many great Books, and large Treatiſes, could ever remove or overthrow: but bringing in at the laſt out of the very School and Doctrine of the Stoicks, the ceſſation from all actions, as it were the fiend *Gorgon* to ſcare folk withall, were weary and gave over in the plain field, after they ſaw once, that what attempt ſoever they made, and which way ſoever they turned themſelves their inſtinct and appetition was never ſo obeiſant as to become a conſent and approbation, neither received ſenſe for the beginning of propenſion and inclination, but ſeemed to preſent it ſelf to actions, as having no need to be joyned with others. For ſurely with theſe men the Combate is lawfull and the Conflict juſt.

For look what words thou daſt to others give,
The like thou mayſt be ſure to hear believe.

And verily to ſpeak unto *Colotes*, as touching inſtinct and appetition, is all one as to ſound the harp before an Aſſe. But this point of learning would be delivered unto thoſe who can give ear and conceive, that there be in our ſoul three kinds of motions, Imaginative, Appetive, and Aſſenting. As for the Imaginative, we cannot take it away, would we never ſo fain; for as things approach, and objects be preſented, we cannot chuſe but be informed and receive as it were an impreſſion and ſuffer by them. The Appetitive being ſtirred up by the Imaginative, moveth a man effectually to thoſe things which are proper and convenient for him, as if in the principall and reaſonable part thereof, there were ſome propenſion and inclination. And verily this motion do not they overthrow and anull who hold off, and keep in their Aſſent, doubting of every thing, but make uſe of this appetition or inſtinct, conducting naturally every man to that which is proper and meet for him. What is the onely thing then that the Academicks flie and avoid? even that wherein alone there is engendred leaſing, deceit and falſhood, to opine, to apply the aſſent, which is a yieldiding through imbecility to that which appeareth, and hath no true profit. For our action requireth two things, to wit the apprehenſion or imagination of that which is convenient and familiar, and the inſtinct or appetition driving unto the ſame: whereof neither the one nor the other is repugnant to the cohibition of aſſent. For the Diſcourſe of Reaſon withdraweth us from opinion, and not from Appetition or Imagination. When as therefore that which is pleaſant and delectable ſeemeth unto us to be proper for us, and familiar, there is no need at all of opinion for to move and carry us to it, but Appetition immediately preſenteth it ſelf, which is nothing elſe but a motion and incitation of the mind. Now for that there muſt be a ſenſe as it were of theſe things, and the ſame conſiſting of fleſh and blood, the ſame pleaſure and delight likewiſe will appear good. And therefore it will ſemblably ſeem good unto him who holdeth off his Aſſent, for ſurely he hath ſenſes, and is made of fleſh, blood, and bone, and ſo ſoon as he hath apprehended the Imagination of good, he hath an Appetite and deſire thereto, doing all that ever he can, nor to miſſe it, nor loſe the fruition thereof: but as much as is poſſible to cleave and adhere continually to that which is proper unto him, as being driven and drawn thereto, by Naturall and not Geometricall Conſtraints. For theſe Goodly, Pleaſant, Gentle and tickling Motions of the fleſh, be of themſelves without any other Teacher attractive enough, as they themſelves forget not to ſay, and are able to draw and train him whoſoever he be, that will not confeſſe nor be known, but ſtoutly denieth that he is made ſoft and pliable by them. But peradventure you will ask me how it comes to paſſe that one of theſe that are ſo retentive and dainty of their aſſent, climbeth not up ſome hill, but to the bain or hot houſe: or when he riſeth and purpoſeth to go into the market place, why he runneth not his head againſt a poſt or the wall, but taketh his way directly to the door? And ask you me this queſtion indeed, you that hold all ſenſes to be infallible, the apprehenſions alſo and imaginations to be certain and true? Forſooth it is becauſe the bain ſeemeth unto him a bain, and not a Mountain, the door alſo appeareth to be a door, and not the wall: And ſo is it to be ſaid likewiſe of ſuch other things every one: For the Doctrine delivered as touching this cohibition of aſſent, doth not pervert the ſenſe, nor work in it by ſtrange paſſions and motions any ſuch change and alteration as may trouble the Imaginative Faculty. Onely it taketh away and ſubverteth opinions, but uſeth all other things, according to their nature. But impoſſible it is not to yield conſent unto apparent evidences. For to deny thoſe things which we are verily perſwaded of and do believe, is more abſurd, than neither to deny nor affirm any thing at all. Who be they then that deny ſuch things as they believe, and go againſt things Evident? Even they who overthrow Divination, and deny, that there is any Government by Divine Providence: they who ſay, that neither the Sunne is animall, nor the Moon, which all men honour and adore, to which they make their Prayers, and offer Sacrifice. As for you, do ye not anull that which is apparent to the whole World, to wit, that naturally infants and young ones, are contained within their Mothers, and Dammes? and that between pain

and pleasure there is no mean, even against the sense and experience of all men? saying that not to be in pain, is to have pleasure; and not to do, is to suffer; as also not to joy, is to be sorrowfull? But to let passe all the rest, what is more evident, and so fully believed generally, than this, that those who have their brains troubled, and their wits distracted, or otherwise sick of melancholick disease, ween they see and hear those things which they neither hear nor see? namely, when their understanding comes to be in such sort affected and transported, as to break out into these speeches?

These women here in habit black
yclad, hold in their hand,
To dart at me and burn mine eyes,
torches and firy brands.

Also:

Lee how she in her arms doth bear
My mother dear who me did rear.

These verily, and a number besides of other illusions more strange and tragicall than these, resembling the prodigious monsters that *Empedocles* describeth like anticks, which they make sport and laugh at,

Ελκωίδα, * Κατόχεις, ἠδ Βυγνὰ, Ἀνδεσήπεια.

* Or rather Κεχόγεις.

That is to say,

With crooked shanks and winding feet,
resembling rammes in pace,
In body made like ox or cow,
like man before, in face,

And all other sorts of monstrous shapes and strange natures, mixed together all in one, fetched from troublesome dreams, and alienations of the mind. But these men say, that none of all this is any deception or errour of the sight, or vain apparition, but be all true imaginations of bodies and figures, which pass to and fro out of the inconstant air about them. Tell me now, what thing is so impossible in nature, that we need to doubt, if it be possible to believe these? For such things as never any conceited makmaker, or deviser of visards, any inventive potter, glasse-maker or curious painter and drawer of wonderfull shapes, durst joyn together, either to deceive the beholder, or to make them sport for their pastime: these men supposing verily and in good earnest that they be really subsistent; and that which more is, affirming all firm and constant belief, all certitude of judgement and of truth, to be quite gone for ever, if such things have not their subsistence, these men I say be they, which involve all in obscurity and darkness, who overthrow all apparence, and bring into our judgement, fear and terrour, into our actions doubtfull suspition; in case our ordinary and usuall actions, and such affairs of ours, which are daily ready at hand, be carried in the same imagination, belief and perswasion, that these enormious, absurd, and extravagant fansies: for the equality which they suppose in all, plucketh away more credit from things ordinary, than it addeth unto such as be uncouth and unusuall which is the cause that we know Philosophers not a few, more willing to avouch, that no imagination is true, than that all be true without exception, and who distrust all men whom they had not conversed withall, all things which they had not tried, generally all speeches which they had not heard, rather than believe so much as one of these imaginations and illusions which mad and frantick folk, fanaticall persons possessed with a furious spirit, or dreamers in their sleeps do apprehend. Seeing then, some imaginations we may utterly abolish, and others not, lawfull it is to retain our assent and doubt of things whether they be or no, if there were no other cause else but this discordant, which is sufficient to work in us suspition of things, as having nothing assured and certain, but all incertitude and perturbation. As for the dissensions and differences about the infinite number of worlds, the nature of the Atomes, being indivisible bodies, and their declinations to a side, although they trouble and disquiet many men, yet this comfort there is and consolation, that in all this there is nothing near at hand to touch us, but rather every one of these questions be far remote and beyond our senses; whereas this distrust and diffidence, this perturbation and ignorance about sensible things and imaginations, presented to our eyes, our ears and our hands, this doubt, I say, whether they be true or false, what opinion is it that they do not shake and make to waver, what judgement and assent do not they turn upside down? For if men, being not drunk nor intoxicate, nor otherwise troubled in their brains, but sober, well in thier wits and sound of judgement, professing also to write of the truth, and of the Canons and rules to judge by, in the most evident passions and motions of the sense, set down that for true which cannot possibly subsist, and for false that which subsisteth, it is not to be marvelled nor thought incredible, if they give no judgement of such things which evidently appear, but rather be of contrary judgement. For a man may lesse wonder at one for affirming neither the one nor the other, and keeping himself in a mean between two opposites, than for putting down things repugnant and meer contrary. For he that neither affirmeth nor denieth, but holds himself quiet, is lesse repugnant both unto him who putteth down his opinion, than he who denieth it; and also to him that denieth it, than he who puts it down. And if it be possible to make doubt, & stick at these things, is is not impossible then to do so of others; at least wise according to you who are of opinion, that there is no difference at all between sense and sense, between imagination, and imagination, and therefore this doctrine as touching the retention of belief and assent, is not as *Colotes* saith, a vain fable, nor a captious toy of rash and light-headed yong men, that love to jangle & prate, but a setled resolution and habituall disposition of stayed men

men, who be wary and take heed that they mistake not any thing, and fall into inconvenience, or abandon at a venture their judgement to the senses, so conjecturall and doubtfull, and not suffering them to be deceived and carried away with those, who hold that things uncertain, if they seem and appear, ought to be believed as well as if they were certain, notwithstanding they see so great obscurity and incertitude in imaginations and apparent things: But rather the infinity that you put down, and the Images you dream of be Fables. And as for heady rashnesse, and a vain humour of much babble, he engendreth in young Students, who writeth of *Pythocles* being not fully eighteen years of age, that there was not in all *Greece*, a better or more towardly nature; as being one who with admiration was able most excellently to expresse the Conceptions of his mind; and that his case was much like to the incomparable beauty of women, wishing and praying therefore, that all those surpassing gifts, and most rare parts might not work the young man hatred and envy.

But busie Sophisters they be, and vain fellows, who against so great and excellent Personages, dare write so impudently and proudly, and yet I confesse, *Plato*, *Aristotle*, *Theophrastus*, and *Democritus* gainsayed and contradicted those who wrote before them: Howbeit there was never man known but himself so bold, as to make a Book against all indifferently, and with such a proud Inscription as he did: And then afterwards forsooth like unto those who have offended and displeased the gods: in the end of said Book, as one confessing his faults, he saith: that they who have established Laws and Ordinances: who have erected Royall Governments and Politick Rule of Cities, and States, have set the the Life of man in great Quiet, Safety, and Security, yea and delivered it from dangerous troubles: which if they were abrogated and put down, we should lead a savage life like wild beasts; one would eat another as they met together; for these be the very words that he useth, though unjustly and untruly: For say a man did abolish Laws, and yet withall leave behind unrepealed and uncondemned the Doctrines and Books of *Parmenides*, *Socrates*, *Heraclitus*, and *Plato*, we should be far for all that from devouring one another, or living a savage life; for we should fear and forbear dishonest things, we should even for vertue and honesty, honour Justice, believe that the gods, good Magistrates, and the angels or spirits have the guarding, keeping, and and superintendance of mans life, thinking all the Gold that is both above and under the ground, not able to counterpeise vertue, and doing willingly by reason and learning as *Xenocrates* was wont to say, that which now we do perforce for fear of the Laws. But when shall our life become beastly, savage, and insociable? Mary when, the Laws being taken away, there shall be left remaining, Books, and Discourses, inciting and soliciting men unto pleasure: when it shall be thought and believed, that the world is not ruled and governed by Gods Providence, when they shall be deemed Sages and wise men, who spit against honesty and vertue, unlesse it be joyned with pleasure, and when they shall deride and mock such Sentences as these,

In Justice is an eye,
Which all things doth espie.
And
God near doth stand,
And sees all at hand.

As also this old said saw; God having in his power the beginning, mids, and end of the whole world passeth directly throughout all nature, and goeth round about, attended upon by Justice, to punish those who transgresse the Law Divine. For they that despise and contemne these Instructions as idle Fables, and suppose that the Soveraign good consisteth in the belly and other parts, whereby we enjoy pleasure, be those who had need of the Law, they ought to fear the whip, and stand in aw of some King, Prince, and Magistrate, who hath the sword of Justice in his hand, to the end that they might not devour their neighbour by insatiable gluttony, which upon Atheisme and impiety, would grow to excessive outrage: For verily such is the life of brute beasts, for that they know nothing better than pleasure, they have no sense of Gods Justice, they neither honour nor regard the beauty of vertue: But if nature hath endued them with any Hardinesse, Craft, and industrious Activity, they employ the same to satisfie their filthy pleasure, & accomplish their lusts, and therefore *Metrodorus* is reputed a great wise man, for saying, that all the fine, subtile, witty, and exquisite inventions of the soul, have been devised for to please and delight the flesh, or else for the hope to obtain and enjoy the same; and look what are soever tendeth not thereto, is vain and to no purpose. By such discourses & Philosophical reasons as those, down go wholsome Lawes, and in place thereof enter into lions paws, wolves teeth, oxes paunches, and camels necks and throats: and for want of writings and speech, the very beasts do preach and teach such doctrines and opinions as these, with their bleating, bellowing, neighing, and braying: For all the voice that they have, is nothing but belly chear, and the pleasure of the flesh, which they either embrace presently, or joy in the expectation thereof; unlesse haply there be some kind of them that delighteth naturally in gagling, cackling, and garrulity. So that no man is able to praise those sufficiently, and to their full desert, who to represse such furious and beastly affections, have set down Law, established policy and government of State, Instituted Magistrates, and ordained wholsom Decrees and Edicts. But who be they that confound, yea, and utterly abolish all this? Are they not those who give out, that all the great Empires and Dominions in the world are nothing comparable to the Crown and Garland of * fearlesse Tranquility and Repose. Are they not those, who say, that to be a King and

ἀναρχίας haply ἀ ταξίας, that is to say disorder and confusion.

and to reign is to sinne, to erre, and wander out of the true way leading to felicity: yea and to this purpose write distertly in these termes; we are to shew, how to maintain in best sort and to keep the end of Nature: and how a man may avoid at the very first not to enter willingly and of his own accord into offices of State, and Government of the Multitude. Over and besides, these speeches also be theirs, there is no need at all henceforth for a man to labour and take pains for the Preservation of the Greeks nor in regard of wisdome, and learning to seek for to obtain a Crown at their hands, but to eat and drink, O *Timocrates*, without hurt doing to the body, or rather withall contentment of the flesh. And yet the first and most important Article of the digests and ordinance of Laws and Policy, which *Colotes* so highly commendeth, is the belief and firm perswasion of the gods, whereby *Lycurgus* in times past sanctified the Lacedemonians, *Numa* the Romanes, that ancient *Ion* the Athenians, and whereby *Deucalion* brought all the Greeks universally to Religion: which noble and renowned Personages made the people devout and affectionate zealously to the gods in Prayers, Oaths, Oracles and Prophesies, by the means of Hope and Fear together, which they imprinted in their hearts: in such sort, that if you travell through the world, well may you find Cities without Walls, without Literature, without Kings, not peopled and inhabited, without Houses, Monilesse, and such as desire no Coin, which know not what Theaters or publick Halls of bodily exercise mean: but never was there, nor ever shall be any one City seen, without Temple, Church, or Chappell, without some god or other, which useth no Prayers nor Oaths, no Prophesies and Divinations, no Sacrifices either to obtain good Blessings or to avert heavy Curses and Calamities: Nay, methinks a man should sooner find a City built in the Air, without any plot of ground whereon it is seated, than that any Common Wealth altogether void of Religion, and the opinion of the gods should either be first established, or afterwards preserved and maintained in that estate. This is it that containeth, and holdeth together all humane society, this is the foundation, prop and stay of all Lawes, which they subvert and overthrow directly, who go not round about the bush, as they say, not secretely and by circuit of vert Speeches, but openly and even at the first assault set upon the principall point of all, to wit, the opinion of God, and Religion: and then afterwards as if they were haunted with the Furies, they confesse how grievously they have sinned, in shuffling and confounding thus, all Rights, and Laws, and in abolishing the Ordinance of Justice and Policy, to the end that they might obtain no pardon. For, to slip and erre in opinion, although it be not a part of wise men, yet it is a thing incident to man: but to impute and object those faults unto others which they commit themselves, what should a man call it if he forbear the proper terms, and names that it deserveth? For if in writing against *Antidorus* or *Bion* the Sophister, he had made mention of Laws, of Policy, of Justice, and Government of Common Weal, might not one have said unto him as *Electra* did to her Furious Brother *Orestes*.

Poor soul, be quiet, fear none ill
Dear heart in bed see thou be still.

cherishing and keeping warm thy poor body? As for me let them argue and expostulate with me about these points, who have lived economically or politickly. And such are they all whom *Colotes* hath reviled and railed upon. Among whom *Democritus* verily in his writings admonisheth and exhorteth, both to learn Military Science, as being of all others the greatest, and also to take pain, and endure travells. Whereby men attain to much Renown and Honour. As for *Parmenides* he beautified and adorned his own Native Countrey with most excellent Laws which he ordained: in so much as the Magistrates every year when they newly enter into their Office, bind the Citizens by an Oath, to observe the Statutes, and Laws of *Parmenides*. And *Empedocles* not onely judicially convented and condemned the principall persons of the City wherein he dwelt, for their insolent behaviour and for distracting or embezelling the publick Treasure, but also delivered all the Territory about it from sterility and Pestilence, whereunto before time it was subject, by emuring and stopping up the open passages of a certain Mountain, through which the Southern wind blew and overspread all the plain Countrey underneath. *Socrates* after he was condemned to death, when his friends had made means for him to escape, refused to take the benefit thereof, because he would maintain and confirm the authority of the Laws; chusing rather to die unjustly, than to save his life by disobeying the Laws of his Countrey. *Melissus* being Pretor or Captain Generall of the City wherein he dwelt, defeated the Athenians in a Battel at Sea. *Plato* left behind him in writing many good Discourses of the Lawe, and of Civill Government: but much better imprinted he in the hearts and minds of his Disciples and familiars, which were the cause that *Dion* freed *Sicily* from the tyranny of *Dyonysius*; and *Thrace* likewise was delivered by the means of *Python* and *Heracleides*, who killed King *Cotys*. *Chabrias* and *Phocion*, worthy Commanders of the Athenians Army, came both out of the School *Academia*. As for *Epicurus* he sent as far as into *Asia* certain persons of purpose to taunt and revile *Timocrates*, Yea, and caused the man to be banished out of the Kings Court, onely for that he had offended *Metrodorus* his brother. And this you may read written in their own books. But *Plato* sent of those friends which were brought up under him *Aristotimus* to the Arcadians, for to ordain their Common-Wealth, *Phormio* to the Elians, *Menedemus* to those of *Pyrrha*, *Eudoxus* to the Cnidians, and *Aristotle* to those of *Stagira*, who being all his Disciples, and familiars, did pen and set down Laws. *Alexander* the Great requested to have from *Xenocrates* rules and precepts, as touching the Government of a Kingdom. And he who was sent unto *Alexander* from the Greeks dwelling in *Asia*, and who most of all other set him on a light fire and whetted him to enterprise the war against the barbarous King of *Persia*, was

was *Delius* an Ephesian, one of *Platoes* familiars. *Zeno* also a Schollar of *Parmenides* undertook to kill the Tyrant *Demylus*, and having no good successe therein, but missing of his purpose, maintained the doctrine of *Parmenides* to be pure and fine gold tried in the fire from all base mettall, shewing by the effect, that a magnanimous man is to fear nothing, but Turpitude and Dishonour, and that they be Children and Women, or else effeminate and heartlesse men like Women, who are affraid of dolor and pain? for having bitten off his Tongue with his own teeth, he spit it in the Tyrants face. But out of the School of *Epicurus*, and of those who follow his rules and doctrines, I do not ask what tyrant killer, there was or valiant man and victorious in feats of armes, what Law giver, what Counsellor, what King or Governor of State, either died or suffered Torture for the upholding of Right and Justice: but only which of all these Sages did ever so much as imbark and make a voiage by sea in his Countries service and for the good thereof? which of them went in embassage or disbursed any money thereabout? or where is there extant upon record any civill action of yours in matter of government. And yet because that *Metrodorus* went down one day from the City, as far as to the Haven *Pyræum*, and took a journey of five or six miles to aid *Mythra* the Syrian one of the King of *Persias* train and court, who had been arrested and taken Prisoner, he wrote unto all the friends that he had in the world, of this exploit of his: and this doubty voiage *Epicurus* hath magnified and exalted in many of his Letters. What, a do would they have made then, if they had done such an act as *Aristotle* did who redified the City of his nativity *Stagira*, which had been destroyed by King *Philip*? or as *Theophrastus*, who twice delivered and freed his native City being held and oppressed by Tyrants? Should not think you the river *Nilus* have soon given over to bear the paper reed, than they been weary of discribing their brave deeds. And is not this a grievous matter and a great indignity, that of so many sects of Philosophers that have been, they only in manner enjoy the good things and benefits that are in Cities, without contributing any thing of their own to them? There are not any Poets, Tragedians, or Comedians, but they have endeavoured to do or say alwaies some good thing or other for the defence of Lawes and Policy: but these here, if peradventure they write ought, write of Policy, that we should not intermedle at all in the civill government of state: of Rhetorick, that we should not plead any causes eloquently at the bar: of Royalty, that we should avoid, the conversing and living in Kings courts: neither do they name at any time those great persons who manage affairs of commonweale, but by way of mockery for to debase and abolish their glory. As for example of *Epaminondas* they say that he had indeed some good thing only in name and word, but the same was but μικρον, that is to say, as little as might be, for that is the very term that it pleaseth them to use. Moreover they name him heart of Iron demanding why he marched up and down through out all *Peloponnesus* with his army as he did, and sat not rather quiet at home in his own house with a dainty Chaplet upon his head given wholly to make in good cheer, and to sleep with his belly ful in a whole skin. But methinks I should not for any thing, omit in this place to rehearse what *Metrodorus* hath written in his book of Philosophy, wherein abjuring all dealing in government of state, he saith thus; Some there be of these wise men (quoth he) who being full of vanity and arrogancy, had so deep an insight into the business thereof, that in treating of the rules of good life and of vertue they suffer themselves to be carried away with the very same desires that *Lycurgus* and *Solon* fell into. What? was this vanity indeed and the abundance of vanity and pride, to set the City of *Athens* free, to reduce *Sparta* to good policy, and the government of holesome Lawes, that young men should do nothing licentiously nor get children upon Curtisans and Harlots? and that Riches, wanton Delicacy, Intemperance, Loosenesse, and Dissolution, should beare no sway nor have the command in Cities, but Law only and Justice; for these were the desires of *Solon*. And thus *Metrodorus* by way of scorn and contumelious reproach addeth thus much more for a conclusion to the rest. And therefore (quoth he) it is well beseeming a Gentleman, to laugh a good and right heartely at all other men, but especially at these *Solones* and *Lycurgi*. But verily such an one were not a Gentleman *Metrodorus*, nor well born, but servile, base, unruly and dissolute, and who deserved to be scourged not with the whip which is for free born persons, but with that whipe Astragalore, wherewith the manner was to whip and chastice those gelded sacrificers called *Galbi*, when they did amisse in the ceremonies and sacrifices of *Cybele*, the great mother of the gods. Now that they warred not against the Lawgivers, but the very Lawes themselves, a man may hear & learn of *Epicurus* for in his questions he demandeth of himself, whether a wise man being assured that no man ever should know, would and do commit any thing that the Law forbiddeth? and he maketh an answer which is not full nor an open, plain and simple affirmation, saying, do it I will, marry confesse it and be known thereof I will not. Again, writing as I suppose unto *Idomeneus*, he admonisheth him not to be subject and enthrall his life unto Lawes and the Opinions and Reputation, of Men: unlesse it be in this regard only that otherwise there is prepared odious whipping cheere and that near at hand. If then it be so, that they who abolish Lawes, Governments, and Policies, do withall subvert and overthrow mans life: if *Metrodorus* and *Epicurus* do no lesse, with drawing and averting their friends and followers from dealing in publick affaires and spitefully hating those who do meddle therein, miscalling and railing at the cheif and wisest Lawgivers that ever were, yea and willing them to contemn the Lawes, so that they keep themselves out of the fear of the whip and danger of punishment, I cannot see that *Golotes* hath in any thing so much belied others, and raised false imputations against them, as he hath indeed and truly accused the doctrine and opinion of *Epicurus*.

Of Love.

The Summary.

THis Dialogue is more dangerous to be read by young than men any other Treatise of Plutarch, *for that there be certain glauntes here and there against honest Mariage, to uphold indirectly and underhand, the cursed and detestable filthinesse covertly couched under the name of the Love of young boyes. But minds guarded and armed with true Chastity and the fear of God, may see evidently in this Discourse the miserable estate of the world, in that there be found patrons and advocates of so detestable a cause; such I mean as in this book are brought in under the persons of* Protogenes *and* Pisias. *Mean while they may perceive likewise in the combat of matrimoniall love against unnaturall Pedastry not to be named, that honesty hath alwaies meanes sufficient to defend it self from being vanquished, yea and in the end to go away with the victory. Now this Treatise may be comprised in four principall points: of which, the first (after a brief Preface wherein Autobulus being requested to rehearse unto his companions certain reports which before time he had heard* Plutarch *his Father to deliver as touching Love, entreth into the discourse) containeth the History of* Ismenodora, *enamoured upon a young man named* Bacchon; *whereupon arose some difference and dispute: of which* Plutarch *and those of his company were chosen Arbitratours. Thereupon* Protogenes *seconded by* Pisias, *(and this is the second Point) setting himself against* Ismenodora, *disgraceth and discrediteth the whole sex of woman kinde, and praiseth openly enough the love of males. But* Daphnæus *answereth them so fully home and pertinently to the purpose, that he discovereth and detesteth all their filthinesse, and confuteth them as beloveful it was, shewing the commodities and true pleasure of conjugall love. In this defence, assisted be is by* Plutarch, *who proveth that neither the great wealth, nor the forward affection of a Woman to a Man, causeth the marriage with her to be culpable or worthy to be blamed, by divers examples declaring that many Women even of base condition, have been the occasion of great evils and calamities. But as he was minded to continue this Discourse, newes came how* Bacchon *was caught up and brought up into the house of* Ismenodora, *which made* Protogenes *and* Pisias *to disloge; insomuch as their departure gave intrie into the third and principall point concerning Love what it is? what be the parts, the causes, the sundry effects and fruits thereof, admirable in all sorts of person, in altering them so as they become quite changed and others then they were before: Which is confirmed by many notable examples and similitudes. In the last point* Plutarch *discourseth upon this argument, and that by the Philosophy of* Plato *and the Egiptians, conferring the same with the doctrine of other Philosophers and Poets. Then having expresly and flatly condemned Pederastya as a most vile and abominable thing, and adjoined certain excellent advertisements for the entertaining of Love in Wedlock, between Husband and Wife, of which he relateth one proper example, his speech endeth by occasion of a Messenger who came in place, and drew them all away to the wedding of* Ismenodora *and* Bacchon, *before said.*

Of Love.

Flavianus.

IT was at *Helicon* (ô *Autobulus*) was it not, that those discourses were held as touching Love, which you purpose to relate unto us at this present, upon our Request and Intreaty, whether it be that you have put them down in writing, or bear them well in remembrance, considering that you have so often required and demanded them of your father?

Autobulus.

Yes verily, in *Helicon* it was (ô *Flavianus*) among the Muses, at what time as the Thespians solemnized the feast of *Cupid*, for they celebrate certain games of prize every five yeers, in the honour of Love, as well as of the Muses, and that with great pomp and magnificence.

Flavianus.

And wot you what it is that we all hear that are come to hear you, will requeste at your hands?

Autobulus.

No verily, but I shall know it when you have told me.

Flavianus.

Marry this it is: That you would now in this rehearsal of yours, lay aside all by-matters and needless preambles, as touching the description of fair Medowes, Pleasant Shades; of the crawling and winding lvie; of rils issuing from Fountaines running round about; and such like common places, that many love to insert, desirous to counterfeit and imitate the description of the river *Ilissus*, of the Chast-tree, and the fine greeu grass and pretty herbs growing daintily upon the ground, rising up a little with a gentle assent, and all after the example of *Plato* in the beginning of his Dialogue *Phædrus*, with more curiosity iwis and affectation, than grace and elegancy:

Autobulus.

What needs this narration of ours (my good friend *Flavianus*) any such Procœme or Preface? for the occasion from whence arose and proceeded these discourses, requireth only an affectionate audience, and calleth for a convenient place as it were a stage and scaffold, for to relate the action: for otherwise, of

of all things else requisite in a Comedie or Enterlude, there wanteth nothing: only let us make our prayers unto the Muses Mother, Lady Memory, for to be propice unto us, and to vouchsafe her assistance, that we may not misse, but deliver the whole narration. My father long time before I was born, having newly espoused my mother, by occasion of a certain difference and variance that fell out between his parents and hers, took a journey to *Thespie*, with a full purpose to sacrifise unto *Cupid* the god of Love; and to the feast he had up with him my mother also, for that it principally appertained unto her to perform both the prayer and the sacrifice. So there accompanied him from his house, certain of his most familiar friends. Now when he was come to *Thespie*, he found *Daphnæus* the sonne of *Archidamus*, and *Lysander* who was in love with *Simons* daughter, a man who of all her woers was best welcome unto her and most accepted: *Soclarus* also the sonne of *Aristion*, who was come from *Tithora*: there was besides, *Protogenes* of *Tarsos*, and *Zeuxippus* the Lacedemonian, both of them his old friends and good Hosts, who had given him kind entertainment: and my father said moreover, that there were many of the best men in *Bœotia* there, who were of his acquaintance. Thus as it should seem, they abode for two or three days in the City, entertaining one another gently at their leasure with discourses of Learning, one while in the common empaled Park of exercise, where the youth used to wrestle, and other whiles in the Theaters and Shew-places, keeping company together. But afterwards, for to avoid the troublesome contentions of Minstrels and Musicians, where it appeared, that all would go by favour, such labouring there was before-hand for voices, they dislodged from thence for the most part of them, as out of an enemies Countrey, and retired themselves to *Helicon*, and there sojourned and lodged among the Muses: where, the morrow morning after they were thither come, arrived and repaired unto them *Ambemion* and *Pisias*, two noble Gentlemen, allied both and affectionate unto *Bacchon*, surnamed the Fair, and at some variance one with another by reason of I wot not what jealousie, in regard of the affection they bare unto him. For there was in the City of *Thespie*, a certain Dame named *Ismenodora*, descended of a noble house, and rich withall: yea and of wise and honest carriage besides in all her life: for continued she had no small time in widowhood without blame, reproach or touch, notwithstanding she was young, and therewithall beautifull.

This fresh widow whiles she treated of a Marriage to be made between *Bacchon* a young Gentleman, a neighbours child, whose mother was a very familiar friend of hers, and a certain young maiden a kinswoman of her own, by often talking with him, and frequenting his company much, fell her self in some fancy with the young man: Thus both hearing and speaking much good and many kind speeches of him, and seeing besides a number of other Gentlemen, and persons of good worth to be enamoured upon him; by little and little she also fell to be in hot Love with the youth: howbeit, with a full Intention and Resolution to do nothing that should be dishoneft, or unbefeeming her place, parentage, and reputation, but to be wedded unto *Bacchon* lawfully in the open sight of the world, and so to live with him in the estate of Wedlock. As the thing it self seemed at the first very strange, so the mother of the young man of one side doubted and suspected the greatnes of her State, and the Nobility and Magnificence of her House and Linage, as not meet and correspondent to his Condition, for to be a Lover or to be matched there; and on the other side, some of his Companions, who used to ride forth a hunting with him, considering that the young age of *Bacchon* was not answerable to the years of *Ismenodora*, buzzed many doubts in his head, and frighted him from her what they could, saying, That she might be his mother, and that one of her age was not for him; and thus by their jesting and scoffing, they hindered the Mariage more than they who laboured in good earnest to break it: for he began to enter into himself, and considering that he was yet a beardless youth, and scarcely undergrown, he was abashed and ashamed to marry a Widow. Howbeit in the end, shaking off all others, he referred himself to *Anthemion*, and *Pisias*, for, to tell him their minds upon the point, and to advise him for his best: Now was *Anthemion* his cousen german, one of good yeers, and elder than himself far; and *Pisias* of all those that made love unto him, most austere: and therefore he both withstood the marriage, and also checked *Anthemion*, as one who abandoned and betraied the young man unto *Ismenodora*. Contrariwise, *Anthemion* charged *Pisias* and said he did not well, who being otherwise an honest man, yet herein imitated lewd lovers, for that he went about to put his friend beside a good bargain, who now might be sped with so great a marriage, out of so worshipfull an house, and wealthy besides; to the end that he might have the pleasure to see him a long time stripped naked in the wrestling place, fresh still, and smooth, and not having touched a woman. But because they should not by arguing thus one against another, grow by little and little into heat of choler, they chose for umpiers and judges of this their controversie, my Father, and those who were of his company; and thither they came: asistant also there were unto them, other of their friends, *Daphnæus* to the one, and *Protogenes* to the other, as if they had been provided of set purpose to plead a cause: As for *Protogenes* who sided with *Pisias*, he inveighed verily with open mouth against dame *Ismenodora*: whereupon *Daphnæus*; O *Hercules* (quoth he) what are we not to expect, and what thing in the world may not happen, in case it be so that *Protogenes* is ready here to give defiance and make war against love, who all his life both in earnest and in game, hath been wholy in love, and all for love, which hath caused him to forget his book, and to forget his naturall countrey, not as *Laius* did, who was but five daies journey distant? for that love of his was slow and heavy, and kept still upon the land: whereas your *Cupid*, *Protogenes*,

With

With his light wings displayed and spread,
Hath over sea full swiftly fled

from out of *Cilicia* to *Athens*, to see fair boyes, and to go up and down with them (for to say a truth, the cheif cause why *Protogenes* made a Voyage out of his own Countrey, and became a traveller, was at the first this and no other) Hereat the Company took up a Laughter, and *Protogenes*: Think you (quoth he) that I war not against Love, and not rather stand in the defence of Love against lascivious wantonnesse, and violent intemperance, which by most shamefull acts and filthy Passions, would perforce challenge, and break into the fairest, most honest, and venerable names that be. Why (quoth *Daphneus* then) do you term marriage and the secret of marriage, to wit the lawfull conjunction of man and wife, most vile and dishonest actions, than which there can be no knot nor link in the world more sacred and holy? This bond in truth of wedlock (quoth *Protogenes*) as it is necessary for generation, is by good right praised by Politicians and Law-givers, who recommend the same highly unto the people and common multitude: but to speak of true love indeed, there is no jot or part thereof in the society and fellowship of women: neither do I think that you and such as your selves, whose affections stand to wives or maidens, do love them no more than a flie loveth milk, or a Bee the Honycomb; as Caters and Cooks who keep fowls in mue, and feed Calves and other such Beasts fat in dark places, and yet for all that they love them not. But like as nature leadeth and conducteth our Appetite moderately, and as much as is sufficient to bread and other viands; but the excesse thereof, which maketh the naturalll Appetite to be a vicious passion, is called Gormandise, and pampering of the flesh: even so there is naturally in men and women both a desire to enjoy the mutuall pleasure one of another: whereas the impetuous lust which cometh with a kind of force and violence, so as it hardly can be held in, is not fitly called love, neither deserveth it that name: For Love if it seise upon a young, kind, and gentle heart, endeth by amity in vertue: whereas of these affections and lusts after women, if they have successe and speed never so well, there followeth in the end the fruit of some pleasure, the fruition and enjoying of youth and a beautifull body, and that is all. And thus much testified *Aristippus*, who when one went about to make him have a distaste and mislike of *Lais* the Curtisan, saying, that she loved him not, made this answer: I suppose (quoth he) that neither good wine nor delicate Fish loveth me, but yet (quoth he) I take pleasure and delighe in drinking the one and eating the other. For surely the end of desire and appetite is pleasure and the fruition of it. But Love if it have once lost the hope and expectation of amity and kindnesse, will not continue nor cherish and make much for beauty sake, that which is irksome and odious, be it never so gallant, and in flower and prime of age, unlesse it bring forth and yield such fruit which is familiar unto it, even a nature disposed to amity and vertue. And therefore it is, that you may hear some husband in a Comedie, speaking tragically thus unto his wife:

Thou hatest me: and I again,
Thine hatred and disdain
Will eas'ly bear, and this abuse
turn to my proper gain.

For surely, more amorous than this man is not he, who not for lucre and profit, but for the fleshly pleasure of *Venus*, endureth a curst, shrewd and froward wife, in whom there is no good nature nor kind affection. After which manner *Philippides* the Comicall Poet scoffed at the Oratour *Stratocles* and mocked him in these Verses:

She winds from thee, she turns away unkind
Hardly thou canst once kisse her head behind.

But if we must needs call this passion Love, yet surely it shall be but an effeminate and Bastard Love, sending us into womens Chambers and Cabinets as it were to *Gynosarges* at *Athens*, where no other youths do exercise but misbegotten bastards: or rather like as they say, there is one kind of gentle Falcons, or Royall Eagles bred in the mountains, which *Homer* calleth the Black Eagle for game: whereas other kinds there be of bastard Hawks, which about Pools and Meres catch fish, or seise upon heavy winged birds, and slow of flight; which many times wanting their prey, make a piteous noise and lamentable cry for very hunger and famine, even so the true and naturall love of is that young boyes, which sparkleth not with the ardent heat of concupiscence, as *Anacreon* saith the other of maidens and Virgins doth: it is not besmeared with sweet ointments, nor tricked up and trimmed, but plain and simple alwayes a man shall see it, without any inticing allurements in the Philosophers Schools, or about publick Parks of Exercise and wrestling places, where it hunteth kindly, and with a very quick and piercing eye after none but young striplings and springals, exciting and encouraging earnestly unto vertue, as many as are meet and worthy to have pains taken with them: whereas the other delicate and effeminate Love, that keepeth home, and stirreth not out of doores, but keepeth continually in womens laps, under Canopies or within Curtains in womens beds and soft Pallets, seeking alwayes after dainty delights, and pampered up with unmanly pleasures, wherein there is no reciprocall amity, nor heavenly ravishment of the spirit, is worthy to be rejected and chased far away: like as *Solon* banished it out of his Common Wealth, when he expressly forbad all slaves and those of servile condition to love boyes or to be anointed in the open air without the bains, but he debarred them not from the company of women. For Amity is an Honest, Civill, and Laudable thing, but fleshly pleasure, base vile, and illiberall. And therefore that a servile slave should make Love to a sweet youth, it is neither Decent, Civill, nor Commendable: for this is no carnall Love, nor hurtfull any way, as that

that other is of Women. *Protogenes* would have continued his speech and said more, but *Daphneus* interrupting him: Now surely, you have done it very well (quoth he) and alledged *Solon* trimly for the purpose; & we must belike, take him for the judge of a true lover, & the rule to go by, especially when he saith

Thou shalt love Boyes, till lovely down
upon their face doth spring,
Catching at mouth their pleasant breath,
and soft thighes cherishing.

Adjoyn also unto *Solon* (if you think good) the *Poet Æschylus*, whereas he saith:

Unthankefull, man unkinde thou art
For kisses sweet which thou hast found,
Regarding not of thy dear heart,
The thighs so streight and buttocks round.

Here are proper Judges indeed of Love. Others I wot well there be, who laugh at them, because they would have Lovers like to Sacrificers, Bowel-priers, and Southsayers, to cast an eye to the hanches and the loynes: but I for my part, gather from hence a very good and forcible argument in the behalf of Women: for if the company with males that is against kind, neither taketh away nor doth prejudice the amity and good will of lovers, far more probable it is that the love to Women which is according to nature, is performed by a kind of obsequious favour, and endeth in amity: for the voluntary submission of the Female to the Male, was by our ancestours, in old time, O *Protogenes*, termed, χαρις, that is to say, Grace or Favour: which is the reason that *Pindarus* saith *Vulcane* was born of *Juno* «ου χαριτων», that is to say, without the Graces. And *Sappho* the Poetresse speaking to a young Girle not as yet for her tender years marriageable;

Too young (my child) you seem to me,
Withouten Grace also to be.

And *Hercules* was asked the question of one in these tearmes:

What did you force the maiden by compulsion,
Or win her grace and favour with perswasion?

whereas the submission in this kinde of Males to Males, if it be against their will, is named violence and plain rape: but if it be voluntary, and that upon an effeminate weaknesse they be so far beside their right wits as to yeeld themselves to be ridden as it were and covered, for those be *Platoes* words, in manner of foure footed beasts; I say such Love is altogether without Grace, without Decency, most Unseemly, Filthy, and Abominable. And therefore I suppose verily, that *Solon* poured out these Verse, when he was a lusty youngster, rank of blood and full of naturall feed, as *Plato* saith: for when he was well stept in years he sung in another tune, and wrote thus;

The sports of Venus *Lady bright,*
And Bacchus *now are my delight:*
In Musick eke *I pleasure take:*
For why? these three men joyes do make.

when he had retired and withdrawn his life as it were out of a troublesome sea and tempestuous storm of *Pederastie*, into the quiet calm of lawfull Marriage and study of Philosophy.

Now if we will consider better, and look nearer into the truth, the passion of Love (O *Protogenes*) be it in one sex or another, is all one and the same: but if upon a froward and contentious humour you will needs divide and distinguish them, you shall find that this Love of Boies doth not contain it self within compasse, but as one late born and out of the seasonable time of age and course of this life, a very bastard, and begotten secretely in darknesse; it would wrongfully drive out the true legitimate naturall Love, wch is more ancient. For it was but yesterday or two daies ago as one would say my good Friend, and namely, since young lads began in *Greece* to disrobe and turn themselves naked out of their clothes for the exercise of their bodies, that it crept into these impaled places, where youths prepared themselves for to wrestle; and there closely seeling it self, lodged and was enstalled; where by little and little when the wings were full growen, it became so insolent, that it could not be held in, but offer injury & outrage to that Nuptial Love, which is a coadjutresse with nature, to immortalize mankind, in kindling it immediately again by generation according as the same is extinguished and put out by death. But this *Protogenes* here would seem to deny that the said Love tendeth to any pleasure: The truth is this, he is ashamed to confesse, and affraid to avow so much. But there must needs be devised some pretty reason, and cleanly excuse, for the Touching, Feeling, and Handling of these faire young Boyes: Well the pretence and colour to cover all, is Amity and Vertue. He bestroweth himself with dust against he should wrestle, he doth bath and wash in cold water, he knitteth and bendeth his browes full gravely, he giveth it out and maketh his boast that he studieth Philosophy, that he is chast and continents and all this is abroad and before folke, for fear of the Lawes; but when the night comes, and that every man is retyred to his rest,

Sweet is the fruit that stoln is secretly,
And gather'd close, while Keeper is not by.

And if, as *Protogenes* saith, this *Pederastium* aimeth not at carnall Conjunction, how then can it be Love, if *Venus* be not there? considering that of all other gods & goddesses, ther alone *Cupid* is destined and devoted to serve and attend upon, having neither Honour, Power, nor Authority, no farther than she will impart and bestow upon him. And if you say unto me, that there may be some Love without *Venus*,

like as there is drunkennesse without wine, for a man may drink of a certain decoction of figs, or barley made into malt, and be drunk therewith: I answer you, that as this is but a flatulent exagitation, so the motion of such love is fruitlesse, unperfect, bringing loathsome satiety, and wearisome fulnesse soon. Whiles *Daphnæus* thus spake, it appeared evidently, that *Pisias* found himself galled, and was enchaffed against him. Therefore so soon as he had made an end of his speech, after some little pause: O *Hercules* (quoth he) what intollerable impudency and inconsiderate rashnesse is this, that men should confesse and avow, that like dogs they be tied to women by their natural parts, and so chase and banish this god *Cupid*, out of the publick places of exercise, out of the open galleries and walks; from the pure conversation in open aire, sun-shine, and before the whole world for to be ranged and brought, to little Spades, Hatchets, Drogues, Medicines, Charms and Sorceries of these wanton and lascivious women? For to speak of chaste and honest dames, I say, it is not beseeming that they should either love or beloved. And hereat verily my father said, that himself took *Protogenes* by the hand, reciting this verse out of the Poet:

Such words as these no doubt will make
The Argives, armes anon to take.

For surely *Pisias* through his insolency, causeth us to side with *Daphnæus*, and undertake to maintain his part, seeing he so far exceedeth the bonds of all reason, as to bring into Marriage and Wedlock, a society without love, and void of that divine instinct of amity, and inspired from heaven above: which we see how we have enough to do for to maintain and hold with all the Yokes, Bittes and Bridles, of fear and shame, if this hearty affection and grace be away. Then *Pisias*, I passe little (quoth he) for all these words: and as for *Daphnæus* me thinks I see how it fareth with him, as it doth with a piece of brasse, which melteth not so much by force of fire, as it doth by another piece of brasse melted, if a man pour the same upon it, for then anon it will be liquefied and run together with it. And even so, the beauty of *Lysandra* doth not so greatly affect and trouble him, as this, that conversing along time with one that is enflamed and full of fire, by touching her he is himself all fire: and evident it is, that unlesse he retire with speed unto us, he will melt and run all to liquor. But I perceive (quoth he) that I do that which *Anthemion* should most desire and wish, namely, that I am offensive both to the Judges and to my self; wherefore I will hold my peace and say no more: You say true indeed (quoth *Anthemion*) you do me a great pleasure, for you should at the very first have said somwhat to the point, and upon the particular matter now in question: I say therefore (quoth *Pisias* but I protest before hand, and that aloud, that for mine own part I will be no hinderance, but that every woman may have her lover) that this young man *Bacchon* had need to take heed and beware of the riches and wealth of *Ismenodora*; otherwise if we match him with such an house of so great state and magnificence, we shall ere we be aware consume him to nothing, like a piece of Tinne among Brasse. For a great matter I may tell you it were, if being so young as he is, and espousing a wife of mean and simple degree, he should in such a mixture hold his own, and keep the predominance as wine over water. But we may see that this gentlewoman here seemeth already to look for to command and be his Master: otherwise she would never have refused and rejected so many husbands as she hath done, of such reputation, so nobly descended, and so wealthy withall, for to woo and solicit as she doth a very boy new crept out of the shell, no better than a Page but the other day, one iwis that he had more need to go to schoole still, and be under a Tutour and Governour. And hereupon it is, that those husbands who are of the wiser sort, do of themselves cast away, or else clip and cut the wings of their wives, that is to say, their goods and riches, which cause them to be proud and insolent, sumptuous and wasteful, full of shrewdnesse, vaine, light, and foolish; and with these wings they mount many times, take their flight and away; or if they stay at home, better it were for a man to be bound with fetters of gold, as the manner is to enchain prisoners in *Æthiopia*, than to be tied with the wealth and riches of his wife: But he hath said nothing as yet (quoth *Protogenes*) hereof, nor once touched this string, namely, how in admitting this Marriage, we shall in manner invert and that ridiculously and with absurdity enough the sentence of *Hesiodus* who giveth counsel in these words:

At thirty years (not much above
nor under) of thine age,
Wed thou a wife: this is the time,
most meet for marriage:
At fourteen years a damosel
doth signes of ripenesse show,
At fifteen would she married be,
and her bedfellow know.

And we here clean contrary almost, will match a young man before he be ready for Marriage, unto a woman as old again well neer as himself, as if one should set Dates or Figges upon old stocks, to make them ripe. And why not? some one will haply say; for she is enamoured upon him; she burneth and is ready to die for love of him, I marvel much who hinders her that she goeth not to his house in a Maske, that she sings not lamentable ditties at his door, and amorous plaints, that she adorneth not his Images with Garlands and Chaplets of flowers, and that she entreth not into combat with her corrivals, and win him from them all by fight and feats of activity? for these be the casts of lovers; let her knit her browes; let her forbear to live bravely and daintily, putting on the countenance and habit meet for this passion: but if she be modest, shamefaced, sober, and honest, as that she is abashed so to do; let her sit womanly decently as it becommeth, at home in her house, expecting her Lovers and Woers, to come and court her there. For such a Woman as doth not dissemble, but bewraieth openly that she is in Love, a man would avoid and deteste, so far would he be from taking her to be his Wife, or laying for the ground of his Marriage such shamelesse incontinence. Now when *Protogenes* had madean end of his speech, and pausèd a while: See you not, O *Anthemion* (quoth *Daphnæus*) how they make this a common cause again and matter of disputation, enforcing us to speak still of Nuptiall Love, who deny not our selves to be the Maintainers thereof, nor avoid to enter into the daunce, as they say, and to shew our selves to be the Champions of it? Yes marry do I (quoth *Anthemion*) and I pray you take upon you to defend at large this love: and withall let us have your helping hand about this point, as touching Riches, which *Pisias* urgeth especially, and wherewith he seemeth to affright us more than with any thing else: What can we do lesse quoth my Father then; for were it not a reproach offered unto Woman kind, & would it not greatly redound to their discredit and blame, in case we would reject and cast off *Ismenodora*, for her Love and her Wealth sake? But she is brave, she is sumptuous, costly, and bearing a great port: What matters that, so long as she is fair, beautifull, and young. But she is come of a noble house and highly descended? What harm of that if she live in good name, and be of good reputation? for it is not necessary that Wives to approve their honesty and wisdom, should be sower, austere, curst and shrewd: for chast Dames and sober Matrons, do indeed deteste bitternesse, as an odious thing and intollerable. And yet some there be that call them furies, and say they be be curst shrewes unto their Husbands, when they be modest, wise, discreet, and honest. Were it not therefore best to espouse some odd *Abrotonon* out of *Thracia*, bought in open Market: or some *Bacchis*, a Melesian * passing in exchange for raw hides, and prized no dearer: And yet we know there be many men, whom such Women as these hold most shamefully under their Girdles, and rule as they list: For even Minstrell Wenches of *Samos*, and such as profèssed Dancing as *Arillonica*, *Oenanthe*, with her Tabour and Pipe, and *Agathocleia*, have over-topped Kings and Princes, yea trodden their Crownes and Diadems under foot: As for *Semiramis*, a Syrian, to say, she was at first no better than a poor Wench, Servant, and Concubine, to one of the great King *Ninus* Slaves: but after that the King himself had set his eye and fancy upon her, he was so devoted unto her, and she again so imperiously ruled over him, and with some contempt, that she was so bold to require at his hands, that he would permit her to sit one day upon her royall Throne, under the Cloth of Estate, with the Diadem about her head and so to give audience and dispatch the affaires of the Kingdom in stead of him; which when *Ninus* had granted, and given expresse charge withall? that all his Subjects whatsoever should yeeld their lovall obedience to her as to his own person, yea and perform whatsoever she ordained and decreed: she carried her self with great Moderation in her first Commandements, to make tryall of the Pensioners and Guard about her; and when she saw that they gainsaid her in nothing, but were very diligent and serviceable; she Commanded them to Arrest and Apprehend the Body of *Ninus* the King then to bind him fast, and finally to put him to death. All which when they had fully executed, she raigned indeed, and for a long time in great State and Magnificence ruled all *Asia*. And was not *Belesty* I pray you a Barbarian Woman, brought up even in the very Market among other slaves? and yet those of *Alexandria* have certain Temples, Chappels, and Altars, which King *Ptolomeus*, who was enamoured upon her, caused to be intituled by the name of *Venus Belesty*? And *Phryne* the famous Courtesan, who both here and also at *Delphos* is shrined in the same Temple and Chappell with *Cupid*, whose statue all of beaten Gold, standeth among those of Kings and Queens; by what great dowry was it that she had all her Lovers in such subjection under her? But like as these persons through their effeminate softnesse and pusillanimity, became ere they were aware a very Prey & Pillage to such Women: so on the other side, we find others of base degree and poor condition, who being joyned in Marriage to Noble and Rich Wives, were not utterly overthrown with such matches, nor struck saile or abated ought of their Generosity and high Spirit, but lived alwaies loved and honoured by those Wives, yea and were Masters over them to their dying day. But he that rangeth and reduceth his Wife into a narrow compass and low estate, as if one bent a Ring to the slenderneesse of his finger, for fear it should drop off, resembleth those for all the world, who clip and shave the maines of their Mares, and pluck the haire off their tailes, and then drive them to water, into some River or Poole: for it is said, that when they see themselves in the water so ill favouredly shorne and curtailed, they let fall their Courage, Stomack, and hauty Spirit, so as they suffer themselves afterward to be covered by Asses. And therefore like as to prefer the Riches of a Woman above her vertue, or to make choise thereof before nobility of birth were base and illiberall: so to reject wealth joyned with vertue and noble parentage is meer folly. King *Antigonus* writing unto a Captain of his whom he put with a Garison into a Fortresse *Munichia* in *Athens*, the which he fortified with all dilligence possible, commanded him not only to make the Collar and Chein strong, but the Dogg also weak and lean: giving him thereby to understand, that he should impoverish the Athenians, and take from them all meanes whereby they might rebell or rise against him. But a man who hath taken to Wife a rich and beautifull Woman, ought not to make her either poor, or foul and ill-favoured; but rather by his discretion, good government and wisdom, by making semblance that he is ravished with no admiration of any thing that she hath, to bear himself equall unto her and in no wise subject, giving by his good demeanour and carriage a counterpeise to the ballance for to hold her firm, or a weight rather to make her incline and bend that way which is good for them both. Now to return unto *Ismenodora*, her

* ἐγχύτου ἐπιχαλκιδίσεως καπηλεύσαν, that is for a pawn for assurance, that she will be true and obedient to her husband, as some interpret it.

years are meet for *Marriage*, and her person fit for breeding and bearing children, and I here say (the woman is in the very flour and best of her time; for elder she is not (and with that he smiled upon *Pisias*) than any of her Sisters and Corrivals, neither hath she any gray haires, as some of those that be affectionate to *Bacchon* and follow him. Now if they think themselves of a meet age to converse familiarly with him, what should hinder her but she should affect and fansie the young mans person as well (if not better) as any young maidenw harsoever. And verily these young folk are otherwhiles hard to be matched, united and concorporated together, and much a doe there is but by long continuance of time, to cast aside and shake off wantonnesse and wildnesse: for at the first there is many a foul day and blustring tempest, and unneth will they abide the yoke and draw together: but especially if there be any inkling or jealousie of other loves abroad, which like unto winds, when the Pilot is away, do trouble and disquiet the wedlock of such young persons as neither be willing to obey, nor have the skill to command. If it be so then, that a Nource can rule her little Babe sucking at her pap; a Schoolmaster the Boy that is his scholar; a Master of exercises, the young Springal; a lover, the youth whom he loveth; the Law and the Captain, a Man growen and him that is able to bear Armes; insomuch as there is no person of what age soever without government, and at his own liberty to do what he list: what absurdity is it if a wife that hath wit and discretion, and is besides the elder, govern and direct the life of a young man her husband? being as she is profitable unto him in regard she is the wiser, and besides milde and gentle in her government, for that she loveth him? Over and besides, to conclude, we all that are Beotians (quoth he) ought both to honour *Hercules*, and also not to be offended with the Marriage of those who are in years unequal, knowing as we do that he gave his own wife *Megara* being thirty three years old, in Marriage to *Iolaus* being then but sixten years of age. As these words passed to and fro, there came (as my Father made report) one of *Pisias* companions galloping hard on horseback from out of the City bringing news of a very strang and wonderful occurrent. For *Ismenodora*, perswading her self (as probable it was) that *Bacchon* misliked not this marriage in his heart but that he held off, for the respect and reverence that he carried unto those who seemed to divert him from it, resolved, not to give over her suit, nor to cast off young men. Whereupon she sent for such of her friends, as were lusty young and adventurous Gallants, and withall her Favourits those that wished well to her love: certain women also who were inward with her and most trusty: and when she had assembled them all together in her house and communicated her mind unto them, the waited the very hour, when as *Bacchon* was wont ordinarily to passe by her doors, going well and orderly appointed forth to the publick place of wrestling. Now when he approched neer unto her house all enhuiled and anointed as he was, accompanied only with two or three persons, *Ismenodora* her self stepped forth of doors, crossed the way upon him and only touched the mandilion that he had about him: which signal being given, all at once her friends leapt forth and fair caught up this fair youth in his Mandilion and Dublet as he was, and gently carried him into her house, and immediately shut the doors fast locked. No sooner had they gotten him within doors, but the women in the house turning him out of his upper Mandilion aforesaid, put upon him a fair Wedding robe, and withal the servants of the house ran up and down, and adorned with Ivie and Olive branches the doors and gates not onely of *Ismenodora* but also of *Bacchons* house: and with that a Minstril Wench also passed along through the street piping and singing a wedding song. As for the Citizens of *Thespie* and the strangers who were there at that time, some of them took up a laughter, others being angry and offended hereat, incited the Masters and Governours of the publick exercises (who indeed have great authority over the youth and carry a vigilent eye unto them, for to look neerly unto all their behaviours) whereupon they made no account at all of the present exercises then in hand, but leaving the Theater, to the door they came of *Ismenodora*, where they fell into hot reasoning and debating of the matter one against another. Now when the said friend of *Pisias* was come in all hast riding upon the spur with this newe, as if he had brought some great tidings out of the Camp in time of war, he had no sooner uttered, panting for want of winde and in manner breathlesse, these words, *Ismenodora* hath ravished *Bacchon*, but *Zeuxippus*, as my father told the tale, laughed heartily, and out of *Euripides* (as he was one who alwaies loved to read that Poet) pronounced this sentence:

Well done, fair Dame: you having wealth at will,
Are wordly wise, your mind thus to fulfil.

But *Pisias*, rising up in great choler, cried out, O the will of God, what will be the end of this licentious liberty, which thus overthroweth our City? seeing how all the World is growen already to this passe, that through our unbrideled audaciousnesse, we do what we list, and passe for no lawes? but why say I Lawes, for haply it is but a ridiculous thing to take indignation for the transgressing of Civil Law and Right: for even the very law of Nature is violated by the insolent rashnesse of women. Was there ever the like example seen in the very Ile *Lemnos*? Let us be gone (quoth he) go we and quit from henceforth the wrestling Schooles, and publick place of exercises, the common hall of justice, and the Senate house, and commit all to women, if the City be so inervate as to put up such an indignity. So *Pisias* brake company and departed in these termes, and *Protogenes* followed after him, partly as angry as he, and in part appeasing and mitigating his mood a little. Then *Anthemion*: To say a truth (quoth he) this was an audacious part of hers, and favouring somewhat of the enterprise of those Lemnian wives in old time, and no marvel; for we our selves know that the woman was exceeding amorous. Hereat *Boclarus*: Why thinke you (quoth he) that this was a ravishment indeed, and plaine force, and not rather a subtile device and stratageme, as it were of the young man himself, who hath wit at will, to colour and excuse himself, in that escaping out of the arms of his other lovers, he is fallen into the hands of a fair, young and wealthy Lady. Never say so (quoth *Anthemion*) nor entertain such an opinion of *Bacchon*: for say that he were not of a simple nature (as he is) and plain in all his dealings, yet would he never have concealed so much from me, considering that he hath made me privy to all his secrets, and knoweth full well that in these matters, I was of all other most ready to second and set forward the sute of *Ismenodora*. But a hard matter it is to withstand, not anger, as *Heraclitus* saith, but love: for whatsoever it be that it would have, compass the same it will, though it be with the perill of life, though it cost both goods and reputation. For setting this thing aside, was there ever in all our City, a woman more wise, sober and modest than *Ismenodora*? when was there ever heard abroad of her, any evil report, and when went there so much as a light suspicion of any unhonest act out of that house? Certes we must think and say, that she seems to have been surprised with some Divine instinct supernaturall and above humane reason. Then laughed *Pemptides*: You say even true (quoth he) there is a certain great malady of the body, which thereupon they call sacred: is there any marvell then that the greatest and most furious passion of the mind some do term sacred and divine? but it seems unto me that it fares with you here, as I saw it did sometimes with two neighbours in *Egypt*, who argued and debated one with another upon this point, that whereas there was presented before them in the way as they went, a serpent creeping on the ground, they were resolved both of them, that it presaged good, and was a lucky signe; but either of them took and challenged it to himself: for even so whensoever see that some of you draw Love into mens chambers, and others into womens Cabinets, as a Divine and singular good thing, I nothing wonder thereat, considering that this passion is grown to such power and is so highly honoured, that even those who ought to clip the wings thereof, and chase it from them of all sides, those be they that magnifie and extoll it most. And verily hitherto have I held my peace as touching this matter in question, for that I saw the Debate and Controversie was about a private cause rather than any publick matter: but now that I see how *Pisias* is departed, I would gladly hear and know of you whereat they aimed and tended, who first affirmed that Love was a god? When *Pemptides* had propounded this question, as my father addressed himself and began to make his answer, there came another messenger in place, whom *Ismenodora* had sent from the City, for to bring *Anthemion* with him; for that the trouble and tumult in manner of a sedition grew more and more within the Town, by occasion that the two masters of the publick exercises, were at some difference one with another, whiles the one was of this mind that *Bacchon* was to be redemanded and delivered, the other again thought that they were to deal no farther in the matter. So *Anthemion* arose incontinently and went his way with all speed and diligence possible: and then my father calling to *Pemptides* by name, and directing his speech unto him: You seem *Pemptides* (quoth he) in my conceit, to touch a very main and nice point, or rather indeed to stir a string that would not be stirred, to wit the opinion and belief that we have, as touching the gods, in that you call for a reason and demonstration of them in particular For the ancient faith and belief received from our ancients in the Countrey where we are born is sufficient, than which there can not be said or imagined a more evident Argument:

For never was this knowledge found,
By wit of man or sense profound.

But this Tradition being the Base and Foundation common to all Piety and Religion, if the certitude and credit thereof received from hand to hand be shaken and moved in one onely point, it becometh suspected and doubtfull in all the rest. You have heard no doubt how *Euripides* was coursed and troubled for the beginning of his Tragedy *Menalippe*, in this manner.

Ζεὺς γάρ τόδ' ἄλσος ὃστις ἐστὶν ἐγὼ, &c.
Jupiter *whose name I know*
By hear-say onely and no mo.

And verily he had a great confidence in this Tragedy, being as it should seem magnificently and with exquisite elegancy penned: but for the tumultuous murmuring of the people, he changed the foresaid verses, as now they stand written:

Ζεὺς ὃς λέλακται τῆς ἀληθείας ὕπερ, &c.
God Jupiter *(which name in verity*
Doth sort full well to his Divinity.)

And what difference is there by our words and disputation, between calling the opinion which we have of *Jupiter* and of *Mercury* into question, and making doubt of *Cupid* or Love? For it is not now of late, and never before, that this God begins to call for altars, or to challenge Sacrifices: neither is he a stranger come among us from some barbarous superstition, like as certain *Atte* and I wot not what *Adonides* and *Adonei*, brought in by the means of some half-men or mungrell *Hermophrodites* and od women; and thus being closely crept in, hath met with certain honours and worships far unmeet for him, in such sort, as he may well be accused of bastardice, and under a false title to have been enrolled in the Catalogue of the gods: For my good friend, when you hear *Empedocles* saying thus,

And equall to the rest in length
and breadth was Amity;
But see in sp'rit thou it behold,
not with deceitfull eye.

you must understand him, that he writeth thus of Love; for that this God is not visible, but apprehended

onely by opinion and belief, among other gods which are moſt ancient. Now if of all them in particular, you ſeek for a proof and demonſtration, laying your hands upon each Temple, and making a ſophiſticall triall by every Altar, you ſhall find nothing void and free from calumniation and envious ſlander: for not to go far off, mark but theſe Verſes.

But Venus vneth can I ſee
How great a goddeſſe ſhe ſhould be:
Of Cupid ſhe the mother is,
And ſhe alone that Love doth give
Whoſe children we (you wot well th:is)
Are all who on the earth do live

And verily, *Empedocles* called her ζωόθρονον, that is to ſay, fertile or giving life: *Sophocles*, ἡμερόεντα, that is to ſay, fruitfull, both of them uſing moſt fit and pertinent Attributes. Howbeit this great and admirable work, to wit generation, is wrought principally and directly by *Venus*, but collaterally and as an acceſſary by Love: which if Love be preſent, is pleaſant and acceptable; contrariwiſe if Love be away, and not aſſiſtant thereto, ſurely the act thereof remaineth altogether not expetible, diſhonourable, without grace and unamiable. For the Conjunction of man and woman without the affection of Love, like as hunger and thirſt, which tend to nothing elſe but ſatiety and fulneſſe, endeth in nought that is good, lovely and commendable: but the goddeſſe *Venus* putting away all loathſome ſaciety of pleaſure, by the means of Love engendred Amity and Friendſhip, yea and temperature of two in one. And hereupon it is that *Parmenides* verily affirmeth Love to be the moſt ancient work of *Venus*, writing thus in his Book intituled *Coſmogenia*, that is to ſay, the Creation of the world.

And at the firſt ſhe framed Love
Before all other gods above,

But *Heſiodus* ſeemeth in mine opinion more Phyſically to have made Love more ancient than any other whatſoever, to the end that all the reſt by it might breed and take beginning. If then we bereave this Love of the due honours ordained for it, Certes thoſe which belong to *Venus* will not keep their place any longer. Neither can it be truly ſaid that ſome men may wrong and reproach Love, and forbear withall to do injury unto *Venus*. For even from one and the ſame ſtage we do hear theſe imputations, firſt upon Love.

Love idle is it ſelf, and in good troth
Poſſeſſeth ſuch like perſons, given to ſloth.

And then again upon *Venus*:

Venus (*my children*) *hath not this onely name*
Of Venus *of* Cypris: *for the ſame*
Anſwer right well to many an attribute,
And ſurname which men unto her impute.
For hell ſhe is: and alſo violence,
That never ends, but aye doth recompence
And furious rage, young folk for to incenſe.

Like as of the other gods, there is not one almoſt, that can avoid the opprobrious tongue of unlettered ruſticity and ignorance. For do but conſider and obſerve god *Mars*, who as it were in a Caldean and Aſtronomicall table ſtandeth in a place diametrally oppoſite unto Love, mark I ſay, what great honours men have yielded unto him, and contrariwiſe what reprochfull terms they give him again.

Mars is ſtark blind and ſeeth not
(fair dames) but like wild boar,
By turning all things upſide down,
Works miſchief evermore.

Homer calleth him μιαίφονον, that is to ſay, imbrued with blood and polluted with murders; likewiſe ἀλλοπρόσαλλον, that is to ſay, variable and leaping from one ſide to another. As for *Chryſippus* by etymologizing and deriving this gods name, faſteneth upon him a criminous accuſation, ſaying, that ἄρης, for ſo he is named, in Greek cometh of ἀναιρεῖν, that is to ſay to murder and deſtroy: giving thereby occaſion unto ſome, to think that the faculty and power in us prone to war, fight, debate, quarrell, anger, and fell ſtomack, is called Ares, that is to ſay, *Mars*. Like as others alſo will ſay, that concupiſcence in us, is termed *Venus*; our gift of ſpeaking, *Mercury*; skill in arts and ſciences, *Muſes*; and prudence, *Minerva*. See you not how deep a pit and downfall of Atheiſme and Impiety is ready to receive and ſwallow us up, in caſe we range and diſtribute the gods according to the paſſions, powers, faculties and vertues that be in us?

I ſee it very well (quoth *Pemptides*:) but neither ſtandeth it with Piety and Religion, to make gods to be paſſions; nor yet contrariwiſe, to believe that paſſions be gods. How think you then (quoth my father) is *Mars* a god, or a paſſion of ours? *Pemptides* anſwered, That he thought him to be a god, ruling and ordering that part of our ſoul wherein is ſeated animoſity, anger and manly courage. What *Pemptides*, cried out my father then, hath that turbulent, warring, overthwart and quatrelling part in us, a Deity to be preſident over it, and ſhall this that breedeth Amity, ſociety and peace, be without a Divine power to govern it? Is there indeed, a martiall and warlike god of arms, called thereupon *Stratius* and *Enyalus*, who hath the ſuperintendence and preſidence of mutuall murders, wherein men

men kill and be killed; of armour, weapons, arrows, darts, and other ſhot of aſſaults and ſcaling walls, of ſacaege, pillage and booties? And is there never a god, to be a witneſs, guide, directour and coadjutor of unptiall affection and matrimoniall love, which endeth in unity, concord and fellowſhip? There is a god of the woods and forreſts, named *Agroteros*, who doth aid, aſſiſt, and encourage hunters, in chaſing and crying after the roe-buck, the wild goat, the hare and the hart; and they who lie in ſecret wait for to intercept wolves and bears in pitfalls, and to catch them with ſnares, make their prayers to *Ariſtæus*.

Who firſt as I have heard men ſay,
Did grimmes and ſnaves for wild beaſts lay.

And *Hercules* when he bent his bow, and was ready to ſhoot at a bird, called upon another god: and as *Æſchilus* reporteth,

Phœbus *the hunter directed by and by,*
His arrow ſtraight as it in air did flie.

And ſhall the man who hunteth after the firſt game in the world, even to catch friendſhip & amity, have no god nor demy-god, no angel to help, to favoriſe, and ſpeed his enterpriſe and good endeavours? For mine own part, my friend *Daphneus*, I take not man to be a more baſe plant or viler tree, than is the oak, the mulberry tree, or the vine which *Homer* honoureth with the name of *Hemeris*, conſidering that in his time and ſeaſon he hath a powerfull inſtinct to bud and put forth moſt pleaſantly, even the beauty both of body and mind. Then (quoth *Daphneus*) who ever was there, before God, that thought or ſaid the contrary? Who? anſwered my father: marry even all they verily, who being of opinion, that the carefull induſtry of plowing, ſowing, and planting appertaineth unto the gods:

For certain Nymphs they have hight Driades
Whoſe life they ſay, is equall with the trees.

And as *Pindarus* writeth,

God Bacchus *who the pure reſplendent light*
Of Autumne is, and with his kind influence
Doth nouriſh trees, and cauſe to grow upright,
And fructifie at length in affluence.

Yet for all this are not perſwaded that the nouriture and growth of children, and young folk, who in their prime and flour of age, are framed and ſhaped to ſingular beauty and feature of Perſonage, belongeth to any of the gods or demy gods. Neither by their ſaying, any deity or divine power, hath the care and charge of man, that as he groweth, he ſhould ſhoot up ſtreight, and ariſe directly to vertue; and that his naturall indument and generous ingenuity ſhould be perverted, daunted and quelled, either for default of a carefull Tutour and directour, or through the lewd and corrupt behaviour of bad company about him. And verily were it not a ſhamefull indignity and ingratitude thus to ſay? and in this behalf to drive God as it were from that bounty and benignity of his to mankind, which being diffuſed, ſpread, and diſperſed over all, is defectious in no part, no not in thoſe neceſſary actions and occaſions, whereof ſome have their end more needfull I wis many times than lovely or beautifull to ſee to. As for example, even our very birth at firſt, is nothing ſightly at all, nor pleaſant, in regard of the blood and bitter pangs that do accompany it, yet hath the ſame a goddeſſe to be the Preſident and overſeer thereof, to wit *Lucina*, called thereupon *Lochia* and *Ilithia*. Beſides, better it were for a man never to have been born, than to become evil and naught, for want of a good governour and guardian. Moreover the Deity and Divine power, leaveth not man deſtitute when he is ſick, no, nor when he is dead: but ſome God there is or other, that hath an office or function even then, and is powerfull in thoſe occaſions: there is one, I ſay, that helpeth to convey the ſouls of ſuch as have ended their life, from hence into another world, and to lay them in quiet repoſe, who for beſtowing and tranſporting of them in that ſort is called *Catunaſtes* and *Pſychopompos* according as he ſaith.

The Shady night me never bare
(The harps to ſound) a fine Muſician:
Nor Prophet ſecrets to declare:
Ne yet in cures a good Phyſician:
But for the ſouls of dead, below,
In their due place, them to beſtow.

And yet in theſe miniſteries and functions, many odious troubles and encoembrances there be: whereas contrariwiſe there can be named no work more holy, no Exerciſe, game of price or profeſſion of maiſteries, whatſoever, whereof it beſeemeh a god better to have the diſpoſe, preſidence and overſight, than is the charge and regard, to order and rule the deſires of lovers, affecting and purſuing beautifull perſons in the flour and prime of their age: for herein there is nothing foul, nothing forced nor by conſtraint: but that gentle perſwaſion and attractive grace, which yielding in truth a pleaſant and ſweet labour, leadeth all travell whatſoever unto vertue and amity; which neither without a god can attain unto the deſired end which is meet and convenient, nor hath any other god for the guide, maſter and conductor, than Love which is the companion of the Muſes, Graces and *Venus*;

For Cupid ſowing ſecretly,
In heart of man a ſweet deſire,
And heat of Love immediately
By kindling mild and gentle fire.

According as *Menalippedes* saith, tempereth the pleasantest things that be with those that are most fair and beautiful. How say you *Zeuxippus*, is it not so? Yes verily (quoth he) I am altogether of that mind: for to hold the contrary were very absurd. Then (quoth my Father again) and were it not as monstrous, that whereas Amity hath four several kindes and branches, according as the ancient Philosophers have divided it: The first in nature, then that of propinquity and local affinity, the third of society, and the last this of love, every one of the rest should have a god to be the President and Governour thereof, to wit, surnamed either φίλιος, or ξένιος, or ὁμόγνιος, and πάτριος, and this amorous amity only or love, as accursed, interdicted and excommunicate, be left without a Lord and Ruler? considering that it requireth more care, solicitude and government than all the rest? It doth indeed (quoth *Zeuxippus*) and need it hath not of that which is strange, but proper and familiar, of the own.

Moreover (quoth my father) a man may here take hold by the way of *Plato* his opinion and doctrine to this purpose: to wit, that there is one kinde of fury transmitted from the body to the soul, proceeding from certain indispositions and malignant distemperatures of ill humours, or else occasioned by some hurtful winde or pernicious spirit that passeth and entreth into it, and this fury is a sharp and dangerous disease. There is another not without some divine instinct: neither is it engendred at home and within us: but a strange inspiration it is, comming from without, a very alienation of reason, sense, and understanding, the begining and motion whereof ariseth from some better power and a certain divine puissance. And this passion in general is named *Enthusiasmus*, as one would say, a divine inspiration, for like as, ἐμπνεῖν, in Greek signifieth repletion with spirit or winde; And ἐνθεος, that which is full of prudence and wit: Even so, saith he, an agitation and shaking of the soul is called ἐνθουσιασμὸς by the participation and society of some more heavenly and divine power. Now this Enthusiasme is subdivided: for one part thereof is Prophetical, and can skill of foretelling natural things, when one is inspired and possessed by *Apollo*. A second is *Bacchanal* sent from *Bacchus*, whereof *Sophocles* speaketh in one place thus,

And see you dance.
With Corybants.

For those furies of dame *Cybele* the mother of the gods, as also Panique terrors and frights, hold all of the Bacchanal sacred ceremonies. The third proceedeth from the Muses, which meeting with a tender and delicate soul, not polluted with vice, stirreth up and raiseth a Poetical spirit, and Musical humour: as for that raging and Martial *Enthusiasme* (for *Arinianius* it is called) that furious inspiration breathing War, is well known to every man, for to proceed from god *Mars*; a fury wherein there is no grace, no musical sweetnesse, hindring the generation and nourishment of children, and inciting people to take armes. There remaineth one alienation more of the understanding, O *Daphneus*, and an exstacy or transportation of mans spirit, and the same not obscure, nor quiet and calme: concerning which I would demand of *Pemptides* here,

What god is he, that shakes the Spear
In hand, which doth so fair fruit bear.

Even this ravishment of love, settled as well upon fair and good boies, as honest and sober dames; which is the hottest and most vehement transportation of the mind: for see you not that even the very souldier and warriour himself, coming once to be surprised therewith, laid down his armes presently, and cast off his warlike fury,

For then his servants joy did make,
And Corselet from his shoulders take.

and himself having no more mind to Battel, sat still looking upon others that fought. And as for these Bacchanal motions, these wanton skippings and frisks of the Corybants, they use to appease and slay by changing, only in dancing of the measures, the foot Trochæus into Spondæus; and in song, the Phrygian tune into the Dorique: semblably *Pythia* the Priestesse of *Apollo*, being once come down from her three-footed fabrick, upon which she receiveth that incentive spirit of fury, remaineth quiet and in calme tranquillity: whereas the rage of love, after it hath once in good earnest caught a man, and set him on fire, there is no musick in the world, no charm, no lenitive song, no change of place able to stay it: for amorous persons when they be present, do love, if they be absent, do long; in the day time they follow after their sweet-hearts, by night they lie and watch at their doors; fasting and sober they call upon their fair Paramours, full and drunken, they sing and chant of them: neither are Poetical fansies and inventions, as one sometimes said for their lively and effectual expression, the dreams of persons waking; but rather this may be verified of lovers imaginations, who devise and talk with their loves absent, as if they were present, they salute, embrace, chide, and expostulate with them, as if they saw them in place: for it seemeth that our ordinary sight doth depaint other imagination with liquid and waterish colours, which quickly passe away, are gone and departed out of our minds: but the fansies and visions of Lovers being imprinted in their cogitations by fire, or enamelled, leave in their memory lively images surely engraved, which move, live, breath, speak, remain and continue ever after; like as *Cato* the Roman said, that the soul of the lover lived and dwelt in the soul of the loved: for that there is settled sure in him the visage, countenance, manners, nature, life, and actions of the person whom he loveth, by which being led and conducted, he quickly dispatcheth and cutteth off a long journey, as the * Cynicks are wont to say, finding a short, compendious and direct way unto unto vertue: for he passeth speedily from love to amity and friendship, being carried on end, by the favour of this God of Love, with the instinct of his affection, as it were with winde and tide, with weather and water together: In sum: I say, that this Enthusiasme or Ravishment of Lovers is not without some divine power, and that there is no other god to guide and govern it, than he whose feast we solemnize, and unto whom we sacrifice this very day: howbeit, for that we measure the greatnesse of a god by puissance especially and profit, according as among all humane goods, we hold Royalty and Vertue to be most divine, and do call them; it is time now to consider first and foremost, whether Love be inferiour to any other god in power? And verily *Sophocles* saith:

Venus *in power doth much availe,*
To win a prise and to prevaile.

Great also is the puissance of *Mars*: and verily we see the power of all other gods to be after a sort divided in these matters two waies, the one is allective, and causeth us to love that which is beautiful and good; the other is adversative, and maketh us to hate that which is foul and bad, which are the first impressions, that from the beginning are engraven in our minds, according as *Plato* in one place speaketh of the Idea. Let us now come to the point, and consider how the very act alone of *Venus* may be had for a great or some such small piece of silver, neither was there ever man known to endure any great travel, or to expose himself to any danger, for the enjoying of such a fleshly pleasure, unlesse he were amorous withall and love sick. And to forbear here to name such curtisans as *Phryne* and *Lais* were, we shall finde my good friend, that *Gnathænium* the harlot,

At lantern light in evening late,
Waiting and calling for some mate.

is many times passed by and neglected: but otherwhiles again,

If once some sudden spirit move,
The raging fit of fervent love.

it maketh a man to prize and esteem the aforesaid pleasure which erewhile he reckoned nothing worth, comparable in value to all the talents as they say, of *Tantalus* treasure, and equal to his great Seignory and Dominion; so enervate is the delight of *Venus*, and so soon bringeth it loathsome satiety, in case it be not inspired with the power of love: which we may see yet more evidently by this one argument; namely, that there be many men who will be content to part with others in this kinde of venereous pleasure, yea, and can finde in their hearts to prostitute unto them not only their Mistresses and Concubines, but also their own Espoused wives; as it is reported of that *Galba* or *Cabbas* a Roman, who, if I do not mistake, invited *Mecenas* upon a time unto his house, and feasted him; where perceiving how from him to his wife there passed same wanton nods and winkings, which bewraied that he had a mind and fansie to her, he gently rested his head upon a Pillow or Cushion, making semblance as though he would take a nap and sleep, whiles they dallied together: in the mean time when one of the servants which were without spying his time, came softly to the Table for to steal away some of the Wine that stood there; avaunt unhappy Knave (quoth *Galba*) being broad awake, and open eyed, knowest thou not that I sleep onely for *Mecenas* sake? But peradventure this was not so strange a matter, considering that the said *Galba* was no better than one of the buffons or pleasants that professe to make folk merry and to laugh. I will tell you therefore another example: At *Argos* there were two of the principal Citizens concurrents, and opposite one to the other in the Government of the City, the one was named *Nicostratus*, and the other *Phaulius*; now it fortuned upon a time that King *Philip* came to the Town: and commonly thought it was, that *Phaulius* plotted and practised to attain unto some absolute principality and soveraignty in the City, by the means of his wife, who was a young and beautiful Lady, in case he could bring her once to the Kings bed, and that she might lie with him. *Nicostratus* smelling and perceiving as much, walked before *Phaulius* door and about his house for the nonce, to see what he would do: who indeed having shod his wife with a paire of high shooes, cast about her a Mantle or Mandilion, and withal set upon her head a Chaplet or hat after the Macedonian fashion, and dressed her every way like unto one of the Kings Pages; sent her secretly in that habit and attire unto his lodging. Now considering there hath been in times past and is at this present such a number of amorous persons and lovers, have you ever read or known that any one of them hath been the Bawd to prostitute his own love, though he might thereby have gained Soveraign Majesty, and obtained the divine honours of *Jupiter*? I verily believe, no: for why? there is not a person dare quetch to contradict and oppose himself in Government of State against the actions of Princes and Tyrants? But on the other side, corrivals they have and concurrents many in love, such as will not stick to beard them in the question of fair, young and beautiful persons, whom they affect and fansie. For it is reported that *Aristogiton* the Athenian, *Antileon* the Metapontine, and *Menalippus* of *Agrigentum* never contended nor contested with the Tyrants, for all they saw them to waste and ruinate the common-weale, yea, to commit many enormious outrages; but when they began once to solicite and tempt their Paramors and Lovers, then they rose up as it were in the defence of their sacred Temples and Sanctuaries, then they stood against them even with the hazard and perill of their lives. It is said, that King *Alexander* wrote unto *Theodorus* the brother of *Proteas* in this wise: Convey unto me that Musical wench of thine, that sings so daintily, and receive for her ten talents, which I send by this bearer; let me have her, I say, unlesse thou thy selfe be in love with her. When *Antipatrides* another of his minions, came in a Maske on a time to his house, accompanied with

* κυνικοὶ, some Κεραυνοὶ, that is, Conical Poets.

with a prety girle that plaied upon the Psaltery, and sung passing well; *Alexander* taking great delight and contentment in the said damosell, demanded of *Antipatrides* whether he were not himself enamoured of her. And when he answered, Yes verily, and exceeding much. A mischief on thee (quoth he) leud Varlet as thou art, and the Devill take thee: but the wench he abstained from, and would not so much as touch her. But mark moreover and besides, of what power, even in Martiall feats of armes Love is: Love I say, which is not (as saith *Euripides*.

Of nature slow, dull, fickle, inconstant,
Nor in soft cheeks of maidens resiant.

For a man that is possessed secretly in his heart with Love, needeth not the assistance of *Mars* when he is to encounter with his enemies in the field; but having a god of his own within him, and presuming of his presence,

Most prest he is and resolute,
to passe through fire and seas;
The blasts of most tempestuous winds,
he cares not to appease,

And all for his friends sake, and according as he commandeth him. And verily, of those Children, as well Sons as Daughters, of Lady *Niobe*, who in a Tragedy of *Sophocles* are represented to be shot with arrowes, and so killed, one there was, who called for no other to help and succour her at the point of death, but only her Paramor, in this wise:

Oh that some God my love would send,
My life to save and me defend.

Ye all know, I am sure, do ye not how? and wherefore *Cleomachus* the Thessalian died in Combat? Not I for my part (quoth *Pemptides*) but gladly would I hear and learn of you. And it is a story (quoth my Father) worth the hearing and the knowledge. There came to aid the Chalcidians, at what time there was hot war in *Thessalie* against the Eretrians, this *Cleomachus*: now the Chalcidians seemed to be strong enough in their footmen, but much ado they had, and thought it was a difficult piece of service, to break the cavallerie of their enemies, and to repel them. So they requested *Cleomachus* their allie and confederate, a brave Knight, and of great courage, to give the first charge, and to enter upon the said men of armes. With that, he asked the youth whom he loved most intirely, and who was there present whether he would behold this enterprise, and see the conflict: and when the young man answered yea, and withall, kindly kissing and embracing him, set the helmet upon his head; *Cleomachus* much more hardily and fuller of spirit then before, assembled about him a troop of the most valorous horsemen of all the Thessalians, advanced forward right gallantly, and with great resolution set upon the enemies, in such sort, as at the very first encounter he brake the front, disarraied the men of armes, and in the end put them to flight. Which discomfiture, when their Infanterie saw, they also fled: and so the Chalcidians woon the field, and atchieved a noble victory. Howbeit, *Cleomachus* himself was there slain, and the Chalcidians shew his sepulchre and monument in their Market place, upon which there standeth, even at this day, a mighty pillar erected. And whereas the Chalcidians before time held this praedarsty or love of young Boyes an infamous thing, they of all other Greeks ever after affected and honoured it most. But *Aristotle* writeth, that *Cleomachus* indeed lost his life after he had vanquished the Eretrians in battell: but as for him who was thus kissed by his lover, he saith that he was of *Chalcis* in *Thrace*, sent for to aid those of *Chalcis* in *Eubea*: and hereupon it commeth that the Chalcidians use to chant such a Caroll as this:

Sweet Boies, fair Imps extract from noble race,
Endued besides with youth and beauties grace,
Envy not men of armes and bold courage,
Fruition of your prime and flowring age:
For here as well of Love and kinde affection,
As of prowesse, we all do make profession.

* Or intituled *Amia.* book * of Causes. The lover was named *Anton*, and the boy whom he loved *Philistus*, as *Dionysius* the Poet writeth in his

And in our City of *Thebes*, O *Pemptides*, did not one *Ardetas* give unto a youth whom he loved, a compleat armour, the day that he was inrolled souldier, with the inscription of *Ardetas* his own name? And as for *Pammenes* an amourous man and one well experienced in love matters, he changed and altered the ordinance in battell of our footmen heavily armed, reproving *Homer* as one that had no skill nor experience of Loves; for ranging the Achæans by their tribes and wards, and not putting in array the lover close unto him whom he loveth: for this indeed had been the right ordinance, which *Homer* describeth in these words:

The Morians set so close, and shield to shield.
So joyntly touch'd that one the other held

And this is the only battalion and army invincible. For men otherwhiles in danger abandon those of their tribe, their kindred also and such as be allied unto them: yea, and believe me they forsake their own Fathers and Children: but never was there enemy seen, that could pass through, and make way of evasion between the lover and his darling, considering that such, many times, shew their adventerous Resolutio in an bravery, and how little reckoning they make of life, unto them being in

in no distresse nor requiring so much at their hands. Thus *Thero* the Thessalian laying and clapping his left hand to a wall, drew forth his sword with the right, and cut off his own thumbe, before one whom he loved, and challenged his corrival to do as much, if his heart would serve him. Another chanced in fight to fall groveling upon his face, and when his enemy lifted up his sword to give him a mortal wound, he requested him to stay his hand a while until he could turn his body, that his friend, whom he loved, might not see him wounded in his back part. And therefore we may see, that not only the most martial and warlick Nations are most given to Love, to wit, the Bœotians, Lacedemonians, and Candiots, but also divers renowmed Princes and Captaines, of old time: as namely, *Meleager*, *Achilles*, *Aristomenes*, *Cimon*, *Epaminondas*. And as for the last named, he had two young men whom he dearly loved, *Asopicus* and *Zephiodorus*, who also died with him in the field at *Mantinea*, and was likewise interred neer unto him. And when *Asopicus* became hereupon more terrible unto his enemies, and most resolute, *Euchnanus* the Amphyssian, who first made head against him, resisted his fury, and smote him, had Heroique Honours done unto him by the Phocæans. To come now unto *Hercules*; hard it were to reckon and number his loves they were so many: But among others, men honour and worship to this day *Iolaus*, because they take him to have been *Hercules* his dearling, in so much as upon his Tombe the manner is of lovers to take a corporal oath and assurance of reciprocal Love. Moreover it is reported of *Apollo*, that being skilful in Physick, he saved the life of *Alcestis* being desperately sick, for to gratifie *Admetus*, who as he loved her intirely being his wife, so he was as tenderly beloved of him. For the Poets do fable, that *Apollo*, being inamoured, for pure Love,

Did serve Admetus *one whole year,*
As one that his bir'd servant were.

And here it falleth out, in some sort well, that we have made mention of *Alcestis*: for albeit women have not ordinarily, much dealing with *Mars*, yet the ravishment and furious fits of Love driveth them otherwhiles to enterprise somewhat against their own nature, even to voluntary death: and if the poetical fables are of any credit, and may go current for truth, it is evident by such reports as go of * *Alcestis* of *Protesilaus*, and *Euridice* the wife of *Orpheus*, that *Pluto* obeyeth no other god but only Love, nor doth what they command. And verily howsoever in regard of others gods, as *Sophocles* saith,

He cannot skill of equity,
of favour and of grace.
But only with him Justice straight,
and rigour taketh place.

* For *Alcestis* was reported to die for the love of *Admetus*, and to save his life:

Yet he hath good respect and reverence to lovers, and to them alone he is not implacable nor inflexible. And therefore a good thing it is, my friend, I confesse, to be received into the religious confraternity of the Eleusinian mysteries: but I see that the votaries professed in Love, are in the other world in better condition accepted with *Pluto*: And this I say as one who neither am too forward in believing fained fables of Poets, nor yet so backward as to distrust and discredit them all: for I assure you they speak well, and by a certain divine fortune and good hap they hit upon the truth, saying as they do, that none but lovers returne from hell unto this light again: but what way and how they wot not; as wandring indeed and missing of the right path, which *Plato* of all men first by the meanes of Philosophy found out and knew. And yet among the Egyptians fables, there be certain small slender and obscure shadowes of the truth, dispersed here an there. Howbeit they had need of an expert and well experienced hunter, who by small tracts knoweth how to trace and finde out great matters. And therefore let us passe them over.

And now that I have discourſed of the force and puissance of Love being so great as it appeareth, I come now to examine and consider the bounty and liberality thereof to mankinde, not whether it confer many benefits upon them, who are acquainted with it, and make use thereof (for notable they be and well known to all men) but whether it bringeth more and greater commodity to those that are studious of it, and be amorous? For *Euripides*, howsoever he were a great favourite of Love; yet so it is, that he promised and admired that in it, which of all others is least, namely when he said,

Love teacheth Musick; marke when you will,
Though one before thereof had no skill.

For he might as well have said, that it maketh a man prudent and witty, who before was dull and foolish; yea and valiant, as hath been said, who before was a coward; like as they that by putting into fire burning peeces of wood, make them firme and straight, where as they were before weak and tender: Semblably, every amorous person becometh liberal and magnificent, although he had been aforetime a pinching snudge: For this base avarice and michery waxeth soft, and melteth by love, like as iron in the fire, in such sort, as men take more pleasure to give away and bestow upon those whom they love, than they do to take and receive of others. For ye all know well how *Aristus* the son of *Anthemion* was inamoured upon *Alcebiades*, and when he had invited certain friends and guests of his unto a sumptuous and stately feast in his house, *Alcebiades* came thither in a Maske to make passime; and after he had taken with him one half of the silver cups that stood upon the boord before them, went his waies, which when the guests took not well, but said that the youth had behaved himself very proudly and maliperly toward him. Not so (quoth *Anytus*) for he hath dealt very courteously with

with me, in that, when he might have gone away with all, he left thus much behind for me. *Zeuxippus* taking joy hereat: O *Hercules* (quoth he) you want but a little of ridding quite out of my heart that hereditary hatred derived and received from our Ancestours, which I have taken against *Anytus*, in the behalf of *Socrates* and Philosophy, in case he were so kinde and courteous in his Love. Be it so (quoth my Father) but let us proceed: Love is of this nature, that it maketh men otherwise melancholick, austere, and hard to be pleased or conversed withall, to become more sociable gentle, and pleasant: for as ye know well enough,

More stately is that house in sight,
Wherein the fire burns clear and bright.

and even so, a man is more lightsome and jocund, when he is well warmed with the heat of Love. But the vulgar sort of men are in this point somewhat perversly affected and beside all reason; for if they see a flashing celestiall light in an house by night, they take it to be some divine apparition, and wonder thereat: but when they see a base, vile, and abject mind suddenly replenished with Courage, Liberty, Magnificence, desire of Honour, with Grace, Favour, and Liberality, they are not forced to say, as *Telemachus* did in *Homer*,

Certes, some god, I know full well,
Is now within, and here doth dwell.

And is not this also, quoth *Daphnæus*, (tell me, I pray you, for the love of all the Graces) an effect of some divine cause? that a lover who regardeth not, but despiseth in a manner all other things, I say not his familiar friends onely, his fellowes and domesticall acquaintance, but the Lawes also and Magistrates, Kings and Princes; who is affraid of nothing, admireth, esteemeth, and observeth nothing; and is beside so hardy, as to present himself before the flashing shot of piercing lightning, so soon as ever he espieth his fair love,

Like to some Cock of cravain kinde less fall,
Or bangs the wing, and daunted is withall,

He droups I say, his Courage is cooled, his heart is done, and all his animosity quailed quite. And here it were not impertinent to the purpose, to make mention of *Sappho* among the Muses. The Romans write in their history, that *Cacus* the Son of *Vulcane* breathed and flashed flames of fire from his mouth. And in truth the words that *Sappho* uttereth, be mixed with fire, and by her verses testifieth the ardent and flaming heat of her heart,

Seeking for Love some Cure and remedy,
By pleasant sound of Muses melody,

as *Philoxenus* writeth. But *Daphnæus*, unlesse peadventure the Love of *Lysandra* have made you to forget your old sports and delights wherewith you were wont to passe the time away, call to mind (I beseech you) and rehearse unto us those sweet verses of faire *Sappho*, wherein she saith, that when her Love came in her sight, she lost her voice presently, and was speechlesse, her body ran all over into cold sweats, she became pale and wan, she fell a trembling and quaking, her braines turned round, surprised she was with dizinesse, and fell into a fainting fit of swooning.

Thrice happy do I hold that wight,
Who may ere soones enjoy thy sight,
Of thy sweet voice to reap delight,
And pleasant smiles:
Which kindle in me such a fire,
That, as I them do much admire,
My heart they Ravish, and desire
Transport the whiles.
Thy face no sooner do I see,
But sudden silence comes on me;
My tongue strings all dissolven be,
And speech quite gone:
Then, underneath my skin is spread
A fiery flush of colour red;
With that mine eyes be darkened
And sight yeeld none.
Mine eares also do buze and ring,
And yet distinctly hear nothing;
Cold drops of sweat run down tricling,
Or stand as dew:
My joynts anon and sinewes shake,
My heart-root pants, my flesh doth quake;
And paleness soon doth overtake,
My former hew.
And thus full wan I do remain
As flower in house that long hath laine,
Or grasse in field, which wanting raine,
Doth quickly fade:
Until

Until at length in extasie,
Withouten sense and breath I lie;
As if death of me suddenly
Surprize had made.

When *Daphnæus* had recited this sonnet: Is not this (quoth my father, in the name of *Jupiter* I beseech you) a plain possession of the mind by some heavenly power; is not this (I say) an evident motion, and a very celestial ravishment of the spirit? What furious passion was there ever so great and strong, that came upon the Prophetesse *Pythia*, when she mounted that three-footed fabrick, from whence she delivered Oracles? Who ever was there so far transported and carried beside himself by the Pipes and Flutes of fanatical persons supposed to be surprized by some divine spirit of fury, by the Tabour and other strange ceremonies in the service of *Cybele* the Mother of the gods? Many there be, that hold the same body, and look upon the same beauty; but the amorous person only is caught and ravished therewith. What should be the reason of is? Certes, there is some cause thereof? Verily, when *Menander* sheweth it unto us, yet we learn it not, nor understand his meaning by these verses:

There is a malady of the mind,
That it surpriseth fatally:
Who smitten is therewith, doth finde
Himself sore wounded inwardly.

And hereof is god Love the cause, who toucheth one, and spareth another. But that which ought indeed to have been spoken rather at the first,

Since now it comes into my mind,
And way out of my mouth would finde,

as *Æschylus* saith, I think not good to overpasse in silence, being a matter of so great importance. For of all things else (my good friend) in a manner, whereof we take knowledge, not by the ministry of the five natural senses; some there be, that came into credit (at the beginning) and authority, by fables; others, by lawes; and the rest, by doctrine and discourse of reason. Now the constant beliefe and full perswasion of the gods, the first Masters, Teachers and Authors altogether thereof, were Poets, Lawgivers, and in a third ranke, Philosophers, who all with one accord joyntly did set this down as a verity, that Gods there be: howbeit, they are at great discord and variance, touching the number, order, nature, essence and power of them. For those whom the Philosophers acknowledge to be gods, are not subject to diseases, nor to age, neither know they what it is to feel pain or endure travel:

Escape they do the passage of the firth,
Of roaring Acheron, and live in joy and mirth.

And in that regard Philosophers admit not at all the Poetical Ἐρῶτες and Ἔρωτ, that is to say, contentions and reconciliations: they will not allow Λοιμὸς and φοβος, to be gods, nor confesse them to be the Sons of *Mars*: and in many points do they differ also and dissent from Lawgivers; as *Xenophanes* did, who said unto the Egyptians as touching *Osiris*: If you take him for a mortal man, adore him not; if you account him an immortal god, lament not for him. Again, the Poets and Lawgivers on the other side, deign not, nor will abide so much as to hear those Philosophers who of certain Ideæ, numbers, unities, and spirits, make gods; neither can they possibly conceive and understand such doctrin. In sum, much variety there is and dissonance in their opinions, about this one point: but like as in old time there were three Sects or Factions in *Athens*, all adverse, opposite and malicious one unto the other, to wit, of the Paralli, the Epacrii, and Pædiæi: yet notwithstanding, when they were assembled and met together in a general Council, they gave all their voices and suffrages to *Solon*, and elected him with one common assent their Peace-maker, their Governour, and Lawgiver, as one worthy, without any question or doubt at all, to have conferred upon him the Principality and highest degree of Vertue and Honour: even so those three sects differing in opinion about the gods, and giving their voices some on this side, and others on that, and not willing to subscribe one unto another, nor easily receiving that which is otherwise delivered than by themselves, be all of one and the same mind as touching this one god Love; and him the most excellent Poets, the best Lawgivers, and the Principal Philosophers, admit with one voice into the Register and Kalender of the gods, praising and extolling him highly in all their writings. And like as *Alcæus* saith, that all the Mitylenæans with one accord and general consent, chose *Pittacus* for their Soveraigne Prince and Tyrant; even so *Hesiodus*, *Plato*, and *Solon*, bring and conduct Love out of *Helicon*, into the Academy unto us, for our King, Prince, and President, crowned and adorned gaily with Garlands and Chaplets of flowers, honoured also, and accompanied with many shackles and couples professing amity and mutual society: not such as *Euripides* saith:

With fetters bound and tied was,
Far stronger than of iron and brasse.

Linking them by a cold, heavy, and massie chain of need and necessity, as a colourable veil and pretence to shame and turpitude; but such as are carried by winged Chariots unto the most goodly and beautiful things in the world, whereof others have treated better and more at large. When my father had thus said: See you not (quoth *Soclarus*) how being fallen now again, the second time into one and the same matter, you forced your self to turn away from it, I wot not how, avoiding to enter into this holy discourse, and (if I may be so bold to say what I think) shifting off unjustly to pay the debt, which you have promised us? for having ere while by the way, and against your will made

some little mention of the Egyptians and of *Plato*; you passed them over then, and even so do you at this present: as for that which *Plato* hath written, or rather these Muses here have by him delivered, I know well you will say nothing thereof; although we should request and pray you to do it: but for that you have covertly signified thus much, that the Mythology or tables of the Egyptians accord sufficiently with the doctrine of the Platonicks concerning Love: it were against all reason that you should refuse to discover, reveale, and declare it unto us: and content will we be, in case we may hear but a little of such great and important matters. Now when the rest of the company instantly intreated likewise; my father began again and said: That the Egyptians, like as the Greeks, acknowledge two kindes of Love, the one Vulgar, the other Celestial: they believe also that there is a third beside, to wit, the Sun; and *Venus* above all they have in great admiration; as for us we see a great affinity and resemblance between Love and the Sun; for neither of them both is (as some do imagine) a material fire, but the heat of the one and the other is milde and generative; for that which proceedeth from the Sun, giveth unto bodies nouriture, light, and deliverance from cold Winter; that which cometh from the other worketh the same effects in souls: and as the Sun between two clouds, and after a foggy mist breaketh forth most ardent: even so Love after anger, fallings out, and fits of jealousie; upon attonement and reconciliation made between Lovers, is more pleasant and fervent: and look what conceit some have of the Sun, that it is kindled and quenched alternatively, namely, that every Evening it goeth out, and every Morning is lighted again: the same they have of Love, as being mortal, corruptible, and not permanent in one estate: moreover, that habit or constitution of the body which is not exercised and inured to endure both cold and heat, cannot abide the Sun; no more can that nature of the soul which is not well nurtured and liberally taught, be able to brook Love, without some pain and trouble; but both the one and the other is transported out of order, yea and indisposed or diseased alike, laying the weight upon the force and power of Love, and not upon their own impuissance and weakenesse: this only seemeth to be the difference between them; that the Sun exhibiteth and sheweth unto those upon the earth who have their eye-sight, things beautiful and foul indifferently; whereas Love is the light that representeth fair things only, causing lovers to be lookers of such alone, and to turn toward them; but contrariwise to make none account of all others. Furthermore, they that attribute the name of *Venus* to the Earth, are induced thereto by no similitude nor proportion at all; for that *Venus* is divine and Celestial, but the region wherein there is a mixture of mortal with immortal, is of it self feeble, dark, and shady, when the Sun shineth not upon it; like as *Venus*, when love is not assistant unto it: and therefore more credible it is, that the Moon should resemble *Venus*, and the Sun Love, rather than any other god; yet are not they therefore all one, because the body is not the same that the soul is, but divers; like as the Sun is sensible and visible; but Love spiritual and intelligible: and if this would not seem a speech somwhat harsh, a man might say, that the Sun doth clean contrary unto Love, for that it diverteth our understanding from the speculation of things intelligible, unto the beholding of objects sensible, in abusing and deceiving it by the pleasure and brightnesse of the sight, perswading it to seek in it, and about it, as all other things, so truth it self, and nothing else where, being ravished with the Love thereof,

For that we see it shine so fair
Upon the earth, amid the air,

according as *Euripides* saith, and that for want of knowledge and experience of another life, or rather by reason of forgetfulnesse of those things which Love reduceth into our memory. For like as when we awake in some great and resplendent light, all nightly visions and apparitions vanish away and depart, which our soul saw during sleep: even so it seemeth that the Sun doth astonish the remembrance of such things as here happen and chance in this life; yea, and to bewitch, charm, and enchant our understanding, by reason of pleasure and admiration, so as it forgetteth what it knew in the former life: and verily there is the true and real substance of those things; but here apparitions only, by which our soul in sleep admireth, and embraceth that which is most beautiful, divine, and wonderful: but as the Poet saith;

About the same are vaine illusions,
Dreams manifold, and foolish visions.

And so the mind is perswaded that all things here be goodly and precious, unlesse haply by good adventure it meet with some divine, honest, and chast Love for to be her Physitian and savior; which passing from the other World by things corporal, may conduct and bring it to the truth, and to the pleasant fields thereof, wherein is seated and lodged, the perfect, pure, and natural beauty, not sophisticate with any mixture of that which is counterfeit and false; where they desire to embrace one another, and to commune together as good friends, that of long time have had no interview nor entercourse, assisted alwaies by Love, as by a Sextain, who leadeth by the hand those that are professed in some religion, shewing unto them all the holy reliques and sacred ceremonies one after another. Now when they be sent hither again, the soul by it self cannot come neer and approach thereto, but by the Organ of the body: and like as, because young children of themselves are not able to comprehend intelligible things; therefore Geometricians put into their hands visible and palpable formes, of a substance incorporal and impassible, to wit, the representations of Spheare, Cubes, or Square bodies, as also those that be *Dodecaedra*, that is to say, having twelve equal faces: even so the Celestial Love doth present and shew unto us, fair mirrours to behold therein beautiful things, howbeit mortal,

mortal, thereby to admire such as be heavenly and divine; sensible objects, for to imagine thereby those that be spiritual and intelligible. These be the several favours and beauties, fair colours, pleasant shapes, proportions and features of young persons in the flour of their age; which shining and glittring as they do, gently excite and stir up our memory, which by little and little at the first is enflamed thereby: whereby it cometh to passe that some through the folly of their friends and kinsfolk, endeavouring to extinguish this affection and passion of the mind, by force, and without reason, have enjoyed no benefit thereof, but either filled themselves with trouble and smoke, or else running with their heads forwards, into beastly and filthy pleasures, pined away and were consumed. But such as by wise and discreet discourse of reason, accompanied with honest and shamefast modesty, have taken from Love the burning furious and fiery heat thereof, and left behinde in the soul a spendour and light, together with a moderate heat (and not a boiling agitation thereof, stirring, as one said, a slippery motion of the seed, when as the Atomes of *Epicurus* by reason of their smoothnesse and tickling are driven together) which causeth a certain dilatation, wonderful generative, like as in a Plant or Tree, which putteth forth leaves, blossomes, and fruit; for that she receiveth nutriment, because the pores and passages of docility, obedience, and facility to be perswaded by entertaining gently good admonitions and remonstrances be open, such I say within a small time pierce farther, and passe beyond the bodies of those whom they Love, entring as far as into their souls, and touch their towardnesse, their conditions and manners, reclaiming their eyes from beholding the body, and conversing together by the communication of good discourse, behold one another by that means; provided alwaies that they have some mark and token of true beauty imprinted within their understanding; which if they cannot finde, they forsake them, and turn their Love unto others, after the manner of Bees, which leave many green leaves and fair flowres, because they can gather out of them no honey; but look when they meet with any trace, any influence, or semblance of divine beauty smiling upon them, then being ravished with delight and admiration, and drawing it unto them, they take joy and contentment in that which is truely amiable, expetible, and to be embraced of all men.

True it is that Poets seem to write the most part of that which they deliver as touching this god of Love, by way of meriment, and they sing of him as it were in a Mask; and little do they speak in good earnest touching the very truth, whether it be upon judgement and reason, or some divine instinct and inspiration: as for example among other things, that which they give out concerning the generation of this god, in this manner:

Dame Iris *with fair winged shoes,*
and golden yellow hair,
Conceived by Sir Zephyrus,
the mightiest god did bear.

Unlesse it be so that you also are perswaded by the Grammarians, who hold that this fable was devised to expresse the variety and gay diversity, as it were of sundry colours represented in this passion of Love. For, what else should it respect (quoth *Daphneus*) Listen then said my father, and I will tell you. Forced we are, by manifest evidence to beleeve, that when we behold the Rain-bow, it is nothing else but a reflexion of raies and beames, which our eyes suffer, when our sight falling upon a cloud * somwhat moist but even and smooth withall, and of an indifferent and mean * thicknesse, meeteth with the Sun beames, and by way of repercussion seeth the radiant raies thereof, and the shining light about it, and so imprinteth in our mind this opinion, that such an apparition indeed is settled upon the cloud. And even such is the Sophistical device and subtile invention of love, that in the generous and toward minds of gentle lovers, it causeth a certain reflexion of memory, from beauties appearing here, and so called, in regard of that divine, lovely indeed, blessed and admirable beauty. Howbeit the common sort, pursuing and apprehending the image only thereof, expressed in fair persons, as well boies as young damosels, as it were in mirrours, can reap no fruit more certain and assured than a little pleasure mingled with pain among; which is nothing else as it seemeth, but the errour and wandring dizzinesse or conceit of most folk, who in clouds and shadows seek and hunt after the contentment of their lust and desire: much like unto young children who think to catch the Rainbow in their hands, being drawn and allured thereto by the deceitful shew presented to their eyes. Whereas the true lover indeed, who is honest and chast, doth far otherwise: for he lifteth up his desire from thence, to a divine, spiritual and intelligible beauty: and whensoever he meeteth with the beauty of a visible body, he useth it as the instrument only of his memory, he imbraceth and loveth it: by conversing also with it joyfully, and with contentment, his understanding is more and more inflamed. Such amorous persons as these, whiles they hant these bodies here, neither rest so sitting still, in a desire and admiration of this clear beauty: nor when they are come thither after their death, return they hither again as fugitives, for to hover and keep about the doors, chambers and cabinets of young married wives, which are nothing else but vaine dreams and illusions appearing to sensual men and women given overmuch to voluptuous pleasures of the body, and such as untruly be called lovers. For he, who in truth is amorous, and is thither come where true beauties are, and converseth with them, as much as it is possible and lawful for a man to do, is winged anon, mounteth up on high, he is purified and sanctified, continually abiding resident above, dancing, walking and disporting alwaies about his god, untill he come back again into the green and fair Meaddows of the Moon and of *Venus*, where, being laid a sleep, he beginneth to receive regeneration and new nativity. But this is an higher

* μιγάσι.

point and deeper matter, than we have undertaken at this present to discourse upon. To return therefore unto our Love, this property also it hath, like as all other gods, according to *Euripides*,

To take great joy and much content,
When men with honours him present.

And contrawise, he is no lesse displeased, when abuse or contempt is offered unto him. For most kinde and gracious he is unto them that receive and entertain him courteously: and again as curst and shrewd to those who shew themselves stiff-necked and contumacious unto him. For neither *Jupiter* surnamed *Hospitall*, is so ready to chastise and punish wrongs done unto guests and suppliants, nor *Jupiter Genitall* so forward to prosecute and accomplish the Curses and Execrations of Parents, as Love quickly heareth the praiers of those Lovers who are unthankfully requited by their Loves, being the punisher of Proud, rude, and uncivill persons. For what should one speak of *Euchcyntus Leucomantis*, her I mean, who even at this day is called in *Cypres*, *Paracyptusa*? And peradventure you have not heard of the punishment of *Gorgo* in *Candia*, who was served much after the manner of the said *Paracyptusa*, save onely that she was turned into a stone, when she would needs look out at a window, and put forth her body to see the Corps of her Lover interred. But of this *Gorgo* there was sometime one enamoured, whose name was *Asander*, a young Gentleman, honest, and of good Parentage descended, who having been before time of worshipfull and wealthy Estate, was decayed much, and brought to poverty: howbeit his mind abated not so withall, that he thought himself unworthy of the best fortune that might be. Whereupon he sued unto this *Gorgo* a Kinswoman of his, by way of Marriage, notwithstanding that for her goods and riches she was much sought unto and wooed by many others: and albeit he had divers great and wealthy competitors and corrivals, yet he had wrought and gained all the guardians, tutors and neareſt kinsfolk of the Damosell to second his sute.

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Here there is a great defect and breach in the original.

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Moreover those things which are named to be the causes that ingender Love, be not proper and peculiar to the one sex or to the other, but common to them both. For those Images which from without peirce and enter into amourous persons, according to the Epicureans opinion, running to and fro, stirring and tickling the mass of the whole body, gliding and flowing into the genetall seed, by certain other dispositions of the atomes, it cannot be that they should so do from young Boyes, and impossible altogether from Women: unlesse also these fair and sacred recordations we call and refer unto that divine, true and celestiall beauty, according to the Platoniques, by the meanes of which rememorations, as with wings, the soul is mounted and carryed up. What should hinder then, but that such recordations may pass as well from young Boies as Damosels or Women? especially when as we see a good nature, chast and honest, appear joynely in the flower of favour and beauty, like as, according to *Aristotle*, a streight and well-fashioned shoe, sheweth the good form and proportion of the foot: which is as much to say, as when under beautifull faces, and in neat and fair bodies, they, who are skilfull in the knowledge and judgement of such things, perceive the clear and evident traces of a sincere mind not corrupt nor counterfeit. For it is no reason that a voluptuous person being demanded this question.

For wanton Love how stands thy mind?
To males more, or to female kind?

and answering,

Both hands are right with me where beauty is,
Neither of twain to me can come amisse,

Should seem to have made fit and pertinent answer according to his own carnall concupiscence: and that an honest and generous person should not direct his affections to the beautifull and toward disposition of a youths nature, but to the naturall parts that make difference of sex. Certes he that loveth horses and is skilfull in good horsemanship, will love no lesse the generosity and swiftnesse of the horse *Podergus* than of *Æthe* the mare of *Agamemnon*. And the huntsman, taketh not pleasure onely to have good Dogges and Hounds of the male kind, but also keepeth the braches and bitches of *Candie* and *Laconia*. And shall he who loveth the beauty and sweet favour of mankind, not be indifferently affected both to the one sex and to the other, but make a difference, as in divers garments, between the love of Men and Women? And verily Men say, that Beauty is the flower and blossome of vertue. Now to say, that the feminine sex doth not flower at all, nor shew any appearance and token of a good and towardly disposition to vertue, were very absurd: for *Æschylus* went to the purpose, when he wrote these Verses:

A Damsell young, if she have known
and tasted man once carnally,
Her eye doth it bewray anon,
it sparkles fire suspiciously.

Go to then: are there evident markes and signes to be seen upon the visages of Women, to testifie a malapart, bold, wanton, and corrupt nature; and contrariwise, shall there be no light shining in their faces,

faces, to give testimony of their modesty and pudicity? Or rather, shall there be divers demonstrative evidences in many of them, but yet such as will not stir up and provoke any person to love them? Surely it is neither so nor so; there is no truth nor probability in any of them both: but every thing is common indifferently, as well in the one sex as the other, as we have shewed. * * * * * *

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Here also there is another want in the originall.

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O *Daphnæus*, let us impugn and confute those reasons, whereuppon *Zeuxippus* erewhile discoursed, supposing that Love is all one with Concupiscence, which is disordinate, and leadeth the Soul into all loosnesse and dissolution. And yet I do not think, that he is so perswaded indeed, and of that belief; but for that he hath heard oftentimes odious persons, and such as have no lovelinesse in them, so to say: of whom, some hold under their hands, and have at command, poor silly Women, whom they have gotten for some petty dowries sake, and whom together with their monies they put to the managing of domesticall affaires, and to make base, vile, and mechanicall accounts, quarrelling and brawling with them every day; and others again, having more mind and desire to get Children, than to love espoused Wives, like unto Grashoppers, which cast their seed upon Squills, sea Onyons, or such like herbs, having discharged their lust in all the haste upon any body that first comes in their way, and reaped the fruit only that they sought for, bid Marriage farewell, and make no farther account of their wedded Wives, or if they tarry and stay with them still, they regard them no more than their old shoes, making no count either to love them, or to be loved reciprocally of them. And verily, *ἐρᾶν* and *ἐράσθαι*, which signifie, to love and to be loved again dearly, which differ but in one letter from the verb *σέρειν*, that is to say, to contain and hold together, seem unto me at the first sight, directly to import and shew a mutuall benevolence, by long time and acquaintance tempered with a kind of necessity. But look what person soever love setleth upon in Marriage, so as he be inspired once therewith; at the very first, like as it is in *Platoes* Common-wealth, he will not have these words in his mouth, *Mine* and *Thine*: for simply all goods are not common among all friends, but those only who being severed apart in body, conjoyn and colliquate, as it were perforce, their Souls together, neither willing nor beleeving that they should be twain but one: and afterwards by true pudicity and reverence one unto the other, whereof Wedlock hath most need. As for that which cometh from without, carying with it more force of Law, than voluntary obsequence and reciprocall duty, and that in regard of fear and shame,

A piece of work, that needs the guide,
Of many bits and helmes beside,

requireth alwaies to have ready at hand a careful regard among those that are coupled in Matrimony: whereas in true Love there is so much Continency, Modesty, Loyalty, and Faithfulnesse, that although otherwhile it touch a wanton and lascivious mind, yet it diverteth it from other Lovers, and by cutting off all mallapart boldnesse, by taking down and debasing insolent Pride and untaught Stubburnnesse, it placeth in lieu thereof, modest bashfulnesse, silence and taciturnity; it adorneth it with decent gesture, and seemly countenance, making it for ever after obedient to one lover only. Yee have heard (I am sure) of that famous and renowned Courtisan *Lais*, who was courted and sought unto by so many Lovers, and yee know well, how she inflamed and set on fire all *Greece* with the Love and longing desire after her; or to say more truly, how two seas strave about her? how after that the Love of *Hippolochus* the Thessalian had seised upon her, she quit and abandoneth the Mount *Acrocorinthus*,

Seated upon the river side,
Which with great waves by it did glide;

as one writeth of it; and flying secretly from a great Army as it were of other Lovers, she retired her self right decently within *Magalopolis* unto him; where other women upon very spight, envy, and jealousie, in regard of her surpassing beauty drew her into the Temple of *Venus*, and stoned her to death: whereupon it came, as it should seem, that even at this day they call the said Temple, The Temple of *Venus* the Murderesse. We our selves have known divers young Maidens, by condition no better than slaves, who never would yeeld to lie with their Master; as also sundry private persons of mean degree, who refused, yea, and disdained the company of Queens, when their hearts were once possessed with other Love, which as a Mistresse had the absolute command thereof. For like as at *Rome*, when there was a Lord Dictatour once chosen, all other Officers of State and Magistrates veiled bonet, were presently deposed, and layed down their ensignes of authority; even so those, over whom Love hath gotten the Mastery and rule, incontinently are quit, freed and delivered from all other Lords and Rulers, no otherwise than such as are devoted to the service of some religious place. And in truth, an honest and vertuous Dame, linked once unto her lawfull spouse by unfeigned Love, will sooner abide to be clipped, clasped and embraced by any Wolves and Dragons, than the contrectation and bedfellowship of any other man whatsoever but her own Husband. And albeit there

be an infinite number of examples among you here, who are all of the * same Countrey, and professed Associates in one dance, with this god Love; yet it were not well done to passe over in silence the accidents which befell unto *Gamma* the Galatian Lady. This young Dame being of incomparable Beauty, was married unto a Tetrarch or great Lord of that Countrey named *Sinnatus*; howbeit one *Sinorix* the mightiest man of all the Galatians was enamoured upon her; but seeing that he could not prevail with the woman neither by force and perswasion, so long as her Husband lived, he made no more ado, but murdred him. *Gamma* then having no other Refuge for her pudicity, nor comfort and easement of her hearts grief, made choice of the Temple of *Diana*, where she became a Religious Votary, according to the Custome of that Countrey. And verily, the most part of her time she bestowed in the worship of that goddesse, and would not admit speech with any suters, many though they were, and those great Personages, who sought her Marriage; But when *Sinorix* had made means very boldly to ask her the Question, and to sollicit her about that point, she seemed not to reject his motion, nor to expostulate and be offended for any thing past, as if for pure Love of her, and ardent Affection, and upon no wicked and malicious mind unto *Sinnatus*, he had been induced to do that which he did: and therefore *Sinorix* came confidently to treat with her, and demand marriage of her: she also for her part came toward the man kindly, gave him her hand, and brought him to the Altar of the said goddesse, where after she had made an offering unto *Diana*, by pouring forth some little of a certain drink made of wine and honey, as it should seem empoysoned, which she had put into a Cup, she began unto *Sinorix*, and drank up the one half of it, giving the rest unto the said Galatian for to pledge her. Now when she saw that he had drunk it all off, she fetched a grievous grone, and brake forth aloud into this speech, naming withall her Husband that dead was: My most loving and dear Spouse (quoth she) I have lived thus long without thee in great sorrow and heavinesse expecting this day; but now receive me joyfully (seeing it is my good hap to be revenged for thy death upon this most wicked and ungratious wretch) as one most glad to have lived once with thee, and to dye now with him. As for *Sinorix*, he was carried away thence in a Litter, and died soon after; but *Gamma* having survived him a day, and a night, died by report most resolutely, and with exceeding joy of spirit. Considering then, that there be many such like examples, as well among us here in *Greece*, as the Barbarians, who is able to endure those that reproach and revile *Venus*, as if being associate and assistant to Love, she should hinder Amity? whereas contrariwise, the company of male with male, a man may rather term intemperance and disordinate lasciviousnesse, crying out upon it in this manner.

* ὁμοχωρεῖν, or haply ὁμοχρεῖν.

Grosse wantonnesse or filthy lust it is,
Not Venus *fair that worketh this.*

And therefore such filths and baggages as take delight to suffer themselves voluntarily thus to be abused against nature, we reckon to be the most flagitious persons in the world; no man reposeth in them a-ny trust, no man doth them any jot of honour and reverence, nor vouchsafeth them worthy of the least part of friendship: but in very truth, according to *Sophocles*,

Such friends as these, men are full glad
and joy when they be gone:
But whiles they have them, wish and pray,
that they were rid anon.

As for those who being by nature lewd and naught, have been circumvented in their youth, and forced to yield themselves and to abide this villany and abuse, all their life after abhor the sight of such wicked wantons, and deadly hate them, who have been thus disposed to draw them to this wickednesse; yea and ready they are to be revenged, and to pay them home at one time or other, whensoever means and opportunity is offered: for upon this occasion *Gratenas* killed *Archelaus*, whom in his flower of youth he had thus spoiled: as also *Pytholaus* slew *Alexander* the Tyrant of *Pheræ*. And *Periander* the Tyrant of *Ambracia* demanded upon a time of the boy whom he kept, whether he were not yet with child; which indignity the youth took so to the heart, that he slew him outright in the place: whereas with women, and those especially, that be espoused and wedded wives, these be the earnest pennies as it were, and beginnings of Amity, yea, and the very Obligation and Society of the most sacred and holiest Ceremonies. As for fleshly pleasure it self, the least thing it is of all other: but the mutuall Honour, Grace, Dilection and Fidelity that springeth and ariseth from it daily, is highly to be reckoned and accounted of: and therefore neither can the Delphians be noted for folly, in that they term *Venus* ἅρμα, that is to say, a Chariot; by reason of this yoke-fellowship: nor *Homer*, in calling this Conjunction of man and wife, ἑλκος, that is to say, Amity and Friendship. *Solon* likewise is deemed by this, to have been an excellent Lawgiver, and most expert in that which concerneth marriage; when he decreed expresly that the Husband should thrice in a moneth at the least embrace his wife, and company in bed with her; not for carnall pleasures sake (I assure you) but like as Cities and States use, after a certain time between, to renew their Leagues and Confederacies one with another, so he would have that the alliance of marriage should eftsoons be entertained anew by such solace and delectation, after jarres, which other whiles arise and breed by some bone cast between. Yea, but there be many enormous and furious parts, will some one say, that are played by such as are in Love with women. And be there not more (I pray) by those that are enamoured upon boyes? do but mark him who uttereth these passionate words:

So

So often as these eyes of mine behold
That beardlesse youth, that smooth and lovely boy,
I faint and fall, then wish I him to hold
Within mine arms, and so to dy with joy:
And that on Tomb were set where I do lie,
An Epigram mine end to testifie.

But as there is a furious Passion of some men doting upon women, so there is as raging an affection in others, toward boyes, but neither the one nor the other is Love. Well, most absurd it were to say that women are not endued with other vertues: for what need we to speak of their Temperance and Chastity, of their Prudence, Fidelity and Justice, considering that even Fortitude it self, constant Confidence and Resolution, yea, and Magnanimity, is in many of them very evident? Now to hold that being by nature not indisposed unto other vertues, they are untoward for Amity onely and Friendship (which is an Imputation laid upon them) is altogether beside all Reason. For well known it is, that they be loving to their Children and Husbands: and this their naturall affection, is like unto a fertile field or battell soil, capable of Amity, not unapt for perswasion, nor destitute of the Graces. And like as Poesie having fitted unto speech Song, Meeter and Rhime, as pleasant Spices to aromatize and season the same; by means whereof that profitable instruction which is yielded, is more attractive and effectuall, as also the danger therein more inevitable: Even so nature, having endued a woman, with an amiable cast and aspect of the eye, with sweet speech, and a beautifull Countenance; hath given unto her great means, if she be lascivious and wanton, with her pleasure to deceive a man, and if she be chast and honest, to gain the good will and favour of her Husband. *Plato* gave Counsell unto *Xenocrates* an excellent Philosopher, and a worthy Personage otherwise, howbeit in his behaviour exceeding sour and austere, to sacrifise unto the Graces: and even so, a man might advise a good Matron and sober Dame, to offer Sacrifice unto Love, for his Propitious favour unto Marriage, and his Residence with her, and that her Husband, by her kind, loving demeanour unto him, may keep home, and not seek abroad to some other, and so be forced in the end to break out into such Speeches as these, out of the Comœdie:

Wretch that I am, and man unhappy I,
So good a Wife to quit with injury!

For in Wedlock, to love, is a better and greater thing by far, than to be loved; for it keepeth folk from falling into many faults and slips, or to say more truly, it averteth them from all those inconveniences, which may corrupt, marre, and ruinate a Marriage: as for those passionate affections, which in the beginning of Matrimoniall Love move fits, somewhat poinant and biting, let me entreat you (good friend *Zeuxippus*) not to fear, for any exulceration or smart itch that they have, although to say a truth, it were no great harm, if haply by some little wound, you may come to be incoporate and united to an honest woman; like as trees, that by incision are engraffed and grow one within another: for when all is said, is not the beginning of Conception a kind of exulceration? neither can there be a mixture of two things in one, unlesse they mutually suffer one of the other, and be reciprocally affected. And verily, the Mathematicall Rudiments which Children be taught, at the beginning trouble them, even as Philosophie at the first is harsh unto young men: But like as this unpleasantnesse continueth not alwayes with them, no more doth that mordacity stick still among Lovers. And it seemeth, that Love at the first resembleth the mixture of two liquours, which when they begin to incorporate together, boil and work one with another: for even so Love seemeth to make a certain trouble and ebullition; but after a while that the same be once settled, and throughly cleansed, it bringeth unto Lovers a most firm and assured habit: and there is properly that mixtion and temperature, which is called universall, and through the whole: whereas the Love of other friends conversing and living together, may be very well compared to the mixtion which is made by these touchings and interlacings of atomes, which *Epicurus* speaketh of; and the same is subject to Rupture, Separations, and Startings asunder: neither can it possibly make that Union which matrimoniall Love and mutuall Conjunction doth: for neither do there arise from any other Loves greater pleasures, nor commodities more continually one from another, ne yet is the benefit and good of any other friendship so honourable or expetible, as

ἀλλοτρίαν ἐπ' ἀλλοτρίαν τριχὸς ἁλίσκεσθαι] some read ἐμπαγῆναι, with the hair. But in what sense either the one or other, *vide infra alii.* but the corrupter very way, that it skilleth not if it be flood as all.

When man and wife keep house with one accord,
And lovingly agree at bed and board.

Especially when the Law warranteth it, and the Bond of Procreation common between them, is assistant thereto. And verily nature sheweth, that the gods themselves have need of such Love: for thus the Poets say, that the Heaven loveth the Earth; and the Naturalists hold, that the Sunne like-wise is in love with the Moon, which every moneth is in Conjunction with him, by whom also she is conceiveth. In brief, must it not follow necessarily, that the Earth, which is the mother and breeder of men, of living Creatures and all Plants, shall perish and be wholly extinct: when Love, which is ardent desire, and instinct inspired from God, shall abandon the matter, and the matter likewise shall cease to lust and seek after the Principle, and cause of her Conception?

But to the end that we may not range too far, nor use any superfluous and nugatory words, your self not understand do know, that these Pæderastics are of all other most uncertain, and such as use them are wont to scoff much thereat and say, that the Amity of such boyes, is in manner of an egge divided three wayes;

and

and as for themselves, they resemble the wandring *Nomades* in *Scythia*, who having encamped in the spring time, and pastured where the fields be green and full of flowers, presently dislodge and depart as it were out of an Enemies Country. And yet *Bion* the Sophister was more rough and odious in his words toward such, when he termed the first down or haires appearing upon the face of beautifull youths *Harmodii*, and *Aristogitones*; for that by them Lovers were delivered out of the tyranny of such fair Persons, when they begin once to bud and put forth. But these imputations are not justly charged upon true Lovers. As for that which *Euripides* said, it was pretty, and carried some elegancy with it; for as he embraced and kissed fair *Agathon*, even when his Beard began to grow, he said: that of fair persons, the very latter season of the Autumn was lovely and beautifull: But I say more than so, namely, that the loveliness of honest Women passeth not away with Rivels, Wrinkles, and hoary haires, but continueth alwaies even to their Sepulchre and Tombes of memoriall. Again, there are but few couples in that other Sex, of true Lovers; But of Men and Women joyned in Wedlock, an infinite number, who to the very last hour have kept most faithfully their Loyalty and hearty Love reciprocally one unto the other. But one example among many other, which befell in our dayes, under *Vespasian* the Emperour, I will relate unto you. *Julius*, the who in *Gallia* was the Authour of a revolt, and raised a rebellion, had many other complices, (as a Man may well think) of this conspiracy, and among the rest, one *Sabinus* a young Gentleman of an high spirit, and for Wealth and Reputation, a principall person, and of speciall mark: these Men having enterprised a great designment, failed of their purpose; and expecting no other but that they should, according to Justice, suffer due punishment according to their deserts, some killed themselves, other thinking to escape by flight, were apprehended; as for *Sabinus*, all other good and ready meanes he had to save himself, and flie unto the Barbarians in a strange Country: but lately he had taken to Wife, a most vertuous Dame, and every way right excellent, whose name in those parts was * *Empona*, as one would say in the Greek Language, ἡρωΐς, that is to say, a Princesse or great Lady; but her he could not possibly either in his Love endure to forsake, nor find meanes to take with him: whereas therfore he had at an house in the Country certain secret Vaults, and hidden Cellars deep under the ground, where he bestowed his treasure and goods in safety, and those known to two of his enfranchised servants, and no more; the rest of his Houshold Servitors he discharged and sent away; pretending unto them, that he was resolved to poyson himself; and retaining still about him those two trusty freedmen, with them he went down into those secret Caves or Vaults digged out of the ground; which done, he sent one of these enfranchised Servants of his, whose name was * *Martalinus* unto his Wife, to let her understand that he had killed himself with poyson, and that the whole house together with his Corps was burnt; for his purpose was, by the unfeigned sorrow and mourning of his Wife, to make the rumour that ran of his death, the better to believed; and so it fell out in very deed: for no sooner heard she this news, but with pitteous cries and dolefull lamentations, she cast her self upon the ground, where she at that time was, and lay there along for three dayes and three nights together, without meat or drink: which when *Sabinus* heard, fearing lest the Woman would by this meanes work her own death; he commanded the said *Martalinus* to round her secretly in the ear, that he was yet living, and lay hidden within the ground, requesting her withall, that she would continue still a while longer in this mournfull state, bewailing her Husbands death, yet so, as she might not be perceived to counterfeit; and verily this young Lady in all other respects performed the tragicall shew of that calamity so artificially, and played her part with such dexterity, that she confirmed the opinions received and divulged of his death: but having a longing desire to see him, she went by night unto him, and came again the same, so secretly, that no creature perceived it; and thus continued she this haunt from time to time, for the space of seven moneths, keeping company, and lying as one would say in hell under the ground with her husband; during which time, she one day disguised *Sabinus* in his apparell, and what with shaving his Beard, and knitting about his head a kerchief, she ordered the matter so, that he could not be known to them that met him: and upon hope of obtaining pardon, she brought him with her to *Rome*, with other stuff and carriages of hers: but when she could not speed, she retyred again into the Country, and for the most part abode and conversed with him under the ground: howbeit, otherwhiles between, she would repair to the City, and shew her self unto other Women her friends, and of her familiar acquaintance. But that of all which other seemeth most incredible, she handled the matter so, that it was never perceived she was with child, albeit she washed and bathed ordinarily with other Dames and Wives of the City; for the oyl or ointment wherewith Women use to annoint the hair of their head, for to make the same fair and yellow like burnishing gold, hath a certain property in it to pinguifie withall, to incarnate, and so to raise and rarifie the flesh, that it causeth it to be lax, and so to swell and puff up more plump: of this medicinable oyl she made no spare, but used to rub and besmere the other parts of body, in such sort, as that by their proportionable rising, she hid her great belly, which grew more round and full every day than other. Now when her time was come, she endured the pangs and paines of her Travell in Child-birth, alone by her self, being gon down to her Husband like a Lyonesse into her den, and there she suckled at her own Breast secretly, if I may so say, her male Whelps, for two Boy twins she was delivered of; of which two Sons, the one chanced to be slain in *Ægypt*, the other, not long since, but very lately, was with us at *Delphos*, named after his Father, *Sabinus*. Howbeit, for all this, *Vespasian* caused this Lady to be put to death; but for this Murther of his he dearly paid, and was punished accordingly: for within a while after, his whole posterity was utterly destroyed & rooted out

* Or *Feminance.*

* Or *Martialis.*

out from the face of the Earth, so as there remained not one of his race: for there was not in those daies, and during his Empire, a more cruel and inhumane fact committed; neither was there ever any other spectacle that both gods and angels seemed more to abhorr and to turn away their eyes from beholding. And yet her Grand eloquence and stout resolutions in her speech, whereby she did exasperate and provoke *Vespasian* most, was such, that it diminished much the pitiful ruth and compassion, that the beholders of the execution had of her: for when she was past hope of obtaining her husbands life, she would needs die in his turn, and required that exchange for him, saying withall, that it was a greater joy unto her, for to live in darknesse and under the earth, than to see him Emperour.

And herewith (quoth my father) ended their discourse as touching Love, at what time as they were neer unto *Thespies*, for then they might perceive comming toward them, faster than with a foot pace, one of *Pisias* friends, named *Diogenes*; unto whom *Soclarus* spake aloud, when he was yet a good way off: You bring us no news I hope *Diogenes* of War? Osse better than so (quoth he) being, as there is a Marriage toward; why mend you not your pace therefore, and make haste thither? for the Nuptial sacrifice stayeth only for your coming: At which words (as my father said) all the rest of the company joyed, and were exceeding glad, only *Zeuxippus* shewed himself mal-content, and not well pleased; for he could not dissemble it: howbeit he was the first man that approved the act of *Ilmenodora*, as good and lawful: and even now he willingly set a Garland upon his own head, and put on a white Wedding robe, marching before all the company through the Market-place, to render thanksgiving unto the god Love, for this Marriage. Well done (quoth my father then) I swear by *Jupiter*: goe we on all hands away, and let us be gone; that we may laugh and make our selves merry with this man, and withall adore and worship the god: for evident it is, that he taketh joy in that which hath been done, and is present with his favour and approbation to grace the Wedding.

Of the Face appearing within the Rundle of the Moon.

The Summary.

THis Dialogue is defective in the beginning thereof. In it are brought in Sylla *and* Pharnaces, *with some others, disputing with* Plutarch, *as touching one point of natural Philosophy, worthy to be considered and read over and over again, by those that take delight in such pleasant speculations meet for good wits to be exercised in. The weight of this matter concerneth the Globe of the Moon, and toucheth principally this notable accident of the face which appeareth therein: by occasion whereof, divers questions depending upon the first and principal, are discussed and resolved by our Author, according as he hath comprised and understood them. But here is the mischief in this discourse, like as in many others of this second Tome, that it is not only headlesse, but maimed also and dismembred otherwise: and yet the Translatour and the French especially hath with great dexterity laid the pieces together, so as the breaches can hardly be seen, unlesse a man lookvery neer. Now the principal matters handled here, be these that follow. After that* Plutarch *had refuted three opinions concerning the face in the Moon, and brought in one* Lucius, *maintaining that position of the Academiques, who presuppose that the Moon is terrene and consisteth of an earthly substance, he entreth into disputation against those who attribute one Centre unto the World and the Earth, labouring to confirm his own opinion by divers arguments marked in their order: which he handleth with such a grace, that yet a man may see withal, how natural Philosophy destitute of that light of Gods word (which by* Moses *in the first chapter of* Genesis *resolveth and cleareth infinite disputations and controversies in these matters) is in a manner blinde, and stumbleth many times most grosly and absurdly. Moreover, according to the train of words and speeches, which commonly in such conferences follow one upon another, they treat of the Centre and Motion of the Universal World, of the proportion thereof, and the principal parts of it, of the illumination of the Moon, of reflexions and mirrours, of Eclipses, and the shadow of the Earth. Item, whether the Moon be a Globe of fire, or of what else? What is her colour? From whence proceedeth and how cometh this resemblance of a face which is observed in her? Whether she be inhabited or no? As also of her Nature and Effects. Toward the end he intermedleth a fable fetched from the Poets and ancient Natural Philosophy, for to mollifie and make more probable and credible that which had been delivered as touching those that dwell within the Moon. In sum, this Treatise giveth good proof of the quick and pregnant wit of our Author, who could enter into, and peirce through all things: whereof if he have not alwaies attained unto the exact knowledge, we should rather by all likelihood blame the iniquity of long time, which hath not permitted us to have these Books entire and whole, than the insufficiency of so deep a Clerk. To conclude, this ought to unite those that sound and search into the secrets of Nature, to joyn with that which the modern Philosophers of our time are able to write sleightly and at ease of such matters, what hath been delivered by the ancients, who indeed have made the overture unto those who succeeded after them: to the end that there might be drawn out of them all, a certain firm resolution, which raiseth us up above the Moon, and all other Celestial bodies, unto the only God and sole Creator of so many admirable works, thereby to acknowledge, serve and praise him according as his Omnipotent greatnesse doth deserve.*

Of

Of the face appearing in the Rundle of the Moon.

WEll, thus much said *Sylla*, for it accorded well to my speech, and depended thereupon: but I would very willingly before all things else know, what need is there to make such a preamble for to come unto these opinions, which are so current and rife in every mans mouth, as touching the face of the Moon. And why not (quoth I) considering the difficulty of these points which have driven us thither? for like as in long maladies, when we have tried ordinary remedies, and usual rules of diet, and found no help thereby, we give them over in the end, and betake our selves to lustral sacrifices and expiations, to amulets or preservatives for to be hanged about our necks, and to interpretations of dreams: even so in such obscure questions, and difficult speculations, when the common and ordinary opinions, when usual and apparent reasons will not serve nor satisfie us, necessary it is to assay those which are more extravagant, and not to reject and despise the same, but to enchant or charm our selves, as one would say, with the discourses of our ancients, and try all means for to finde out the truth: for at the very first encounter you see, how absurd he is and intollerable, who saith, that the form or face appearing in the Moon, is an accident of our eye-sight, that by reason of weakness: giveth place to the brightness thereof, which accident we call the dazzeling of our eyes, not considering withal, that this should befal rather against the Sun, whose light is more resplendent, and beams more quick and piercing, according as *Empedocles* himself in one place pleasantly noteth the difference, when he saith:

The Sun that shines so quick and bright,
The Moon with dimme and stony light:

for so he expresseth that milde, amiable, pleasant, and harmlesse visage of the Moon: and afterwards rendereth a reason, why those, who have obscure and feeble sights, perceive not in the Moon any different form or shape, but unto them her Circle shineth plain, even, uniform and full round about; whereas they who have more quick and piercing eyes, do more exactly observe the proportion and lineaments, and discern better the impression of a face, yea, and distinguish more perfectly and evidently the several parts: for in mine opinion it would fall out clean contrary, in case the weakness: of the eye being overcome, caused this apparition, that where the patient eye is more feeble, there the said apparence and imagination should be more expresse and evident: furthermore, the enequality therein, doth fully every way confute this reason; for this face or countenance is not to be seen in a continuate and confused shadow: But *Agesianax* the Poet, right elegantly depainteth in some sort the same, in these words:

All round about environed
With fire she is illumined:
And in the middes there doth appear,
Like to some boy, a visage clear:
Whose eyes to us do seem in view,
Of colour grayish more than blew:
The browes and forehead, tender seem,
The cheeks all red disp one would deem.

For intruth dark and shadowy things, compassed about with those that are shining and clear are driven downward, and the same do rise again reciprocally, being by them repulsed, and in one word, are interlaced one within another, in such sort as they represent the form of a face lively and naturally depainted: and it seemeth that there was great probability in that which *Clearcus* said against your *Aristotle*. For this *Aristotle* of yours, though he familiarly conversed with that ancient *Aristotle*, perverted and overthrew many points of the Peripatetick doctrine. Then *Apollonides*, taking upon him to speak, demanded, what opinion this might be of *Aristotle*, and upon what reason it was grounded. Surely (quoth I) it were more meet for any man else to be ignorant hereof, than for you, considering that it is grounded upon the very fundamental principles of Geometry. For this man affirmeth that the thing, which we call the face in the Moon, are the images and figures of the great Ocean, represented in the Moon [as in a mirrour: for the circumference of a round circle, being reflected back every way, is wont to deceive the sight in such things as are not directly seen. And the full Moon her self is, for eveneſſe, smoothnesse and lustre, the most beauti-

beautiful and purest mirrour in the world. Like as therefore ye hold, that the Rainbow appeareth (when our eyesight is reflected back upon the Sun) in a cloud, that hath gotten smoothnesse somwhat liquid, and a consistence withal; even so (quoth he) a man may see in the Moon the great Ocean, without, not in the very place where it is situate: but from whence the reflexion by touching the light reverberate and sent back, maketh a sight and apparition thereof. Which *Agesianax* hath said in another place, after this manner,

The figure of the Ocean
is just resembled there
In flaming mirrour, when great waves
it doth against it rear.

Apollonides then, being perswaded that it was so; a singular opinion believe me (quoth he) this was of his, and when all is said, newly and after a strange manner devised by a man, who may be thought bold and confident enough in his projects, howbeit full of wit and a great Clerk withal. But how did *Clearchus* refute the same? First and foremost (quoth I) if the main Sea or Ocean be all of one nature, then it must needs be that the current thereof is all one uniform and continuate: but the appearance of those black and dim obscurities which are observed in the face of the Moon, is not even and continued, but there be certain isthmes or partitions between clear and bright, which divide and seperat that which is shady and dark. Therefore seeing each part is distinct, and hath proper bounds and limits apart, the conjunctions and approchments of the clear to that which is dark, making a semblance of high and low, do expresse and resemble the similitude of a figure, with eyes and lips; so that of necessity we are to suppose, that there be many Oceans and main Seas, distinguished by the isthmes of firm Lands between: which is a manifest untruth. And admit that there is but one continued Sea for all, it is not credible that the image thereof should appear so dissipate and distracted by pieces: and as for this point, the surer way is, and lesse dangerous, to demand, than to affirm ought in your presence; namely, whether the habitable Earth being equal in length and breadth, it be possible, that all the sight reflected and sent back by the Moon, should equally touch the whole Ocean and all those that fail therein, and even such as seem to dwell in it, as the Britaines do: seeing that your selves have maintained that the whole Earth, in proportion to the Globe or Sphear of the Moon, is no more than a very prick. As for this verily (quoth I) it is your part to regard and consider: and true it is that as touching the reverberation and reflexion of the sight from the Moon, it belongeth neither to you nor to *Hipparcus*. And yet I assure you, my good freind *Lamprias* (quoth *Apollonides*) there be many Naturalists, who hold it not good to affirm with *Hipparcus* that our sight is so driven back; but they suppose and affirm, that it is more like and probable that it hath a certain temperature and obeysant compact structure, than such beatings and repercussions as *Epicurus* imagineth the Atomes have. Neither do I believe that *Clearchus* would have us to suppose, that the Moon is a massive and weighty body, but Celestial and lightesome: against which you say that the refraction of our eye-sight should reach: and therefore all this reflexion, and reverberation falleth to the ground and comes to nothing. But if I should be urged, and intreated by him to receive and admit the same, I would ask him the question, how it comes to passe, that this image of the Sea is to be seen only in the body of the Moon, and not in any of the other Stars? For by all likelihood and probability, our sight should suffer the same equally in all, or just in none at all. But I pray you (quoth I, casting mine eyes upon *Lucius*) call to mind again that which was first delivered of our part, and by those of our side. Nay rather I am affraid (quoth *Lucius*) lest we may be thought to offer over much injury unto *Pharnaces*, if we should so passe over the Stoicks opinion unconfuted, and without opposing any thing against it. Why then reply somwhat upon this man (quoth I) who holdeth that the Moon is a whole mixtion of the air, and of some milde fire, and then afterwards saith, that like as in a calm, there happeneth other whiles a little horror or winde, that rumbleth and bloweth upon the Sea, even so the air thereby becometh black, and thereupon is made a certain resemblance and form of a visage. Courteously done of you *Lucius* (quoth I) thus to clad and cover with fair words and good termes so absurd and false an opinion. But so did not our friend, but spake the plain truth, and said that the Stoicks disfigured the Moons face making it black and blew, and filling it with dark spots and clouds, and withal invocating her by the name of *Minerva* and *Diana*, and in the mean while making her a lump as it were of paste, consisting of dark air and a fire of Charcole, that cannot burn out, nor yield light of it self, but having a body hard to be judged and known, ever smoaking and alwaies burning like to those lightnings which by the Poets are called, lightlesse and smoaky. But that a fire of coales, such as they would have that of the Moon to be, continueth not long, nor can so much as subsist, if it meet not with some solid matter, which may hold it in and withal feed and nourish it; I suppose that they know better, who in merriment say that *Vulcan* is lame and doth halt, than these Philosophers do: for that indeed fire cannot go forward without wood or fewel, no more than a lame cripple without his staffe or crutches. If then the Moon be fire, how cometh it to have so much air in it? For this Region aloft which moveth round, doth not consist of air, but of some other more noble substance, which is able to subtilize and set on fire every thing beside. But in case it be afterwards engendred in it, how is it that it perisheth not by being changed and transmuted by the fire into a celestial substance, but maintaineth it self, and continueth together as it were, cohabiting with the fire so long, like unto a spike or nail set fast continually in the same parts, and fitted thereto? For being rare as it is, and diffused, meet it were that it should not so abide and continue, but be dissipated and

and resolved; and to grow compact and thick it is impossible, so long as it is mixed with fire, having no earth nor water; which are the two only Elements whereby the aire will gather to a consistence and thicknesse. Moreover, the swiftnesse and violence of motion, is wont to enflame the aire that is within Stones, yea, and in Lead, as cold as it is: much more then, that which is in fire, being whirled about, and turned with so great celerity and impetuosity: for in this regard they are offended with *Empedocles*, for that he made the Moon congealed aire, in manner of Haile, and included within a Sphear of fire: and yet themselves say, that the Moon being a Sphear or Globe of fire, doth enclose and contain the aire dispersed to and fro; and that the same hath neither ruptures nor concavities, ne yet any profundities, which they admit who will have the Moon to be of earth, but forsooth superficially only, and as it were setled upon the imbossed and swelling backe thereof: which is against all reason, if it be to endure, and cannot possibly be, in case we give credit to that which we do see in full Moons: for divided it ought not to be, and separat apart, being black and dark, but either being hidden, to be altogether darkned, or else to be illuminate when the Moon is overspread by the Sun. For here beneath with us, the aire that is in deep pits and low caves of the earth, where the Sun-beames never come, remaineth dark and shady, without any light at all: but that which is spread about the earth, is clear, and of a lightsome colour; for by reason of the rarity thereof, it is very easie to be transmuted into every quality and faculty; but principally by the light, which if it never so little touch it, as they say, and lay hold of it, you shall see it incontinently changed, and light throughout. This very reason therefore seemeth greatly to help and maintain the opinion of them who drive the aire into I wot not what deep vallies and pits within the Moon; as also to confute you, who mingle and compound I know not how, her Sphear of fire and aire; for impossible it is that there should remain any shadow or obscurity in the superficies thereof, when the Sun with his brightnesse doth clear and illuminate whatsoever part of the Moon we are able to discern, and cut with our eye-sight. And as I spake these words, even before I had made an end of my speech: See (quoth *Pharnaces*) the ordinary cast of the Academy, how it is practised upon us, in that they busie themselves evermore, and spend time in all their discourses to speak against others, but never allow the discussing and reproving of that which they deliver themselves: but if any happen to confer and dispute with them; they must plead in their own defence alwaies, and not be allowed to reply or come upon them with any accusations: for mine own part, you shall not draw me this day to render a reason of such matters as you charge upon the Stoicks, nor to speak in their behalf, before I have called you to an account, for thus turning the world upside down, as you do. Hereat *Lucius* laughing; And very well content am I good Sir, (quoth he) so to do, provided alwaies, that you accuse us not of impiety; like as *Aristarchus* thought that the Greeks ought to have called *Cleanthes* the Samean into question, judicially and to condemne him for his impiety and Atheisme, as one that shook the very foundations of the world to overthrow all, in that the man endeavouring to save and maintain those things which appear unto us above, supposed the heaven to stand still as immoveable, and that it was the earth that moved round by the oblique Circle of the Zodiack, and turned about the own Axeltree. As for us, we speak of our selves, and in our own behalf. But they, my good friend *Pharnaces*, who suppose that the Moon is earth, why do they turn the World upside down, more than you; who place the Earth here hanging in the aire, being far greater than the Moon, as the Mathematicians take their measure, in the accidents of Eclipses, and by the passages of the trajections of the Moon through the shadow of the Earth, collecting thereby the Magnitude thereof, and what space it taketh up? for surely the shadow of the Earth is lesse than it self, by reason that it is cast by a greater light. Now that the said shadow is streight, and pointed upward toward the end, *Homer* himself was not ignorant, but signified as much, when he called the night ὀξὺν, for the sharpenesse at the point of the said shadow; and yet the Moon as it appeareth in her Eclipses, being caught and comprehended within the compasse of that shadow, hath much ado to get out of it, by going forward in length, thrice as much as her own bignesse comes to. Consider then, how many times greater must the Earth needs be than the Moon, if it be so, that the shadow which it casteth, where it is sharpest and narrowest, is thrice as much as the Moon. But ye are afraid lest the Moon should fall, if she were avowed to be the Earth: (for it may be haply, that *Æschylus* hath sealed you a warrant, and secured you for the Earth, when he said thus of *Atlas*:

He standeth like a pillar strong and sure,
From earth to heaven above that reacheth streight:
To bear on shoulders twain, he doth endure
A massie burden and unweldy weight.)

if under the Moon there run and be spread a light and thin aire, not firm and sufficient for to sustain a solid masse: whereas according to *Pindarus*:

To bear the earth there stand most puissant
Columns and pillars of hard Diamant.

And therefore *Pharnaces* for himself is out of all fear, that the Earth will fall; marry he pitieth those who are directly and plumbe under the course of the Moon, and namely the Ethiopians, and those of *Taprobane*, lest so weighty a masse should tumble down upon their heads. And yet the Moon hath one good meanes and help to keep her from falling, to wit, her very motion and violent revolution, like unto those Bullets or Stones, or whatsoever weights be put within a sling, they are sure

sure enough from slipping or falling out, so long as they be violently swong and swirled about. For every body is carried according to the natural motion thereof, if there be no other cause to empeach or turn it aside out of course: which is the reason that the Moon moveth not, according to the motion of her poise, considering the inclination thereof downward, is stayed and hindred by the violence of a circular revolution. But peradventure more cause there were to marvel, if she should stand altogether as the earth, immoveable: whereas now the Moon hath this great cause to empeach her, for not tending downward hither. As for the Earth, which hath no other motion at all to hinder it; great reason there is, that according to that onely weight of the own, it should move downward, and there settle; for more heavy it is than the Moon, not so much in this regard, that greater it is, but more, for that the Moon by reason of heat and adustion of fire, is made the lighter: In brief, it appeareth by that which you say, if it be true that the Moon be fire, it hath need of earth, or some other matter to rest upon and cleave unto, for to maintain, nourish, and quicken still the power that it hath: for it cannot be conceived or imagined, how fire should be preserved without fuel, or matter combustible. And you your selves affirm, do ye not? that the earth abideth firm and sure, without any base or piedstal to sustain and hold it up? Yes verily (quoth *Pharnaces*) being in the proper and natural place, which is the very midst and centre. For this is it whereto all heavy and weighty things do tend, incline, and are carried to, from every side, and about which they cling, and be counterpoized: but the upper region throughout, if haply there be any terrestrial and heavy matter, by violence sent up thither, repelleth and casteth it down again with force incontinently, or to speak more truly, letteth it go and fall, according to the own natural inclination, which is to tend and settle downward.

For the answer and refutation whereof, I willing to give *Lucius* some reasonable time to summon his wits together, and to think upon his reasons: and calling unto *Theon* by name, Which of the Tragical Poets was it (*Theon*, quoth I) who said that Physicians

Do bitter medicines into the body pour,
When bitter choler they mean to purge and scour?

And when he made me answer that it was *Sophocles*. Well (quoth I) we must permit them so to do upon necessity: but we ought not to give ear unto Philosophers, if they would maintain strange paradoxes, by other positions as absurd, or to confute admirable opinions, devise others much more extravagant and wonderful; like as these here who broach and bring in a motion, forsooth, tending unto a middle, wherein, what absurdity is there not? Hold not they that the earth is as round as a ball, and yet we see how many deep profundities, haughty sublimities and manifold inequalities it hath? affirm not they that there be antipodes dwelling opposite one unto another, and those sticking, as it were, to the sides of the earth with their heels upward, and their heads downward, all arse verse, like unto these Woodworms or Cats which hang by their sharp claws? Would not they have even us also that are here, for to go upon the ground not plum upright, but bending or enclining sidelong, reeling and staggering like drunken folk? Do they not tell us tales, and would make us believe, that if bars and masses of iron weighing a thousand talents a piece, were let fall down into the bottom of the earth, when they came once to the middle centre thereof, will stay and rest there, albeit nothing else came against them, nor sustained them up? And if peradventure by some forcible violence they should pass beyond the said midst, they would soon rebound back thither again of their own accord? Say not they that if a man should saw off the trunks or ends of beams on either side of the earth, the same would never settle downward still throughout, but from without forth fall both into the earth, and so equally meet one another, and cling together about the heart or centre thereof? Suppose not they, that if a violent stream of water should run downward still into the ground, when it met once with the very point or centre in the midst, which they hold to be incorporal, it would then gather together, and turn round in manner of a whirlpool, about a pole, waving to and fro there continually, like one of these pendent buckets, and, as it hangeth, wag incessantly without end? And verily some of these assertions of theirs are so absurd, that no man is able to enforce himself to imagine in his minde, although falsely, that they are possible. For this indeed is to make high and low all one: this is to turn all upside down: that those things, which be come as far as to the midst, shall be thought below and under: and what is under the middle, shall be supposed above and aloft; in such sort, as that if a man, by the sufferance and consent of the earth, stood with his navel just against the middle and centre of it, he should by this means have his head and his heels both together standing upward; and if one should come and dig through the place beyond that part of him which was above, shall in the digging be drawn downward, and that which was beneath be cast upward both at once; and if there may be imagined another to go clean contrary unto him, their feet which were opposite one unto the other, should nevertheless be said and be indeed both together, beneath and above. Thus they both carrying upon their backs, and also drawing after them, not I assure you a box or little budget, but a fardle and pack, I swear unto you, of Juglers boxes full of so many, and so grosse paradoxes and absurdities, wherewith they play pass and repass, yet they say for all this, that others erre, who place the Moon which they hold to be earth, above, and not where the midst and centre of the world is. And yet if every ponderous body, incline to the same place, and bendeth from all sides, and on

every part to the midſt thereof, certainly the earth ſhall not appropriate and challenge unto it ſelf weighty maſſes as parts thereof, becauſe it is the middle of the world, more than in regard it is whole and entire: and the gathering together of heavy bodies about it, ſhall be no ſign nor argument to ſhew that it is the middle of the world, but rather to prove and teſtifie, that theſe bodies which have been taken and pulled from it, and return again, have a communication and conformity in nature with the earth. For like as the Sun converteth into it ſelf the parts whereof it is compoſed, even ſo the earth receiveth and beareth a ſtone, as a part appertaining unto it, in ſuch ſort as in time every one of theſe things is incorporate and united with it. And if it chance that there be ſome other body which from the beginning was not allotted and laid unto the earth, nor plucked from it, but had apart from it, a proper conſiſtence and peculiar nature of the own, as they may ſay the Moon had, what ſhould let, but it may abide ſeverally by it ſelf, compacted and bound cloſe together in all the proper parts thereof? For hereby, is not ſhewed demonſtratively, that the earth is the mids of the whole world: and the conglobation of weighty bodies here, and their concretion which the earth, declareth unto us the manner how it is probable, that the parts the which be there gathered to the body of the Moon, may there alſo remain. But he who driveth all earthly and ponderous things into one place, ranging them altogether, and making them the parts of one and the ſame body, I marvel why he attributeth not in like manner the ſame force and conſtraint unto light ſubſtances, but ſuffereth ſo many conglobations of fire to be apart and diſtinct aſunder, neither can I ſee the reaſon why he ſhould not bring all the ſtars into one, and think that there ought to be one entire body of all thoſe ſubſtances that fly upward, and are of fiery nature. But you Mathematicians (friend *Pollonides*) affirm that the Sun is diſtant from the *Primum Mobile*, and higheſt cope of Heaven, infinite thouſands of miles: and after him, that the day-ſtar *Venus* and *Mercury*, with the other Planets, which being ſituate under the fix'd ſtars, and diſtant one from another, by great intervals and ſpaces between, do make their ſeveral revolutions: mean while, you do not think, that the world affordeth unto heavy and terreſtrial bodies, a great and large place in it, and a diſtance one from another. But ſee what a ridiculous thing it were, to deny the Moon to be earth, becauſe it is not ſeated in the loweſt place of the world; and withal to affirm it to be a ſtar ſo far remote from the firmament and *Primum Mobile*, even a huge number of *Stadia*, as if it were plunged low into ſome deep gulf: for ſo far under other ſtars ſhe is, as no man can expreſs; and even you Mathematicians want numbers to reckon and ſum the diſtance: and ſhe ſeemeth after a ſort to touch the very earth, making her revolution as ſhe doth, ſo neer unto the tops of high mountains, leaving behinde her (as *Empedocles* ſaith) the very prints and tracts of her Chariot wheels upon them: for often times ſhe ſurpaſſeth not the ſhadow of the earth, which is very ſhort, and reacheth not high, by reaſon of the exceſſive greatneſs of the Sun that ſhineth upon it: and ſhe ſeemeth to walk her ſtations ſo neer unto the upper face of the earth, and in a manner within the arms of it, that ſhe obſtructeth and hideth from us the light of the Sun, becauſe ſhe mounteth not above this ſhadowy, terreſtrial and dark Region like unto the night, which is (as one would ſay) the very ſinage and marches allotted to the earth. And therefore a man may be bold to ſay, that the Moon is within the limits and confines of the earth, ſeeing withal, that darkened and ſhadowed it is by the high creſts and tops of mountains therein. But to leave all other ſtars, as well fixed as wandering, conſider the demonſtrations of *Ariſtarchus*, in his Treatiſe of *Magnitudes* and *Diſtances*, that the diſtance of the Sun from us is more than that of the Moon, above eighteen fold, but under twenty: and he verily who raiſeth the Moon higheſt, ſaith that ſhe is from us, ſix and fifty times as far as is the centre of the earth; the diſtance whereof is forty thouſand *ſtadia*. By their calculation who keep a mean, and according to this ſupputation, the Sun ought to be diſtant from the Moon more than four thouſand and thirty *ſtadia* ten thouſand times told: ſo far (I ſay) is ſhe off from the Sun, in regard of her ponderoſity, and ſo neer approacheth ſhe unto the earth: ſo that if, by places, we ought to diſtinguiſh of ſubſtances, the region and portion of the earth challengeth the Moon, and in regard of her proximity and vicinage unto it, ſhe ought by right to be reckoned and enrolled among the natures, affairs, and bodies terreſtrial. Neither ſhall we do amiſs in my conceit, if having given unto theſe bodies (that are ſaid to be aloft) ſo large a ſpace and diſtance, we allow alſo to thoſe beneath, ſuch a race and ſpacious room to runin, as is from the earth to the Moon: for as he is not moderate nor tolerable, who calleth the upper ſuperfices onely and cope of the heaven ἄνω, that is to ſay, aloft, or ſuperior; and all the reſt κάτω, that is to ſay, beneath; ſo he who termeth the earth, or rather the centre of it onely, κάτω, that is to ſay, below or inferior, is not to be endured; conſidering that the huge vaſtity of the world may afford, even in this region beneath, ſuch a competent ſpace as is meet and convenient for motion. For if one would maintain, that all above the earth is immediately to be counted high and aloft; another preſently will come upon him with this contradiction, and ſay, that he may as well hold, that whatſoever is beneath the *Primum Mobile*, or ſtarry firmament, ought to be called Below. In ſum, how is the earth called, The middle? and whereof is it the middle? for the univerſal frame of the world, called κόσμος, is infinite; and this infinite which hath neither head nor foot, how can it in reaſon have a navil? for even that which we call the midſt of any thing, is a kinde of limitation; whereas infinity is a meer privation of all limits and bounds. As for him who ſaith, it is not in the midſt of that univerſality, but of the world, he is a pleaſant man, if he think not withal, that the world it ſelf is ſubject to the ſame doubts and difficulties: for the ſaid univerſal frame leaveth not unto the very

very world a middle, but is without a certain ſeat, without aſſured footing, moving in a voidneſs infinite, not into ſome one place proper unto it: and if haply it ſhould meet with ſome any other cauſe of ſtay, and ſo abide ſtill, the ſame is not according to the nature of the place. And as much may we conjecture of the Moon, that by the means of ſome other ſoul or nature, or rather of ſome difference, the earth continueth firm beneath, and the Moon moveth. Furthermore you ſee, how they are not ignorant of a great errour and inconvenience: for if it be true, that whatſoever is without the centre of the earth, it skills not how, is to be counted Above and aloft, then is there nparт of the world to be reckoned Below or Beneath; but as well the earth it ſelf, as all that is upon it, ſhall be above and aloft; and to be ſhort, every body neer or about the centre, muſt go among thoſe things that are aloft; neither muſt we reckon any thing to be under or beneath, but one prick or point, which hath no body: and the ſame forſooth muſt make head, and ſtand in oppoſition neceſſarily, againſt all the whole nature beſides of the world; in caſe, according to the courſe of nature, ἄνω, and κάτω, that is to ſay, above and beneath, be oppoſite. And not onely this abſurdity will follow, but alſo all heavy and ponderous bodies muſt needs loſe the cauſe, for which they bend and encline hither: for, body there will be none, toward which it ſhould move: And as for this prick or centre that hath no body, there is no likelihood, neither would they themſelves have it ſo, that it ſhould be ſo puiſſant and forcible, as to draw to it, and retain about it, all things. And if it be found unreaſonable and repugnant to the courſe of nature, that the world ſhould be all above, and nothing beneath, but a term or limit, and the ſame without body, without ſpace and diſtance; then this that we ſay, is yet more reaſonable, namely, that the Region beneath, and that above, being parted diſtinctly one from another, have nevertheleſs each of them a large and ſpacious room to come themſelves in. But ſuppoſe (if it pleaſe you) it were againſt nature, that terreſtrial bodies ſhould have any motion in heaven; let us conſider gently and in good termes, not after a Tragical manner, but mildely, This proveth not by-and-by, that the Moon is not earth, but rather, that earth is in ſome place, where naturally it ſhould not be: for the fire of the Mountain *Ætna*, is verily under the ground, againſt the nature of it; howbeit, the ſame ceaſeth not therefore to be fire. The wind contained within leather bottles, is of the own nature light and given to mount upward, but by force it cometh to be there, where naturally it ought not to be. Our very ſoul it ſelf (I beſeech you in the name of *Jupiter*) is it not againſt nature detained within the body; being light, in that which is heavy; being of a fiery ſubſtance in that which is cold, as ye your ſelves ſay; and being inviſible, in that which is groſs and palpable? do we therefore deny, that the ſoul is within the body, that it is a Divine ſubſtance under a groſs and heavy maſs, that in a moment it paſſeth thorowout heaven, earth and ſea: that it pierceth and entreth within fleſh, nerves and marrow; and finally, is the cauſe together with the humors of infinite paſſions? And even this *Jupiter* of yours, ſuch as you imagine and depaint him to be, is he not of his own nature a mighty and perpetual fire? howbeit, now he ſubmitteth himſelf, and is pliable; ſubject he is to all forms, and apt to admit divers mutations. Take heed therefore, and be well adviſed (good Sir) leſt that in transferring and reducing every thing to their natural place, you do not ſo Philoſophize, as that you wil bring in a diſſolution of all the world, and ſet on foot again that old quarrel and contention among all things which *Empedocles* writeth of; or, to ſpeak more to the purpoſe, beware you raiſe not thoſe ancient Titans and Gyants, to put on arms againſt nature: and ſo conſequently endeavor to receive and ſee again, that fabulous diſorder and confuſion, whereby all that is weighty, goeth one way, and whatſoever is light, another way apart,

Where neither lightſome countenance
of Sun, nor earth all green
With herbs and plants, admired is,
nor ſurging ſea is ſeen,

according as *Empedocles* hath written: wherein the earth feeleth no heat, nor the water any winde; wherein there is no ponderoſity above, nor lightneſs beneath; but the principles and elements of all things be by themſelves ſolitary, without any mutual love or dilection between them; not admitting any ſociety or mixture together, but avoiding and turning away one from the other, moving apart by particular motions, as being diſdainful, proud, and carrying themſelves in ſuch ſort, as all things do where no god is, as *Plato* ſaith, that is, as thoſe bodies are affected wherein there is no underſtanding nor ſoul, until ſuch time as by ſome divine providence there come into nature a deſire; and ſo amity, *Venus* and Love be there engendred, according to the ſaying of *Empedocles*, *Parmenides* and *Heſiodus*; to the end, that changing their natural places, and communicating reciprocally their gifts and faculties; ſome driven by neceſſity to move, other bound to reſt; they be all forced to a better ſtate, remitting ſomewhat of their power, and yielding one to another, they grew at length unto one accord, harmony and ſociety. For if there had not been any other part of the world againſt nature, but that each one had been both in place, and for quality, as it ought naturally to be, without any need of change or tranſpoſition, ſo that there had been nothing at the firſt wanting, I greatly doubt what and wherein was the work of divine providence; or whereupon it is, that *Jupiter* was the father, creator and maker. For in a camp or field, there would be no need of a man who is expert and skilful in

ranging and ordering of Battel, in case every Souldier of himself knew his rank, his place, his time and opportunity, which he ought to take, keep, and observe. Neither would there be any use of Gardiners, Carpenters, or Masons, if water were of it self taught naturally to go where as it is needful, and to run and overflow a place which requireth watering; and if bricks, timber-logs and stones, by their own inclinations and natural motions, were to range and couch themselves orderly in their due place. Now if this reason and argument of theirs doth directly abolish all Providence; if order belong unto God, together with the distinction of all things in the world; why should any man wonder, that nature hath been so disposed and ordained by him, as that Fire should be here, and the Stars there? And again, that the Earth should be seated here below, and the Moon placed there above, lodged in a more sure and strong Prison, devised by reason, then that which was first ordained by Nature? For were it so, that absolutely and of necessity, all things should follow their natural instinct, and move according to that motion which naturally is given them, neither would the Sun run his course any more circularly, nor *Venus*, nor any other Planet whatsoever; for that such light substances, and standing much upon fire, mount directly upward. Now if it be so, that nature receiveth such an alteration and change in regard of the place, as that our Fire here being moved and stirred, riseth plum upward; but after it is gotten once up to heaven, together with the revolution thereof, turneth round: what marvel is it, if semblably, heavy and terrestrial bodies, being out of their natural places, be forced and overcome by the circumstant ayr, to take unto another kinde of motion? For it cannot be said with any reason, that Heaven hath this power, to take from light substances the property to mount aloft, and cannot likewise have the puissance to vanquish heavy things, and such as naturally move downward: But one while it maketh use of that power of her own, another while of the proper nature of things, always tending to the better. But to let pass these habitudes and opinions whereto we are servilly addicted, and to speak frankly, and without fear, what our minde is, I am verily perswaded, that there is no part of the universal world, that hath by it self any peculiar order, seat or motion, which a man simply may say to be natural unto it: but when each part exhibiteth and yieldeth profitably that, wherefore it is made, and whereto it is appointed, moving it self, doing or suffering, or being disposed as it is meet and expedient for it, either for Safety, Beauty, or Puissance, then seemeth it to have Place, Motion, and Disposition, proper and convenient to the own nature. For man, who is disposed (if any thing else in the whole world) according to nature, hath in the upper parts of the body, and especially about his head, those things that be ponderous and earthly; but in the midst thereof, such as be hot and of a fiery nature; his teeth, some grow above, others beneath; and yet neither the one range of them nor the other, is against nature. Neither is that fire which shineth above in his eye, according to nature, and that which is in the belly and heart, contrary to nature, but in each place is it properly seated and commodiously. Now if you consider the nature of shell-fishes, you shall finde, that (as *Empedocles* saith)

The Oysters, Murets of the Sea,
and Shell-fish every one,
With massy coat; the Tortoise eke,
with crust as hard as stone,
And vaulted back, which archwise be
aloft doth hollow rear;
Shew all, that heavy earth they do
above their bodies bear.

And yet this hard coat and heavy crust, like unto a stone, being placed over their bodies, doth not press or crush them; neither doth their natural heat, in regard of lightness, fly up and vanish away, but mingled and composed they are one with the other, according to the nature of every one. And even so it standeth to good reason, that the world, in case it be animal, hath in many places of the body thereof, earth, and in as many, fire and water, not driven thither perforce, but so placed and disposed by reason: for the eye was not by the strength of lightness forced to that part of the body wherein it is; neither was the heart depressed down by the weight that it had, into the breast; but because it was better and more expedient for the one and the other, to be seated where they are. Semblably, we ought not to think, that of the parts of the world, either the earth settled where it is, because it fell down thither by reason of ponderosity, or the Sun, in regard of lightness, was carryed upward, like unto a bottle bladder full of wind, which being in the bottom of the water, presently riseth up (as *Metrodorus* of *Chios* was perswaded) or other stars, as if they were put in a ballance, inclined this way or that, as their weight more or less required, and so mounted higher or lower to those places where now they are seated: but rather by the powerful direction of reason in the first constitution of the world, some of the stars like unto bright and glittering eyes, have been set fast in the firmament, as one would say aloft in the very forehead thereof: and the Sun representing the power and vigor of the heart, sendeth and distributeth in manner of blood and spirits, his heat and light thorowout all. The

The earth and sea are to the world, proportionable to the paunch and bladder in the body of a living creature: the Moon situate between the Sun and the Earth, as between the heart and the belly, resembling the liver or some such soft bowel, transmitteth into the inferior parts here beneath, the heat of those superior bodies, and draweth to herself those vapors that arise from hence, and those doth she subtilate and refine by way of concoction and purification, and so send and distribute them round about her. Now whether that solid and terrestrial portion in it, hath some other property serving for a profitable use or no, it is unknown to us; but surely it is evermore the best and surest way in all things, to go by that which is necessary: for what probability or likelihood can we draw from that which they deliver? They affirm, that of the ayr the most subtile and light some part, by reason of the gravity thereof, became heaven; but that which was thickened and closely driven together, went to the making of stars; of which the Moon being the heaviest of all the rest, was concrete and compact of the most gross and muddy matter thereof: and yet a man may perceive how she is not separate nor divided from the ayr, but moveth and performeth her revolution through that which is about her, even the region of the winds, and where Comets or Blazing-stars be engendred and hold on their course. Thus these bodies have not been by their natural inclinations, according as each of them is light or heavy, placed and situate as they be, but surely by some other reason they have been so ranged and ordained.

After these words were said, when I would have given unto *Lucius* his turn to speak, and to hold on this Discourse, there being nothing at all behinde left, but the demonstrations of this Doctrine: *Aristotle* began to smile; I am a witness (quoth he) that you have directed all these your contradictions and refutations, against those, who hold that the Moon is it self half fire; and who affirm, that all bodies of their own accord, tend either upward or downward directly: But whether there be any one who saith, that the Stars of their own nature, have a circular motion, and that in substance they be far different from the four elements, that came not ever, so much as by chance and fortune into your remembrance: and therefore I count my self exempt from all trouble and molestation in that behalf. Why, good Sir (quoth *Lucius*) if ye should haply suppose and set down, that the other stars, and the whole heaven besides, were of a pure and sincere nature, void of all change and mutation, in regard of passion, as also bring in a certain circle, in which they performed their motions by a perpetual revolution, you should not finde any one at this time to gain-say you; notwithstanding there were in this position doubts and difficulties innumerable. But when your speech is descended so low as to touch the Moon, then can it not maintain in her that impassibility, and the celestial beauty of that body. But to leave all other inequalities and differences therein; certes, that very face which appeareth in the body of the Moon, cometh necessarily from some passion of her own substance, or else by the mixture of some other (for that which is mingled in some sort always suffereth) because it loseth that former purity, being perforce overcast and filled with that which is worse. As for that dull and slow course of hers, that weak and feeble heat, whereby, as the Poet *Ion* saith,

The grapes their kinde concoction lack,
And on the vine-tree turn not black,

unto what shall we attribute the same, if not to her imbecillity, in case an eternal and heavenly body can be subject unto any such passion? In sum, my good friend *Aristotle*, if the Moon be earth, surely a most fair and beautiful thing it seemeth to be, and full of great Majestie: if a Star, or Light, or some Divine and Celestial body, I am afraid lest she prove deformed and foul, yea, and disgrace that beautiful name of hers, in case of all those bodies in heaven, which are in number so many, she onely remaineth to have need of the light of another,

Casting behinde, her eye always,
Upon the Sun and his bright rays;

according as *Parmenides* writeth. And verily our familiar friend, having in a Lecture of his, proved by demonstration this Proposition of *Anaxagoras*; that all the light which the Moon hath, the Sun giveth unto her, was commended and well reputed for it. For mine own part, I am not minded to say what I have learned, either of you, or with you; but taking this for a thing granted and confessed, I will proceed forward to the rest behinde. Probable therefore it is, that the Moon is illuminate, not in manner of a glass or crystal stone, by the bright irradiation and shining beams of the Sun striking through her; neither yet by a certain collustration and mutual conjunction of lights, as torches which being set a burning together, do augment the light; for so it would be no less Full-Moon in the conjunction or first quarter, than in the opposition, in case she did not contain and keep in, nor repel the rays of the Sun, but suffer them to pass through her by reason of her rarity and fungosity, or if by a contemperature she shineth and kindleth, as it were, the light about her: for we cannot allege her oblique and byas declination, or her aversions and turnings away, before and after the conjunction or change, as when it is Half-Moon, tipped croisant, or in the wane; but being directly and plum under the body that illuminateth it, as *Democritus* saith, it receiveth and admitteth the Sun, in such sort, as by all likelihood she should then appear, and he shine through her: But so far is she from so doing, that both herself at such a time is unseen, and many times hideth the Sun, and keepeth off his beams from us: for according to *Empedocles*,

His Rays aloft she turneth clean side,
That to the earth beneath they cannot wend:
The earth it self she doth obscure and hide,
So far as she in compass doth extend.

As if this light of the Sun fell upon night and darkneſs, and not upon another Star. And whereas *Poſadonius* ſaith, that in regard of the thickneſs and depth of the Moons body, the light of the Sun cannot through her pierce, as far as unto us, this is manifeſtly convinced as untrue. For the ayr as infinite as it is, and deeper by many degrees than the Moon, is nevertheleſs illuminated and lightned all over, and throughout by the Sun. It remaineth therefore, that according to the opinion of *Empedocles*, the Moon-light which appeareth unto us, cometh by the reflexion and repercuſſion of the Sun-beams. And hereupon it is, that the ſame is not with us hot and bright, as of neceſſity it would be, if it did proceed either from the inflammation or commixtion of two lights. But like as the Refraction or Reverberation of a Voyce, doth cauſe an Eccho, or Reſonance more obſcure than is the Voyce it ſelf, as it was pronounced; and as the raps, that ſhot, rebounding back again, doth give, are more milde and ſoft,

Even ſo the Sun-beams when they beat
Upon the Moon in compaſs great,

yield a weak and feeble reflexion or refluxion, as one would ſay of light, the force thereof being much abated and reſolved by the refraction and reflexion. Then *Sylla*: Certes, great probability this carrieth with it, that you have delivered: But the moſt forcible objection that is made againſt this Poſition, how think you, is it any ways mitigated and mollified? or hath our friend here paſſed it over quite with ſilence? Whereby ſpeak you this (quoth *Lucius*?) what oppoſition mean you? or is it the doubt and difficulty about the Moon when ſhe appeareth the one half? Even the very ſame (quoth *Sylla*) for there is ſome reaſon, conſidering that all reflexion is made by equal angles, that when the Half-Moon is in the midſt of Heaven, the light ſhould not be carried from her upon the earth, but glance and fall beyond the earth: for the Sun being upon the Horizon, toucheth with his rays the Moon, and therefore being reflected and broken equally, they muſt light upon the oppoſite bound of the Horizon, and ſo not ſend the light hither; or elſe there ſhall enſue a great diſtortion and difference of the angle, which is impoſſible. Why, good Sir (quoth *Lucius*) I dare aſſure you, this hath not been overpaſſed, but explained already: and with that, caſting his eye as he ſpake, upon *Menelaus* the Mathematician: I am abaſhed (quoth he) friend *Menelaus*, to overthrow a Mathematical Poſition, that is ſuppoſed and laid as a ground, and fundamental principle for oblique matters of mirrors: And yet, I muſt (quoth he) of neceſſity: for that is neither appareth in this example, nor is generally confeſſed as true, that all reflexions tend to equal angles, for checked and confuted it is by round embowed or embоſſed mirrors, when as they repreſent images appearing at one point of the ſight, greater than themſelves. This alſo is diſproved by double or two-fold mirrors, for that when they be inclined and turned one unto the other, ſo as the angle be made within, each of the glaſſes or plain ſuperficies, yield the reſemblance of a double image, and ſo repreſent four in all from one face; two apparent, anſwerable to that without on the left ſide; and other twain obſcure, and not ſo evident on the right ſide, all in the bottom of the mirrors, where they yield images, in appearance greater than the thing it ſelf, at one point onely of the ſight. The ſame likewiſe is overthrown by thoſe mirrors which are hollow, wherein the aſpect is variable: whereof *Plato* rendreth a reaſon and efficient cauſe: for he ſaith, that a mirror riſing of the one ſide and the other, the ſight doth change the reflexion, falling from the one ſide to the other: and therefore as the views and viſions, ſome immediately return upon us, others gliding upon the oppoſite parts of the mirror, have recourſe again from thence unto us, it is not poſſible that all reflexions ſhould be in equal angles: ſo that when they come to coping and cloſe ſight, they think by theſe oppoſitions to take from the fluxions of light, carried from the Moon to the Earth, the equality of angles, ſuppoſing this to carry more probability with it, than the other. Howbeit, if we muſt needs yield thus much, and grant this unto our beſt beloved *Geometrian*: firſt and formoſt, by all likelihood this ſhould befal unto thoſe mirrors that are very ſmooth and exquiſitely poliſhed: whereas the Moon hath many inequalities, and aſperities, in ſuch ſort, as the rays coming from the vaſt body of the Sun, and carried to mighty altitudes, which receive one from another, and intercommunicate the lights, as they be ſent to and fro, and diſtributed reciprocally, are refracted, broken, and interlaced all manner of ways, ſo as the counter-lights do meet and encounter one another, as if they came from many mirrors unto us. Moreover, if we ſhould grant and ſuppoſe theſe reflexions of beams upon the ſuperficies of the Moon, to be made by way of equal angles, there is no impoſſibility in the matter, but that the ſame rays being carried ſo great a way, ſhould have their fractions, fluxions, and delapſions; thus thereby the light ſhould be confuſed and ſhine the more.

Some alſo there be who prove by lineary demonſtration, that ſhe caſteth much of her light to the earth plumb down by direct line drawn under her as ſhe doth encline: But for a man to make ſuch a deſcription and delineation, reading as he doth, and diſcourſing in a publike Auditory, eſpecially being ſo frequent, it was not eaſie, neither could it well be. In brief, I marvel (quoth he) how they came thus to alledge againſt us the Half-Moon, more than half tipped or croiſant. For if the Sun do illuminate the maſs, as a man would ſay, of the Moon, being of a celeſtial or fiery matter, ſurely he would not leave half the Sphere or Globe thereof dark always and ſhadowed without light, to our ſenſe, but

but how little ſoever he toucheth her, running as he doth about, reaſon would give, and convenient it were that ſhe ſhould be wholly repleniſhed and totally changed and turned, by that brightneſs of his, which ſpreadeth ſo quickly, and paſſeth through all ſo eaſily. For conſidering that wine touching water in one point onely, or a drop of blood falling into ſome liquor, dyeth and colloureth the ſame all red or purple, like unto blood: and ſeeing they ſay, that the very ayr is altered with light, not by any defluxion or beams intermingled, but by ſudden converſion and change, even in a point or prick onely: how can they think that one Star coming to touch another Star, and one light another, ſhould not be mingled immediately, nor make a confuſion and mutation throughout, but to illuminate that onely in the outward ſuperficies which it toucheth? For that circle which the Sun maketh in fetching a compaſs, and turning toward the Moon, one while falling upon the very line which parteth that which is viſible in her from the inviſible, another while riſing up directly, in ſuch ſort, as that it both cutteth her in twain, and is cut alſo by her reciprocally, according to divers regards and habitudes of that which is light to the dark, cauſing thoſe ſundry forms in her, whereby ſhe appeareth but half, more than half horned and croiſant: This, I ſay, ſheweth more than any thing elſe, that this illumination of the Moon, whereof we ſpeak all this while, is not a mixture of two lights, but a touching onely, not a colluſtration or gathering together of ſundry lights, but an illuſtration thereof round about. But foraſmuch as ſhe is not onely illuminate her ſelf, but he alſo ſendeth back hither unto us the image of that brightneſs, this confirmeth us more and more in that which we ſay, as touching her terrene ſubſtance. For never are there any reflexions and reverberations upon a thing that is rare nd of ſubtile parts; neither may a man eaſily ſo much as imagine how light from light, or one fire ſhould reſult and rebound from another: but needs it muſt be that the ſubject which maketh the reverberation or reflexion is firm, ſolid and thick, to the end there may be a blow given againſt it, and a rebounding alſo from it. To prove this, do but mark the ayr, which giveth paſſage unto the Sun for to pierce quite through it, neither admitteth it any repulſe or driving back. Contrariwiſe we may ſee, that from wood, from ſtones, and from cloathes or garments, hung forth againſt the ſame, he maketh many reflections of his light, and illuminations on every ſide. And even ſo we ſee, that the earth by him is illuminate; for he ſendeth not his beams to the very bottom thereof as in water, nor throughout the whole as in the ayr: but look what circle the Sun maketh turning about the Moon, and how much he cutteth from her, ſuch another there is that compaſſeth the earth; and juſt ſo much he doth illuminate always, as he leaveth without light: for that which is illumined in the one and the other, is a little more than a Hemiſphere. Give me leave therefore now to conclude after the manner of Geometricians by proportion: If, when three things there be, unto which the light of the Sun cometh, to wit, the Ayr, the Moon, and the Earth, we ſee that one of them is by him illuminate, not as the Ayr, but as the Earth: We muſt of neceſſity collect, that thoſe two be of one nature, conſidering that of the ſame cauſe they ſuffer the ſame effects. Now when all the company highly commended *Lucius* for this Diſputation: Paſſing well done of you *Lucius* (quoth I) you have to a proper Diſcourſe annexed as pretty a Compariſon; for we muſt give you your right, and not defraud you of that which is your due. With that ſmiled *Lucius*: I have yet (quoth he) a ſecond proportion, which I will adde unto the other, to the end that we may prove by demonſtration, that the Moon wholly reſembleth the Earth, not onely by this, that ſhe ſuffereth together with the Earth, from the ſame cauſe, the ſame accidents: but alſo, becauſe they both do work the like effects upon the ſame object. For this I am ſure you will yield and grant unto me, that of all thoſe things which are obſerved about the Sun, none do ſo much reſemble one another, as his Eclypſe doth his ſetting or going down; if you will but call to minde that meeting of the Sun and Moon together, which hapned of late dayes, and beginning immediately after nooneſted, cauſed many a ſtar from ſundry parts of the ſky to be ſeen, and wroughte ſuch a temperature or diſpoſition in the Ayr, as is of the twilight evening and morning. But if you will not grant me the ſaid ſuppoſition in this, our *Theon* here will cite and bring, I trow, *Minnermus*, *Cydias*, *Archilochus*: and beſides them, *Steſichorus* and *Pindarus*, lamenting that in Eclypſes, the world is robbed of their greateſt light, which they bewail, as if it were enterred, ſaying, that midnight was come at noon day, and that the radiant beams of the Sun, went in the way and path of darkneſs: but above all, he will alledge *Homer*, ſaying, that in an Eclypſe, the faces and viſages of men were overcaſt and ſeized upon with night and darkneſs: alſo, that the Sun was quite loſt and miſſing out of the Heaven, being in conjunction with the Moon.

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And this hapneth by a natural cauſe, according as *Homer* ſheweth in this verſe,

Τῶφʼ ὁφθαλμῶ μιὼ, τῶ δʼ ἑτερόφθαλμο.
What time as Moons their interchange begin,
As one goes out, another cometh in.

As for the reſt, in mine advice, they be as certain, and do conclude as exactly as the demonſtrations of the Mathematicians, to wit, that as the night is the ſhadow of the earth, ſo the Eclypſe of the Sun, is the ſhadow the Moon, when as the ſight returneth upon it ſelf. For the Sun going down, is hidden from our ſight by the earth, and being Eclypſed, is likewiſe darkned by the Moon, and both the one and the other be offuſcations of darkneſs; that of the Sun ſetting, by the Earth, and the other of the Sun Eclypſed, by the Moon, by the reaſon that the ſhade empeacheth our ſight: of which premiſes the concluſion evidently doth follow. For if the effect be like, the efficients alſo be ſemblable;

because

Some think he meaneth that darkneſs over the face of the earth which hapned at the very time that our Saviour ſuffered upon the croſs, wch continued from the ſixt hour of the day, unto the ninth, that is to ſay, fromnoon, until three of the clock after noon. *Somwhat had been ſaid of the change of the Moon, as it ſhould ſeem, for it will not ſtand with the Suns Eclypſe, to be at any other time than at the change, by courſe of nature.

because necessary it is, that the same accidents or effects in the same subject, must come from the same efficient. Now if the darkness occasioned by the Eclypse, be not so deep, nor affect the ayr so forcibly as doth the night, we are not to marvel thereat: for the substance of that body which maketh the night, and of it that causeth the Eclypse, may well be the same, although the greatness be not equal. For the Ægyptians, I suppose, do hold, that the Moon is in bigness the 72. part of the earth: And *Anaxagoras* saith it is just as big as *Peloponnesus*. *Aristarchus* writeth, that the overthwart Line or Diameter of the Moon, in proportion to that of the earth, is less than it 60. were compared with nine-then 3 and somewhat more than it a hundred and eight were compared with 43. and thereby the earth bereaveth us of all sight of the Sun, so great it is. For it must be a great obstacle and opposition between, which continueth the time of a night: and the Moon albeit otherwhile she hideth all the Sun, yet that Eclypse neither lasteth not long, nor is so universal: for there appeareth always about his circumference some light, which will not permit the darkness to be so black and deep, and altogether so obscure. *Aristotle* also, I mean the ancient Philosopher of that name, rendring a reason why there hapned Eclypses of the Moon oftner than of the Sun; among other causes, brings in this for one, That the Sun is Eclypsed by the obstruction of the Moon, and the Moon by that of the earth, which is much greater, and more spacious, and so by consequence is opposed very often. And *Posidonius* defined this accident thus, The Eclipse of the Sun (quoth he) is the conjunction or meeting of the Sun and the Moon, the shadow whereof doth darken our eye-sight: for there is no defect or Eclypse of the Suns light, but unto those, whose sight the shadow of the Moon hath caught, and so hindreth them from seeing the Sun. Now in confessing that the shadow of the Moon reacheth down unto us, I know not what he hath left himself for to allege. Cerces, impossible it is, that a Star should cast a shadow; for that which is void altogether of light, is called a shadow, and light maketh no shadow, but contrariwise, naturally riddeth it away. But what arguments besides, were alleged to this purpose (quoth he?) The Moon (quoth I then) sufferreth the same Eclypse. Well done (quoth he) of you, to reduce this into my memory: But would you have me to prosecute this Disputation, as if you had already granted and set down, that the Moon is subject to Eclypses, when she is caught within the shadow of the earth; or that for a subject and argument of some declamation, and demonstration unto you, I first rehearse all the arguments one after another? Mercy, do so, I pray you (quoth *Theon*) bestow your labor in such a Discourse. I had need verily (quoth he) of some perswasion, having only heard say, that when these three bodies, to wit, the Earth, the Sun, and the Moon, are directly in one right line, then happen Eclypses; for that either the Earth, taketh the Sun from the Moon, or the Moon taketh him from the Earth: for the Sun is in defect or Eclypse when the Moon, and the Moon likewise when the earth is in the midst of them three; whereof the one falleth out in conjunction, the other in opposition or Full Moon. Then (quoth *Lucius*) these be in a manner all the principal points, and the very brief of those that which hath been delivered: But to begin withal, if you think so good, take in hand that firm argument which is drawn from the form and figure of the shadow, which indeed is a *Conus* or *Pyramis* (resembling a sugar-loaf) with the sharp end forward, namely, when a great fire or great light being round, comprehendeth a mass likewise round; but less: and hereupon it cometh, that in Eclypses of the Moon, the circumscription of the black or darkness, from the clear and light, have always their sections round: for the approachments and applications of a round body, in what part soever, whether it give or receive those Sections, by reason of the similitude do always keep a round form, and be circular. Now to the second argument. You know well (I suppose) that the first part the Eclypsed or darkened in the Moon, is that which regardeth the East: and contrariwise in the Sun, that which looketh toward the West: for the shadow of the Earth goeth from East to West, but contrariwise the Sun and Moon, from West Eastward. The experience of the apparitions, giveth us the visible knowledge of these things: and many words there need not, to make the demonstration hereof plain and evident to be understood: by which suppositions is confirmed the cause of Eclypse: For, in as much as the Sun is Eclypsed when he is overtaken, and the Moon by meeting with that which maketh her Eclypse, by all likelihood, nay rather necessarily, the one is caught behinde, the other surprized before, for that the obstruction, and inumbration beginneth on that side on which that cometh first that maketh the said inumbration. Now the Moon lighteth upon the Sun from the West, as striving with him in course, and hasting after him: but the shadow of the Earth cometh the from East, as having a contrary motion. The third reason is taken from the time and greatness of the Eclypses of the Moon. For when she is Eclypsed on high, and far from the Earth, she continueth but a little while in defect or want of light: but when she sufferreth the same default being low and near unto the Earth, she is much oppressed, and slowly getteth she forth of the shade thereof: and yet when she is low, she moveth most swiftly, and being aloft, as slowly. But the cause is in the difference of the shadow, which toward the bottom or base is broader, as are the *Cones* or *Pyramides*, and so it growth smaller and smaller taperwise, until at the top it endeth in a sharp point. And hereupon it cometh that the Moon being low, and so falling within the shadow, is compassed with greater circles of the shadow, and so passeth through the very bottom of it, and that which is most dark; but being on high, by reason of the narrow compass of the shadow, being, as it were, in a small puddle of mire, she is but a little sullied or berayed therewith, and so quickly getteth forth of it. Here I pass by the accidents and effects that have their particular causes. For we daily see that the fire, out of a shady place appeareth and shineth the rather, either by reason of the thickness of the dark ayr, which admitteth no

no effluxions nor diffusions of the vertue of the fire, keeping in and containing within it self the substance thereof: or rather, if this be a passion of the sense, like as hot things neer unto cold are felt to be more hot, and pleasures presently upon pains found more vehement; even so things clear, appear better when they are laid neer unto those that be dark, by means of different passions, which do strain the imagination: but the former conjecture seemeth to be more probable: for in the Sun-shine, the whole nature of fire not onely loseth his brightness, but also in giving place unto it, becometh more dull, and unwilling to burn, for that the heat of the Sun doth scatter and dissipate the force thereof. If then it were true, that the Moon had in it a feeble, and dim or duskish fire, as being a muddy Star, as the Stoicks say it is, reason it were and meet, that it should not suffer any one of those accidents (but contrary all) which now we see it to suffer, namely, to be seen at that time when as it is hidden; and again to be hidden, what time as she sheweth herself: that is to say, to be covered all the rest of the time, being darkned by the ayr environing it, and to shine out again for six moneths, and afterwards for five moneths be hidden, entring within the shadow of the earth. For of 465. revolutions of Eclypsed Full Moons 404. are of six moneths, and the rest of five. It must needs be then, during this time, the Moon should appear shining in the shadow: but contrariwise we see, that in the shadow Eclypsed she is, and loseth her light, which she recovereth again afterwards, when she is escaped and gotten forth of the said shadow, yea, and appeareth often in the day time; so that it is rather any thing else then a fiery body, and resembling a star. *Lucius* had no sooner thus said, but *Pharnaces* and *Apollonides* came running both together, to set upon him, and to confute his speech: and then *Pharnaces* assisted by *Apollonides* there present: Why, this (quoth he) is that which principally proveth the Moon to be a star, and to stand much upon fire, namely, that in Eclypses she is not wholly darkned, and not at all to be seen, but sheweth through the shade a certain colour, resembling a coal of fire, and the same fearful to see to, which is the very natural and proper hue of her own. As for *Apollonides*, he made instance and opposition as touching the word shadow: For that (quoth he) Mathematicians by that term use always to call the place which is not illumined, but the heaven admitteth no shadow. Whereto I made answer, that this instance of his was alledged rather against the word contentiously, than against the thing Physically, or Mathematically; for the place which is darkned and obstructed by the opposition of the earth, if a man will not call a shadow, but a place void or deprived of light, yet be it what it will, whensoever the Moon is there, you must of necessity confess, that she becometh obscure and darkned: and in one word, I say, it is a very absurd folly to hold, that the shadow of the earth reacheth not to that place, from whence the shadow of the Moon falling upon our sight here upon the earth, causeth the Eclypse of the Sun. And now will I come again to you *Pharnaces*: For that burnt colour, like a coal in the Moon, which you say is proper unto her, agreeth very well to a body, that hath thickness and depth: Neither use there to remain in bodies which be rare, any mark or token of a flame, nor a coal can possibly be made of a body which is not solid and able to receive deep within it the heat of fire, and the blakness of smoak: As *Homer* himself sheweth very well in one place, by these words:

When flower of fire was gone and flown away,
And flame extinct the coals he did forth lay.

For the coal seemeth not properly to be fire, but a body fiery, and altered by fire, remaining still in a solid mass or substance which hath taken, as it were, deep root: whereas flames are but the setting on fire and fluxions of some nutriment or matter which is of a rare substance, and by reason of feebleness is quickly resolved and consumed. In so much, as there were not another argument so evident, to prove that the Moon is solid and terrestrial, as this, if the proper colour thereof resemble a coal of fire. But it is not so, my *Pharnaces*; for in her Eclypse she changeth diversly her colours, which Mathematicians in regard of time and place determinately distinguish in this sort. If she be eclypsed in the West, she appeareth exceeding black for three hours and an half: if in the middle of the heaven, she sheweth this light reddish or bay colour resembling fire: and after seven hours and an half, there ariseth a redness indeed. Finally, when this Eclypse hapneth in the East, and toward the Sun rising, she taketh a blew or grayish colour, which is the cause that the Poets, and namely, *Empedocles* calleth her *Glaucopis*. Considering then, that they see manifestly how the Moon changeth into so many colours in the shadow, they do very ill to attribute unto her this colour onely of a burning or live coal: which intruth a man may say to be less proper unto her than any other, and rather to be some little suffusion and remnant of light appearing and shining through a shadow: and that her proper and natural colour is black and earthly. For seeing that here below, whereas the lakes and rivers which receive the Sun beams, and by that means seem in their superficies to be some time reddish, and otherwhiles of a violet colour, the shadowy places adjoyning take the same colours, and are illuminated, starting back by reason of reflexions, and divers rebated splendures. What wonder is it, if a great river (as it were) or flux of shadow falling upon a celestial sea, as a man would say of a light not firm, steady and quiet, but stirred with innumerable stars walking over it, and besides, which admitteth divers mixtures and mutations, doth take from the Moon the impression of sundry colours, and send the same hither unto us? For it cannot be avowed, that a star or fire should appear through a shadow either black, blew, or violet; but hills, plains, and seas, are seen to have many and sundry resemblances of colours by reflexion of the Sun running upon them, which are the very tinctures, that a brightness, mingled with shadows and mists (as it were) with Painters drugs and colours, bringing

bringeth upon them: which tinctures *Homer* went about to expreſs in ſome ſort, and to name, when one while he calleth the ſea, ἰοειδὲς, and ὑάκινθον, that is to ſay, of a violet colour, or deep red as wine, and otherwhile the waves purple: in one place the ſea blew, green or grey, and the calm white: as for the tinctures and colours appearing upon the earth diverſly, he hath let them paſs, as I ſuppoſe, for that they be in number infinite. So, it is not like that the Moon ſhould have but one plain, and even ſuperficies in manner of the ſea, but rather reſemble naturally of all things eſpecially the earth, whereof old *Socrates* in *Plato* ſeemeth to fable, whether it were, that under covert words and œnigmatically he meant this here of the Moon, or ſpake of ſome other. For it is neither incredible nor wonderful if the Moon in it having no corruption nor muddineſs, but the fruition of pure light from heaven, and being full of heat, not of furious and burning fire, but of ſuch as is milde and harmleſs, hath alſo within her fair places and marvellous pleaſant mountains alſo, reſplendent like bright flaming fire, purple tinctures or zones, gold and ſilver likewiſe good ſtore, not diſperſed here and there in the bottom thereof, but ariſing up to the upper face of the ſaid plains in great abundance, or elſe ſpread over the hills and mountains, even and ſmooth. Now ſay, that the light of all theſe things cometh unto us through a ſhadow, and that after divers and ſundry ſorts, by reaſon of the variable and different mutation of the circumſtant ayr, yet loſeth not the Moon for all that, the venerable opinion that goeth of her, and the reputation of her divinity, being eſteemed among men a celeſtial earth, or rather a feculent and troubled fire, as the Stoicks would have it, and ſtanding much upon kes or dreggiſh matter. For the very fire it ſelf hath barbarian honors done unto it among the Medes and Aſſyrians, who for very fear ſerve and adore ſuch things as be noyſome and hurtful, hallowing and conſecrating the ſame above thoſe things which are of themſelves good and honorable. As for the name of the earth, there is not a Greek, but he holdeth it right worſhipful, ſacred and venerable: in ſo much as it is an ancient cuſtom received throughout all *Greece*, to honor it as much as any other god whatſoever. And far is it from us men, to think that the Moon which we take to be a celeſtial earth, is a dead body without ſoul or ſpirit, and altogether void of ſuch things, which we ought to offer as firſt fruits to the gods. For both by law we yield recompence and thankſgiving unto it, for thoſe good things which we have received, and by nature we adore the ſame, which we acknowledge to be the moſt excellent for vertue, and right honorable for puiſſance, and therefore we think it no ſin at all, to ſuppoſe the Moon to be earth. To come now unto the face that appeareth therein: like as this earth upon which we walk hath many ſinuoſities and valleys, even ſo as probable it is, that the ſaid heavenly earth, lieth open with great deep caves, and wide chinks and ruptures, and thoſe containing either water or obſcure ayr: to the bottom thereof the light of the Sun is not able to pierce and reach, but there falleth, and ſendeth to us hither a certain divided reflexion. Then *Apollonides*: Now beſeech you good Sir, even by the Moon herſelf, think you it is poſſible that there ſhould be ſhadows of caves, gulfs, and chinks there, and that the ſame ſhould be diſcovered by our ſight here? or do you not make reckoning of that which may come thereof? What is that (quoth I:) Marry, I will tell you, (quoth he) and albeit you are not ignorant thereof, yet may you give me the hearing. The Diameter of the Moon, according to that bigneſs which appeareth unto us, in the mean and ordinary diſtances, is twelve fingers breadth long: and every of thoſe black and dark ſhadowy ſtreaks therein, is more than half a finger, that is to ſay, above the four and twentieth part of the ſaid Diameter. Now if we ſuppoſe, the whole circumference of the Moon to be thirty thouſand ſtadia, and according to that ſuppoſition the Diameter be ten thouſand, every one of thoſe obſcure and ſhadowy marks within her, will not be leſs than five hundreth Stadia, or thereabout. Conſider then firſt, whether it be poſſible that there ſhould be in the Moon ſo great profundities, and ſuch rugged inequalities, as to make ſo big a ſhadow? and then, whether being ſo great, their bigneſs ſhould not be deſcryed and ſeen by us? Hereupon I ſmiling upon him: Now I aſſure you *Apollonides* (quoth I) I con you thank, you have done it very well, in deviſing ſuch a proper demonſtration, whereby you will prove both me and your ſelf alſo to be greater than thoſe Gyants *Aloïades*, I mean not at every hour of the day, but eſpecially in the morning and evening: do you think that when the Sun maketh our ſhadows ſo long, he yieldeth unto our ſenſe this goodly collection and argumentation, that if the thing which is ſhadowed be great, then that which maketh the ſhadow muſt needs be exceeding great? Neither of us twain, I wot well, hath ever been in the Iſle *Lemnos*, and yet both of us have many a time heard this vulgar lambique verſe ſo riſe in every mans mouth:

Ἄθως καλλίσκιος ἀλλὰς λημνίας βοὸς,

The Mountain Athos *ſhall on either ſide,*
The Cow that ſtands in Lemnos *hide.*

For this ſhadow of the hill falleth as it ſhould ſeem, upon a certain brazen Image of an Heifer in that Iſle, reaching in length over ſea no leſs than 700 *ſtadia*; not becauſe the ſaid Mountain which maketh the ſhadow is of that height, but becauſe the diſtances of the light cauſeth the ſhadows of bodies to be by many folds greater than the bodies are. Go to then, conſider that when the Moon is at the full, at what time as ſhe rendreth unto our eye the form of a viſage moſt expreſly, by reaſon of the profundity of the ſhadow within, then is ſhe alſo fartheſt diſtant from the Sun: for the far recoiling and withdrawing backward of the light, is it that makes the ſhadow great, and not the bigneſs of thoſe inequalities, which are upon the ſuperficies of the Moon. Moreover, you ſee that the exceſſive glittering of the Sun ſhining all about, will not ſuffer a man to ſee in the day time the very tops of Mountains: but the deep, hollow, and ſhadowy parts therein, appear very far off. It carrieth therefore

therefore no abſurdity at all, that a man is not able exactly to ſee and diſcern that full light and illumination of the Moon: But that the oppoſition of dark ſhadows unto clear lights, by reaſon of their diverſity, is more exquiſitely ſeen. But this (quoth I) ſeemeth rather to check and conſute that reflexion, and reverberation which is ſaid to rebound from the Moon, for that they who ſtand within the rays or beams that are returned and retorted back, have means to ſee not onely that which is illumined, but that alſo which doth illuminate. For when, in the reſultation of a light from the water upon ſome wall, the ſight falleth upon the very place it ſelf, which is thus illuminate by the reflexion, the eye ſeeth three things, to wit, the beams or ſhining light driven back, the water which maketh that reflexion, and the Sun it ſelf, whoſe light hitting upon the ſuperficies of the water, is reflexed and ſent back. This being generally granted as a thing evidently ſeen, yet by way of objection, they bid thoſe who affirm, that the earth is illuminate from the Moon by the reflection of the Suns light from it, to ſhew by night the Sun appearing in the ſuperfices of the Moon, like as he may be ſeen in the day time within the water upon which he ſhineth, when there is the foreſaid reflexion of his beame. But becauſe he cannot then be ſeen, they infer, that it muſt be by ſome other manner, and not by reflexion, that the Moon is illuminate; and if there be no ſuch reflexion, then cannot the Moon in any wiſe be Earth. How ſhall this be met withal, and what anſwer ſhall be ſhaped unto it (quoth *Apollonides*) for the reaſon of reflexion ſeemeth all one, and common as well to us as to you? True (quoth I) common it is in ſome ſort, and in ſome ſort not: but firſt mark, I beſeech you, the compariſon, how they go clean kim, kam, and againſt the ſtream, as if rivers ran up hills: for the water is here beneath upon the earth, and the Moon is above and in the heaven: in ſuch ſort, as the beams reflected, make the form of their angles oppoſite and quite contrary one unto the other, the one carrying the head or point upward againſt the ſuperficeis of the Moon, the other downward to the ground. Let them not then demand and require that a mirror ſhould render every form or face alike, nor that in every diſtance there ſhould be equal, or ſemblable reflexion, for in ſo doing they would go againſt apparent evidence. And they who hold the Moon to be a body not ſmooth, even, and ſubtile as water is, but ſolid, maſſy, and reſtrial, I cannot conceive why they ſhould look for to ſee the Sun in it as in a glaſs. For milk verily doth not yield ſuch ſpeculary images, nor cauſe reflexion of the ſight, by reaſon of the inequality and rugged aſperity of the parts: How is it poſſible then, that the Moon ſhould ſend back from it the ſight, as mirrors do which are more poliſhed? And even this alſo, if any raſe, blur, filth, or confuſed ſport have caught them in the ſuperficies, from whence the ſight being reflected is wont to receive the impreſſion of ſome figure, may well be ſeen, but counter-light they yield none: and he who requireth, that either the Sun ſhould appear in the Moon, or our ſight be redoubled againſt the Sun, let him require withal, that the eye be the Sun, the ſight thereof the light, and man, heaven. For like it is that the reflexion of our ſight upon the Sun beams againſt the Moon, for their vehement and exceeding great brightneſs, ſhould with a ſtroke rebound upon us: But ſeeing our ſight is weak and feeble, what marvel is it, if it neither give ſuch a ſtroke as might rebound, nor maintain the continuity thereof if it leaped back again, but is broken and faileth, as not having that abundance of light, whereby it ſhould not be diſgregate and diſſipated, within thoſe uneven and unequal aſperities? For it is not poſſible that the reflexion of our ſight upon water, or other ſorts of mirrors, whiles the ſame is yet ſtrong, and able, as being neer unto the ſpring from whence it cometh, ſhould not return again upon the eye. But from the Moon, ſuppoſe there may rebound ſome glimmering glances, certes, they be all weak and obſcure, failing in the very way, by reaſon of ſo long a diſtance. For otherwiſe, arched and hollow mirrors ſend back their reflected rays with more force, than they came, in ſuch ſort as many times they catch fire and do burn: whereas the imboſſed and curbed mirrors made round, and bearing out like a bowl, caſt from them feeble and dark rays, becauſe they beat them not back on all ſides. You ſee certainly, when two Rain bows appear in the heaven, by reaſon that one cloud doth environ and comprehend another, that the Rain-bow which compaſſeth the other without forth, yieldeth dim colours, and not ſufficiently diſtinct and expreſſed, becauſe the outward cloud being farther remote from our ſight, maketh not a ſtrong and forcible reflexion. And what needs there any more to be ſaid? conſidering that the very light of the Sun returned and ſent back by the Moon, loſeth all the heat: and of his brightneſs there cometh unto us with much ado but a ſmall remnant, and a portion very little and feeble. Is it impoſſible then that our ſight running the ſame race, there ſhould any parcel or reſidue thereof reach from the Moon back again to the Sun? for mine own part, I think not. Conſider alſo, I beſeech you (quoth I) even your own ſelves, that if our eye-ſight were affected and diſpoſed alike by the Water, and by the Moon, it could not otherwiſe be, but that the Moon ſhould repreſent unto us the images of the earth, of trees, of plants, of men, and of ſtars, as well as water doth, and all other kindes of mirrors. Now if there be no ſuch reflexion of our eye-ſight from the Moon, as to brink back unto us thoſe images, either for the feebleneſs of it, or the rugged inequality of her ſuperficies, let us never require that it ſhould leap back as far as to the Sun. Thus have we reported as much as our memory would carry away, whatſoever was there delivered: Now is it time to deſire *Sylla*, or rather to require and exact of him, to make his narration, for that admitted he was to here this diſcourſe upon ſuch a condition. And therefore if you think ſo good, let us give over walking, and ſitting down here upon theſe ſeats, make him a ſedentary audience. All the company liked well of this motion. And when we had taken our places, *Theon* thus began, Certes I am deſirous (quoth he) and none of you all more, to hear what ſhall be ſaid:

But

But before I would be very glad to understand somewhat of those who are said to dwell in the Moon, not whether there be any persons there inhabiting, but whether it be possible that any should inhabit there. For if this cannot be, then it were meer folly, and beside all reason, to say, that the Moon is earth: otherwise it would be thought to have been created in vain, and to no end: as bearing no fruits, nor affording no habitation, no place for nativity, no food or nourishment for any men or women, in regard of which cause, and for which ends we firmly hold, that this earth wherein we live, as *Plato* saith, was made and created, even to be our nourse and keeper, making the day and night distinct one from another. For you see and know, that of this matter, many things have been said as well merrily, and by way of laughter, as seriously and in good earnest. For of those who inhabit the Moon, some are said to hang by the heads under it, as if they were so many *Tantali*; others contrariwise, who dwell upon it, are tyed fast, like a sort of *Ixions*, and turned about with such a violence, that they are in danger to be flung and shaken out. And verily she moveth not after one single motion, but three manner of ways; whereupon the Poets call her otherwhile, *τριοδῖτιν*, or *Trivia*, performing her course together, according to length, breadth, and depth in the Zodiack. Of which motions, the first is called, A direct revolution; the second, An oblique winding or wheeling in and out; and the third, the Mathematicians call (I wote not how) An inequality: and yet they see, that she hath no motion at all even and uniform, nor certain in all her monethly circuits and reverſions. No marvel therefore, considering the impetuosity of these motions, if there fell a Lyon sometimes out of her into *Peloponnesus*: nay rather we are to wonder, why we see not every day a thousand falls of men and women, yea, and as many beasts shaken out from thence, and flung down headlong with their heels upward. For it were a meer mockery, to dispute and stand upon their habitation there, if they neither can breed nor abide there. For considering that the Egyptians and Troglodites, over whose heads the Sun standeth directly one moment onely of the day in the time of the Solstices, and then presently retireth, hardly escape burning, by reason of the excessive siccity of the circumstant ayr; how possibly can the men in the Moon endure twelve Summers every year, when the Sun once a moneth is just in their Zenith, and settleth plum over head, when she is at the full? As for winds, clouds, and rains, without which the plants of the earth can neither come up nor be preserved, it passeth all imagination, that there should be any there, the ayr is so subtile, dry and hot; especially, seeing that even here beneath, the highest Mountains do not admit or feel the hard and bitter Winters from year to year, but the ayr about them being pure and clear, and without any agitation whatsoever, by reason of the subtility and lightness, avoideth all that thickness and concretion which is among us: unless haply we will say, that like as *Minerva* instilled and dropped into *Achilles* mouth some *Nectar* and *Ambrosia*; wherewith he received no other food; so the Moon, who both is called, and is indeed *Minerva*, nourisheth men there, bringeth forth daily for them *Ambrosia*, according as old *Pherecides* was wont to say, that the very gods also were fed and nourished. For as touching that Indian root, which (as *Megasthenes* saith) certain people of *India*, who neither eat nor drink, nor have so much as mouthes, whereupon they be called *Astomi*, do burn and make to smoak, with the odor and perfume whereof, they live; how can they come by any such there, considering the Moon is never watered nor refreshed with rain? When *Theon* had thus said: You have (quoth I) very properly and sweetly handled this point; you have (I say) by this merry conceited jest, layed smooth and even, those bent and knit brows, the austerity (I mean) of this whole Discourse; which hath given us heart, and encouraged us to make answer: for that, if we fail and come short, we look not for streight examination, nor fear any sharp and grievous punishment. For to say a truth, they who take most offence at these matters, rejecting and discrediting the same, are not so great adversaries unto those who are most perswaded thereof; but such as will not after a milde and gentle sort consider that which is possible and probable. First and formost therefore, this I say, that, suppose there were no men at all inhabiting the Moon, it doth not necessarily follow therefore, that she was made for nothing, and to no purpose: for we see that even this earth here is not thorowout inhabited, nor tilled in all parts: nay, there is but a little portion thereof habitable, like unto certain promontories or demy-Islands arising out of the deep sea, for to breed, ingender and bring forth plants and living creatures: for of the rest, some part is desert, waste and barren, by reason of excessive cold and heat; but in truth, the greatest portion lieth drowned under the great and main sea. But you (for the great love that you bear to *Aristarchus*, whom you admire so much, and evermore have in your hands) give no ear to *Crates*, notwithstanding that you read these verses in *Homer*:

The ocean Sea, from whence both men
and gods were first ibred,
With surging waves the greatest part
of earth doth over spred.

And yet God forbid, that these parts should be said for to have been made for nought: for the Sea doth expire and breathe forth certain milde vapors: and the most gentle and pleasant winds which arise and blow in the greatest heat of Summer, come from frozen regions, and not inhabited for extream cold, which the snow melting and thawing by little and little do send from them, and scatter over all our Countreys. And earth (as *Plato* saith) ariseth out of the Sea in the midst, as a Guardianess and Workmistress of night and day. What should hinder then, but that the Moon also may well be without living creatures in it, and yet give reflexions unto the light diffused and spread about her? yea, and yield a receit or receptacle of the stars rays which have their confluence, meeting and temperature in her,

her, whereby she concocteth the evaporations ascending from the earth, and withall, abateth the over-ardent and fiery heat of the Sun. Over and besides, attributing as we do very much to the ancient opinion and voice which we have received from our forefathers, we will be bold to say, that she hath been reputed *Diana*, as a Virgin, barren and fruitless, but otherwise salutary, helpfull and profitable to the world. And of all this that hath been said (my good friend *Theon*) there is nothing that doth prove and shew directly, this habitation of men in the Moon to be impossible: for her turning about being so mild, so kinde and calm, polisheth the air near unto it, it distributeth and spreadeth the same all about in so good disposition, that there is none occasion given to fear, that those who live in it should fall down or slide out of her, unless she also come down withall. As for that manifold variety of her motions, it proceedeth not from any inequality, error or confusion, but the Astrologers demonstratively shew thereby an order and course most admirable, contriving it so, that she should be fast within certain circles that turn and winde about other circles, some devising that she her self stirreth not, others supposing that she moveth alwaies equally, smoothly and in conform celerity: for these are the ascensions of divers circles, the circumversions and turnings about, habitudes in references one to another, yea, and respective to us, which make most elegantly those orderly elevations and depressions in altitude, which appear in her motion, yea, and her digressions in latitude, all joyntly with that ordinary and direct revolution of hers in longitude. As touching that exceeding heat and continuall inflammation of the Sun, you will cease (I am sure) to be afraid thereof, in case, first and formost, you will lay to those eleven hot and estivall conjunctions, as it were in exchange, as many oppositions when she is at the full; and then oppose unto those excessive and enormous extremities which hold not long, the continuall change and mutation, which reduceth them into a proper and peculiar temperature, taking from them that which is excessive and overmuch in both: for it seemeth very probable, that the time between is a season resembling the Springtide. Moreover, the Sun sendeth his beames into us, thorow a grosse and troubled air, casting his heat nourished and fed by evaporations: whereas the aire there, about the Moon, being subtile and transparent, doth disgregate and disperse the said beames, as having no nouriture to maintain them, nor body to settle upon.

To come now unto Trees, Woods, and Fruits; here indeed with us, they be the raines that nourish them: but in other high Countries with you, namely, about **Thebes* and *Siene*, it is not the water from heaven, but out of the earth, that feedeth them: for the earth being soaked therewith, and besides refreshed with cool winds and comfortable dewes, would be loth to compare in fertility with the best watered ground in the world, such is the goodness, vertue and temperature of the soil. And verily the trees of the same kinde with us, if they have been well Wintered, that is to say, if they have endured a sharp and long Winter, bring forth plenty of good fruit; but in *Libya* and with you in *Egypt*, they are soon hurt and offended with cold, and it they fear exceedingly. And whereas the provinces of *Gederosia* and *Trogloditis*, lying hard upon the Ocean Sea, be very barren by reason of their drouth, and are altogether without trees: yet within the Sea adjoyning thereto, and which beateth upon the continent, there grow trees of a wonderfull bignesse, yea, and there be that put forth fresh and green, at the very bottom of the Sea: whereof some they call Olive trees, others, Lawrels, and some again *Isis* haires. As for those Plants which be called Anancamserotes, after they be plucked forth of the ground where they grow, and so be hanged up, they do not only live as long as a man would have them, but (which more is) bud and put forth green leaves. Moreover, of those Plants which are set or sown, some, as namely, Centaury, if they be planted or sowed in a rich or fat soil, and the same well drenched and watered, do degenerate and grow out of their naturall qualitie, yea, and leese all their vertue, for that they love to grow drie, and in their proper nature and soil agreeable thereto, they thrive passing well. Others cannot so much as away with any dewes, as the most part of the Arabian plants; for wet them once, they misslike, fade and die. What marvell then if there grow within the Moon, Roots, Seeds, Plants, and Trees, that have no need either of shewers, or of Winter wind and weather, but are appropriate naturally to a subtile and drie air, such as the summer season doth afford? And why may it not stand with good reason, that the Moon her self sends certain warm winds, and that by her shaking and agitation, as she still moveth, there should bring forth a sweet and comfortable air, fine dewes, and gentle moistures, spred and dispersed all about, sufficient to maintain the plants fresh and green: considering withall, that she of her own temperature is not ardent, nor exceeding dry, but rather soft and moist, and ingendring all humidity? For there cometh not from her unto us, any one effect or accident of siccity, but of moisture and of a feminine and soft constitution, many; to wit, the growing and thriving of plants, the putrefaction of flesh killed, the turning of wines to be sowre, flat, and dead, the frumnesse and tendernesse of wood, and the easie deliverance of women in Child-birth. But I fear me, that I should move and provoke *Pharnaces* again, who all this while sitteth still and sayeth nought, if I allege the ebbing and flowing, or the inundations of the great Ocean, as they themselves say, the firthes, streights, and armes of the Sea, which swell and rise by the Moon, naturally given to encrease moisture and breed humours: and therefore I will direct my words toward you rather, friend *Theon*, for you say unto us, in expounding these verses of the Poet *Alcman*.

What things on earth the dew, as Nourse doth feed,
Which Jupiter and Moon between them breed,

that in this place he calleth the air *Jupiter*, and saith that being moistened by the Moon, he is converted into dew: for the Moon (my good friend) seemeth in nature to be quite contrary unto the Sun,

* In *Egypt*

not onely in this, that whatsoever doth thicken, dry, and harden, she is wont to resolve, moisten and mollifie, but that which more is, to humect and refrigerate the heat that cometh from him, when the same ligheth upon her, or is mingled with her. Therefore as well they who suppose the Moon to be a fiery and ardent body, do erre, as those who would have the Creatures there inhabiting, to have all things necessary for their generation, food and maintenance, like unto them that live here; never considering the great difference nor inequality which is in nature, wherein there be found greater and more varieties and diversities of living Creatures, one with another, than with other things: neither would there be men in the world without mouths, and whose lips are grown up together, and who were nourished also with smells onely, in case men would not live without solid and substantiall food. But that power of Nature, which *Ammonius* himself hath shewed us, and which *Hesiodus* under covert words hath given us to understand by these verses,

In Mallows and in Asphodels
which grow on every ground,
What use and profit manifold,
for man there may be found,

Epimenides hath made plain and evident indeed and effect, teaching us, that nature sustaineth and preserveth a living Creature with very small food and maintenance: for so it may have but as much as an olive, it needs no more nourishment, but may live therewith and do full well. Now it is very like and probable, that those who dwell within the Moon, if any else be light, active and nimble of body, and easie to be nourished with any thing whatsoever: also that the Moon (as well as the Sunne, who is a Living Creature, standing much upon fire, and by many degrees greater than the Earth) is nourished and maintained as they say, by the humours which are upon the earth, like as all other starres, which are in number infinite. So light and slender they imagine those living Creatures to be, that are above and so soon contented and satisfied with small necessaries. But we neither see this, nor yet consider that a diverse Region, nature and temperature is meet and agreeable unto them: much like, as if when we could not our selves come near unto the Sea, nor touch and taste it, but have seen it onely afar off, and heard that the water in it is bitter, brackish, salt, and not potable, one should come and tell us, that it nourisheth a mighty number of great Creatures, of all sorts and forms, living in the bottome thereof, and that it is full of huge and monstrous beasts, which make use of the water, as we do of air; he would be thought to tell us Tales and monstrous Fables: even so it seemeth that we stand affected and disposed in these matters of the Moon, not believing that there be any men inhabiting within it. But I am verily perswaded, that they may much more marvell, seeing the Earth here afar off, as the dregges, sediment and ground as it were of the whole world, appearing unto them through moist clouds, and foggy mists, a small thing God wots and the same without light, base, abject, and unmoveable: how the same should breed, nourish, maintain, and keep living Creatures which have motion, breathing, and vitall heat: and in case they had ever heard these verses out of *Homer*, as touching certain habitations,

Ugly and foul, most hideous to be seen:
Whereof the gods themselves right fearfull been;

Also

Under the earth beneath, and hell unseen,
As far as heavens from earth removed been;

they would think verily and say, that they had been spoken of this Earth here: and that dark hell and *Tartarus* were here situate, and far remote: as also that the Moon onely was the Earth, as being equally distant from heaven above and hell beneath. Now before I had well made an end of my speech, *Sylla* taking the words out of my mouth: Stay a while (quoth he) O *Lamprias*, your speech; and hold off with your boat, as they say, for fear you run an end with your Tail upon the ground ere you be aware, and mar all the play, which for this present hath another Scene and disposition; and I my self am the actour: but before I proceed farther, I will bring forth mine Authour unto you, if there be nothing to impeach me; who beginneth in this manner with a verse of *Homer*.

Far from the Main, within the Ocean Sea,
There lies an Iland hight Ogygiæ,

distant from Great *Brittain* or *England* Westward, five dayes sailing: And other three Iles there be, of like distance one from the other, and from the said Iland bearing North-West, whereas the Sun setteth in Summer: in one of which the barbarous people of the Countrey do fable and feign that *Saturn* was detained and kept prisoner by *Jupiter*. Now for the keeping as well of it, as of those other Iles, and the whole Sea adjacent, which was called *Saturns* Sea, the Gyant *Ogygius*, or *Briareus* was placed: as also that the Main and firm Land, wherewith the great sea is bordered round about, is removed from the other Iles not so far, but from *Ogygia* five hundred *Stadia* or there about: unto which men use to row in Gallies, for that Sea is very ebbe and low, hardly to be passed by great Vessels, by reason of the huge quantity of mudde brought thither by a number of rivers, which running out of the main Continent, discharge themselves into it, raising mighty shelves and barres, whereby the Sea is choked up as it were with earth, and hardly navigable: which gave occasion of that old opinion which went thereof, that it should be frozen and stand all over with an ice. Well, the coasts along the firm land, which lie upon this Sea, are inhabited by Greeks, all about a mighty Bay or Gulf thereof, no lesse spacious than the huge Lake *Mœotis*, the mouth or entrance whereof lieth directly opposite unto

unto that of the Caspian Sea: these people are reputed and named to be the inhabitants of the Continent or firm land, accounting and calling all us Ilanders, as dwelling in a land environed round about, and washed with the Sea. They suppose also, that they in old time who accompanied *Hercules*, and being left by him, abode there, and intermingled afterwards with the people and Nations of *Saturn*, caused to revive again the Greek Nation there, well neer extinguished, which being subdued and brought under the Language, Lawes, Manners and Fashions of the Barbaians, flourished again by these means, was well peopled, and recovered their ancient puissance and greatnesse. And hereupon it is, that the chief and principall honour, they do unto *Hercules*, but in a second place, to *Saturn*. Now when the star of *Saturn*, which we call *Phenon*, and there by his saying, *Nyctirus* is entred into the sign *Taurus*, (and that it doth once in the space of 30 years) they having long before prepared all necessaries for a solemn sacrifice, and a long voiage or navigation, send forth those upon whom the lot falleth, to row in that huge Sea, and to live a long time in a strange Countrey. Now when they be imbarqued and entred once into the wide and open Sea, they take their adventured fortune as it falleth out. Such as have passed the dangers of the Sea and arrived in safety, land first in those Ilands lying opposite against them, being inhabited by Greek Nations, where they see the Sun to be hidden from them, not one full hour in thirty dayes (and that is all their night) whereof the darknesse is but small, as having a twilight in the West where the Sun went down, much like the dawning of the day. Having here made their abode for ninety dayes, during which space they were highly honoured and found great entertainment, as being reputed holy men and so termed, conducted they are with the winds, and transported over into the Iland of *Saturn*: which is inhabited by no others but by themselves, and such as had been sent thither before time in this manner. For albeit lawfull it is for them, after they have done service unto *Saturn* the time of thirty years, to sail home again into their own Countrey; yet for the most part they chuse to remain there still in peace and rest, than to return soon, for that they be already inured and accustomed to the place: others, because without any labour and trouble of their, they have plenty of all things, as well for their sacrifices, as for the ordinary maintenance of such, as continually are given to their books, and to the study of Philosophy. For surely by their saying, the nature of the Iland and the mildnesse of the air is wonderfull. And whereas some of them were willing to depart from thence, they have been stayed and empeached by a Divine power, which hath appeared unto them as unto their friends and familiars, not onely in dreams and by way of outward signes, but visibly also unto many of them, by the means of familiar spirits and angels, devising and talking with them. For they say that *Saturn* himself is personally there, within the deep cave of a great hollow rock shining and glittering like pure gold, where he lieth asleep, for that *Jupiter* had devised for him sleep, instead of other chains and bonds, to keep him fast for stirring. But there be certain birds haunting the top of the said rock, which flie down from thence and carry unto him the Divine food *Ambrosia*. As for the whole Iland, it is by report replenished with a most fragrant and odoriferous perfume, which out of that Cave, as from a lively fountain doth breath forth continually, and the said Dæmons or Angels do attend and wait upon *Saturn*, such I mean as were his Courtiers and minions, at what time as he reigned as Soveraign over gods and men; who having the skill of Prophecie and Divination, do of themselves foretell many future things: howbeit of the greatest matters and of most importance, they make report and relation after they have been down below with *Saturn*, as his dreams revealed unto them: For whatsoever *Jupiter* thinketh, and deviseth of before, *Saturn* dreameth. As for his sudden weakenings they be Titannincall passions and perturbations of the spirit in him. But his sleep is mild and sweet, wherein he sheweth his Divine and Royall nature of it self pure and incontaminate. And thither (quoth he) this stranger and friend of mine being brought, where he served god *Saturn* at his ease and repose, attained unto the skill of Astrology, so far forth as it is possible for one that had the exact knowledge of Geometry. And among other parts of Philosophy, he gave himself unto that which is called naturall. But having a longing desire to visit & see the great Iland (for so they call the firm land wherein we are) after the thirty years were past, and his successors thither arrived, taking his leave of his kinsfolk and friends whom he had farwell, he took Sea in other respects lightly and nimbly appointed, but good store he carried with him of Voyage-provision within pots and cups of Gold. But to recount unto you in particular what adventures to him befell, how many Nations he visited, through what Countries he travelled, how he searched into holy Writings, and was professed in all Religious Orders and holy Confraternities, one whole day would not be sufficient (I say) to rehearse, as he himself delivered the same unto us, particularising very well of every thing: but as much as concerneth this present Discourse, listen and I will relate unto you. For he continued a long time at *Carthage*, where he was greatly honoured and respected, as also among us, for that he found sacred skins of Parchment, which at the overthrow and Saccage of the former City called great *Carthage* had been secretly conveyed thither and lain hidden a long time under the ground. So he said, that of those gods which appear unto us in heaven, we ought (and so he advised me also) to adore and worship especially the Moon, as the principall Guide and Mistris of our life. Whereat when I marvelled, and besought him to expound and declare the same more plainly: The Greeks (quoth he) O *Sylla*, talk very much of the gods; but in all things they say not well. As for example, first and foremost, in naming *Ceres* and *Proserpina* they do well and right: but to put them both together, and think that they are both in one and the same place, they do amisse: For the one, to wit, *Ceres*, is upon the Earth, the very Dame and Mistresse of all those things that be above the ground; but the other is in the Moon, and called she is by them that inhabit

the Moon, *Core*, and *Perſephonie*, that is to ſay, *Proſerpina*: *Perſephonie*, as one would ſay, φωτόφορος, for that ſhe bringeth light and brightneſſe; but *Core*, becauſe the ſight or apple of the eye, in which is ſeen the image of him who looketh into it, like as the brightneſſe of the Sun appeareth in the Moon, we call *Core*. Now whereas it is ſaid that they go up and down wandring and ſeeking one the other, the ſame carrieth ſome truth with it: for they deſire and long after one another when they be parted and aſunder, and they embrace one the other in the dark many times. Moreover, that this *Core* or *Proſerpina* is one while above in heaven, and in the light, another while in darkneſſe and the night, is not untrue; onely there is ſome errour in reckoning and numbring the time. For we ſee her not ſix moneths, but every ſixth moneth, or from ſix moneths to ſix moneths, under the Earth, as under her mother, caught with the ſhadow: and ſeldome is it found, that this ſhould happen within five Moneths: for that it is impoſſibe that ſhe ſhould abandon and leave *Pluto*, being his wife: according as *Homer* hath ſignified, although under dark and covert words, not untruly ſaying,

But to the farthest borders of
the Earth and utmost end,
Even to the fair Elysian fields
the gods then shall thee send.

For look where the ſhadow endeth and goeth no further, that is called the limit and end of the Earth, and thither no wicked and impure perſon ſhall ever be able to come. But good folk after their death in the world being thither carried, lead there another eaſie life in peace and repoſe; howbeit, not altogether a bleſſed, happy and divine life, untill they die a ſecond death: but what death this is, aſk me not, my *Sylla*, for I purpoſe of my ſelf to declare, and ſhew it unto you hereafter. The vulgar ſort be of opinion that man is a ſubject compounded: and good reaſon they have ſo to think: but in believing that he conſiſteth of two parts onely, they are deceived: for they imagine that the underſtanding is in ſome ſort a part of the ſoul: but the underſtanding is better than the ſoul, by how much the ſoul is better and more Divine than the body. Now the Conjunction or Compoſition of the ſoul with underſtanding, maketh reaſon, but with the body, paſſion: whereof this is the beginning and Principle of pleaſure and pain, the other of vertue and vice. Of theſe three conjoyned and compact in one, the Earth yieldeth for her part the body, the Moon the ſoul, and the Sun underſtanding to the generation or Creation of man; and Underſtanding giveth reaſon unto the ſoul; * * * * even as the Sun, light and brightneſſe to the Moon. As touching the deaths which we die, the one maketh man of three two, and the other of two one. And the former verily is in the region and Jurisdiction of *Ceres*, which is the cauſe that we ſacrifice unto her. Thus it cometh to paſſe that the Athenians called in old time thoſe that were departed, Ἀμφιτρώνους, that is to ſay, *Cereales*. As for the other death it is in the Moon or Region of *Proſerpina*. And as with the one terreſtriall *Mercury*, ſo with the other Celeſtiall *Mercury* doth inhabit. And verily *Ceres* diſſolveth and ſeparateth the ſoul from the body ſuddenly and forcibly with violence: but *Proſerpina* parteth the underſtanding from the ſoul, gently, and in long time. And hereupon it is, ſhe is called, Μονογενὴς, as one would ſay, begetting one: for that the better part in a man becometh one and alone, when by her it is ſeparated: and both the one, and the other hapneth according to nature. Every ſoul without underſtanding, as alſo endued with underſtanding, when it is departed out of the body, is ordained by fatall deſtiny to wander for a time, but not both alike, in a middle Region between the Earth and the Moon. For ſuch ſouls as have been unjuſt, wicked and diſſolute, ſuffer due puniſhment and pains for their ſinfull deſerts: whereas the good and honeſt, untill ſuch time as they have purified, and by expiration purged forth of them, all thoſe infections which might be contracted by the contagion of the body, as the cauſe of all evill, muſt remain for a certain ſet time, in the mildeſt Region of the air, which they call the Meddows of *Pluto*. Afterwards, as if they were returned from ſome long Pilgrimage or wandring exile into their own Countrey, they have a taſte of joy, ſuch as they feel eſpecially, who are profeſſed in holy myſteries, mixed with trouble and admiration, and each one with their proper and peculiar hope: for it driveth and chaſeth forth many ſouls, which longed already after the Moon. Some take pleaſure to be ſtill beneath, and even yet look downward, as it were to the bottome: but ſuch as be mounted aloſt, and are there moſt ſurely beſtowed, firſt as victorious, ſtand round about adorned with Garlands, and thoſe made of the wings of *Euſtathia*, that is to ſay, Conſtancy: becauſe in their life time here upon earth, they had bridled and reſtrained the unreaſonable and paſſible part of the ſoul, and made it ſubject and obedient to the bridle of reaſon. Secondly, they reſemble in ſight, the rayes of the Sun. Thirdly, the ſoul thus aſcended on high, is there confirmed and fortified by the pure Air about the Moon, where it doth gather ſtrength and ſolidity, like as iron and ſteel by their tincture become hard. For that which hitherto was looſe, rare and ſpongeous, groweth cloſe, compact, and firm, yea, and becometh ſhining and tranſparent, in ſuch ſort, as nouriſhed it is with the leaſt exhalation in the world. This is that *Heraclitus* meant, when he ſaid, that the ſouls in *Plutoes* Region have a quick ſent or ſmelling. And firſt they behold there the greatneſſe of the Moon, her Beauty and Nature, which is not ſimple nor void of mixture, but as it were a Compoſition of a Starre, and of Earth. And as Earth mingled with a Spirituall Air and Moiſture, becommeth ſoft, and the Blood tempered with Fleſh, giveth it ſenſe; Even ſo ſay they, the Moon mingled with a Celeſtiall Quinteſſence, even to the very bottome of, it is made Animate, Fruitfull and Generative, and withall, equally counterpoiſed with Ponderoſity and Lightneſſe. For the whole world it ſelf, being thus Compoſed of things which naturally move downward and upward, is altogether

altogether void of motion local, from place to place; which it ſeemeth that *Xenocrates* himſelf by a divine diſcourſe of reaſon underſtood, taking the firſt light thereof from *Plato*. For *Plato* was he who firſt affirmed, that every ſtar was compounded of fire and earth, & by the means of midle natures given in certain proportion; in as much as there is nothing object to the ſenſe of man, which hath not in ſome proportion a mixture of earth & light. And *Xenocrates* ſaid, that the Sun is compounded of fire & the firſt or primitive ſolid: the Moon of a ſecond ſolid, and her proper air: in ſum, throughout, neither ſolid alone by it ſelf, nor the rare apart, is capable and ſuſceptible of a ſoul. Thus much as touching the ſubſtance of the Moon. As for the grandeur and bigneſſe thereof, it is not ſuch as the Geometricians ſet down, but far greater by many degrees. And ſeldom doth it meaſure the ſhadow of the Earth by her greatneſſe; not for that the ſame is ſmall, but for that it bringeth a moſt fervent and ſwift motion, to the end, that quickly and with ſpeed ſhe might paſſe the dark place, and bring away with her the ſouls of the bleſſed which make haſt and cry: becauſe all the while they are within the ſhade, they cannot hear any more the harmony of celeſtiall bodies: and withal, underneath, the ſouls of the damned which are puniſhed, lamenting, wailling, and howlling in this ſhadow, are preſented unto them. And this is the reaſon, that in the Eclipſes of the Moon, many were wont to ring baſons and pannes of braſſ; and to make a great noiſe and clattering about theſe ſoulr. And affrighted they are to behold that which they call the face of the Moon, when they approach neer unto it, ſeeming to be a terrible & fearful ſighte, whereas it is no ſuch matter. But like as the Earth with us hath many deep and wide gulfes, as namely, one here, to wit, the Mediterranean ſea, lying between *Hercules* pillars, and ſo running into the land hither to us: and another without, that is to ſay, the Caſpian ſea, and that alſo of red ſea. So there be theſe deep concavities and vallies of the Moon, and thoſe in number three; whereof the greateſt they call the hole or gulf of *Hecate*, wherein the ſouls do puniſh and are puniſhed, according as they either did or ſuffred hurt whiles they were here: the other two * be ſmall, to wit, the very paſſages whereby the ſouls muſt go, one while to the tract of the Moon lying toward heaven, and another while to that which regardeth the earth. And verily, that which looketh to heaven, they call the Elyſian field, whereas the other earth-ward to us, the field of *Proſerpina*, not her, I mean, who is under the ground juſt-againſt us. Howbeit, the Dæmons do not converſe alwaies in the Moon, but deſcend otherwailes hither below, for the charge and ſuperintendance of Oracles: They be aſſiſtant likewiſe to the myſteries and ceremonies, and thoſe they do celebrate, having and obſervant eye to wicked deeds which they puniſh; and withal, ready they are to preſerve the good in perils as wel of War as the Sea. In which charge and function, if they themſelves commit any fault, and here upon earth do ought either by injuſt favour or envy, they feel the ſmart thereof according to their merits: for thruſt down they are again to the earth, and ſent with a witneſſe into mens bodies. But of the number of the better ſort, are they who ſerved and accompanied *Saturn*, as they themſelves report; ſuch as in times paſt alſo were the *Idæi Dactyli* in *Crete*, the Gorybants in *Phrygia*, and thoſe of Bœotia in the City of *Lebadia*, named Trophoniades beſides, an infinit number of others in ſundry parts of the earth habitable; whoſe names, Temples and Honours remain and continue unto this day, but the powers and puiſſances of ſome do fail and are quite gone, as being tranſlated into another place, and making a moſt happy change: which tranſlation ſome obtain ſooner, other later, after that the underſtanding is ſeparate from the ſoul: and ſeparated it is by the love and deſire to enjoy the image of the Sun, by which that divine, bleſſed and deſirable beauty which every nature after divers ſorts ſeeketh after, ſhineth. For even the very Moon turneth about continually for the love of the Sun, as longing to company and converſe with him, as the very fountain of all fertility. Thus the nature of the ſoul is ſpent in the Moon, retaining only certain prints, marks and dreams, as it were, of her life: and hereof, think it was well and truly ſaid,

The soul made haſt, as one would say,
Like to a dream, and flew away.

which it doth not immediately upon her ſeparation from the body, but afterwards, when ſhe is alone by her ſelf and ſevered from the underſtanding. And in truth, of all that ever *Homer* wrot, moſt divinely he ſeemeth to have writen of thoſe who are departed this life, and be among the ſpirits beneath, theſe verſes:

Next him, I knew of Hercules
the strength and image plain,
Or semblance: for himself with gods
immortal did remain.

For like as every one of us is not ire and courage, nor fear nor yet luſt, no more than fleſh or humours, but that indeed whereby we diſcourſe and underſtand; even ſo, the ſoul it ſelf being caſt into a form by the underſtanding, and giving a form unto the body, and embracing it on every ſide, expreſſeth and receiveth a certain impreſſion and figure; ſo as albeit ſhe is diſtinctly ſeparate both from underſtanding, and alſo from the body, ſhe retaineth ſtill the form and ſemblance a long time, inſomuch as well ſhe may be called an image. And of theſe ſouls, as I have already ſaid, the Moon is the Element, becauſe ſouls do reſolve into her, like as the bodies of the dead into the Earth. As for ſuch as have been vertuous and honeſt, and which loved a ſtudious and quiet life, imployed in Philoſophy, without medling in troubleſome affairs, ſoon are reſolved, for that being leſt and rid of underſtanding, and uſing no more corporall paſſions, they vaniſh away incontinently; but ſouls of ambitious perſons, and ſuch as are buſied in negotiations, of amorous folk alſo given

* μιᾶσται, ſome read μακαρες.

to the love of beautiful bodies; and likewise of wrathful people, calling still to remembrance those things which they did in their life, even as dreams in their sleep, walk wandring to and fro, like to that ghost of *Endymion*: for considering their inconstancy and aptnesse to be over-subject unto passions, the same transporteth and plucketh them from the Moon unto another generation, not suffering them quietly there to passe and vanish away, but still allureth and calleth them away: for now is there nothing small, stained, quiet, constant and accordant, after that being once abandoned of the understanding, they come to be seized with the passions of the body: so that of such souls void of reason, came and were bred afterwards the *Tityi* and *Typhons*; and namely, that *Typhon* who in times past by force and violence seized the City *Delphes*, and overturned up-side-down the Sanctuary of the Oracle there; most ungracious ships destitute of all reason and understanding, and abandoned to all passions upon a proud spirit and violence, wherewith they were puffed up. Howbeit, at length, after long time, the Moon receiveth the souls, and composeth them: the Sun also inspiring into them again, and sowing in their vital faculty, understanding, maketh them new souls: yea, and the Earth in the third place, giveth them a new body: for, nothing doth the give after death, of all that which she taketh to generation. And the Sun receiveth nothing of others, but taketh again that understanding which he gave. But the Moon giveth and receiveth, joyneth and disjoyneth, uniteth and separateth, according to her divers faculties and powers: of which, the one is named *Hithyia*, to wit, that which joyneth: another, *Artemis* or *Diana*, which parteth and divideth. Of the three fatal Sisters or Destinies, she who they name *Atropos*, is placed within the Sun, and giveth beginning of generation. *Clotho* being lodged in the Moon, is she that joyneth, mingleth and uniteth. The third and last, called *Lachesis*, is in the Earth, who also lendeth her helping-hand, and doth participate much with Fortune. For, that which is without soul, is weak in it self, and naturally exposed to all injuries, and to suffer hurt: but the understanding is soveraigne over all the rest, and nothing is able to do it injury. Now the soul is of a middle nature and mixt of them both, like as the Moon was made and created by God, as a composition and mixture of things above and things beneath; keeping the same proportion to the Sun, as the Earth doth to her. And thus you have heard (quoth *Sylla*) what I learned of this stranger or traveller; which (as he said himself) he understood by those Dæmons, who were Chamberlaines and Servitours to *Saturn*. As for you, O *Lampris*, and the rest, you may take my relation in good or ill part, as you please.

Why the Propheteſſe *Pythia* giveth no anſwers now from the Oracle, in verſe or metre.

The Summary.

THey who have so highly chanted the excellency of man, extolling the vigor of humane wit and understanding; whatsoever they do alledge to that purpose, have ordinarily forgot the principal, which is to shew, that all the sufficiency of his intelligence, is in vertuous guide; his will, a bottomlesse gulfe and pit of confusion; the light of his reason, a deep dark night; his lusts and desires, so many enraged beasts to rent and teare him in pieces, if God by some especial and singular grace, do not illumine, regenerate and conduct him. Among a million of testimonies for the proof and confirmation hereof, that which presenteth it self unto us in this Dialogue is most sufficient: for is not this wonderful, and a certain signe of a marvellous blindnesse of mans wisdome, to see those, who all their life time do nothing else but seek after the soveraigne good, maintain vertue, detest vices, condemn Atheists, Epicureans, and Libertines, yet to dread, fear, yea and adore the sworn enemy of their salvation and true life, to wit, Satan the Devil? Yes verily, and that which now we read, agreeable to certain discourses hereafter following, and namely, wherein a disputation is held, wherefore the Oracles now do cease? as also what this word EI signifieth? sheweth not only the opinion of Plutarch *and some other Philosophers as touching these matters: but also the miserable state of all those who are abandoned to their own sense, and void of the knowledge of the true God. And this ought to be remembred a second time, for fear lest in reading these discourses so eloquently penned, we be turned out of the right way: but rather contrariwise that we may perceive so much the better, how vaine and detestable all the bable of man is, if it have for the ground and foundation, nothing but the conceits of his corrupt spirit. So then in this Dialogue, we may behold the wisdom of the Greeks, running after Satan: and taking great paines for to stir and set on foot one matter, which we ought to abhorr and bury in perpetual oblivion: or to touch with all their might and main beside, that which the wisdom of the flesh cannot comprehend. There be here divers personages who revive and set a work the Oracles of that Priesteſſe or Propheteſſe at* Delphos, *where was the renowned Temple of* Apollo, *the very cave and den of Satan, and wherein he exercised his crude and subtill, with impostures and illusions incredible, during the space of many years. But to make this disputation of more force and validity,* Plutarch *after his accustomed fashion of broching and introducing his own opinion by a third, following the stile and manner of the Academicks writings, bringeth to* Delphos *a stranger, who being together with* Basilocles, Philinus, *and other amused and occupied in beholding the statues which were there in great number, there began a discourse by way of disputation touching the brasse, and the property thereof. Which when it was well discussed and debated,* Diogenianus *demanded, why the ancient Oracles were delivered in homely verse, and those in evill fashion? wherein*

whereto there were made divers answers tending to this point, to make us beleeve, that wheresoever the words be most rusty, and worst couched, there we are to observe so much the more the excellency of the Author. And this confirmeth fully, that which we have already spoken as touching the illusions of the Devill, who is not content thus to abuse and deceive his slaves, but in this place hath to deale with a ridiculous and most apparent audaciousnesse, if the eyes of those whom he thus abuseth, had never so little means to see the thousand part of his deceitful guiles, as grosse and thick as mountains. Continuing this discourse they handle afterwards the presages of these statues, and of others reared in divers places for the better authorising of the Oracles; which when Boethius *the Epicurian mocked,* Plutarch *replieth and re-entreth into a common place, concerning the gravity of these rude and ill-fashion'd Oracles, conferring them with those of* Sibylla, *and maintaining the authority of them with his companions, through all the reasons they could devise. These be in sum, the contents of this Dialogue, which comprehendeth divers matters dependent thereof, and those noted in their order: the conclusion whereof is this, that as reprovable they be, who taxe the simplicity and rudenesse of such Oracles, as those, who otherwise construe them for their ambiguity, obliquity and obscurity.*

Why the Propheteſſe Pythia *giveth no anſwers now from the Oracle, in verſe or metre.*

Basilocles.

YOu have led this stranger, *Philinus*, such a walk in shewing him the statutes and publick works, that you have made it very late in the evening, and I my self am weary in staying for you, and expecting when you will make an end.

Philinus.

No marvel, we go so softly, and keep so slow a pace, O *Basilocles*, sowing and mowing (as they say) presently withall, our speeches after fight and combat, which sprout forth and yield unto us by the way as we go, enemies lying as it were in ambush, much like unto those men which in old time came up of teeth sowen by *Cadmus*.

Basilocles.

How then? shall we send for and intreat some one of those who were present there, or will you your selfgratifie us so much, as to take the paines for to deliver unto us, what speeches those were, and who were the speakers?

Philinus.

I must be the man, I perceive *Basilocles*, to do this for your sake; for hardly shall you meet with any other else throughout the whole City: for I saw the most part of them going up again together, with that stranger to *Corycium* and *Lycuria*.

Basilocles.

What? is this stranger so curious and desirous to see things, and is he withall friendly and wonderful sociable?

Philinus.

Yea that he is, but more studious is he, and desirous to learn: neither is this most worthy of admiration in him; for he hath a kinde of mildnesse, accompanied with a singular good grace: his pregnant wit and quick conceits ministreth unto him matter to contradict, and to propose doubts: howbeit the same is not bitter and odious in his propositions, nor leavened with any overthwart frowardnesse and perverse stubbornesse in his answers; in such sort as a man having been but a little acquainted with him, would soon say of him:

Certes a lewd man and a bad,
He never for his father had.

For you know well I suppose *Diogenianus*, the best man one of them in the world?

Basilocles.

I know him not my self, *Philinus*: howbeit, many there be who report as much of this young man. But upon what occasion or cause began your discourse and disputation?

Philinus.

Those who were our guides, conversant and exercised in the reading of Histories, rehearsed and read from one end to the other, all those compositions which they had written, without any regard of that which we requested them, namely, to Epitomize and abridge those narrations, and most part of the Epigrams. As for the stranger, he took much pleasure to see and view those fair statues, so many in number, and so artificially wrought: But he admired most of all, the fresh brightnesse of the brasse, being such as shewed no filth nor rust that it had gathered, but carried the glosse and resplendent hew of azure: so as he seemed to be ravished and astonied when he beheld the statues of the Admirals and Captaines at Sea (for at them he began) as representing naturally in their Tincture and Colour as they stood, Sea-men and Sailers in the very main and deep Sea. Whereupon: Had the ancient workmen (quoth he) a certain mixture by themselves, and a temper of their brasse, that might give such Tincture to their works? for as touching the Corinthian brasse, which is so much renowned, it is thought generally, and so given out, that it was by meer adventure and chance, that it took this goodly colour, and

not by any art: by occasion that the fire caught an house, wherein there was laid up some little Gold and Silver, but a great quantity of Brasse, which mettals being melted together and so confused one with another, the whole masse thereof was still called brasse because there was more thereof in it, than of the other mettals. Then *Theon*? We have heard (quoth he) another reason, more subtile than this, namely, that when a certain brasse Founder or Coppersmith in *Corinth*, had met with a Casket or Cosser, wherein was good store of Gold, fearing left he should be discovered, and this treasure found in his hands, he clipped it by little and little, melted and mixed it gently with his brasse, which took thereupon such an excellent and wonderful temperature, that he sold the pieces of work, thereof made, passing deer, in regard of their dainty colour, and lovely beauty, which every man set much by, and esteemed. But both this and the other is but a lying tale: for by all likelihood this Corinthian brasse was a certain mixture and temperature of mettals, so prepared by art, like as at this day, Artisans by tempring gold and silver together, make thereof a certain singular and exquisite pale yellow by it self, howbeit, in mine eye, the same is but a wan and sickly colour, and a corrupt hue, without any beauty in the world. What other cause then might there be (quoth *Diogenianus*) as you think, that this brasse here hath such a tincture? To whom *Theon* made this answer: considering (quoth he) that of these primative elements and most natural bodies that are, and ever shall be, to wit, fire, air, water and earth, there is not one which approacheth or toucheth these brasse works, but air only, it must of necessity be, that it is the air which doth the deed, and by reason of this air lying alwaies close upon them, and never parting therefro, cometh this difference that they have from all others. Or rather this is a thing notoriously known of old, even before *Theognis* was born, as said the comical Poet.

But would you know by what special property and vertue the air should by touching, set such a colour upon brasse? Yes, very fain answered *Diogenianus*. Certes, so would I to, my son (quoth *Theon*) let us therefore search into the thing both together in common: and first of all, if you please, what is the cause that oyl filleth it full of rust, more than all other liquor whatsoever? for surely it cannot be truly said, that oyl of it self setteth the said rust upon it, considering it is pure and neat, not polluted with any filth when it cometh to it. No verily (quoth the young man) and there seemeth to be some other cause else, beside the oyl; for the rust meeting with oyl, which is subtile, pure, and transparent, appeareth most evidently; whereas in all other liquors, it maketh no shew, nor is seen at all. Well said my son (quoth *Theon*) and like a Philosopher: but consider, if you think so good, of that reason which *Aristotle* allegeth. Marry that I will (quoth he again.) Why then I will tell you (quoth *Theon*) *Aristotle* saith, that the rust of brasse lighting upon other liquors, pierceth insensibly, and is dispersed through them, being of a rare substance, and unequal parts, not abiding close together; but by reason of the compact and fast solidity of oyl, the said rust is keept in, and abideth thrust and united together. Now then, if we also of our selves were able to presuppose such a thing, we should not altogether want some means to charm as it were and allay somwhat this doubt of ours. And when we had allowed very well of his speech, and requested him to say on and prosecute the same: he said; That the air in the City of *Delphos* was thick, fast, strong and vehement withall, by reason of the reflexion and repercussion of the mountains round about it, and besides, mordicative, as witnesseth the speedy concoction of meat that it causeth. Now this air by reason of the subtility and incisive quality thereof, piercing into the brasse, and cutting it, forceth out of it a deal of rust, and skaleth as it were much terrestrial substance from it: the which it restraineth afterwards and keepeth in, for that the density and thickness of the air giveth it no issue: thus this rust being staied and remaining still, gathering also a substance by occasion of the quantity thereof, putteth forth this flour as it were of colour, and there within the superficies contracteth a resplendent and shining hew. This reason of his, we approved very well; but the stranger said, that one of those suppositions alone was sufficient to make good the reason: For that subtility (quoth he) seemeth to be somwhat contrary unto the spissitude and thickness, supposed in the air: and therefore it is not necessary to make any supposal thereof; for brasse of it self as it waxeth old, in tract of time exhaleth and putteth forth this rust, which the thickness of the air coming upon, keepeth in and doth so incrassat, as that through the quantity thereof, it maketh it evident and apparent. Against which objection and reply of his, *Theon* inferred thus again: And what should hinder (quoth he) that one and the same thing might not be firm or subtile, and withall thick, both at once: like as his clothes of silk, and linnen, of which *Homer* writeth thus:

And from sail-web of linnen, ran away,
The oyl as moist as 'tis and would not stay.

Whereby he giveth us to understand, the fine spinning, and close weaving thereof, which would not suffer the oyl to rest upon it, and soak through, but to glide off and drop down, so neer were the threds, otherwise small, driven together, and so thick, that it would not let any liquor to passe through. And thus a man may allege the subtility of the air, not only for to fetch out the rust, but also to bring it to a more pleasant and greenish colour, by mixing splendour and light together with the said deep azure. Hereupon ensued a pause and silence for a pretty while; and then the discoursers and Historians aboresaid, alleged again the words of a certain Oracle in verse (which was delivered, if I be not deceived) as touching the Royalty and Reign of *Ægon*, an *Argive* King: Whereat *Diogenianus* said, that it had been many times in his head to marvel, at the base, rude, and homely composition of those verses, which do contain Oracles: notwithstanding that the god *Apollo* is reputed the president of the Muses and eloquence; unto whom no lesse appertained the beauty and

and elegancy of stile and composition, than goodnesse of voice in song and melody, as who surpassed for sweet versifiing *Hesiodus* and *Homer*, both very far: and yet for all that, we see many of his Oracles, rude, base, and faulty, aswel for the metre and measure, as the bare words. Then *Serapion* the Poet, who being come from *Athens*, was there present: Why (quoth he) believe you that those verses were of god *Apolloes* making? shall we suffer you to say as you do, that they come a great way short of the goodnesse of those verses which *Homer* and *Hesiodus* composed? and shall we not use them as passing well and excellently made, correcting our own judgment as forestalled and possessed aforehand with an ill custom? Then *Boethus* the Geometrician (for you wot well that the man hath ranged himself already to the sect of *Epicurus*:) Heard you never (quoth he) the tale of *Pauson* the Painter: Not I verily, quoth *Serapion*. And yet worth it is the hearing, saith *Boethus*. He having bargained and undertaken to paint an Horse wallowing and tumbling on his back, drew him running on foot with all four: whereat when the party was angry and offended, who set him awork, *Pausou* laughed at him, and made no more ado, but turned the ends of the painted table; thus when the upper end was shifted downward, the horse seemed not to run, but to tumble with his heels aloft. Semblably it falleth out (quoth *Boethus*) in certain speeches, when they are inverted and uttered the contrary way: And therefore some you shall have who will say, that the Oracles are not elegant, because they be of god *Apolloes* indicing: but contrariwise, that they be none of his, because they are but rudely made and unsavory: and as for that it is doubtful and uncertain: but this is evident and plain, that the verses of Oracles be not exquisitly couched, and labouriously endited, whereof I crave no better judge than your self *Serapion*: for you are wont to compose and write Poems, which as touching the argument and subject matter be austere and Philosophical: but for their wit, grace and elegant composition, otherwise resemble rather the verses of *Homer* and *Hesiodus*, than those of the Oracles pronounced by *Pythia* the Priestesse of *Apollo*: With that *Serapion*: We are diseased all of us (O *Boethus*) in our eyes and eares to, being wont (such is our niceness and delicacy) to esteem and term such things simply better, which are more pleasant: and peradventure ere it be long, we will finde faule with *Pythia*, for that she doth not chaunt and sing more sweetly than *Glauce* the professed minstrel and singing wench; and because she is not besmeared with odoriferous oyls, nor richly araied in purple robes: yea, and some haply will take exception at her, for not burning Cinamon, *Ladanum* or Frankincense, for perfume: but only Laurel and Barley meale. And see you not saith one, how great a grace the Sapphik verses carry with them, and how they tickle the ears, and joy the hearts of the hearers? whereas *Sibylla* out of her furious and enraged mouth, as *Heraclitus* saith, uttering forth and resounding words without mirth, and provoking no laughter, not gloriously painted and set out, nor pleasantly perfumed and bespiced, hath continued with her voice a thousand years, by the means of *Apollo*, speaking by her. And *Pindarus* saith, that *Cadmus* heard from *Apollo*, not lofty and high Musick, not sweet, not delicate, nor broken and full of variety: for an impassible and holy nature, admitteth not any pleasure: but here together with the Base musick, the most part of the delight also is cast down, and as it should seem, hath run into mens ears and possessed them. When *Serapion* had thus said: *Theon* smilling; *Serapion*, I see well (quoth he) hath done according to his old wont, and followed his own disposition and manners in this behalf: for there being offered some occasion to speak of pleasure, he hath quickly caught at it. But yet for all that, let us *Boethus*, howsoever the verses of Oracles be worse than those of *Homer*, not think that it is *Apollo* who made them; but when he hath given only the beginning of motion, then each Propheteesse is moved according as she is disposed to receive his inspiration. And verily if Oracles were to be penned down and written, and not to be barely pronounced, I do not suppose that we would reprove or blame them (taking them to be the hand-writing of the god) because they are not so curiously endited as ordinarily the Letters of Kings and Princes are. For surely, that voice is not the gods, nor the sound, nor the phrase, ne yet the metre and verse, but a womans they be all. As for him, he presenteth unto her, fansies only and imaginations, kindling a light in the soul to declare things to come: and such an illumination as this, is that which they call *Enthusiasmes*. But to speak in a word to you that are the Priests and Prophets of *Epicurus* (For I see well that you are now become one of that sect) there is no means to escape your hands, considering that ye impute unto the ancient Propheteesses, that they made bad faulty verses, yea and reprove those modern Priestesses of these daies, who pronounce in prose and in vulgar termes the Oracles, for fear they should be articled against by you, in case they delivered their verses headlesse, without loines and curtailed. Then (quoth *Diogenianus*) jest not with us I pray you in the name of God, but rather assoil us this common doubt, and rid us of this scruple; for there is no man, but desireth to know the reason and cause, why this Oracle hath given over to make answer in verses and other speeches as it hath done? Whereto *Theon* spake thus: But now my son, we may seem to do wrong and shameful injury unto our discoursers and directours here, these Historians, in taking from them that which is their office: and therefore let that be done first which belongeth to them; and afterwards you may enquire and dispute at leasure of that which you desire. Now by this time were we gone forward as far as to the statue of King *Hiero*: and the stranger, albeit he knew well all the rest, yet so courteous he was and of so good a nature, that he gave ear with all patience to that which was related unto him: but having heard that there stood sometime a certain column of the said *Hiero* all of brasse, which fell down of it self the very day whereon *Hiero* died at *Saracuse* in *Sicilie*, he wondred thereat: and I thereupon recounted unto him other like examples; as namely, of *Hiero* the Spartan, how the day before that he lost his life in the Battel at *Leuctres*, the eyes of his statue fell out of the head: also that the two Stars which

which *Lysander* had dedicated after the navall battell at the River called *Agos-potamos*, were missing and not to be seen: and his very statue of stone put forth of a sudden so much wild weeds and green grasse in so great quantity that it covered and hid the face thereof. Moreover during the time of those wofull calamities which the *Athenians* sustained in *Sicilie*, not only the golden dates of a Palm tree fell down, but also the Ravens came and picked with their bills all about the Scutcheon or shield of the image of *Pallas*. The Cnidians coronet likewise which *Philomelus* the tyrant of the Phocæans had given unto *Pharsalia* the fine dancing Wench, was the cause of her death: for when she had passed out of *Greece* into *Italy*, one day as she played and danced about the Church of *Apollo* in *Metopontine*, having the said coronet upon her head, the young men of the City came upon her for to have away the gold of that coronet: and striving about her one with another who should have it, tare the poor woman in pieces among them. *Aristotle* was wont to say that *Homer* was the only Poet who made and deviſed words that had motion, so emphaticall they were and lively expreſſed: but I for my part would say, that the offrings dedicated in the city, to neat statues, jewels, & other ornaments moved together with the divine providence, do foresignifie future things: neither are the same in any part vain and void of sense; but all replenished with a divine power. Then *Boethus*: I would not else (quoth he:) for it is not sufficient belike, to enclose God once in a moneth within a mortall body, unless we thrust him also into every stone and piece of brasse? as if fortune and chance were not sufficient of themselves to work such feats and accidents. What (quoth I) think you then that these things every one have any affinity with fortune and chance? & is it probable that your Atoms do glide, divide, & decline, neither before nor after, but just at the very time as each one of them who made these offrings, should fare better or worse? And *Epicurus* belike, as far as I see serveth your turn now and is profitable unto you in those things which he hath said or written three hundred years past: but this god *Apollo*, unless he imprison and immure himself (as it were) and be mixed within every thing, is not able in your opinion, to give any thing in the world the beginning of motion, nor the cause of any passion or accident whatsoever. And this was the answer which I made unto *Boethus* for that point: and in like mannner spake I as touching the verses of *Sybilla*. For when we were come as far as to the rock which joyneth to the senate-house of the City, and there rested our selves, upon which rock by report the first *Sybilla* sat, being new come out of *Helicon*, where she had been softered by the Muses, although others there be that say she arrived at *Maleon*, and was the Daughter of *Lamia*, who had *Neptune* for her Father, *Serapion* made mention of certain verses of hers, wherein she praised her self saying, that she should never cease to propheſie and foretell future things, no not after her death; for that she her self should then go about in the Moon, and be that which is called the face therein appearing: also that her breath and spirit mingled with the air should passe to and fro continually in prophetical words and voices of Oracles prognosticating: and that of her body transmuted and converted into earth, there should grow Herbs, Shrubs, and Plants, for the food and pasturage of sacred beasts appointed for sacrifices: whereby they have all sorts of formes and qualities in their bowels and inwards: and by the meanes whereof men may foreknow and foretell of future events. Hereat *Boethus* made semblance to laugh more than before. And when *Zous* alleged, that howsoever these seemed to be fabulous matters and meer fables, yet so it was that many subversions and trasmigrations of Greek Cities, many expeditions also and voiages made against them of barbarous armies, as also the overthrowes and destructions of sundry kingdomes and dominions, give testimony in the behalf of ancient prophecies and predictions. And as for these late & modern accidents (quoth he) which hapned at *Cumes* and *Dicearchia*, long before chanted and foretold by way of Propheeie out of *Sybils* books; did not the time insuing as a debt accompliſh and pay? the breakiugs forth and eruptions of fire out of a mountain, the strange ebullitions of the sea, the casting up aloft into the air of stones and cinders by subterranean winds under the earth, the ruine and devastiation of so many and those so great Cities at one time, and that so suddenly, as they that came but the next morrow thither, could not see where they stood or were built, the place was so confused. These strange events (I say) and occurrents, as they be hardly believed to have happened without the finger of God, so much lesse credible it is, that foreseen and foretold they might be, without some heavenly power and divinity. Then *Boethus*: And what accident (good sir, quoth he) can there be imagined, that Time oweth not unto Nature; and what is there so strange, prodigious and unexpected, as well in the sea as upon the land, either concerning whole Cities or particular persons; but if a man foretold of them, in processe and tract of time the same may fall out accordingly? And yet, to speak properly, this is not foretelling, but simply telling, or rather to cast forth and scatter at random in that infinity of the air, words having no originall nor foundation, which wandring in this wise, Fortune otherwhiles encountreth and concurreth with them at a very at a very venture. For there is a great difference, in my judgement, between saying thus, that a thing is hapned which hath been spoken; and a thing is spoken that shall happen: for that speech which uttereth things that are not extant, containing in it self the fault and errour, attendeth not by any right, the credit and approbation thereof, by the accidentall event; neither useth it any true and undoubted token of prediction, with a certain foreknowledge, that happen it will when it hath been once foretold, considering that infinity is apt to produce all things; but he who guesseth well, whom the common proverb pronounceth to be the best divinor,

For whose conjecture misseth least,
Him I account the visard best.

resembleth him, who traceth out and followeth by probabilities as it were by tracts and footings, that

that which is to come. But these Prophetical *Sibyls* and furious *Bacchides*, have cast at all aventure as it were, into a vast Ocean, without either judgement or conjecture, the time; yea, and have scattered at random the Nowns and Verbs; the words and speeches of passions and accidents of all sorts. And albeit some of them fortune so to happen, yet is this or that false alike at the present time when it is uttered, although haply the same may chance afterwards to fall out truely. When *Boethus* had thus discoursed, *Serapion* replied upon him in this wise: *Boethus* (quoth he) giveth a good verdict and just sentence of those propositions which are indefinitely and without a certain subject matter in this manner pronounced. If victory be foretold unto a General, he hath vanquished: if the destruction of a City, it is overthrown: but whereas there is expreſſed not only the thing that shall happen, but also the circumstances, how, when, after what sort, and wherewith, then is not this a bare guesse and conjecture of that which peradventure will be; but a presignification and denouncing peremptorily of such things as without faile shall be: as for example, that Propheeie which concerned the lameneſſe of *Agesilaus*, in these words:

Though proud and haughty (Sparta) *now,*
and sound of foot thou be,
Take bied by halting regiment,
there come no harm to thee:
For then shall unexpected plagues
thy state long time assail,
The deadly waves of fearful wars
against thee shall prevail.

Semblably, that Oracle as touching the Isle which the Sea made and discovered about *Thera* and *Therasia*, as also the Propheeie of the War between King *Philip* and the Romans, which ran in these words:

But when the race of Trojan bloud,
Phœnicians shall defeat
In bloudy fight, look then to see
strange sights and wonders great.
The sea shall from amid the waves
yield firy tempests strong,
And flashes thick of lightning bright,
with stony stormes among;
With that an Island shall appear,
that never man yet knew:
And weaker men in battel set,
the mightier shall subdue.

For whereas the Romans in a small time conquered the Carthaginians, after they had vanquished *Annibal* in the field, and *Philip* King of the Macedonians gave Battel unto the Etolians and Romans, wherein he had the overthrow; also, that in the end there arose an Island out of the deep Sea, with huge leams of fire and hideous gusts: a man cannot say, that all these things hapned and concurred together by fortune and meer chance: but the very train and orderly proceeding thereof, doth shew a certain prescience and fore-knowledge. Also, whereas the Romans were foretold the time five hundred years before, wherein they should have War with all Nations at once, the same was fulfilled when they warred against the slaves and fugitives who revolted and rebelled. For in all these, there is nothing conjectural and uncertain, nothing blinde and doubtful, that we need infinitly to seek after fortune therefore: whereas many pledges there be of experience, giving us assurance of that which is finite and determinate, shewing the very way, whereby fatal destiny doth proceed. Neither do I think any man will say, that these things being foretold with so many circumstances, jumped all together by fortune. For what else should hinder, but that a man may aswel say (O *Boethus*) that *Epicurus* wrote not his Books of principal opinions and doctrines so much approved of you, but that all the letters thereof were jumbled and huddled together by meer chance and fortune, that went to the composing and finishing of that volume? Thus discoursing in this manner, we went forward still. And when in the Corinthian Chappel we beheld the Date tree of brasse, the only monument there remaining of all the oblations there offered, *Diogenianus* wondred to see the Frogges and Water-snakes which were wrought artificially by Turners hand about the but and root thereof; and so did we likewise: because neither the Palm-tree is a Moory plant and loving the waters, like as many other trees are: neither do the Frogges any way pertain to the Corinthians, as a mark or ensigne given in the arms of their City: like as the Selinuntians, by report, offered sometimes in this Temple, the herb Smalach or Parsley, called *Selinum*, all of gold: and the Tenedians, an hatchet, taken from the Crabfishes bred in their Island, neer unto the Promontory called *Asterion*: for those Crabs only (as it is thought) have the figure of an hatchet imprinted upon their shell. And verily, for *Apollo* himself, we suppose that Ravens, Swans, Wolves, Hawks, or any other beasts be more acceptable than these. Now when *Serapion* alleged, that the workman hereby meant and covertly signified the nouriture and rising of the Sun out of humours and waters, which by exhalation he converteth into such creatures, whether it were that he heard this verse our of *Homer*,

Then out of sea arose the Sun,
And left that goodly lake anon,

O. seen the Egyptians to represent the East or Sun-rising by the picture of a child sitting upon the plant *Lotos*. Thereat I laughed heartily. What mean you thus (good sir, quoth I) to thrust hither the sect of the Stoicks: came you indeed to foist slily among our speeches and discourses, your exhalations and kindlings of the stars, not bringing down hither the Sun and the Moon, as the Thessalian Women do by their inchantments; but making them to spring & arise as from their first original out of the earth and the waters? For *Plato* verily, called man a celestiall plant, as rising directly from his root above, which is his head. But you in the mean time mock and deride *Empedocles*, for saying that the Sun occasioned by the reflection of the heavenly light about the earth,

His raies with fearlesse visage sends again,
Up to the Heavens, and there doth brightly shine,

while your selves make the Sun terrestriall, animall, or a seminish plant, ranging him among the waters and the native place of frogs. But let us betake all these matters to the tragicall and strange monstruosities of the Stoicks: mean while treat we cursorily and by the way of these accessary and by-works of mechanicall artisans and handicrafts men: for surely in many things they be very ingenious and witty: marry in every plot they cannot avoid the note of bald devices and affected curiosity in their inventions. Like as therefore he that painted *Apollo* with a cock upon his hand, signified thereby the day-break, and the time a little before the sun-rising; even so a man may say that these frogs do symbolize and betoken the season of the Spring, at what time as the Sun begins to rule over the air, and to discusse the Winter: at least waies if we must according to your opinion, understand the Sun and *Apollo* to be both, one god, and not twain: Why? (quoth *Serapion*) are you of another mind? and do you think the Sun to be one, and *Apollo* another? Yes marry do I (quoth he) as well as, that the Sun and Moon do differ. Yea and more than so: for the Moon doth not often, nor from all the world hide the Sun: whereas the Sun hath made all men together, for to be ignorant of *Apollo*: diverting the mind and cogitation by the means of the sense, and turning it from that which is, unto that which appeareth onely. Then *Serapion* demanded of those Historians our guides and conductors, what was the reason that the forsaid Cell or Chapell, was not intituled by the name of *Cypselus* who dedicated it, but called the *Corinthians* Chapell. And when they held their peace, because, as I take it, they knew not the cause; I began to laugh thereat: and why should we think (quoth I) that these men knew or remembred any thing more, being astonied and amazed as they were to hear you fable and talk of the meteors or impressions in the Air? For even themselves we heard before relating, that after the tyranny of *Cypselus* was put down and overthrown, the *Corinthians* were desirous to have the inscriptions as well of the golden statue at *Pisa*, as of this Cell or Treasure-house, for to run in the name of their whole City. And verily the *Delphians* gave and granted them so much according to their due desert. But for that the *Elians* envied them that privilege, therefore the *Corinthians* passed a publick decree, by vertue whereof they excluded them from the solemnity of the *Isthmian* games: And hereof it came, that never after that, any Champion out of the Territory of *Elis*, was known to shew himself to do his devoir at those *Isthmick* games. And the massacre of the *Molionides* which *Hercules* committed about the City of *Cleonæ*, was not the cause as some do think, why the *Elians* were debarred from thence, for contrariwise it had belonged to them for to exclude and put by others; if for this they had incurred the displeasure of the *Corinthians*. And thus much said I for my part. Now when we were come as far as to the Hall of the *Aranthians* and of *Brasidas*, our discoursing Historians and Expositors shewed us the place, where sometimes stood the obelisks of iron, which *Rhodopis* the famous Courtisan had dedicated. Whereat *Diogenianus* was in a great chase, and brake out into these words: Now surely (quoth he) the same City (to their shame be it spoken) hath allowed unto a common strumpet a place whither to bring and where to bestow the tenth part of that salary which she got by the use of her body, and unjustly to put to death *Æsop* her fellow servant. True (quoth *Serapion*:) but are you so much offended hereat? cast up your eye and look aloft: behold among the statues of brave Captaines and glorious Kings, the image of *Mnesarete*, all of beaten gold, which *Crates* saith was dedicated and set up for a Trophe of the Greeks lasciviousnesse. The young Gentleman, seeing it: Yea, but it was of *Phryne* that *Crates* spake so. You say true (quoth *Serapion*:) for her proper name indeed was *Mnesarete*: but surnamed she was *Phryne* in merriment, because she looked pale or yellow like unto a kinde of Frogg named in Greek *Phryne*. And thus many times surnames do drown and suppresse other names. For thus the Mother of King *Alexander* the Great, who had for her name at first, *Pollyxene*, came afterwards to be as they say, surnamed *Myrtale*, *Olympias* and *Stratonice*. And the Corinthian Lady *Eumetis*, men call unto this day, after her Fathers name, *Cleobuline*; and *Herophile*, of the City *Erythre*, she who had the gift of divination and could skill of prophecie; was afterwards in processe of time surnamed *Sibylla*. And you have heard Grammarians say, that even *Leda* her self, was named *Mnesinoe*, and *Orestes*, *Achæus*. But how think you (quoth he) casting his eye upon *Theon*, to answer this accusation as touching *Phryne*? Then he smiling again: In such sort (quoth he) as I will charge and accuse you, for busying your self in blaming thus the light faults of the Greeks. For like as *Socrates* reproved this in *Callias*, that gave desiance onely to sweet perfumes or precious odors; for he liked well enough to see the dances and gesticulations of young boyes, and could abide the sight of kissing, of pleasants, buffons and jesters to make folk laugh: for methinks that you would chase and exclude out of the Temple, one poor silly Woman who used the beauty of her own body, haply not so honestly as she might: and in the mean time you can abide to see god *Apollo* environed round about with the first fruits, with the tenth and other oblations

tions arising from murders, wars, and pillage, and all his Temple throughout hanged with the spoils and booties gotten from the Greeks: yea, and are neither angry nor take pity when you read, over such goodly oblations, and ornaments, these most shamefull inscriptions and titles: *Brasidas* and the Acanthians, of the Athenian spoiles: the Athenians of the Corinthians: the Phocæans of the Thessalians: the Orneates of the Sicyonians: and the Amphyctions of the Phocæans.

But peradventure it was *Praxiteles* alone who was offensive unto *Crates*, for that he had set up a monument there, of his own sweet-heart, which he had made for the love of her; whereas *Crates* contrariwise should have commended him, in that among these golden images of Kings and Princes, he had placed a Courtisan in gold, reproaching thereby and condemning riches, as the having in it nothing to be admired, and nothing venerable: for it well beseemeth Kings and great Rulers, to present *Apollo* and the gods with such ornaments and oblations as might testifie their own justice, their temperance and magnanimity; & not make shew of their golden store and abundance of superfluous delicates, whereof they have their part commonly who have lived most shamefully. But you allege not this example of *Crœsus* (quoth another of our Historians and directours) who caused a statue in gold to be made and set up here, of his woman-baker; which he did not for any proud and insolent ostentation of his riches in this Temple, but upon an honest and just occasion. for the report goeth, that *Alyattes* the father of this *Crœsus* espoused a second wife, by whom he had other children, whom he reared and brought up. This Lady then purposing secretly to take away the life of *Crœsus*, gave unto the Baker aforesaid, poyson, willing her, when she had tempered it with dough, and wrought it into bread, to serve the same up unto *Crœsus*. But the woman gave secret intelligence hereof unto *Crœsus*, and withall, bestowed the poysoned bread among the children of this Step-dame. In regard of which demerit, *Crœsus* when he came to the Crown, would acknowledge and requite the good service which this woman had done, with the testimony, as it were, of this god himself; wherein he did well and vertuously. And therefore (quoth he) meet it is and seemly, to praise and honour highly such oblations, if any have been presented and dedicated by Cities upon semblable occasions, like as the Opuntians did. For when the Tyrants of the Phocæans had broken and melted many sacred oblations both of gold and silver, and thereof coyned money, which they sent and dispersed among the Cities; the Opuntians gathered as much silver as they could, wherewith they filled a great pot, sent it hither, and made thereof an offering to *Apollo*. And I verily, for my part, do greatly commend those of *Smyrna* and *Apollonia* for sending hither certain corn-ears of gold, in token of Harvest: and more than that, the Erectians and Magnesians, for presenting this god with the first fruits of their men and women, recognising thereby, him to be the giver, not only of the fruits which the earth yieldeth, but also of children, as being the author of generation and the lover of mankinde. But I blame the Megarians as much, for that they only in manner of all the Greeks, caused to be erected here, the image of this our god, with a Lance in his hand, after the Battell with the Athenians, who upon the defeature of the Persians, held their City in possession, and were by them vanquished in fight, and disseized thereof again. And yet true it is, that these men afterward offered unto *Apollo* a golden Plectre wherewith to play upon his Cittern or Viole, having heard (as it should seem) the Poet *Scythinus*, speaking of the said instrument:

Which Don Apollo, *fair and lovely son*
Of Jupiter, *doth tune in skilful wise,*
As who is wont of all things wrought and done,
All ends with their beginnings to comprise:
And in his hand the plectre bright as gold,
Even glittering raies of shining Sun doth hold.

Now when *Serapion* would have said somwhat else of these matters: A pleasure it were (quoth the stranger) to hear you devise and discourse of such like things, but I must needs demand the first promise made unto me, as touching the cause why the Propheteſſe *Pythia* hath given over to make answer any longer by Oracle, in verse and metre: and therefore, if it so please you, let us surcease visiting the rest of these oblations and ornaments, and rather sit we down in this place, for to hear what can be said of this matter, being the principal point and main reason which impeacheth the credit of this Oracle; for that of necessity one of these two things must needs be: either that the Propheteſſe *Pythia* approacheth not neer enough to the very place where the divine power is, or else that the air which was wont to breath and inspire this instinct, is utterly quenched, and the puissance quite gone and vanished away. When we had fetched therefore a circuit about, we sat us down upon the tablements on the South side of the Temple, neer unto the Chapel of *Tellus*, that is to say, the Earth, where we beheld the waters of the Fountain *Castilius*, and the Temple of the Muses, with admiration, in such sort as *Boethus* incontinently said, that the very place it self made much for the question and doubt moved by the stranger: For in old time (quoth he) there was a Temple of the Muses even there, from whence the River springs; insomuch as they used this water for the solemn libations at sacrifices, according as *Simonides* writeth in this wise:

Where water pure is kept in basons fair
Beneath, of Muses with their yellow hair.

And in another place, the same *Simonides* with a little more curiosity of words, calling upon *Cleio* the Muse, saith, she is the holy keeper.

The sacred ewrs, who doth superintend
Whereby from lovely fountain do descend
Those waters pure, which all the world admires,
And thereof for to have a taste desires:
As rising from those Caves Prophetical,
That yield sweet odours most mirifical.

And therefore *Eudoxus* was much overseen to believe those who gave out, that this was called the water *Styx*. But in truth, they placed the Muses as Assistants to Divination, and the Warders thereof, near unto that riveret, and the Temple of *Tellus* aforesaid, whereunto appertained the Oracle: whereby answers were rendred in verse and song. And some there be who say, that the Heroick verse was first heard here:

Συμφέρητε πλέκα ἀηδόνι, κηρὸν τε μέλισσαι

That is to say,

You pretty Bees and Birds that sing,
Bring hither both your wax and wing;

at what time as the Oracle being forsaken and destitute of the god *Apollo*, lost all the Dignity and Majesty that it had. Then *Serapion*: These things indeed (quoth he) O *Boethus*, are more meet and convenient for the Muses. For we ought not to fight against God, nor together with Prophecie and Divination take away both Providence and Divinity; but to seek rather for the solution of those reasons which seem contrary thereto, and in no wise to abandon and cast off that faith and Religious Belief, which hath in our Countrey, time out of mind, passed from father to son. You say very well and truly (quoth I) good *Serapion*, for we despair not of Philosophie, as if it were quite overthrown and utterly gone, because Philosophers before time, pronounced their Sentences, and published their Doctrines in verse: as for example, *Orpheus*, *Hesiodus*, *Parmenides*, *Xenophanes*, *Empedocles*, *Thales*, and afterwards ceased and gave over to versifie: all but your self, for you have into Philosophie reduced Poetrie again, to set up a loud and lofty note, for to incite and stir up young men. Neither is Astrologie of lesse credit and estimation, because *Aristarchus*, *Timochares*, *Aristyllus*, and *Hipparchus* have written in Prose: whereas *Eudoxus*, *Hesiodus* and *Thales*, wrote before them in verse of that Argument; at leastwise if it be true that *Thales* was the author of that Astrologie which is ascribed unto him. And *Pindarus* himself confesseth, that he doubted greatly of that manner of melody, which was neglected in his dayes, wondering why it was so despised. For I assure you it is no absurd thing, nor impertinent, to search the causes of such mutations: But to abolish all arts and faculties, if haply somewhat be changed or altered in them, I hold neither just nor reasonable. Then came in *Theon* also with his vie, adding moreover and saying, that it could not be denied, but that in truth herein there have been great changes and mutations: howbeit, no lesse true it is, that even in this very place there have been many Oracles and answers delivered in Prose, and those concerning affairs, not of least Consequence, but of great importance. For as *Thucydides* reporteth in his History, when the Lacedæmonians demanded of the Oracle what issue there would be of the War which they waged against the Athenians? This answer was made: That they should obtain the victory, and hold still the upper hand; also that he would aid and succour them, both requested, and unrequested: and that unlesse they recalled home *Pausanias*, he would gather together * * * of Silver. Semblably, when the Athenians consulted with the Oracle about their successe in that war which they enterprised for the Conquest of *Sicilie*; this answer they received: that they should bring out of the City of *Erythræ*, the Priestesse of *Minerva*: now the name of the said woman was *Helychia*, that is to say, Repose or Quietnesse. Moreover, at what time as *Dinomenes* the Sicilian, would needs know of the Oracle, what should become of his sons? this answer was returned: that they should all three be Tyrants, and great Potentates: whereat when *Dinomenes* replied again: Yea marry, my good Lord *Apollo*, but peradventure they may rue that another day. *Apollo* answered: True indeed, and thus much moreover I prophesie unto thee, for to be their destiny. And how this was fulfilled you all know: for *Gelon* during his Reign, had the dropsie: *Hiero* was diseased with the stone all the time of his Tyranny: and *Thrasibulus* being overtoiled with Wars and Civil Seditions in short time was dispthroned and driven out of his Dominions. Moreover, *Procles* the Tyrant of *Epidaurus*, among many others, whom he had cruelly and unjustly put to death, murdered *Timarchus*, who fled from *Athens* unto him, with a great quantity of money, after he had received him into his protection, and shewed him may courtesies and kindnesses at his first arrivall: him (I say) he slew, and afterwards cast into the Sea his Corps, which he had put into a chest: and howsoever other knew not of this murder, yet *Cleander* of *Ægina*, was privy thereto, and the Minister to execute the same. After this in processe of time, when he was fallen into troubles, and that his state began to be disquieted, he sent his brother *Cleotimus* hither to the Oracle, to enquire secretly whether he were best to flie and retire himself out of the way. *Apollo* made this answer: That he granted *Procles* flight and retreat thither, where as he commanded his host of *Ægina* to bestow a Chest, or else where the Stags cast their heads. The Tyrant understanding that *Apollo* willed him either to throw himself into the Sea, and there be drowned, or else to be enterred in the ground, because Stags are wont to bury and hide their horns within the earth, when they be fallen, made no haste, but delayed the time: but after a while, when troubles grew more and more upon him, and all things went backward with him, every day worse than other, at length he fled: But the friends of *Timarchus* having overtaken him, slew him likewise, & flung his body into

into the sea. Furthermore (which is the greatest matter of all) those *Rhetræ*, by vertue whereof, *Lycurgus* ordained the government of the Lacedæmonians Common-wealth, were delivered to him in prose. What should I speak of *Alyrius*, *Herodotus*, *Philochorus*, and *Ister*, who of all others travelled most in gathering of Oracles together, which were given in verse, and yet have penned many of them without verse. And *Theopompus*, who studied, no man so much, to clear the History as touching Oracles; sharply reproveth those, who think that *Pythia* the Prophetesse in those dayes, gave no answers nor Prophecies in metre: which challenge of his when he minded to prove and make good, he could allege but very few exauples; for that all the rest in manner were even then pronounced in prose, like as at this day, some there be that run in verse and metre. By which allegations of his, he made one above the rest notoriously divulged, which is this. There is within the province of *Phocis*, a certain Temple of *Hercules*, surnamed *Misogyne*, as one would say, hating women: and by the ancient custom and Law of that Country, the priest thereof for the time being, must not in the whole year company with a woman: by occasion whereof, they chuse old men to this Priesthood: howsoever not long since, a certain young man, who was otherwise of no ill behaviour, but somewhat ambitious, and desirous of honour, and who besides loved a young Wench, attained to this prelacie or sacerdotall dignity: at the first he bridleth his affection, and forbare the said damosell: howbeit, one time above the rest, when he was laid upon his bed, after he had drunk well, and been a dancing, the Wench came to visit him; and to be short, he dealt carnally with her; whereupon being much troubled in mind, and in fearful perplexity, he fled unto the Oracle, and inquired of *Apollo* as concerning the sin which he had committed, whether he might not be assoiled for it by prayers or expiatory satisfaction? and this answer he received:

αὐτοπρεπὲς ἀναγκαῖα ἀγχιμαχεῖ θεός

* *All things necessary, God permitteth.*

But if a man haply should grant that no answer in these days is delivered by Oracle, but in verse; yet would he be more in doubt of ancient Oracles, which sometime in metre and otherwhiles in prose gave answers. But neither the one nor the other (my Son) is strange & without reason, if so be you conceive aright and carry a pure and religious opinion of god *Apollo*, and do not think that he himself it was who in old time composed the verses, and at this day prompteth unto *Pythia* the prophecies, as if he spake through masks & visors. But this point is of such moment, that it requireth a longer discourse & farther inquiry into it: mary for this present it may suffice for our Learning, that we call to remembrance and put you in mind briefly, how the body useth many Organs or Instruments; that the Soul employeth the Body and the parts thereof; and that the Soul is the Organ or instrument of God. Now the perfection of any Organ or Instrument, is principally to imitate & resemble that which useth it, as much as is in the power thereof: and to exhibite the work and effect of the intention in it self, and to shew the same not such as it is in the workman, pure, sincere, without passion, without error and faultlesse, but mixed and exposed to faults: for of is self obscure it is and altogether unknown to us; but it appeareth another, and by another, and is replenished with the nature of that other. And here I pass over to speak of Wax, Gold, Silver, Brass, and all other sorts of matter and substance, which may be cast and brought into the form of a mould. For every of these verily receiveth one form of a similitude imprinted therein, but to this resemblance or representation, one adjoyneth this difference, and another that, of it self; as easily is to be seen, by the infinit diversities of formes in images, as also by the appearance of one and the same visage in divers and sundry mirrours, flat, hollow, curbed, or embowed, round outwardly, which represent an infinit variety. But there is neither mirrour that sheweth and expresseth the face better, nor instrument of nature more simple, obsequent and pliable, than is the Moon: howbeit receiving from the Sun a light & firy illumination, she sendeth not the same back unto us, but mingled with somewhat of her own: whereby it changeth the colour, and hath a power or faculty far different, for no heat at all there is in it: and as for the light so weak and feeble it is that it faileth before it cometh unto us. And this I suppose to be the meaning of *Heraclitus*, when he saith, that the Lord, unto whom belongeth the Oracle at *Delphos*, doth neither speak, nor conceal, but signifie onely and give sign. Add now to these things so well said and conceived, and make this application: that the god who is here, useth *Pythia*, the Prophetesse, for Sight and Hearing, like as the Sun useth the Moon. He sheweth future things by a Mortall Body, and a Soul which cannot rest and lie still, as being not able to shew her self immoveable and quiet to him who stirreth and moveth her, but is troubled still more and more by the Motions, Agitations, and Passions, of her own, and which are in her self: for like as the turnings of Bodies, which together with a circular motion, fall downward, are not firm and strong, but turning as they do round by force, and tending downward by Nature, there is made of them both, a certain turbulent and irregular circumgiration: Even so the ravishment of the Spirit, called *Enthusiasmus* is a mixture of two motions, when the Mind is moved in the one by inspiration, and in the other naturally. For considering that of Bodies which have no Soul, and of themselves continue alwaies in one state quiet, a man cannot make use nor move them perforce, other wise than the quality of their nature will bear, nor move a cylindre like a ball, or in manner of a square cube, nor a Lute or harp, according as he doth a pipe, no more than a Trumpet after the order of a Cithern or stringed instument: ne yet any thing else otherwise than either by art or nature each of them is fit to be used. How is it possible then to handle and manage that which is animate, which moveth of it self, is indued with will and inclination, capable also of reason; but according to the precedent Habitude, Puissance and Nature? As for example, to move one Musically, who is

* This is the Devil, Divinity.

altogether ignorant and an enemy of Musick; or Grammatically, him who skilleth not of Grammar, and knoweth not a letter of the book; or Eloquently and Rhetorically, one who hath neither skill nor practise at all in Orations. Certes I cannot see or say how? And herein *Homer* also beareth witnesse with me, who albeit he supposeth thus much, that nothing (to speak of) in the whole World, is performed and effected by any cause, unlesse God be at one end thereof: yet will not he make God to use all persons indifferently in every thing, but each one according to the sufficency that he hath by Art or Nature. To prove this, see you not (quoth he) my friend *Diogenianus*, that when *Minerva* would perswade the Achæans to any thing she calleth for *Ulysses*? when she is minded to trouble and marre the treaty of Peace, she seeketh out *Pandarus*? when she is disposed to discomfit and put to flight the Trojans, she addresseth her self and goeth to *Diomedes*? for of these three, the last was a valiant man of person, and a brave Warrior; the second a good Archer, but yet a foolish and brainsick man; the first right Eloquent and Wise withall: for *Homer* was not of the same mind with *Pandarus*, if so be it were *Pandarus* who made this verse,

If God so will, in sea thou maist well sail
Upon an hurdle or a wicker frail.

But well he knew, that powers and natures be destined to divers effects, according as each one hath different motions, notwithstanding that which moveth them all, be but one. Like as therefore that faculty which moveth a living creature naturally going on foot, cannot make it to flie; nor him who stutteth and stammereth, to speak readily; ne yet him to cry big and aloud, who hath a small and slender voice: which was the reason (as I take it) that when *Battus* was come to * *Rome*, they sent him into *Africk*, there to plant a Colony, and People a City; for howsoever he had a stutting and stammering tongue, and was otherwise of a small voice, yet a Princely mind he carried, a Politick head he had of his own, and was a man of Wisedom and Government: even so impossible it is, that *Pythia* should have the knowledge to speak here elegantly and learnedly: for notwithstanding that she were to well born and legitimate as any other, and had lived honestly and discretly, yet being brought up in the house of poor husbandmen, she descendeth into the place of the Oracle, bringing with her no art learned in School, nor any experience whatsoever. But as *Xenophon* thinketh, that a young Bride when she is brought to her husbands house, ought to be such an one as hath not seen much, and heard as little; semblably, *Pythia* being ignorant and unexpert in manner of all things, and a very Virgin indeed as touching her mind and soul, cometh to converse with *Apollo*. And we verily are of opinion, that God for to signifie future things, useth Herons, Wrens, Ravens, Crows, and other Birds, speaking after their manner: neither will we have Soothsaiers, and Prophets, being as they are, the Messengers and Heralds of God, to expound and declare their Predictions in plain and intelligible words: but we would that the voice and dialect of the Prophetesse *Pythia*, resembling the speech of a *Chorus* in a Tragedy from a Scaffold, should pronounce her answers not in simple, plain, and trivial termes, without any grace to set them out, but with Poetical magnificence of high and stately verse, disguised as it were with metaphors and figurative phrases, yea, and that which more is, with sound of Flute and Hautboies: what answer make you then, as touching the old Oracles? Surely, not one alone, but many. First, the ancient *Pythie* as hath been said already, uttered & pronounced most of them in prose: secondly, that time afforded those complexions and temperatures of body, which had a propense and forward inclination to Poesie; whereto there were joyned incontinently, the alacrity, desires, affections, and dispositions of the soul, in such sort, as they were ever prest and ready, neither wanted they ought but some little beginning from without, to set them on work, and to stir the imagination and conception; whereby there might directly be drawn unto that which was meet and proper for them, not only Astrologers and Philosophers as *Philinus* saith; but also such as were well soaked with Wine, and shaken with some passion, who either upon pity suprising them, or joy presented unto them, might immediately slide as it were, and fall into a melodious and singing voice; insomuch as their seats were full of verse, and love-songs, yea and their books and compositions, amatorious, and favouring of the like. And when *Euripide* said:

Love makes men Poets, mark it when you will,
Although before in verse they had no skill.

He meaneth not that love putteth Poetry or Musick into a man in whom there was none before, but wakeneth, stirreth and enchaseth that which before was drowsie, idle, and cold. Or else my good friend, let us say, that now a daies there is not an amorous person, and one that skilleth of love, but all love is extinct and perished, because there is no man, as *Pindarus* saith,

Who now in pleasant vaine Poetical
His songs and ditties doth addresse,
Which just in rhime and metre fall,
To praise his fair and sweet mistresse,

But this is untrue and absurd: for many loves there be that stirre and move a man, though they meet not with such minds as naturally are disposed and forward to Musick or Poetry: and well may these loves be without Pipes, without Harps, Viols, Lutes, and stringed instruments: and yet lesse talkative nor ardent, than those in old time. Again, it were a shame and without all conscience to say, that the Academy with all the quire and company of *Socrates* and *Plato* were void of amorous affection (whose amatorious discourses are as this day extant, and to be read) although they left no Poems behind

* ἐπὶ τὸν Λιβυκὸν λαὸν, or *populum* with a small character, that is to say, his full strength.

behinde them. And is it not all one to say, that there was never any woman but *Sappho* in love, nor had the gift of Prophecie, save only *Sybilla*, and *Aristonice*, or such as published their vaticinations and Prophecies in verse? For, Wine, as *Chæremon* was wont to say, is mingled and tempered with the manners of those that drink it: And this Enthusiasme or spirit of Prophecie, like unto the ravishment of love, maketh use of that sufficiency and faculty, which it findeth ready in the subject, and moveth each one of them that are inspired therewith, according to the measure of their natural disposition: and yet as we consider God and his providence, we shall see that the change is ever to the better. For the use of speech, resembleth properly the permutation and worth of money; which is good and allowable, so long as it is used and known, being current, more or lesse, and valued diversly, as the times require. Now the time was, when the very mark and stamp (as it were) of our speech was current and approved, in metre, verse, songs and sonnets: Forasmuch as then, all History, all Doctrine of Philosophy, all Affection; and to be brief, all matter that required a more grave and stately voice, they brought to Poetry and Musick. For now, only few men, hardly, and with much a do; give ear and understand: but then, all indifferently heard, yea, and take great pleasure to hear those that sung,

The rural ploughman with his hine,
The fouler with his nets and line.

as *Pindarus* saith, but also most men for the great aptitude they had unto Poetry, when they would admonish and make remonstrances, did it, by the means of Harp, Lute, and Song withall: if they ment to rebuke, chastise, exhort, and incite, they performed it by tales, fables, and proverbs. Moreover their hymnes to the honour and praise of the gods, their prayers and vowes, their balads for joy of victory, they made in metre and musical rhim: some upon a dexterity of wit, others by use and practise. And therefore neither did *Apollo* envy this ornament and pleasant grace unto the skill of Divination, neither banished he from this three-footed-table of the Oracle the Muse so highly honoured, but rather brought it in, and stirred it up as affecting and loving Poetical wits: yea, and himself ministred and infused certain imaginations, helping to put forward the lofty and learned kinde of language, as being much prized and esteemed. But afterwards, as the life of men, together with their fortunes and natures came to be changed; thrift and utility (which removeth all superfluity) took away the golden tuft, and foretops of peruke, the spangled coife, caules, and attires, it cast off the fine and dainty robe, called *Xystides*; it clipped and cut away the bush of hair growing too long; unbuckled and unlaced, the trim buskins, acquainting men with good reason, to glory in thriftinesse and frugality, against superfluous and sumptuous delicacies, yea, and to honour simplicity and modesty, rather than vaine pomp and affected curiosity: And even so, the manner of mens speech, changing also and laying aside all glorious shew, the order of writing an History there withal, presently came down as one would say from the stately Chariot of verification, to prose, and went a foot; and by the means especially of this fashion of writing and speaking at liberty, and not being tied to measures, true stories, come to be distinguished from lying fables: and Philosophy embracing perspicuity of stile, which was apt to teach and instruct, rather than that which by tropes and figures amused and amazed mens brains. And then *Apollo* repressed *Pythia*, that she should not any more call her fellow Citizens, *Pyricaos*, that is to say, burning fires; nor the Spartanes, *Ophiobyros*, that is to say, devourers of Serpents; nor men *Oreas*; nor River, *Oremptas*: and so by cutting off from her, Prophecies, Verses, and strange termes, circumlocutions and obscurity, he caught and inured her to speak unto those who resorted to the Oracles, as Laws do talk with Cities, as Kings devise and commune with their people and subjects, and as scholars give ear unto their School-masters, framing and applying his manner of speech and language so, as it might be full of sense and perswasive grace: for this lesson we ought to learn and know that, as *Sophocles* saith

God to the wise in heavenly things,
is ay a lightsome guide,
But fools so briefly he doth teach,
that they go alwaies wide.

And together with plainnesse, and dilucidity, belief was so turned and altered, changing together with other things, that before time, whatsoever was not ordinary nor common, but extravagant, or obscurely and covertly spoken, the vulgar sort drawing it into an opinion of some holinesse hidden underneath, was astonied thereat and held it venerable: but afterwards, desirous to learn and understand things clearly and easily, and not with masks of disguised words, they began to finde fault with Poesie, wherein Oracles were clad; not only for that it was contrary and repugnant to the easie intelligence of the truth, as mingling the darknesse and shadow of obscurity with the sentence, but also for that they had Prophecies already in suspition; saying, that Metaphors Enigmatical, and covert words, yea and the ambiguities which Poetry useth, were but shifts, retracts, and evasions to hide and cover all, whensoever the events fell not out accordingly. And many you may hear to report, that there be certain Poetical persons, practised in versifying, fit yet about the Oracle, for to receive and catch some words there delivered; which presently and *Extempore*, they reduce and contrive into verse, metre, and rhime, as if they were panniers to bestow all the answers in. And here I forbear to speak what occasion of blame, and matter of calumniation in these Oracles, these *Onomatritai*, *Prodote* and *Cinesones* have ministred, by adding unto them a Tragical pompe, and swelling inflation of words; when

when as neither they had need thereof, nor yet received any variety and alteration thereby. Moreover, certain it is, that these Jugglers and Vagrant circumforanean Land-leapers, these Practisers of Legier de main, these Players as Passe and Repasse, with all the Pack of those Vagabonds, Ribauds and Jesters, who haunt the Feasts of *Cybele* and *Serapis*, have greatly discredited and brought into Obloquie the Profession of Poetry: some by their extemporall Faculty and telling Fortunes, others by way of Lotterie forsooth, and by certain Letters and Writings, forging Oracles, which they would give to poor Varlets, and silly Women, who were soonest abused thereby, especially when they saw the same reduced into verse, and so were carried away with Poeticall terms. And from hence it is now come to passe, that Poesie, for that she hath suffered her self to be thus to be prophaned and made common, by such cousiners, Juglers, Deceivers, Enchanters, and false Prophets, is fallen from the truth, and rejected from *Apolloes* three-footed Table.

And therefore I nothing wonder if other whiles in old time, there was need of this double meaning, circumlocution, and obscurity: for I assure you, there was not wont to come hither one for to enquire and be resolved, about the buying of a slave in open Market: another to know what profit he should have by his traffick or Husbandry: but hither came or sent great and Puissant Cities, Kings, Princes, and Tyrants, who had no mean matters in their heads to consult with *Apollo* as concerning their important affairs; whom to provoke, displease and offend, by causing them to hear many things contrary to their will and mind, was nothing good and expedient for those who had the Charge of the Oracle: for this god obeyeth not *Euripides*, when he setteth down a Law as it were for him, saying thus:

Phœbus *himself, and none but he,*
Ought unto men the Prophet to be.

for he useth mortall men to be his Ministers and under-Prophets: of whom he is to have a speciall care to preserve them, that in doing him service, they be not spoiled and slain by wicked persons: in which regard he is not willing to conceal the truth, but turning aside the naked Declaration thereof, which in Poetry receiveth many reflexions, and is divided into many parcells, he thereby did away the rigor and odious austerity therein contained. And it skilled much, that neither Tyrants should know it, nor Enemies be advertised and have intelligence thereof. For their sakes therefore, he enfolded in all his Answers, Doubts, Suspitions and Ambiguities, which from others did hide the true meaning of that which was answered. But such as came themselves to the Oracle, and gave close and heedfull ear, as whom it concerned particularly, those he deceived not, neither failed they of the right understanding thereof. And therefore a very foolish man is he, and of no Judgement, who doth take occasion of slander and calumniation, if the world and estate of mens affairs being changed, this God thinketh, that he is not to aid and help men any more after his accustomed manner, but by some other. Furthermore, by the means of Poetrie and Versification, there is not in a Sentence, any greater Commodity than this, that being couched and comprised in a certain number of words and sillables measured, a man may retain and remember the same better. And necessary it was in old time, to carry away in memory many things, because there were delivered many signs and marks of places, many times and opportunities of affaire, many Temples of strange gods beyond sea, many secret Monuments, and Repositories of demi-gods hard to be found of those who sailed far from *Greece*. For in the Voyages of *Chios* and *Candie*, * * * enterprised by *Onesichus* and *Palanthus*, beside many other Captains and Admirals, how many signs and Conjectures went they by, and were to observe, for to find the resting seat, and place of abode, which was ordained to every one of them? and some of them quite missed thereof: as for example, *Battus*: for his Prophesie ran thus, that unlesse he arrived to the right place, he should be banished. Failing therefore of the Countrey, whereto he was sent, he returned again to the Oracle in humble manner, craving his favour. And then *Apollo* answered him in this wise;

Thou know'st thy self, as well as I can tell,
That unneth yet in Africk *thou hast been;*
(For thither sent I thee to build and dwell)
Nor Melibœa, *that place so fertile, seen:*
If thither now accordingly thou wend,
Thy wisdome then greatly will I commend.

And so he sent him away the second time. Likewise *Lysander* being altogether ignorant of the little hill *Archeledes*, of the place called *Alopecon*, as also of the river *Oplites*.

And of the dragon son of earth by kind
Full craftily assailing men behind.

all which he should have avoided, was vanquished in Battell, and slain about those very places, and that by one *Iriachian* an *Aliartian*, who had for his device or arms in the Target that he bare a dragon pourtrayed. But I think it needlesse to recite many other ancient Oracles of this kind, which are not easily to be related, and as hardly remembred, especially among you who know them well enough. But now thanks be to God, the state of our affairs and of the world, in regard whereof men were wont to seek unto the Oracle is settled: for which I rejoyce and congratulate with you. For great Peace there is, and Repose in all parts; Warres be stayed, and there is no more need of running and wandring to and fro from one Countrey to another: Civil Dissensions and Seditions be appeased, there are no Tyrannies now exercised: neither do there reign other Maladies and miseries

miseries of *Greece*, as in times past, which had need of Soveraign Medicines, exquisite Drouges and powerfull Confections, to remedy and redresse the same. Whereas therefore there is no variable diversity, no matter of secrecie, no dangerous affaire, but all demands be of pettie and vulgar matters, much like to these School Questions: Whether a man should marry or no? Whether a man may undertake a Voyage by Sea or no? or Whether he is to take up or put forth money for interest? where I say the greatest points, about which Cities seek unto *Apollo*, are about the fertility of their ground, plenty of Corn, and other Fruits of the Earth, the breed and multiplying of their Cattel, and the health of their bodies: to go about to comprise the same in verse, to devise and forge long circuits of words, to use strange and obscure terms, to such interrogatories as require a short, simple and plain answer, were the part of an ambitious and vain glorious Sophister, who took pride in the elegant Composing of Oracles. Over and besides, *Pythia* of her self, is of a gentle and generous nature: and when she descendeth thither and converseth with the god, she hath no more regard of truth than of glory, neither passeth she, whether men praise or dispraise her. And better I wis it were for us, if we also were likewise affected. But now in a great Agonie (as it were) and fearfull perplexity, lest the place should lose the Reputation, which it hath had for the space of thee thousand years, and doubting that some would abandon it, and cease to frequent it, as if it were the School of a Sophister, who seared to lose his credit, and to be despised, devise Apologies in defence thereof, feigning causes and reasons of things which we neither know, nor is beseeming us for to learn, and all to appease and perswade him, who complaineth, and seemeth to find fault, whereas we should rather shake him off and let him go.

For with him first,
It will be worst,

who hath such an opinion of this our God, as that he approved and esteemed these ancient Sentences of the Sages, written at the entrance of the Temple, *Know thy self*; *Too much of nothing*; principally for their brevity, as containing under few words a pithy Sentence well and closely couched, and (as a man would say) beaten soundly together with the hammer: but reproved and blamed Modern Oracles, for delivering most part of their answers, Briefly, Succinctly, Simply and Directly. And verily such notable Apothegmes, and sayings of the ancient Sages, resemble Rivers that run through a narrow straight, where the water is pent and kept in so close, that a man cannot see through it, and even so unneth or hardly may the bottom of their sense be sounded. But if you consider what is written or said by them, who endevour to search unto the very bottome, what every one of these Sentences doth comprehend, you shall find that hardly a man shall meet with Orations longer than they. Now the Dialect or speech of *Pythia* is such, as the Mathematicians define a straight and direct line, namely the shortest that may be between two points: and even so it bendeth not, it crookeneth not, it maketh no circle, it carrieth no double sense and ambiguity, but goeth straight to the truth; and say it be subject to censure and examination, and dangerous to be misconstrued and believed amisse: yet to this day it hath never given advantage whereby it might be convinced of untruth: But in the mean time it hath furnished all this Temple full of rich Gifts, Presents and Oblations, not onely of Greek Nations, but also of barbarous people, as also adorned it with the beautifull Buildings, and magnificent Fabricks of the Amphictions. For you see in some sort, many Buildings adjoyned were not before, and as many repaired and restored to their ancient perfection, which were either fallen to decay and ruined by continuance of time, or else lay confusedly out of order. And like as we see, that near unto great trees that spread much and prosper well, other smaller Plants and shrubs grow and thrive: even so together with the City of *Delphos*, *Pylea* flourished, as being fed and maintained by the abundance and affluence, which ariseth from hence, in such sort as it beginneth to have the form and shew of solemn sacrifices of stately meetings and sacred waters, such as in a thousand years before it could never get the like. As for those that inhabited about *Galaxion* in *Bœotia*, they found and felt the gracious presence and Favour of our God by the great Plenty and Store of Milk, For,

From all their ews thick Milk did spin,
As Water fresh from lively Spring:
Their tubs and tunnes with Milk therein
Brim full they all, home fast did bring:
No barrels, bottles, pails of wood,
But full of Milk in houses stood.

But to us he giveth better marks, and more evident tokens and apparent signes of his presence and favour, than these be; haaving brought our Countrey (as it were from drinesse and penury, from desart and wast wilderness, where it was before, to be now rich and plentifull, frequented and peopled, yea and to be in that honour and reputation, wherein we see it at this day to flourish. Certes I love my self much better, for that I was so well affected, as to put to my helping hand in this businesse, together with *Polycrates*, and *Petræus*: Yea and him also I love in mine heart, who was the first Authour unto us of this Government and Policy, and who took the pains and endevoured to set on foot and establish most part of these things. But impossible it was, that in so small a time there should be seen so great and so evident a mutation by any industry of man whatsoever, if God himself had not been Assistant to Sanctifie and Honour this Oracle. But like as in those Times past, some men there were who found fault with the Ambiguity, Obliquity and Obscurity of Oracles; so there

be in these dayes, others, who like Sycophants cavill at the overmuch simplitity of them; whose humourous passion is injurious and exceeding fooliſh. For even as little Children take more joy and pleasure to see Rain-bowes, Haloes, or Garlands about the Sun, Moon, &c. yea, and Comets or blasing Stars, than they do to behold the Sun himself or the Moon; so these persons desire to have ænigmaticall and dark speeches, obscure Allegories, and wrested Metaphors, which are all reflections of devination upon the Fanſie and Apprehenſion of our mortall conceit. And if they understand not sufficiently, the cauſe of this change and alteration, they go their waies, and are ready to condemn the God, and not either us or themselves, who are not able by diſcourſe of reaſon to reach unto the counſell and intention of the said God.

Of the Dæmon or familiar Spirit of *Socrates*.

* Some add unto this title, [*The delivery of the City* Thebes] and in truth, that narration taketh up a good part of this Dialogue.

* *A Treatiſe in manner of a Dialogue.*

The Summary.

THe Thebans having loſt their freedom and liberty by the violent proceedings of Archias, Leontidas, *and other Tyrants, who baniſhed agreat number of good Citizens and Men of worth, in which Roll and Catalogue* Pelopidas *was one (as appeareth in the Story of his Life, wherein* Plutarch *writeth of all this matter at large) it fell out at laſt, that the exiled perſons took heart, drew to an head, and wrought ſo, as they reentred the City of* Thebes, *ſlew the Tyrants, and diſplaced the garriſon of the Spartans. Which done, they diſpatched their ambaſſages to other States and Common-wealths of* Greece, *for to juſtifie this their action; and namely, among the reſt, they ſent* Caphiſias *to* Athens: *who being there, at the requeſt of* Archidamus, *a perſonage of great authority, related and reported the return of the baniſhed men, the ſurpriſing of the Tyrants, and the reſtoring of the City to their ancient franchiſes; and that with diſcourſes wonderfull pathetically, and ſuch as ſhew the ſingular providence of God in the preſervation of States, and confuſion of ſuch wicked members as diſturb the publick peace. But in this recitall, there is inſerted, and that with good grace, a digreſſion as touching the familiar ſpirit of* Socrates, *by occaſion of a Pythagorean Philoſopher newly come out of* Italy *to* Thebes, *for to take up the bones of* Lyſis: *for by occaſion that* Galaxidorus *the Epicurean derided the ſuperſtition of this ſtranger, praiſing withall, the wiſdom and learning of* Socrates, *who had cleered and delivered Philoſophy from all fantaſticall illuſions of Spirits and Ghoſts,* Theocritus *bringeth in an example of a certain prediction of this familiar Spirit. But withall, when the other had demanded the queſtion, whether the ſame were an humane and naturall thing or no, the diſputation began to kindle and wax hot; untill ſuch time as* Epaminondas *and this ſtranger named* Theanor *came in place: and then they fell into a Diſcourſe of Poverty and Riches, by occaſion that* Theanor *offered ſilver unto the Thebans, in recompence of their kindneſſe and good entertainment ſhewed unto* Lyſis. *And as they would have proceeded forward in this argument, there came one who miniſtred occaſion for to return unto the former narration as touching the enterpriſe and exploit of the ſaid exiled perſons: in which there is intermingled again a treatiſe concerning the familiar Spirit of* Socrates, *with a large recitall of the fable of* Timarchus. *After which,* Caphiſias *rehearſed the iſſue of the tragedy of the Tyrants, ſhewing thorowout, notable diſcourſes of the divine wiſdom, and joyning therewith a conſideration of* Socrates *his wiſdom, guiding and directing to a particular plot for the good of all* Greece. *But in this place the Reader muſt remember and call to mind who this* Socrates *was; to wit, a Man deſtitute of the true knowledge of God, and therefore he is held for ſuſpected and naught this familiar Spirit of his, if a man would receive and admit the opinion of ſome interloquutors, who ſuppoſe it was a Dæmon or Spirit from without; to the end that we ſhould not reſt upon revelation, inſpirations and guidances of Angels, unleſſe it be of ſuch, the teſtimonies whereof are grounded upon the holy Scripture; but fly from the profane curioſity of certain fantaſticall heads, who by their books publiſhed abroad in print, have dared to revive and raiſe up again theſe falſe opinion (which ſome in this age of ours have) of familiar Spirits, by whom they are forſooth as well adviſed and as ſurely taught and inſtructed as by the very Spirit of God, ſpeaking unto us by his written Word.*

Of the Dæmon or familiar Spirit of Socrates.

Archidamus.

I have heard (as I remember) O *Caphiſias*, a pretty ſpeech of a certain Painter making a compariſon of thoſe who came to ſee the Pictures and Tables which he had painted: for he was wont to ſay, that the ignorant beholders and ſuch as had no skill at all in the Art of Painting, reſembled them who ſalured a whole multitude of people all at once; but the better ſort and ſuch as were skilful, were like unto thoſe who uſed to ſalve every one whom they meet, ſeverally by name: for that

that the former had no exquiſite inſight into the works, but a ſuperficial and generall knowledge onely; whereas the other contrariwiſe, judging every piece and part thereof, will not misſe one jot, but peruſe, conſider and cenſure that which is well done or otherwiſe. Semblably it falleth out in my judgement, as touching true actions indeed, which are not painted. The Conceits and Underſtanding of the more idle and careleſſe perſons reſteth in this bare knowledge, in caſe they conceive only the ſummary and iſſue of a thing; but that, of ſtudious and dilligent perſons, and lovers of fair and goodly things, like unto a judicious and excellent Spectator of Vertue, as of ſome great and ſingular Art, taketh more pleaſure to hear the particularities in ſpeciall: for that the end of matters, ordinarily, hath many things common with fortune; but the good wit is better ſeen in cauſes, and in the Vertue of particular occurrences and affairs which are preſented; as when Valour ſheweth it ſelf not aſtonied, but conſiderate and well adviſed in the greateſt perils; where the diſcourſe of reaſon is mingled with paſſion, which the ſudden occaſion of danger preſented doth bring. Supposing then, that we alſo fare of this kind of Spectators, declare you to us now in order from the beginning, how this matter did paſſe and proceed in the execution thereof, as alſo what talk and diſcourſe was held there; for that by all likelihood you were preſent: and for mine own part, ſo deſirous I am to hear, that I would not fail to go as far as to *Thebes* for the knowledge thereof, were it not, that I am thought already of the *Athenians*, to favoriſe the *Bæthians* more than I ſhould.

Caphiſias.

Certes, *Archidamus*, ſince you are ſo earneſt and forward to learn how theſe affairs were managed, I ought in the regard of the good will which you bear unto us, before any buſineſſe whatſoever (as *Pindarus* ſaith) to have come hither, expreſly for to relate the ſame unto you: but ſince we are hither come in embaſſage already, and at good leiſure, whiles we attend what anſwer and diſpatch the people of *Athens* will give us, in making it ſtrange and goodly, and refuſing to ſatiſfie ſo civill a requeſt of a perſonage ſo kind and well affectionate to his friends, were as much as to revive the old reproach imputed upon the *Bætians*, to wit, that they hate good letters and learned Diſcourſes; which reproach began to wear away with your *Socrates*, and in ſo doing, it ſeemeth that we treat of affairs with two Prieſts: and therefore ſee, whether the Seigniors here preſent be diſpoſed to hear the report of ſo many ſpeeches and actions; for the narration will not be ſhort, conſidering that you will me to adjoyn thereto the words that paſſed alſo.

Archidamus.

You know not the men, O *Caphiſias*, and yet well worthy they are to be known; for noble perſons they had to their Fathers, and thoſe who had been well affected to our Country. As for him (pointing to *Lythides*) he is (quoth he) the Nephew of *Thraſibulus*; but he here, is *Timotheus*, the Son of *Conon*: thoſe there, be the Children of *Archinus*; and the other, our familiar friends. So that you ſhall be ſure to have a well willing auditory, and ſuch as will take pleaſure to hear this narration.

Caphiſias.

You ſay well. But were I beſt to begin my ſpeech, in regard of thoſe matters that ye have already heard and known, which I would not willingly repeat.

Archidamus.

We know reaſonably well, in what ſtate the City of *Thebes* ſtood, before the return of the baniſhed perſons; and namely, how *Archias* and *Leantidas*, had ſecret intelligence, and complotted with *Phœbidas* the Lacedæmonian Captain, whom they perſwaded, during the time of truce, to ſurpriſe the Caſtle of *Cadmus*; and how having executed this deſign, they draw ſome Citizens out of the City, and put others in priſon, or held the men in aw, whiles themſelves ruled tyrannically and with violence. Whereof I had intelligence, becauſe I was (as you wot well) hoſt unto *Melon* and *Pelopidas*, with whom (ſo long as they were in exile) I was inwardly acquainted and converſed familiarly. Moreover, we have heard already, how the Lacedæmonians condemned *Phœbidas* to pay a great fine, for that he had ſeized the fort *Cadmia*, and how they put him by, and kept him from the journey and expedition of *Olynthus*, and ſent thither in ſtead of him, *Lyſanoridas* with two other Captaines, and planted a ſtronger garriſon within the Caſtle. Furthermore, we know very well, that *Iſmenias* died not the faireſt kind of death, preſently upon I wot not what proceſſe framed, and an action commenſed againſt him, for that *Gorgidas* adverriſed the baniſhed who were here, by letters, from time to time, of all matters that paſſed in ſuch ſort, as there remaineth for you to relate, nothing elſe, but the return of the ſaid baniſhed men, and the ſurpriſing or apprehenſion of the tyrants.

Caphiſias.

About that time (*Archidamus*) all we that were of the confederacy and complotted together, uſed ordinarily to meet in the houſe *Simmias*, by occaſion that he was retired and in cure of a wound which he had received in his Leg, where we conferred ſecretly of our affairs as need required; but in ſhew and openly, diſcourſed of matters of Learning and Philoſophy, drawing unto us often times into our company, *Archias*, and *Leontidas*, men who miſliked not ſo much conferences and communications becauſe we would remove all ſuſpicion of ſuch Conventicles. For *Simmias* having abode long time in forrain parts among the Barbarians, being returned to *Thebes* but a little while before, was full of all manner of News and ſtrange Reports as touching thoſe barbarous Nations; inſomuch, as *Archias* when he was at leiſure, willingly gave ear to his Diſcourſes and Narrations, ſitting in the Company of us young Gentlemen, as being well pleaſed that we ſhould give our minds to the

ſtudy

study of good Letters and Learning, rather than busie our heads about those matters which they went about and practised in the mean while. And the very Day on which late in the Evening, and toward dark night following, the exiled persons aboveſaid were come cloſely under the wall, there arrived from thence unto us a meſſenger, whom *Pherenicus* ſent, one who was unknown to us all, unleſſe it were to *Charon*, who brought us word, that to the number of twelve young Gentlemen, and those the braveſt Gallants of all the baniſhed conſpiratours, were already with their Hounds hunting in the forreſt *Citheron*, intending to be here in the Evening; and that therefore they had ſent before and diſpatched a vaunt-courrier of purpoſe, as well to advertiſe us thereof, as to be certified themſelves who it was that ſhould make his houſe ready for them to lie ſecret and hidden therein: when they were once come; to the end that upon this foreknowledge they might ſet forward and go directly thither. Now as we ſtudied and took ſome deliberation about this point, *Charon* of himſelf offered his houſe: whereupon, when the meſſenger intended to return immediatly and with great ſpeed to the exiles, *Theocritus* the Southſayer griping me faſt by the hand, and caſting his eye upon *Charon*, that went before: This man (quoth he) O *Capbiſias*, is no Philoſopher nor deep Scholar, neither is he come to any excellent or exquiſite knowledge above others, as his Brother *Epaminondas*, and yet you ſee how being naturally inclined, and directed withall by the Lawes, unto honour and vertue, he expoſeth himſelf willingly unto danger of death, for the delivery and ſetting free of his country; whiles *Epaminondas*, who hath had better means of inſtruction and education to the attaining of vertue, than any other *Bœotian* whatſoever, is reſtiff, dul, and backward, when the queſtion is of executing any great enterpriſe for the deliverance of his native country. And to what occaſion of ſervice ſhall he ever be ſo well diſpoſed, prepared & employed, than this? Unto whom I made anſwer in this wiſe: We for our parts, moſt kind & gently *Theocritus*, do that which hath been thought good, reſolved & concluded upon among our ſelves, but *Epaminondas* having not yet perſwaded us, according as he thinketh it better himſelf, not to put theſe our deſignments in execution, hath good reaſon to go againſt that whereto with his nature repugneth, and ſo he approveth not the deſignment whereunto he is moved and invited. For it were unreaſonable to force and compell a Phyſician, who promiſeth and undertaketh to cure a diſeaſe, without lancet and fire, for to proceed to inciſion, cutting and cauterizing. Why (quoth *Theocritus*) doth not he approve of the conſpiracy? No (quoth I) neither alloweth he that any Citizens ſhould be put to death, unleſſe they were condemned firſt judicially by order of Law: Mary, he ſaith, that if without maſſacre and effuſion of Citizens blood they would enterpriſe the deliverance of the City, he would aſſiſt and aid them right willingly. Seeing then that he was not able to induce us for to beleeve his reaſons, but that we followed ſtill our own courſe, he requireth us to let him alone, pure, innocent, & impolluted with the blood of his Citizens, & to ſuffer him for to eſpy & attend ſome better occaſions & oportunities, by means whereof with Juſtice he might procure the good of the weal publick. For Murder (quoth he) will not contain it ſelf within limits as it ought: but *Pherenicus* haply & *Pelopedas*, may bend their force principally upon the authors and heads of the tyranny, & wicked perſons: but you ſhall have ſome ſuch as *Eumolpidas* and *Samiadas* hot ſtomacked men, ſet on fire with choler and deſire of revenge, who taking liberty by the vantage of the night, will not lay down their armes, nor put up their ſwords, until they have filled the whole city with bloodſhed, and murthered many of the beſt and principall Citizens.

As I thus deviſed and communed with *Theocritus*, *Anaxidorus*, over-hearing ſome of our words (for near he was unto us:) Stay (quoth he) & hold your peace, for I ſee *Archias* & *Lyſanoridas* the Spartan Captain comming from the caſtle *Cadmia*, & it ſeemeth that they make haſte directly toward us. Hereupon we paſſed and were ſtill: with that *Archias* calling unto *Theocritus*, and bringing him apart by himſelf unto *Lyſanoridas*, talked with him a long while, drawing him aſide a little out of the way, under the Temple of *Amphion*; in ſuch ſort, as we were in an extream agony and perplexity, for fear leſt they had an inckling or ſuſpition of our enterpriſe, or that ſomething were diſcovered: and thereupon they examined *Theocritus*. As theſe matters thus paſſed, *Phyllidas* (whom you *Archidamus* know) who was then the principal ſecretary or ſcribe under *Archias*, at that time captain general of the army, being deſirous of the approach of the conſpiratours, and withall both privy and party with us in the complot, came in place and took me (as his manner was) by the hand, beginning with open mouth, to mock our exerciſes of the body & our wreſtling: but afterward, drawing me aſide, a good way from the others, asked me whether the baniſhed perſons would keep that appointed day or no? I made him anſwer, Yea Then have I (quoth he) to very good purpoſe prepared a feaſt this day for to entertain *Archias* in my houſe, and ſo to deliver him with eaſe into their hands, when he ſhall have eaten freely, and drunk wine merily. Paſſing well done (quoth I) O *Phyllidas*: but I beſeech you withal, for to bring together all our enemies, or as many as you can. That is no eaſie matter (quoth he) to compaſſe, but rather altogether impoſſible. For *Archias* hoping that ſome great Lady of honour and eſtate will come thither unto him, in no wiſe can abide that *Leontidas* ſhould be there, ſo that of neceſſity we muſt divide them into ſundry houſes Now if *Archias* and *Leontidas* both, be once apprehended, I ſuppoſe that the reſt will ſoon ly or elſe remain quiet, and be very highly contented if any man will grant them ſafety and ſecurity of their lives. Well (quoth I) we will ſo do: but I pray you, what buſineſs have they with *Theocritus*, that they are ſo long in talk with him? I know not for a truth (quoth *Phyllidas*) but have heard I that there be certain prodigious ſignes of unlucky and unfortunate preſage unto the city of *Sparta*.

When *Theocritus* was returned unto us again, *Phidolaus* the Haliertian coming toward us: *Simmias* (quoth he) requeſted you to ſtay here a while for his ſake: for he is an interceſſor in the behalf of

of *Amphiteus* by the means of *Leontidas*, that his life may be pardoned, and that inſtead of death, the man might be baniſhed, this is fallen out (quoth *Theocritus*) in very good time and ſicly to the purpoſe as a man would have it: for I was minded to enquire of you what things were found within the tombe of *Alcmena*, and what ſhew it carried when it was opened among you: and alſo whether you were preſent when *Ageſilaus* ſent of purpoſe for to tranſlate and carry the reliques unto *Sparta*. Preſent I was not my ſelf, quoth *Phidolaus*, in perſon: and I was very much angry and offended with my fellow Citizens, in that I was ſo diſcarded and left out. Howbeit found there was with the bones and other reliques of the corps, a certain carquanet of braſſe, and that of no great bigneſſe, and two earthen pots containing amphors a piece full of earth which in continuance of time was grown hard and converted into ſtone.

Over the Sepulcher there was a Table of braſſe likewiſe, wherein were written many letters, and thoſe of a ſtrange and wonderful form, as being of right great antiquity: for nothing could we pick out of them, notwithſtanding the letters appeared very well, after that the braſſe was fair waſhed and ſcoured clean, the characters were of ſuch a making by themſelves, after a barbarous faſhion, and reſembling neereſt thoſe of the Egyptians. Whereupon *Ageſilaus* alſo, as men ſay, ſent a copy of them unto the King of *Egypt*, praying him to ſhew the ſame unto their Prieſts, to ſee whether they underſtood them or no? But peradventure of theſe matters *Simmias* alſo is able to tell us ſome news, becauſe about that time he converſed much with the ſaid Prieſts in points of Philoſophy. And thoſe of the City *Aliartos* are of opinion, that their great ſterility, and ſcarcity, as alſo the ſwelling and inundation of the Lake hapned not by chance, but was the vengeance divine upon thoſe who ſuffered the monument of this Sepulchre to be digged up and opened. Then *Theocritus* after he had pauſed a little: The Lacedemonians likewiſe (quoth he) ſeem to have been threatned by the ire of the gods, as the prodigious ſignes and tokens preſage no leſſe, whereof *Lyſanoridas* ere while talked with me: who even now is gone into the City *Aliartos*, to cauſe the ſaid Monument to be filled up again, and there to offer certain funeral effuſions and libaments, to the ghoſt of *Alcmena* and *Ageus*, according to a certain Oracle; but who this *Ageus* ſhould be, he kneweth not: and ſo ſoon as he is from thence returned, he muſt ſearch alſo the Sepulchre of *Dirce*, which none of the Thebans do know, unleſſe they be thoſe who have been Captains of the horſemen. For look who goeth out of this office, taketh with him his ſucceſſour that entreth into his place, by night, and when they two be alone together, he ſheweth it unto him, and there they perform certain religious ceremonies without fire, the tokens and marks whereof, they ſhuffle together, and confound ſo, as they be not ſeen; which done, they depart in the dark, and go divers waies, one from the other. But for mine own part, O *Phidolaus*, I believe verily he will never finde it out, for the moſt of thoſe who have been lawfully called to the Captainſhip of the Cavallery, or to ſay more truly, even all of them are in exile, except *Gorgidas* and *Plato*, whom they will never aske the queſtion, becauſe they are afraid of them. And as for thoſe who are now in place, well may they take the Lance and the Signet within the Caſtle of *Cadmus*; for otherwiſe they neither know nor can ſhew ought. As *Theocritus* ſpake theſe words, *Leontidas* went forth with his friends; and we entring in, ſaluted *Simmias*, being ſet upon his bed; but I ſuppoſe he had not obtained his requeſt, for very penſive and heavy he was; and looking wiſtly in the face upon us all he brake out into theſe words: O *Herculer*, what a world is this, to ſee the barbarous and ſavage manners of men? And was not this then a very good anſwer made by old *Thales*, who being returned home, after a long Voyage, from out of a forein countrey, and demanded what was the ſtrangeſt news that he could make relation of? anſwered: That he had ſeen a Tyrant live to be an old man. For thus you ſee, that himſelf who in his own particular, had never received wrong by a Tyrant, yet in regard of the odious trouble, in converſing and having to do with them, is offended and become an enemy to all Soveraign and abſolute Governments, which are not ſubject to render an account unto the Laws: But haply God will ſee to theſe matters, and provide in time convenient. But know you (*Capbiſias*) who this ſtranger may be, that is come unto you? I wot not (quoth he) whom you mean. Why (quoth he) again, *Leontidas* came, and told us of a man, who was ſeen by night to ariſe from about the Tombe of *Lyſis*, accompanied in ſtately wiſe, with a great train of men, in good order, and well appointed, who lodged there and lay upon Pallets: for that there were to be ſeen in the morning little beds hard by the ground, made of Chaſt tree and Heath or Lings. There remained alſo the tokens of fire, and of the libaments and oblations of milk. Moreover betimes in the morning he demanded of all paſſengers whom he met, where he ſhould finde the children of *Polymnis* dwelling in that countrey? And what ſtranger might this be? (quoth I:) for by your report he ſhould be ſome great perſonage, and not a private man and of mean degree. Not ſo (quoth *Phidolaus*) but when he comes welcome he ſhall be, and we will receive him courteouſly. But for this preſent, if peradventure (*Simmias*) you know any thing more than we, concerning thoſe letters whereof we were of late in doubt, declare it unto us: for it is ſaid that the Prieſts of *Egypt* underſtood by conference together the letters of a certain Table of braſſe, which *Ageſilaus* not long ſince had from us, at what time as he cauſed the Tombe of *Alcmena* to be opened. I have not (quoth *Simmias*, calling another matter preſently to mind) ſeen this ſaid Table, O *Phidolaus*: but *Agetoridas* the Spartan carrying with him many letters from *Ageſilaus* came to the City *Memphis*, and went unto the Prophet *Chonuphis*, with whom we conferred as touching Philoſophy, and abode together a certain time, my ſelf I mean, and *Plato*, with *Ellopion* the Peparethian. Thither I ſay arrived he as ſent from King *Ageſilaus*, who requeſted *Chonuphis*, that if he underſtood any thing of thoſe

those letters which were written in the said brasse, he would interpret the same, and send it back unto him incontinently. So this Prophet was musing and studying three daies together by himself, perusing and turning all sorts of the figures and characters of ancient letters: and in the end wrot back his answer unto King *Agesilaus*, and by word of mouth told us, that the said writing gave direction and commandement unto the Greeks, to celebrate the feast, and solemnize the plaies and games in the honour of the Muses: also that the form of those characters, were the very same which had been used at the time when *Proteus* reigned in *Egypt*, which *Hercules* the son of *Amphitryo* learned: and that God by those letters advised and admonished the Greeks to live in peace and repose, instituting certain games unto the Muses, for the study of Philosophy and good literature, and disputing one against another continually, with reasons and arguments as touching justice, laying arms clean aside. As for us, we thought verily even then at the very first, that *Conuphis* said well and truly; but much rather, when in our return out of *Egypt*, as we passed along *Caria*, certain persons of the Isle *Delos*, met us upon the way, who requested *Plato* (as he was a man well seen and exercised in Geometry) to explane the meaning unto them of a certain strange Oracle, and hard to be understood; which god *Apollo* had given them: the tenour whereof was this: That the Delians and all other Greek Nations, should have a cessation and end of all their present troubles and calamities, when they had once doubled the Altar which stood in the Temple at *Delos*: for they being not able to guesse nor imagine what the sense and meaning should be, of this answer delivered by the Oracle; and besides, making themselves ridiculous, when they thought to double the fabrick and building of the Altar (for when they had doubled each side of the four, they were not ware how by augmentation they made a solid body, eight times as big as it was before, and that by ignorance of the proportion, which in length yeldeth the duple) they had recourse unto *Plato*, for to be resolved of this difficulty. Then he calling to mind, the foresaid Egyptian Priest said unto them, that the god plaied with the Greeks, for despising good Sciences; reproaching them for their ignorance, and commanding them in good earnest to study Geometry, and not cursorily after a superficial; for that it was a matter and work, not of a depravate conceit, nor of a troubled and dimme understanding, but sufficiently exercised, and perfectly seen in the Sciences of Lines; to finde of two lines one middle proportioned, which is the only means to double the figure of a Cubick body, being augmented equally in all dimensions: And as for these (quoth he) *Eudoxus* the Cnidian, or *Helicon* the Cyzicenian, hath performed sufficiently unto you: howbeit, we are not to think that the god hath need of any such duplication, neither was it, that which he meant, but he commanded the Greeks to give over armes for to converse with the Muses; in dulcing their passions by the study of good literature, and the Sciences, and so to couple and carry themselves, as that they might profit, and not hurt one another. But whiles *Simmias* thus spake, my father *Polymnius* entred the place, and sat him down close unto *Simmias*, beginning thus to speak: *Epaminondas* (quoth he) requesteth both you, & all the rest that be here, unless your businesse otherwise be the greater, not to fail but here to stay; as being desirous to make you acquainted with this stranger, who is of himself a gentle person, & withall, is hither come with a generous and honest intention (being one of the Pythagorian Philosophers) from out of *Italy*, and his arrivall into these parts, is by occasion of certain visions and dreams as he saith, yea, and evident apparitions admonishing him to poure and offer unto the good seignior *Lysis*, upon his Tombe, those libaments which are due unto men departed: and having brought with him a good quantity of gold, he supposeth that he is bound to make recompense unto *Epaminondas*, for the charges which he was at in keeping and maintaining good *Lysis* in his old age, and most ready he is, without our request, and against our will, to succour our need and poverty. *Simmias* taking great pleasure to hear this: You tell us (quoth he) of a wonderful man indeed, and such an one as is worthy of Philosophy: but what is the reason that he came not directly unto us? Because (quoth he) he took up lodging last night about the Sepulchre of *Lysis*, and as I take it, *Epaminondas* hath led him to the River *Ismenus*, for to wash; but from thence they will come both together unto us: but before that he spake with us, he lodged upon the Tombe of *Lysis*, with a purpose as I thinke, to take up the bones and reliques of his body, for to carry with him back into *Italy*, unlesse there were some spirit or dæmon impeached him in the night: When my father had thus much said, he held his tongue; and then *Galaxidorus*: O *Hercules* (quoth he) how hard a matter is it to finde a man who is altogether free from vanity, and in whom there is no spice of superstition? For some there be, who even against their wills are otherwhiles surprised with these passions, by reason either of ignorance or infirmity: others again, to the end they might be thought more religious, more devout, and better beloved of the gods, upon a singularity, referre all their actions to the gods, as the authors thereof, preferring before all the inventions that came into their mind, dreams and fantastical apparitions, and all such foolish toies and vanities; which peradventure is not unbefeeming nor unprofitable for Politicians and Statists, who are forced to frame themselves to a stubborn and disordinate multitude, for to reclaim and to pull back the common and vulgar sort by superstition, as it were by the bit of a bridle, unto that which is expedient for them. But this mask seemeth not only undecent and unseemly for Philosophy, but also contrary to the profession thereof, which promiseth to teach us all that which is good and profitable with reason, and afterwards refereth the beginning of our actions unto the gods, as if it contemned reason and disgraced the proofe of demonstration, wherein is seemeth to be most excellent turning aside to I wot not what Oracles & Visions in Dreams, wherein oftentimes the wickedest man in the world, findeth as much as the very best. And therefore in mine opinion our *Socrates*, O *Simmias*, used that manner of teaching which is most worthy and befitting a Philosopher, to wit, simple, plain, without all fiction, chusing

chusing it as most free and friendly unto the truth, rejecting and turning upon the Sophisters, all such vanity, as the very fume and smoak of Philosophy. Then *Theocritus* taking his turn to speak: How now (quoth he) *Galaxidorus*, hath *Melitus* perswaded you, as well as he made the Judges believe, that *Socrates* dispised the gods and all divine powers? For this is that which he chargeth him with before the Athenians. In no wise (quoth he) as touching those heavenly powers: but having received from the hands of *Pythagoras* and *Empedocles*, Philosophy full of ridiculous fables, fantastical illusions, and vain superstition, he acquainted us, playing thus the Fool in good earnest, and being drunk with fury, to take up betimes, and wisely to cleave unto things of substance, yea and to acknowledge, that in sober reason consisteth the truth. Be it so (quoth *Theocritus*,) but as touching the familiar spirit of *Socrates*, what shall we think or say of it? was it a cogging lie and meer fable, or what should we call it? For in mine own conceit, like as *Homer* feigneth that *Minerva* was evermore assistant in all the Travels and Perils of *Ulysses*: even so from the very first beginning, this divine spirit allotted unto *Socrates* a certain vision, which guided him in all the actions of his life, this only went and walked before him: it was a light unto him in all those affairs wherein nothing could be seen, and which possibly might not be gathered, nor comprehended by reason and wisdome of man, insomuch, as many times this spirit spake with him, inspiring, directing, and governing, after a heavenly manner, his intentions. Now he that would know a greater number of proofes, and those more wonderful, let them hear *Simmias* speak, and others, who lived familiarly with him: as for my self, I will relate one example, which I saw with mine own eyes, and where I was in person present: One day when I went to consult with the Divinor or Soothsaier *Euthyphron*, *Socrates* went up (as you may remember well, O *Simmias*, for present you were there also) toward a place called *Symbolon*, and the house of *Andocides*, asking all the way as we went, and troubling *Euthyphron* with many questions, merrily and by way of sport; but all on a sudden he staied and rested, very studious and musing with himself a good while: then he turned back and went along the street where Joyners dwelt, that made coffers and cheste, and called unto those his familiar friends who were gone before, the other way, for to have them return: for why, his familiar spirit forbad him to go forward as he began: thus the greater part of them, retired and went with him, and among them, I my self was one, following evermore *Euthyphron* hard at heels; but some other of the younger sort, would needs go streight on still, of a very deliberate purpose to crosse and convince the familiar spirit of *Socrates*, and drew along with them *Charillus* the Player upon the Flute, who was then come with me to *Athens*, for to visit *Cebes*. Now when they went by the shops of the Imagers, neer the common Hals and Courts of Justice, they might see before them a mighty herd of Hogges, as thick as one might stand by another, full of dirt and mire, and bearing down all before them, by reason of their great number; and for that there was no means to turn aside from them, they overthrew some of the young men above said, and laid them along, on the ground, yea & all to be raied the rest of their fellows. Thus returned *Charillus* home to his lodging, with his legs, his thighes, and all his clothes, foully bedaubed with filthy dirt; in such sort, as he maketh us remember many times, and that with good laughing, the familiar of *Socrates*, and causeth us to marvel how that divine power never forsook this man, but had evermore a care and charge of him in all places and occasions whatsoever. Then (quoth *Galaxidorus*:) Think you that this familiar spirit of *Socrates* was some proper and peculiar power, and not a parcel of that universall and common necessity, which confirmed this man by long experience, to give the counterpoise and overweight for to make him encline to or fro, in things obscure and hard to be conjectured and guessed at, by discourse of reason? For like as one pound weight by it self alone draweth not the balance, but when as the poise hangeth equally, if a man put it then either to the one side or the other, it draweth the whole, and maketh all to incline that way: even so a voice or some small and light signe, is not sufficient to stirre a grave cogitation to proceed unto the execution of a thing, but being put into one of the two contrary discourses, it solveth all the doubt and difficulty, taking away the inequal in such sort, as then it maketh a motion and inclination. Then my father taking his course to speak: But I have heard (quoth he) O *Galaxidorus*, a certain Megarian say, who likewise heard as much of *Terpsion*, that this spirit was nothing else but the sneesing either of himself, or of others about him; for if any one of his company sneesed on his right hand, whether he were before or behinde, it mattered not, then he inclined to do that which he intended, and was presented into his mind; but if were on the left hand, he gave over; and if it were himself that sneesed, when he was in doubt or suspense to do, or not to do a thing, he then was confirmed, and resolved to do it; but if he hapned then to sneese, when a thing was already begun, it staied him, and checked his inclination and purpose, to effect and finish the same. But this is very strange, if it be true that he used this observation of sneesing, how he could say, unto his friends, that it was his familiar spirit, which either moved him forward to do a thing, or drew him back from it: for this my good friend cannot chuse but proceed from a foolish vanity, and presumptuous ostentation, and not of truth and frank simplicity, for which we esteem this personage, to be very great and excellent above others, in case for some voice comming without forth, or by reason of sneesing, he should be troubled and impeached in the continuance of an action which he had commenced already, and so relinquish his designe and deliberation: whereas it seemeth clean contrary, that the motions and inclinations of *Socrates* carried with them a firmitude and durable vehemence in whatsoever he went about and undertook, as proceeding from a direct and powerfull judgement, and from a strong motive that set him on work.

For he continued voluntarily all his life time in poverty, whereas he might have had wealth enough, if he would have received at his friends hands sufficient, who were very willing, yea, and took joy to bestow their goods upon him: also he would never leave the study and profession of Philosophy, for all the great hinderances and impeachments that he met withall: and finally, when he might easily have escaped and saved himself, by the means that his friends had prepared and made for him, he would never be removed, nor yield unto their prayers, nor desist from his manner of merry and jesting speeches, though death were presented unto him, but held his reason firm and unremovable in the greatest peril that was. These were not the parts of a man, who suffered himself to be transported or carryed away with vain voices, or sneesings, from any resolution which he had taken: but of him who was guided and conducted by a greater command, and more puissant power, unto his duty. I hear also, that he foretold some of his friends, the defeature and overthrow of the Athenians Army in *Sicilie*. And before these things, *Pyrilampes* the son of *Antephon*, being taken by us, in the chase and execution of Victory about *Delion*, and wounded with a Javelin, when he heard by those who were sent from *Athens* unto us for to treat of Peace, that *Socrates*, together with *Alcibiades* and *Laches*, being gone down by the way *Rhetiffe*, were returned in safety, made report unto us, that *Socrates* had many times called him back, and other of his friends, and of his band, who flying with him for company, along the Mountain *Parnes*, were overtaken and killed by our horsemen, for that they had taken another way of flight from the Battel, and not it, that he directed him unto by his angel or familiar spirit. And thus much I suppose that *Simmias* himself hath heard as well as I. True (quoth *Simmias*) I have heard it oftentimes, and of many persons, for upon this example and such like, the familiar spirit of *Socrates* was not a little spoken of in *Athens*. Why suffer we then, O *Simmias* (quoth *Phidolaus*) this *Galaxidorus* here, by way of jest and meriment, to debase so much, this so great a work of divination, as to passe it away in I wot not what voices and sneesings? Which signes the vulgar sort of ignorant persons made use of by jest and mockery, in small matters, and of no consequence: for when the question is of more grievous dangers, and affairs of greater importance; the saying is verfied of *Euripides*:

No man will play the fool, nor such vain words
Cast out, so neer the edge and dint of Swords.

And *Galaxidorus*: If *Simmias* (quoth he) O *Phidolaus*, hath heard *Socrates* himself say ought of these matters, I am willing to give ear and to pardon him with you: but for any thing that you (O *Polymnis*) have said, an easie matter it is to confute the same: for like as in Physick, the beating of the pulse is no great matter in it self, nor a pimple or whelk: but signes they be both of no small things unto the Physician: and unto the Pilot and Master of a ship, the noise of the Sea, the sight or voice of some bird, or a thin cloud running through the air, signifieth some great winde or violent tempest in the Sea: even so unto a Prophetical and divining mind, a sneesing or voice spoken, in it self considered, is no such great matter, but signes these may be of most important accidents. For in no art nor science whatsoever, men do despise the collection or judgement of many things by a few, nor of great matters by small: but like as if an ignorant person, who knoweth not the power of letters, seeing them few in number, and in form vile and contemptible, could not believe that a learned man was able to read and relate out of them long Wars in times past, the foundations of Cities, the acts of mighty Kings, and their variable fortunes; and should say that there were somthing underneath, which told and declared unto the said Historian, every one of those matters in order; he might give good occasion of laughter, and pleasantly to deride his ignorance, unto as many as heard him speak so: even so take heed and beware, lest we (for that we know not the vertue and efficacy of every signe and foretoken, in as much as they presage future things) be not foolishly angred, if some prudent and wise man by the same signes foretell somwhat as touching things unknown, and namely, if he say that it is not a voice nor a sneesing, but a familiar spirit, which hath declared the same unto him. For now come I to you *Polymnis*, who esteem and admire *Socrates* as a personage, who by his plain simplicity, without any counterfeit vanity whatsoever, hath humanized as I may so say, Philosophy, and attributed it to humane reason, if he called not his signe that he went by, a voice or sneesing, but after a tragical manner should name it a spirit familiar. For contrariwise, I would marvel rather that a man so well spoken as *Socrates* was, so eloquent, and who had all words so ready at command, should say that it was a voice or a sneesing, and not a divine spirit that taught him: as if one should say that himself was wounded by an arrow, and not with an arrow by him who shot it, or that a poise was weighed by the balance, and not with a balance, by him that held or managed the balance in his hand: for the work dependeth not upon the instrument, but upon him who hath the instrument, and useth it for to do the work: and even so the instrument is a kinde of signe used by that, which doth signifie and prognosticate thereby. But as I have said already, we must listen what *Simmias* will say, as the man who knoweth this matter more exactly than others do. You say true indeed (quoth *Theocritus*) but let us see first, who they be that enter here in place: and the rather because *Epaminondas* is one, who seemeth to bring with him hither unto us the stranger above said. And when we looked all toward the gates, we might perceive *Epaminondas* indeed going before and leading the way, accompanied with *Ismenodorus*, *Bacchilidas* and *Melissus*, the player upon the Flute. The stranger followed after, a man of a good and ingenious countenance to see to, and who carried in his visage great mildnesse and humanity, and besides went in his apparel very gravely and decently. Now when he had taken his place and

and was set down close unto *Simmias*, and my brother next unto me, and all the rest as every one thought good: after silence made, *Simmias* addressing his speech unto my brother: Go to now *Epaminondas*, (quoth he) what stranger is this, from whence commeth he, and what may be his name? for this is the ordinary beginning and usual entrance to farther knowledge and acquaintance. His name (quoth my brother) is *Theanor*, O *Simmias*: a man born in the City *Croton*, one of them who in those parts professe Philosophy, and discrediteth not the glory of great *Pythagoras*: but is come hither from out of *Italy*, a long journey, to confirm by good works, his good doctrine and profession. But you *Epaminondas* your self (quoth the stranger then) hinder me from doing, of all good deeds, the best. For if it be an honest thing for a man to do good unto his friends, dishonest it cannot be to receive good at their hands: for in thanks there is as much need of a receiver as of a giver, being a thing composed of them both, and tending to a vertuous work: and he that receiveth not a good turn, as a tennis ball fairly sent unto him, disgraceth it much, suffering it to fall short and light upon the ground. For what mark is there that a man shooteth at which he is so glad to hit, and so sory to misse, as this, that one worthy of a benefit and good turn, either hath it accordingly, or faileth thereof, unworthily? And yet in this comparison, he that there, in shooting at the mark which standeth still, and misseth it, is in faults; but here, he who refuseth and flieth from it, is he that doth wrong and injury unto the grace of a benefit, which by his refusal, cannot attain to that which it tendeth unto. As for the causes of this my voyage hither, I have already shewed unto you; and desirous I am to rehearse them again unto these gentlemen here present, that they may be judges in my behalf against you. When the colleges and societies of the Pythagorean Philosophers, planted in every City of our Countrey, were expelled by the strong hand of the seditious faction of the Cyclonians, when those who kept still together were assembled and held a council in the City of *Metapontine*, the seditious set the house on fire on every side, where they were met: and burnt them all together except *Philolaus* and *Lysis*, who being yet young, active and able of body, put the fire by and escaped through it. And *Philolaus* being retired into the countrey of the Laconians, saved himself among his friends, who began already to rally themselves and grow to an head, yea, and to have the upper hand of the said Cyclonians. As for *Lysis*, long it was ere any man knew what was become of him, until such time as *Gorgias* the Leontine being sailed back again out of *Greece* into *Sicilie*, brought certain news unto *Archesius*, that he had spoken with *Lysis*, and that he made his abode in the City of *Thebes*. Whereupon *Archesius* minded incontinently to embark and take the sea; so desirous he was to see the man: but finding himself for feebleness and age together, very unable to perform such a voyage, he took order expressly upon his death-bed with his friends, to bring him over alive if it were possible into *Italy*, or at leastwise, if haply he were dead before, to convey his bones and reliques over. But the wars, seditions, troubles and tyrannies that came between and were in the way, impeached those friends, that they could not (during his life) accomplish this charge that he had layed upon them: but after that, the spirit or ghost of *Lysis* now departed, appearing visibly unto us, gave intelligence of his death, and when report was made unto us, by them who knew the certain truth, how liberally he was entertained and kept with you, O *Polymnis*, and namely, in a poor house, where he was held and reputed as one of the children, and in his old age richly maintained, and so died in blessed estate, I being a young man, was sent alone from many others of the ancient sort, who have store of money, and be willing to bestow the same upon you who want it, in recompense of that great favour and gracious friendship of yours, extended to him. As for *Lysis*, worshipfully he was enterred by you, and bestowed in an honourable Sepulchre, but yet more honourable for him will be that costly, which by way of recompense is given to his friend, by others friends of his and kinsfolk.

Whiles the stranger spake thus, the tears trickled down my fathers checks, and he wept a good while for the remembrance of *Lysis*. But my brother smiling upon me, as his manner was: How shall we do now *Caphisias*, quoth he; shall we cast off and abandon our poverty for money, and so say no more, but keep silence? In no wise (quoth I) let us not quit and forsake our old friend, and so good a foster of young folk: but defend you it, for your turn it is now to speak. And yet I (quoth he) my father, fear not that our house is pregnable for money, unlesse it be in regard only of *Caphisias*, who may seem to have some need of a fair robe, to shew himself brave and gallant unto those that make love unto him, who are in number so many, as also of plenty of viands and food, to the end that he may endure the toil and travel of bodily exercises and combats which he must abide in the wrestling Schools. But seeing this other here, of whom I had more distrust, doth not abandon poverty, nor reseth out the hereditary indigence of his father and house, as a tincture and unseemly stain; but although he be yet a young man, reputeth himself gaily set out and adorned with frugality, taking a pride therein, and resting contented with his present fortunes: Wherein should we any more employ our gold and silver, if we had it, and what use are we to make of it? What, would you have us to gild our armour, and cover our shields as *Nicias* the Athenian did, with purple and gold intermingled therewith? And shall we buy for you, father, a fair mantle of the fine rich cloth of *Miletus*, and for my mother, a trim coat of scarlet coloured with purple? For surely we will never abuse this present, in pampering our belly, in feasting our selves, and making more sumptuous cheer than ordinary, by receiving riches into our house as a costly and chargeable guest? Fie upon that, my son (quoth my father) God forbid I should ever see such a change in mine house. Why (quoth he again) we will

not sit still in the house, keeping riches with watch and ward idle: for so the benefit were not beneficial, but without all grace, and the possession thereof dishonourable. To what end then shall we receive it? quoth my father. It seemed of late (quoth *Epaminondas*) unto *Jason* a Captain of the Thessalians, that I made him an uncivil and rustical answer, when he sent hither a great masse of gold, and requested me to take it as a gift: for I charged him plainly, that he did me great wrong, and began to pick a quarrel with me, in that he affecting and aspiring to a Monarchy, came with money to tempt and solicit me a plain Citizen, of a free City, and living under the Laws. But as for you Sir, who are come unto us as a stranger, I approve your good will, for it is honest, vertuous and beseeming a Philosopher, yea, and I love and embrace it singularly well: but this I must needs say unto you, that you bring medicines and Physick drogs to men that are not sick and ail nothing. Like as therefore, if you hearing that our enemies warred upon us, were come to bring us harnesse, armes and weapons as well defensive as offensive for our succour; and being arrived and landed in these parts, should finde all quiet, and that we lived in peace and amity with our neighbours, you would not think that ye ought to give or leave the said armes among them that had no need nor desire thereof: even so, come you are to aid us against poverty, as if we were afflicted and distressed thereby: but it is clean contrary, for we can bear it with ease, and well content we are to have it dwell with us still in the house: and therefore we feel no want either of money or munition, against her that doth us no displeasure. But this message you shall carry back unto your fellows and brethren in the same profession beyond sea, that as they use their goods and riches most honestly in the best manner, so they have friends here also, that can make use of their poverty as well. Now for the keeping, funerals and sepulture of *Lysis*, he hath himself sufficiently paied us therefore and discharged all, in that among many other good instructions, he taught us, not to be afraid of poverty, nor to take it in ill part. To this, *Theanor* replied in this manner: Doth it (I pray you) bewray a base mind and want of courage, to fear poverty? and is it not as absurd and as great a default in judgement, to dread and eschue riches? in case (I say) a man, not upon any sound reason, but for outward disguised shew, and in a foolish humour of vanity, refuse and reject it. And what reason is there, to dissuade and debar the getting and possession of goods, by all just and honest means, as *Epaminondas* useth? But rather, forasmuch as you are ready enough in your answers, as appeareth by that which you made as touching this point, unto *Jason* the Thessalian, I demand of you first, *Epaminondas*, whether you think any kinde of giving money to be just and lawful; but no manner of taking? or that simply, both givers and takers do offend and sin? Not so, quoth *Epaminondas*: but of this opinion I am, that as of other things, so of riches likewise, there is one giving and possessing, that is civil and honest; and another, dishonest and shameful. Well then, quoth *Theanor*; what say you of him who giveth willingly and with a good heart, that which he ought: doth he not give it well? The other granted and confessed it. Go to then, quoth *Theanor*, he who receiveth that which is given well and honestly, doth he not take it honestly also? or can there be a more just and lawful taking of money, than that which is received of him who giveth righteously? I suppose (quoth *Epaminondas*) there cannot be. Between two friends therefore (quoth he) O *Epaminondas*, if the one may give, the other likewise may justly take: for in battels I confesse, a man ought to turn away and decline from that enemy of whom he hath received some pleasure; but in the case of benefits and good turnes, it is neither seemly nor honest, either to avoid or to reject that friend that giveth well and honestly. No in truth, quoth *Epaminondes*; but you are to consider with us, thus much, That there being in us many lusts and desires, and those of sundry things; some are natural and (as they say) inbred, budding and breeding in our flesh and about our bodies, for the entertainment of those pleasures which be necessary; others be strangers, proceeding from vain opinions, which gathering strength and force by tract of time and long custome in bad nouriture, grow to such an head, that many times they pluck down and hold our souls in subjection more forcibly and with greater violence, than do those natural before said. Now reason, by good use and vertuous exercise, minstreth means, that a man may draw away and spend many of those very passions which are inbred within us; but he had need to employ all the power and strength of custome and exercise against those other concupiscences which be foreiners and come from without forth, for to consume, cut off and chastise them, by all means of represions and retentions that be reasonable. For if the resistance which reason maketh against the appetite of eating and drinking, forceth many times and conquereth both hunger and thirst; far more easie is it, to cut off avarice and ambition, by forbearing and abstaining those things which the same do covet, so far forth, as in the end they will be discomfited and subdued. How say you, think you not that it is so? The stranger confessed no lesse. See you not then, quoth he again, that there is a difference between an exercise, and the work unto which the exercise is addressed? And like as of the art which teacheth how to exercise the body, a man may say, that the work is the emulation, strife and contention to win the prize of the crown against the concurrent or adversary; but the exercise thereof, is the preparation that the champion makes, for to have his body apt, nimble and active thereto by continual trials of masteries: even so you will grant, that a difference there is between vertue and the exercise of vertue. The stranger said yea unto it. Then tell me first and formost, quoth he, To abstein from vile, filthy and unlawful lusts, what think you, is it an exercise unto Continency, or rather the very work it self, and proof of continency? The very work and proofe, I take it to be, quoth he again: and the exercise and accustomance to sobriety, temperance

Temperance and Continency, is not that which you all practise, when after you have travelled your bodies, and like brute beasts provoked your appetites, you sit down to meat, and there continue a long time, having your Tables before you furnished with exquisite viands of all sorts, but touch not one dish, leaving them afterwards for your servants to engorge themselves therewith and make merry; when you the while present some little thing, and that plain and simple, unto your appetites, which are already dulled and quenched: for the abstinence from pleasures and delights permitted, is it not an Exercise against such as are forbidden? Yes verily quoth the stranger. There is then (quoth he) my friend, a certain Exercise of Justice against avarice and covetousnesse of money; and that is not to forbear in night season to rob and spoil our neighbours house, or to strip passengers out of their cloaths: no, nor if a man do not betray his Countrey or friends for a piece of money, is he truly said to inure and exercise himself against avarice: for haply the Law and fear doth bridle and restrain his covetous desire from doing wrong or hurt to another: but he who many times abstaineth from taking just gains, and such as are granted and permitted him by the Laws, he willingly exerciseth and wonteth himself to keep far from any unjust and unlawfull taking of money. For neither is it possible, that in great pleasures and those wicked and pernicious, the soul should contain her self from the appetite thereof, if many times before being in full liberty to enjoy them, she did not despise the same: nor easie for a man to passe over and contemn wicked takings and great gains presented, who long before hath not chastised and tamed his covetous desire to have and gain, which by other habitudes enough is nourished and bred up impudently and without all shame to lucre: for it swelleth again, and is puffed up with injustice, so as hardly and with much ado it can abstain from doing outrage to any one, for to win private profit thereby: but never will it assault a personage who hath not abandoned and given himself over to receive gifts and largesses of his friends, or to take presents, and rewards of Kings, but hath renounced the very benefits allotted unto him by fortune: who also hath retired and removed himself far from avarice, and a leaping desire after a treasure discovered and seen: it will never (I say) tempt him to commit any injustice, nor trouble his thoughts and cogitations: but such an one will quietly and peaceably frame himself to do that which is honest, as having his heart more haughty, than to stoup to Law, and being privy to himself of all good things settled in his soul. Loe, what men they be, upon whom *Caphisias* and my self be enamoured: and this is the reason, friend *Simmias*, why we request this honest Gentleman here, the stranger, to suffer us to be sufficiently exercised in poverty, that we may attain unto such vertue. After that my brother had finished this speech, *Simmias* having twice or thrice nodded with his head: A great man no doubt (quoth he) is this *Epaminondas*, and a very great man indeed: and well may he thank his good father here *Polymnis* for all; who from the first beginning, hath given his children the best education and bringing up in Philosophy: but as touching these matters, agree and accord with them, good stranger and friend. As for you *Lysis*, let mee demand of you (if we may be so bold, as to hear and know of you) whether you purpose to remove him out of his Sepulchre, and so transport him over into *Italy*? or rather to leave him behind you, to tarry among his friends and well-willers, who no duobt will be glad of us to lodge with him, when we shall be there. *Theanor* smiling upon him: It seemeh *Simmias* (quoth he) that *Lysis* liketh well of the place where he is, and is not willing to remove, for that he had no want of any good things here, by the means of *Epaminondas*: for there be certain particular sacred Ceremonies, which we observe in the sepulture of our fellow Professours in this Confraternity of the Pythagoreans, which if they have not when they be dead, methink they have not attained to that happy end which we desire. When as therefore we knew by dreams, that *Lysis* was departed this life (for we have an infallible sign appearing unto us in our sleep, whereby we can discern whether it be the Ghost and image of one alive or dead) many had this conceit, that being departed in a forrein and far Countrey, he had been otherwise enterred than he ought, and therefore we were to translate him from thence where he was, to the end that being transported, he might have the due service, and accustomed obsequies belonging to our society. Being therefore come with this mind and cogitation into these parts, and incontinently conducted by those of this Countrey to this Sepulchre; about the Evening I powred out the libaments for mortuaries, for to call forth his spirit that it might come and instruct me how I might proceed in this action: and this last night passed, I saw nothing; but me thonght I heard a voice saying unto me: That I should not remove that which ought not to be stirred; because the corps of *Lysis* had been by his friends in holy manner enterred, and his soul having her doom already, had her conge and pasport to go unto another Generation and Nativity, accompanied and coupled with another Dæmon. And verily this morning when I had conferred with *Epaminondas*, and heard the manner how he had buried *Lysis*, I understood that he himself had been instructed by him, in the most secret points of our Religion, and how he used the same Spirit or Dæmon for the guidance of his life, unlesse I be so unnexpert, that I cannot conjecture what the Pilot is by his manner of Navigation: for broad be the wayes of this life, but few they are which these Angels do direct and lead men in. When *Theanor* had thus said, he cast his eye upon *Epaminondas*, as if once again he would behold his Nature and Manners, by the inspection of his Countenance and Visage. And hereupon came in the Physician, and loosed the band wherewith *Simmias* his wound was bound up, as purposing to dresse him. Then *Phyllidas* who came in afterwards with *Hipposthenidas*, willing me and *Charon*, and *Theocritus* to arise, drew us apart into a certain corner or angle of the porch,

wonderfully troubled as it might seem by his countenance. With that, I spake unto him and said: What news *Phyllidas?* No news *Caphisias* (quoth he unto me) for I foresaw my self, and foretold you as much, namely, the Slackness and Cowardise of *Hippostbenidas*, requesting you not to communicate unto him your enterprise, nor admit him into your company. Now whiles we were much amazed and astoned at these words: Say not so good *Phyllidas* (quoth he) for Gods sake; neither be you a cause both of our undoing and of the ruine of this City, by thinking rashness to be hardiness: but have patience, and suffer these men to return in safety, in case it be so by fatall destiny appointed. *Phyllidas* being chafed herewith, and set in a choler: Tell me (quoth he) *Hippostbenidas*, how many think you be privy to our secrets in this designment? I know my self (quoth he) to the number of thirty at the least. If there be so many (quoth he) how cometh it to passe, that you onely crosst and gainsay, yea, and hinder that which hath been concluded and agreed upon by us all? and to this purpose have dispatched a light-horseman, to ride in post unto the banished persons, (who had put themselves in their journy hitherward) charging them to return back, and that in no wise they should go forward this day? considering that the most part of those things which went to this journey, fortune it self had procured and prepared fit for their hands? Upon these words of *Phyllidas*, we were all much troubled and perplexed: but *Charon* above the rest, fastning his eye upon *Hippostbenidas*, and that with a fowre and stern countenance: Most wicked wretch that thou art, quoth he, what hast thou done unto us? No harm, said *Hippostbenidas*, in case, leaving this curst and angry voice of yours, you can be content and have patience, to hear and understand the reasons of a man as aged as your self, and having as many gray haires as you have: for if this be the point, to shew unto our fellow Citizens how hardy and couragious we are, that we make no reckoning of our lives, and care not for any perill of death, seeing we have day enough *Phyllidas*, let us never stay for the dark evening, but presently, and immediatly from this place run upon the tyrants with our swords drawn, let us kill and slay, let us die upon them, and make no spare of our selves: for it is no hard matter to do and suffer all this: mary to deliver the City of *Thebes* out of the hands of so many armed men as hold it, to dissolve and expell the garrison of the Spartans, with the murder of two or three men, is not so easie a thing, (for *Phyllidas* hath not provided so much wine for his feast and banquet, as will be sufficient to make fifteen hundred souldiers of *Archias* guard drunken: and say we had killed him, yet *Crippidas* and *Arcesius*, are ready at night, both of them sober enough to keep the corps du-gard) why make we such haste then, to draw our friends into an evident and certain danger of present death, especially, seeing withall that our enemies be in some sort advertised of their coming and approach; for if it were not so, why was there commandement given by them to those of *Thespiæ*, for to be in their armes upon the third day, which is this, and ready to go with the Lacedæmonian Captainet, whensoever they gave commandement? And as for *Amphitheus*, this very day as I understand, after their judiciall proceeding against him, they minded to put to death, upon the coming of *Archias*. And are not these pregnant presumptions, that the plot and enterprise is to them discovered? Were it not better then to defer the execution of our designments a while longer, untill such time as the gods be reconciled and appeased? For our Divinors and Wisards having sacrificed a Beef unto *Ceres*, pronounce that the fire of the sacrifice denounceth some great sedition and danger to the Common-weal: and that which you *Charon* particularly ought to take heed of, is this: Yesterday, and no longer since, *Hippathodorus* the Son of *Erianthes*, a man otherwise of good sort, and one who knoweth nothing at all of our enterprise, had this speech with me: *Charon* is your familiar friend, *Hippostbenidas*, but with me not greatly acquainted; advertise him therefore, if you think so good, that he beware and look to himself, in regard of some great danger and strange accident that is toward him: For the last night, as I dreamed, me thought I saw that his house was in travell as it were of Child; that he and his friends being themselves in distresse, prayed unto the gods for her delivery, standing round about her during her labour and painful travell; but she seemed to loow and rore, yea, and to cast out certain inarticulate voices, untill at the last there issued out of it a mighty fire, wherewith a great part of the City was immediatly burnt, and the Castle *Cadmea*, covered all over with smoak only, but no part of the fire ascended thereto. Lo, what the vision was, which this honest man related unto me, *Charon*: which I assure you, for the present, set me in a great quaking and trembling; but much more when I once heard say, that this day the exiled persons were to return and be lodged here within an house of the City. In great anguish therefore I am, and in a wonderfull agony, for fear lest we engage our selves within a world of calamities and miseries, without being able to execute any exploit of importance upon our enemies, unlesse it be to make a Garboile, and to set all on a light fire: for I suppose that the City when all is don, will be ours, but *Cadmea* the Castle as it is already, will be for them. Then *Theocritus* taking upon him to speak, and staying *Charon* who was about to reply somewhat against this *Hippostbenidas*: I interpret all this (quoth he) clean contrary: for there is not a sign that confirmeth me more in following of this enterprise (although I have had alwaies good presages in the behalf of the banished, in all the sacrifices that I have offred) than this vision which you have rehearsed: If it be so as you say, that a great and light fire shone over all the City, and the same arising out of a friends house, and that the habitation of our Enemies, and the place of their retreat was darkned and made black again with the smoak, which never brings with it any thing better than tears and troublesome confusion: and whereas from among us there arose inarticulate voices,

voices, (in case a man should construe it in evill part, and take exception thereat, in regard of the Voice) the same will be when our enterprise, which now is enfolded in obscure, doubtfull, and uncertain suspicion, shall at once both appeare, and also prevail: as for the ill signes of the sacrifices, they touch not the publick state, but those who now are most powerfull and in the greateſt authority. As *Theocritus* thus was speaking yet still, I said unto *Hippostbenidas*: And whom I pray you have you sent unto the men? for if he be not too far onward on his way, we will send after to overtake him. I am not able to say of a truth *Caphisias*, whether it be possible to reach him, (quoth *Hippostbenidas*) for he hath one of the best Horses in all *Thebes* under him; and a man he is, whom ye all know very well, for he is the Master of *Melons* Chariots, and his Chariot men, one unto whom *Melon* himself from the very first discovered this plot, and made privy unto it. With that, I considering and thinking with my self what man he should speak of: It is not *Chlidon* (quoth I) O *Hippostbenidas*, he who no longer since than the last year, wan the prize in the horse running, at the solemn feast of *Juno?* The same is the man quoth he. Who then is he whom I have seen this long while standing at the Hall door and looking full upon us? It is *Chlidon* himself I assure you quoth he. Now by *Hercules* I swear, could any thing have hapned worse? And with that, the man perceiving how we looked upon him, approached fair and softly from the door unto us. Then *Hippostbenidas* beckned unto him, and nodded with his head, as willing him to speak unto us all; for that there was no danger because they were all honest men, and of our side. I know them all well enough quoth he (*Hippostbenidas*) and not finding you at home nor in the market place, I guessed by and by that you were gone toward them, and therfore I made as great haste as I could hither, to the end that you might not be ignorant of all things how they go: For so soon as you commanded me in all speed to meet with our banished Citizens in the forrest, I went presently to my house for to take horse, and called unto my wife for my bridle, but she could not give it me; and to mend the matter, stayed a great while in the Chamber or Store-house where such things use to be: now after she had made a seeking & puddering in every corner within the room and could not find it, at length when she had played long enough with me, and made a fool of me, she confessed and told me plainly, that she had lent it forth to one of our neighbours, whose wife the evening before came to borrow it of her: whereupon I was in a great chafe, and gave her some curst words; but she like a shrew, payed me with as good as I lent her, and made no more ado, but cursed me in abominable tearms, wishing my forthgoing might be unhappy, and my home coming worse: which execrations I pray God may all light upon her own head. To be short, she provoked me so far, that in my choler I dealt her some blowes for her shrewd tongue: with that, comes out a number of the Neighbours and Women especially, where after I had given and taken one for another with shame enough, at last with much ado I got away from them and came hither to pray you for to send some other Messenger to the parties you wot of: for I assure you at this present I am so much out of temper that I am not mine own man, but in manner beside my self. This wrought in us all a marvellous alteration of our wills and affections: For whereas a little before we were offended that our designments were crossed, and their coming impeached, now again upon this sudden occurrence, and the shortnesse of time, which allowed us no leisure to put off, and to procrastinate the matter, we were driven into an agony & fearfull perplexity. Howbeit setting a good countenance upon the matter, speaking also cheerfully unto *Hippostbenidas*, and taking him friendly by the hand, I encouraged him, and gave him to understand, that the very gods themselves seconded our intentions, and invited us to the execution of the enterprise. This done, *Phyllidas* went home to his house for to give order about his feast, and withall to draw on *Archias* to drink Wine liberally and to make merry: *Charon* departed also to make ready his house for the entertainment of the banished men, against their return. Mean while *Theocritus* and I went again to *Simmias*: to the end that finding some good occasion and opportunity for the purpose, we might talk with *Epaminondas* again, who was well entred already into a prety question, which *Galaxidorus* and *Phidolaus* a little before had begun, demanding of what substance, nature and puissance was the familiar spirit of *Socrates*, so much spoken of? Now what *Simmias* had alleged against *Galaxidorus* upon this point, we heard not: Mary thus much he said, that when he demanded upon a time of *Socrates* himself concerning the said matter, he never could get of him any answer, and therefore he never after would ask him the question, but he said that oftentimes he had been present when *Socrates* gave out that he reputed those men for vain persons, who said they had seen with their eye any divine power, and so communed therewith: but contrariwise that he could hold better with those, who said they took knowledge of such a thing by hearing a voice, speaking unto one that gave attentive ear thereto, or earnestly enquired thereof: whereupon he set our heads on work when we were apart by our selves, and made us to guesse and conjecture, that this Dæmon of *Socrates*, was no Vision, but a sense of some voice, and an intelligence of words, which came unto him, by an extrordinary manner. Like as in our dreams, it is not a voice indeed that men hear lying fast asleep, but the opinion of some words that they think they hear pronounced: but this intelligence of dreams cometh in truth, to men asleep, by reason of the repose and tranquillity of the body: whereas they that be awake cannot hear, but very hardly, these divine advertisements, being troubled and disquieted with tumultuous passions, and the distraction of their affaire, by occasion whereof they cannot wholy yeeld their mind and thought to hear the Revelations that the gods deliver unto them. Now *Socrates* having a pure and clear Understanding

ſtanding not toſſed and turmoiled with any paſſion, nor mingled with the body, unleſſe it were very little, for things neceſſary and no more, was eaſie to be touched, and ſo ſubtile, that ſoon it might, be altered with whatſoever was objected and preſented to it: now that which met with it, we may conjecture that it was not ſimply a voice or ſound, but a very articulate ſpeech of his Dæmon, which without any audible voice touched the intellectuall part of his ſoul, together with the thing that it declared and revealed unto him. For the voice reſembleth a blow or ſtroke given unto the Soul, which by the ears is conſtrained to receive ſpeech, when we ſpeak one to another: but the Intelligence or Underſtanding of a divine and better nature, leadeth and conducteth a generous minde by a thing that cauſeth it to underſtand without need of any other ſtroke: and the ſame minde or Soul obeyeth and yeeldeth thereto accordingly, as it either ſlacketh looſe or ſtretcheth hard the inſtincts and inclinations, not violently by reſiſtance which the paſſions make, but ſupple and pliable, as ſlack and gentle reigns. And hereof we ſhall not need to make any wonder, conſidering that we ſee how little helmes turn about and wind the greateſt hulks and caraques that be: and again the wheeles that Potters uſe, being never ſo little touched with the hand, turn very eaſily: for although they be inſtruments without life, yet being as they are counterpoiſed and framed even on every ſide, by reaſon of their polliſhed ſmoothneſſe, they are apt to ſtir and yield unto the moving cauſe with the leaſt moment that is. Now the Soul of man being bent and ſtretched out ſtiff with innumerable inclinations, as it were with ſo many cords, hath more agility than all the engins or inſtruments in the world, if a man hath the skill to manage and handle it with reaſon, after it hath taken once a little motion, that it may bend to that which conceived it: for the beginnings of inſtincts and paſſions, tend all to this intelligent and conceiving part, which being ſtirred and ſhaken, it draweth, pulleth, ſtretcheth and haleth the whole man: Wherein we are given to underſtand, what force and power hath the thing that is entred into the conceit and intelligence of the mind. For bones are ſenſeleſſe, the ſinewes, and fleſh, full of humours, and the whole maſſe of all theſe parts together, heavy and ponderous, lying ſtill without ſome motions: But ſo ſoon as the Soul putteth ſomewhat into the Underſtanding, and that the ſame moveth the inclinations thereto, it ſtarteth up and riſeth all at once, and being ſtretched in all parts, runneth amain, as if it had Wings, unto action. And ſo the manner of this moving, direction, and promptitude, is not hard, and much leſſe, impoſſible to comprehend: whereby the Soul, hath no ſooner underſtood any object, but it draweth preſently with it, by inſtincts and inclinations, the whole maſſe of the body. For like as reaſon conceived and compriſed without any voice, moveth the Underſtanding: even ſo in mine opinion, it is not ſuch an hard matter, but that a more divine intelligence, and a Soul more excellent, ſhould draw another inferiour to it, touching it from without, like as one ſpeech or reaſon may touch another, and as light, the reflection of light: For we in truth, make our conceptions and cogitations known one unto another, as if we touched them, in the dark, by means of voice: but the intelligences of Dæmons having their light, do ſhine unto thoſe who are capable thereof, ſtanding in need neither of nownes or verbs which men uſe in ſpeaking one to the other, by which marks they ſee the images and reſemblances of the conceptions and thoughts of the mind: but the very intelligences and cogitations indeed they know not, unleſſe they be ſuch as have a ſingular and divine light, as we have already ſaid: and yet that which is performed by the miniſtery of the voice, doth in ſome ſort help and ſatisfie thoſe who otherwiſe are incredulous. For the air being formed and ſtamped as it were by the impreſſion of articulate ſounds, and become throughout all ſpeech and voice, carrieth a conception and intelligence into the mind of the hearer: and therefore according to this Similitude and Reaſon, what marvel is it if that alſo which is conceived by theſe ſuperiour natures altereth the air, and if the air being by reaſon of that quality which it hath, apt to receive impreſſions, ſignifieth unto excellent men and ſuch as have a rare and divine nature, the ſpeech of him who hath conceived ought in his mind? For like as the ſtrokes that light upon Targuits or ſhields of braſſe, be heard a far off, when they proceed from the bottom in the mids within, by reaſon of the reſonance and rebound: whereas the blows that fall upon other ſhields are drowned and diſperſed, ſo as they be not heard at all: Even ſo the words or ſpeeches of Dæmons and Spirits, although they be carried and flie to the ears of all indifferently, yet they reſound to thoſe onely, who are of a ſetled and ſtayed nature, and whoſe Souls are at quiet, ſuch as we call divine and celeſtiall men. Now the vulgar ſort have an opinion, that ſome Dæmon doth communicate a kinde of divinity unto men in their ſleeps: but they think it ſtrange and a miracle incredible, if a man ſhould ſay unto them, that the gods do move and affect them ſemblably when they be awake, and have the full uſe of reaſon: As if a man ſhould think that a Muſician may play well upon his Harpor Lute, when all the ſtrings be ſlacked and let-down, but when the ſaid inſtruments be ſet in tune, and have their ſtrings ſet up, he cannot make any ſound, nor play well thereupon: For they conſider not the cauſe which is within them, to wit, their diſcord, trouble and confuſion, whereof our familiar friend *Socrates* was exempt, according as the Oracle propheſied of him before, which during his infancy was given unto his father: for by it, commanded he was, to let him do all that came into his mind, in no wiſe either to force or divert him, but to ſuffer the inſtinct and Nature of the Child to have the Reigns at large, by praying only to *Jupiter Agoræus*, that is to ſay Eloquent, and to the Muſes for him: and farther than ſo, not to buſie himſelf, nor to take care for *Socrates*, as if he had within him a Guide and Conductour of his life better than ten thouſand Maſters and Pædagogues.

Thus

Thus you ſee, *Philolaus*, what our Opinion and Judgement is as touching the Dæmon or familiar Spirit of *Socrates* both living and dead, as who reject theſe voices, ſneſings, and all ſuch fooleries. But what we have heard *Timarchus* of *Chæronea* to diſcourſe of this point, I wot not well whether I were beſt to utter and relate the ſame, for fear ſome would think, that I loved to tell vain tales. Not ſo quoth *Theocritus*, but I pray you be ſo good as to rehearſe the ſame unto us: for albeit Fables do not very well expreſſe the truth, yet in ſome ſort they reach thereto. But firſt tell us, who this *Timarchus* was: for I never knew the man. And that may well be O *Simmias* (quoth *Theocritus*) for he died when he was very young, and requeſted earneſtly of *Socrates*, to be buried, near unto *Lamprocles*, *Socrates* his Son, who departed this life but few dayes before, being a dear friend of his, and of the ſame age. Now this young Gentleman, being very deſirous (as he was of a generous diſpoſition, and had newly taſted of the ſweetneſſe of Philoſophy) to know what was the nature and power of *Socrates* familiar Spirit, when he had imparted his mind and purpoſe unto me only and *Cebes*, went down into the Cave or Vault of *Trophonius*, after the uſuall ſacrifices and accuſtomed complements due to that Oracle performed: where having remained for two nights and one day, inſomuch as many men were out of all hope that ever he would come forth again, yea and his kinſfolks and friends bewailed the loſſe of him, one morning betimes he iſſued forth very glad and jocund: And after he had given thanks unto the god and adored him, ſo ſoon as he was gotten through the preſſe of the multitude, who expected his return, he recounted unto us, many wonders ſtrange to be heard and ſeen: for he ſaid, that being deſcended into the place of the Oracle, he firſt met with much darkneſſe, and afterwards when he had made his prayers, he lay a long time upon the ground, neither knew he for certain whether he was awake, or dreamed all the while. Howbeit, he thought he had heard a noiſe which light upon his head, and ſmote it, whereby the ſutures or ſeames thereof were diſjoyned and opened, by which he yeelded forth his ſoul; which being thus ſeparate, was very joyous, ſeeing it ſelf mingled with a tranſparent and pure air. And this was the firſt time that it ſeemed to breath at liberty, as if long time before untill then, it had been drawn in and bent, for then it became greater and larger than ever before, in manner of a ſail ſpred and diſplayed to the full. Then he ſuppoſed that he heard (though not clearly and perfectly) as it were a noiſe or ſound turning round about his head, and the ſame yeelding a ſweet and pleaſant voice. And as he then looked behind him he could ſee the earth no more, but the Iſles all bright and illuminate with a mild and delicate fire, and thoſe exchanged their places one with another, and withall, received ſundry colours, as it were divers tinctures, according as that variety of change the light did alter: and they all ſeemed unto him in number infinite, and in quantity exceſſive: and albeit they were not of equall pourpriſe and extent, yet round they were all alike: alſo, to his thinking, by their motion which was circular, the skie reſounded, becauſe unto the uniform equality of their moving, the pleaſant ſweetneſſe of the voice and harmony compoſed and reſulting of them all, was correſpondent and conformable. Amid theſe Iſlands there ſeemed a ſea or great lake diffuſed and ſpred, ſhining with divers mixt colours, upon a ground of grey or light blew. Moreover, of theſe Iſles ſome few ſailed as one would ſay, and were carried a direct courſe down the water beyond the current; but others, and thoſe in number many, went aſide out of the Chanell, and were with ſuch a violence drawn back, that they ſeemed to be ſwallowed under the waves. Now this Sea or Lake, was (as he thought) very deep toward the South; but on the North ſide full of ſhelves and ſhallow flats; in many places it ſwelled and overflowed the land; in others it retired and gathered in, as much for it again, and aroſe not to any high tides: as for the colour, in ſome place it was ſimple and ſea-like; in another, not pure, but troubled and confuſed with mud, like unto a Meer or Lake. As concerning the force of the waves about theſe Iſles which are carried together, the ſame bringeth them back a little, but never conjoyneth the end to the beginning: ſo as they make at no time a circle entire and perfect, but gently divert the application and meeting of their ends, ſo as in their revolution they wind in and out, and make one crooked obliquity. To the mids of theſe, and toward the greateſt part of the ambient air, is inclined the ſea, ſomewhat leſſe than eight parts of the univerſall continent, as he thought. And the ſame ſea hath two mouths or entrances, whereby it receiveth two rivers of fire breaking into it, oppoſite one to the other, in ſuch ſort, as the bleweneſſ: thereof became whitiſh, by reaſon that the greateſt part was repelled and driven back. And theſe things he ſaid, that he beheld with much delight. But when he came to look downward, he perceived a mighty huge hole or gulf all round, in manner of an hollow globe cut thorow the mids, exceeding deep and horrible to ſee to, full of much darkneſſe, and the ſame not quiet and ſtill, but turbulent and often times boyling and walming upward, out of which there might be heard innumerable roarings and groanings of beaſts, cries and wailings of an infinite number of Children, with ſundry plaints and lamentations of men, and women together, beſides many noyſes, tumults, clamors, and outcries of all ſorts, and thoſe not clear, but dull and dead, as being ſent up from a great depth underneath, wherewith he was not a little terrified, untill ſuch time as after a good while, there was one whom he ſaw not, who ſaid thus unto him, O *Timarchus*, What is your deſire to know? Who made anſwer: Even all, for what is there here, not admirable? True, quoth he; but as for us, little have we to do, & a ſmall portion in thoſe ſuperiour regions, becauſe they appertain to other gods: but the diviſion of *Proſerpina* being one of the four, and which we diſpoſe and govern, you may ſee if you will, how it is bounded with *Styx*. And when he demanded again of him, what *Styx* was: It is (quoth he)

the

the way which leadeth unto hell and the Kingdome of *Pluto*, dividing two contrary natures of Light and Darkneſſe, with the head and top thereof; for as you ſee, it beginneth from the bottome of Hell beneath, which it toucheth with the one extremity, and reacheth with the other to the Light all above, and ſo limiteth the utmoſt part of the whole world, divided into four Regiments. The firſt, is that of life; the ſecond of moving; the third of generation; and the fourth of corruption. The firſt is coupled to the ſecond by Unity, in that which is not viſible; the ſecond to the third, by the mind or intelligence, in the Sunne; the third to the fourth, by nature, in the Moon. And every one of theſe Copulations, there is a Fiend or Deſtiny, the Daughter of Neceſſity, that keepeth the key. Of the firſt, ſhe that is named *Atropos*, as one would ſay, inflexible; of the ſecond, *Clotho*, that is to ſay, the Spinſter; of the third in the Moon, *Lachesis*, that is to ſay, Lot, about which is the bending of geniture or Nativity. As for all the other Iſles, they have gods within them; but the Moon appertaining to the terreſtriall Dæmons, avoideth the Confines of *Styx*, as being ſomewhat higher exalted, approached once onely in an hundred ſeverity ſeven ſecond meaſures: and upon the approach of this precinct of *Styx*, the ſouls cry out for fear. And why? Hell catheth and ſwalloweth many of them, as they glide and ſlip about it: and others the Moon receiveth, and taketh up, ſwimming from beneath unto her; ſuch I mean, as upon whom the end of generation fell in good and opportune time, all ſave thoſe which are impure and polluted: for them with her fearfull ſhining and hideous roaring, ſhe ſuffereth not to come near unto her; who ſeeing that they have miſſed of their intent, bewail their wofull ſtate, and be carried down again as you ſee, to another generation and nativity. Why quoth *Timarchus*, I ſee nothing but a number of ſtars leaping up and down about this huge and deep gulf, ſome drowned and ſwallowed up in it, others appearing again from below. Theſe be (quoth he) the Dæmons, that you ſee, though you know them not. And mark withall how this comes about. Every ſoul is endued with a portion of mind or underſtanding; and of man, there is not one void of reaſon: but look how much thereof is mingled with fleſh and with paſſions, being altered with pleaſures and dolours, it becometh unreaſonable. But every ſoul is not mixed after one ſort, one as much as another; for ſome are wholly plunged within the body, and being troubled and diſquieted with paſſions, run up and down all their life time: others partly are mingled with the fleſh, and in part leave out that which is moſt pure, & not drawn downward to the contagion of that groſs part, but remaineth ſwimming and floating as it were aloft, touching the top or crown only of mans head: (whereas the reſt is depreſſed downward to the bottome, and drowned there) and is in manner of a cord hanging up aloft juſt over the ſoul which is directly and plumb under, to uphold and raiſe it up, ſo far forth as it is obeiſant thereto, and not over-ruled and ſwayed with paſſions and perturbations: for that which is plunged down within the body, is called the ſoul; but that which is entire and uncorrupt, the vulgar ſort calleth the underſtanding, ſuppoſing it to be within them, as in mirrours that which appeareth by way of reflexion: but thoſe that judge aright and according to the truth, name it Dæmon, as being clean without them.

Theſe ſtars then which you ſee as if they were extinct and put out, imagine and take them to be the ſouls which are totally drowned within bodies: and ſuch as ſeem to ſhine out again, and to return lightſome from beneath, caſting and ſhaking from them a certain, dark, and foggy miſt, as if it were ſome filth and ordure, eſteem the ſame to be ſuch ſouls, as after death are retired and eſcaped out of the bodies: but thoſe which are mounted on high and move to and fro in one uniform courſe throughout, are the Dæmons or ſpirits of men, who are ſaid to have Intelligence and Underſtanding. Endevour now therefore and ſtrain your ſelf to ſee the connexion of each one, whereby it is linked and united to the ſoul. When I heard this, I began to take more heed, and might ſee ſtars leaping and floating upon the water, ſome more, ſome leſſe, like as we obſerve pieces of Cork, ſhewing in the ſea where Fiſhers nets have been caſt: and ſome of them turned in manner of ſpindles or bobins, as folk ſpin or twiſt therewith, yet drawing a troubled and unequall courſe, and not able to direct and compoſe the motion ſtraight. And the voice ſaid that thoſe which held on a right courſe and orderly motion, were they whoſe ſouls were obeiſant to the reigne of reaſon, by the means of good nurture and civill education, and ſuch as ſhewed not upon the earth their Beaſtly, Groſſe, and Savage Brutiſhneſſe: but they that eſſoons riſe and fall up and down unequally and diſorderly, as ſtruggling to break out of their bounds, are thoſe which ſtrive againſt the yoke, with their diſobedient and rebellious manners, occaſioned by want of good bringing up, one while getting the maſtry and bring them about to the right hand, another while curbed by paſſions and drawn away by vices, which notwithſtanding they reſiſt another time again, and with great force ſtrive to withſtand. For that Bond, which in manner of a Bridle-bit is put into the mouth as it were of the Bruiſh and unreaſonable part of the ſoul, when it pulleth the ſame back, bringeth that which they call repentance of ſins, and the ſhame after unlawfull and prohibited pleaſures, which is a grief and remorſe of the ſoul reſtrained and brideled by that which governeth and commandeth it, untill ſuch time, as being thus rebuked and chaſtiſed, it become obedient and tractable like unto a beaſt made tame without beating or tormenting, as quickly and readily conceiving the Signs and Marks which the Dæmon ſheweth. Theſe therefore, at the laſt (long and late though it be) are ranged to the Rule of Reaſon But of ſuch as are obedient at the firſt, and preſently from their very Nativity hearken unto their proper Dæmon, are all the kind of prophets and diviners, who have the gift to foretell things to come, likewiſe

likewiſe holy and devout men: Of which number you have heard how the ſoul of *Hermodorus* the Clazomenian, was wont to abandon his body quite, and both by day and night to wander into many places: and afterwards to return into it again, having been preſent the while to hear and ſee many things done and ſaid afar off: which it uſed ſo long, untill his enemies by the treachery of his wife, ſurpriſed his body one time when the ſoul was gone out of it, and burnt it in his houſe. Howbeit, this was not true: for his Soul never departed out of his body: but the ſame being alwayes obedient unto his Dæmon, and ſlacking the bond unto it, gave it means and liberty to run up and down, and to walk to and fro in many places, in ſuch ſort, as having ſeen and heard many things abroad, it would come and report the ſame unto him: But thoſe that conſumed his body as he lay aſleep, are tormented in *Tartarus* even at this day for it: which you ſhall know your ſelf good young man, more certainly within theſe three moneths (quoth that voice) and for this time ſee you depart. When this voice had made an end of ſpeaking, *Timarchus*, as he told the Tale himſelf, turned about to ſee who it was that ſpake; but feeling a great pain again in his head, as if it had been violently preſſed and cruſhed, he was deprived of all ſenſe and underſtanding, and neither knew himſelf nor any thing about him: But within a while after when he was come unto himſelf, he might ſee how he lay along at the Entry of the aforeſaid Cave of *Trophonius*, like as he had himſelf at the beginning. And thus much concerning the Fable of *Timarchus*: who being returned to *Athens*, in the third moneth after, juſt as the voice foretold him, departed this life. And then we wondred hereat, and made report thereof back to *Socrates*; who rebuked and chid us, for ſaying nothing to him of it, whiles *Timarchus* was alive; for that he would willingly himſelf have heard him more particularly, and examined every point at the full. Thus you have heard, *Theocritus*, a mingled Tale and Hiſtory together of *Timarchus*: But ſee whether we ſhall not be fain to call for this ſtrangers help, to the deciſion of this queſtion: for very proper and meet it is for to be diſcuſſed by ſuch devout and Religious men. And why (quoth *Theanor*) doth not *Epaminondas* deliver his opinion thereof, being a man trained up, and inſtituted in the ſame Diſcipline and School with us. Then my father ſmiling at the matter: This is his nature (quoth he) my good friend, he loveth to be ſilent, and wary he is what he ſpeaketh, but wonderfull deſirous to learn, and inſatiable of hearing others. And hereupon *Spinthărus* the Tarentine, who converſed familiarly with him here a long time, was wont to give out this Speech of him; That he had never talked with a man, who knew more and ſpake leſſe than he. But tell us now what you think your ſelf, of that which hath been ſaid. For mine own part (quoth he) I ſay, that this Diſcourſe and Report of *Timarchus*, as Sacred and inviolable, ought to be confecrated unto God: and marvell I would, if any ſhould diſcredit and hardly believe that which *Simmias* himſelf hath delivered of him; and when they name Swannes, Dragons, Dogs and Horſes, Sacred, believe not that there be men Celeſtiall and beloved of the gods, conſidering they hold and ſay, that God is never φιλοπῶις, that is to ſay, a lover of Birds, but φιλανθρωπος, that is to ſay, a lover of Mankind, Like as therefore a man who is ſaid to be *Philippos*, that is to ſay a lover of Horſes, taketh not a fancy, nor regardeth alike all Horſes, compriſed under the whole kind, but chuſing alwayes ſome one more excellent than the reſt, Rideth, Cheriſheth, and maketh much of him eſpecially: even ſo thoſe Divine Spirits which ſurmount our nature, make choice and take as it were out of the whole flock the beſt of us, upon whom they ſet their Brand or Mark, and them they think worthy of a more ſingular and exquiſite education, and thoſe they order and direct, not with Reigns and Bridles, but with Reaſon and Learning, and that by ſigns, whereof the common and Raſcall ſort have no Knowledge nor Experience. For neither do ordinary hounds underſtand the Signs, that Huntſmen uſe, nor every Horſe the ſifling and chirting of the Eſcuirry, but ſuch onely as have been taught and brought up to it; for they with the leaſt whiſtling and houping that is, know preſently what they are commanded to do, and quickly be ordered as they ought. And verily, *Homer* ſeemeth not to be ignorant of this difference whereof we ſpeak: for of Diviners and Southſayers, ſome he calleth οἰωνοσκόπους, *i.e.* Augurs, that is to ſay Authours or Obſervers of Birds; others ἱερεῖς, that is to ſay, Bowel-peiers, that ſpie into the inwards of Sacrifices; and ſome again there be, who hearing and knowing what the gods themſelves do ſpeak, are able to declare ſecretly, and foretell things to come, as may appear by theſe verſes:

King Priams *dear ſon* Helenus,
their mind ſoon underſtood,
And what this god and goddeſſe both
in counſell deemed good.

And a little after:

For thus I heard the gods to ſay,
Who as immortall live for ay.

For like as they who are without, and not of the Domeſticall and near acquaintance of Kings, Princes, and generall Captains, do know and underſtand their wills and minds by the means of certain Fire-Lights, ſound of Trumpets, and Proclamations; but to their Faithfull, Truſty, and Familiar Friends they ſpeak by word of mouth: Even ſo, God communeth and talketh with few, and that very ſeldome; but unto the common ſort he giveth ſigns, and of theſe conſiſteth the art of Divination: for the gods receive very few men in recommendation for to adorn their lives, but thoſe onely whom they are diſpoſed to make exceeding happy and Divine indeed: and thoſe ſouls which be delivered from farther generation, and are for ever after at liberty and diſmiſſed, free from the body, become afterwards

afterwards Dæmons, and take the charge and care of men, according as *Hesiodus* saith. For like as Champions, who otherwise heretofore have made profession of wrestling and other exercises of the body, after they have given over the practice thereof, by reason of their old age, leave not altogether the desire of glory by that means, nor cast off the affection in cherishing the body, but take pleasure still to see other young men to exercise their bodies, exhorting and encouraging them thereto, yea, and enforcing themselves to run in the race with them: even so, they that are past the combats and travels of this life, and through the vertue of their souls come to be Dæmons, despise not utterly the affairs, the speeches and studies of those that be here, but being favorable unto them who in their good endeavours aspire to the same end that they have attained to, yea, and after a sort, banding and siding with them, do incite and exhort them to vertue, especially when they see them neer unto the ends of their hopes, and ready in manner to touch the same. For this divine power of Dæmons, will not sort and be acquainted with every man indifferently, but like as they who stand upon the shore, can do no other good unto them who swim far within the sea, and a great way from the land, but look upon them and say nothing; but to such as are neer to the sea side, they run, and for their sakes, wading a little into the sea, help both with hand and voice, and so save them from drowning: even so (*Simmias*) dealeth the Dæmon with us; for so long as wee are plunged and drowned within mundane affaires, and change many bodies, as it were so many waggons and chariots, passing out of one into another, it suffereth us to strive and labour of our selves, yea, and by our own patience and long sufferance to save our selves, and gain the Haven: but when there is a soul, which hath already by innumerable generations supported and endured long travels, and having in manner performed her course and revolution, straineth all her might and maine, with much swet to get forth and ascend up; to it God envieth not her own proper Dæmon and familiar spirit to be assistant, yea, and giveth leave to any other whatsoever, that is willing thereto. Now one is desirous and ready alwaies to help and second another, yea, and forward to promote the safety thereof: the soul also for her part, giveth good ear, because she is so neer, and in the end is saved; but she that obeyeth not nor hearkeneth to her own familiar and proper Dæmon as forsaken of it, speedeth not well in the end. This said, *Epaminondas* looking toward me: It is high time, *Gaphisias*, for you (quoth he) to go into the wrestling School and place of exercise, to the end that you disappoint not your companions: mean while, we (when it shall be thought good to dissolve and dismisse this meeting) will take the charge of *Theanor*. Then said I, Be it so: but I suppose, that *Theocritus*, together with *Galaxidorus* and my self, is willing to commune and reason with you a little. In good time (quoth he) let them speak their mind and what they will. With that, he rose up and took us apart into a wayding and turning corner of the Gallery, where we came about him, and began to perswade and deal with him for to take part with us in the enterprise. He made us answer, that he knew well enough the day when the banished persons were to return; and had taken order with his friends to be ready against the time with *Gorgidas*, and to embrace the opportunity thereof: howbeit, they were not determined to take away the life of any one Citizen, not condemned by order of law, unlesse some urgent necessity enforced them thereto. And otherwise, it were very meet and expedient for the criminalty of *Thebes*, that there should be some not culpable of this massacre, but innocent and clear of all that then shall be committed; for so these men will be lesse suspected of the people, and be thought to counsel and exhort them for the best. We thought very well of this advice of his, and so he repaired againe to *Simmias*; and we went down to the place of publick exercises, where we met with our friends; and there we dealt one with another apart, as we wrestled together, questioning about one thing or another, and telling this or that, every one preparing himself to execution of the desigme: and there we might see *Archias* and *Philippus* all anointed and oyled going toward the feast. For *Phyllidas* fearing that they would make haste and put *Amphitheus* to death, so soon as ever he had accompanied *Lysanoridas* and sent him away, took *Archias* with him, feeding him with hope to enjoy the Lady whom he desired, and promising that she should be at the feast: whereby he perswaded him to minde no other thing, but to solace himself and make merry with those who were wont to roist and riot with him. By this time it drew toward night, the weather grew to be cold, and the winde rose high, which caused every man with more speed to retire and take house. I for my part, meeting with *Damoclidas*, *Pelopidas* and *Theopompus*, entertained them; and others did the like to the rest. For after that these banished persons were passed over the mountain *Cythera*, they parted themselves; and the coldnesse of the weather gave them good occasion (without all suspition) to cover their faces, and so to passe along the City undiscovered. And some of them there were, who as they entred the gates of the City, perceived it to lighten on their right hand without thunder, which they took for a good presage of safety and glory in their proceedings, as if this signe betokened, that the execution of their designment should be lightsome and honourable, but without any danger at all. Now when we were all entred in, and safe within house, to the number of eight and forty, as *Theocritus* was sacrificing apart in a little oratory or chapel by himself, he heard a great rapping and bouncing at the door: and anon there was one came and brought him word, that two halberds of *Archias* guard knocked at the outward gate, as being sent in great haste to *Charon*, commanding to open them the door, as greatly offended that they had staied so long. Whereat *Charon* being troubled in mind, commanded that they should be let in presently: who meeting them within the court with a coronet upon his head, as having newly sacrificed unto the gods, and made good cheer, demanded of these halberds, what they would? *Archias* & *Philippus* (say they) have sent us, willing and charging you with all speed to repair

repair unto them. Why, what is the matter (quoth *Charon*) that they should send for me in such haste at this time of the night; and what great news is there? We know not, said these Sergeants; but what word would you have us to carry back unto them? Marry, tell them (quoth he) that I will cast off my Chaplet, and put on another Robe, and presently follow after: for if I should go with you, it might be an occasion of trouble, and move some to suspect that you lead me away to Prison. You say well, answered the Officers again, do even so; for we must go another way to those Souldiers that watch and ward without the City, and deliver unto them a commandement from the head Magistrates and Rulers. Thus departed they. With that, *Charon* returned to us, and made relation of these newes; which struck us into our dumps, and put us in a great affright, supposing for certain, that we were betrayed and our Plot detected: most of the company suspected *Hippothenidas*, for that he went about to impeach the return of the exiled persons, by the means of *Chlidon*, whom he meant to send unto them: who seeing that he missed of his purpose, by all likelihood, upon a fearfull and timorous heart, might reveal our conspiracy, now when it was come to the very point of execution: for come he was not with others into the house where we were all assembled: and to be short, there was not one of us all, that judged better of him than of a wicked and treacherous Traytor: howbeit, we agreed all in this, that *Charon* should go thither as he was commanded, and in any wise obey the Magistrates who had sent for him.

Then he commanding (O *Archidamus*) his own Son to be present, a stripling about fifteen yeers of age, and the faireſt youth in all the City of *Thebes*, very laborious and affectionate to bodily exercises; and for stature and strength, surpassing all his fellows and companions of that age; made this speech unto us: My Masters and Friends, this is my Son and onely Child, whom I love entirely, as you may well think; him I deliver into your hands, beseeching you in the name of the gods and all Saints in heaven, that if you find any perfidious Treachery by me against you, to do him to death and not spare him. And now I humbly pray you, most valiant and hardy Knights, prepare your selves resolutely against the last Feast that ever these Tyrants shall make: abandon not, for want of Courage, your bodies to be villanously outraged and spoiled by these most leud and wicked persons, but be revenged of them, and now shew your invincible hearts, in the behalf of your Countrey. When *Charon* had delivered these words, there was not one of us all but highly commended his Magnanimity and Loialty; but we were angry with him, in that he doubted of us that we had him in suspition and distruſt; & therefore willed him to have away his Son with him. And more than that, me thinks (quoth *Pelopidas*) you have not done well & wisely for us, in that you sent him not before to some other house: for what reason or necessity is there, that he should either perish or come into perill, being found with us? and yet it is time enough to convey him away, that in case it fall out with us otherwise than well, he may grow up after his kind, for to be revenged of these Tyrants another day. It shall not be so, quoth *Charon*; he shall even stay here, and take such part of fortune as we shall do: and besides, it were no part of honesty or honour, to leave him in danger of our enemies: And therefore, my good Son (quoth he) take a good heart and a resolute, even above these yeers of thine, enter in Gods name into these hazzards and trials that be thus necessary, together with many valiant and hardy Citizens, for the maintenance of liberty and vertue. And even yet, great hope we have, that good successe will follow, and that some blessed Angel will regard and take in protection those who adventure thus for Righteousneſſe and Justice sake. Many of us there were (*Archidamus*) whose tears trickled down their cheeks, to hear *Charon* deliver these words; but himself being inflexible and not relenting one jot, with an undaunted heart, a setled countenance, and eyes still dry, put his Son into *Pelopidas* hands, embraced every one of us, shook us by the hands, and so encouraging us to proceed, went forth of the doors. Wonderfull was this; but much more you would have wondred, to have seen the alacrity, cheerfull and constant resolution of his Son, as if he had been another *Neoptolemus*, who never looked pale, nor changed colour for the matter, notwithstanding so great danger presented; neither was he one jot astond: but contrariwise, drew forth *Pelopidas* Sword out of his Scabberd, to see and try whether it was keen enough.

Whiles these matters thus passed, there comes towards us *Diotonus*, one of *Cephisodorus* friends, with a Sword by his side, and a good Cuirason of Steel under his Robe, who having heard that *Charon* was sent for to come to *Archias*, blamed much our long delay, and whetned us on to go forthwith to the Tyrants houses: For in so doing (quoth he) we shall prevent them, by comming suddenly upon them: if not, yet better were it for us, to set upon them without doors, separate one from another, and not all in one plump, than to stay for them, enclosed all within one Parlour, and be there taken by our Enemies, like a swarm of Bees, and have all our throats cut. In like manner *Theocritus* the divinor, urged us to make haste, saying, that all the signes of sacrifices were good, and presaged happy successe with all security. Whereupon we began on all hands to take Arms, and to prepare our selves: by which time, *Charon* was returned to us, with a merry and cheerfull countenance: who smiling and looking upon us: Be of good cheer (quoth he) my Masters and Friends, all is well: there is no danger, and our affair proceedeth well: for *Archias* and *Philippus*, so soon as they heard that I was come, upon their sending for me, being already well Cup-shotten, and half drunk with Wine, so as both their minds and bodies were very far out of tune; with much ado they rose from the boord, and came forth to the dore unto me; Now *Charon*, quoth *Archias*, we hear that our banished men lye lurking here within the City, being secretly and by stealth entred into it. Whereat I seeming to be much amazed: Where (quoth I) are they said to be, and who? That we know not (quoth *Archias*) & that is the cause why we sent for you, to come before us, if haply you have heard any thing of it more certainly.

Hereupon I remaining for a while as one somewhat astonied and pensive, comming again to my self, began thus to think, that this must needs be some headlesse rumour, and arising from no good ground, nor certain Author; neither was it like to be any one of them that were privy to the complot who had discovered it, because they would not then have been ignorant of the house where they were assembled, and therefore it could not chuse but be some blind bruit blown abroad through the City, and come to their eares. So I said unto him, that during the life of *Androclidas*, we had heard many such flying tales, and vain false rumors that ran about the City and troubled us. But now (quoth he) ô *Archias*, I have heard no such thing: howbeit, it it please you to commaund me, I will enquire and hearken farther into the thing, and if I find any matter of importance, I will come and enform you of it. It is well said of you (quoth *Phyllidas*) and it were very good *Charon*, that in these cases you be very inquisitive, and leave nothing unsearched: for why should we be carelesse and negligent in any thing, but rather it behooveth us to be circumspect, and to look about us on every side: providence in these cases is very requisite, and good it is to make all sure: and when he had so said, he took *Archias* and had him into the Parlour, where they be now drinking hard: and therefore my good friends, let us stay no longer; but after we have made our Prayers unto the gods, for our good speed, go about our businesse. *Charon* had no sooner said this, but we prayed unto the gods for their assistance, and encouraged one another to the enterprise. It was the very just time, when all men use to be at Supper: and the whistling wind arising still more and more, had brought some snow or sleet, mingled with a drissling Rain, so as there was not one person to be seen in the Streets as we passed along. Those therefore who were appointed to assail *Leontidas* and *Hippates*, who dwelt neer together, went out in their Cloakes, having no Arms or Weapons, but each of them their Swords, and those were *Pelopidas*, *Democlidas*, and *Cephisodorus*: But *Charon*, *Melon*, and others, ordained to set upon *Archias*, had their Brest-plates or Demy-cuirasses before them, and upon their Heads thick Chaplets, some of Firr, others of the Pine or Pitch-Tree-Branches: and part of them were clad in womens Apparell, counterfeiting drunken persons, as if they were come in a Maske and Mummery with their Women. And that which more is, O *Archidamus*, fortune also making the beastly Cowardise and sottish ignorance of our Enemies equall to our hardinesse, and resolute preparations, and having diversified and distinguished even from the beginning our enterprise, like a play or enterlude, with many dangerous intercurrents, was assistant and ran with us, at the very point and upshot of the execution thereof, presenting unto us, even then a doubtfull and dangerous occurrent, of a most sudden and unexpected accident: for when *Charon* after he had talked with *Archias* and *Philippus*, was returned to the house, and had disposed us in order, for to go in hand with the execution of our designment; there was brought from hence a Letter written by *Archias* the High-Priest here among you, unto that *Archias* his old hoast and friend, which declared unto him (as it should seem) by all likelihood, the return of the banished, and the surprise which they were about, the house also wherein they were assembled, and all the complices who were of the conspiracy. *Archias* being by this time drenched and drowned in wine, and besides that, transported and past himself, with the expectation of the women, whose comming he attended, albeit the messenger that brought the Letter, said it contained serious affairs, of great consequence, yet he onely received it, and made no other answer but this: What telleth thou me of serious affairs? we shall think of them to morrow; and with that, put the Letters under the Pillow, whereon he leaned, calling for the Pot again, and commanding that it should be filled; sending *Phyllidas* ever and anon to the dore, to see if the women were yet comming. Thus whiles this hope entertained and held the Feast, we came upon them, and passed along through the servitours unto the very Hall or Parlour, where they were at Supper, and there we stayed a while at the dore, eying and viewing every one of them as they sat about the Table. Now the sight of those Chaplets and Garlands which we ware upon our heads, and of the womens apparell, which some of us were dressed in, deceived them a little upon our first comming, in such sort, as for a while there ensued silence, untill such time as *Melon* first laying hand upon his Sword Hilo, rushed into the midst of the place: with that, *Cabirichus Cyamistes* who was Archon for the time, took him by the Armes as he passed by, and held him back, crying out withall: *Phyllidas*, is not this *Melon*? but *Melon* shaking him off so, as he left his hold, drew forth his Sword withall, and ran upon *Archias*, whom being hardly able to rise, he gave not over untill he had killed outright in the place. *Charon* then set upon *Philippus*, whom he wounded in the neck, and notwithstanding that he defended himself with the Pots that stood about him upon the Table, yet *Lysitheus* mounting upon the boord, laied him along on the floor, and there under-foot dispatched him. As for *Gabirichus* we spake him fair, and entreated him not to take part with the Tyrants, but to joyn with us, in delivering our Native Country from Tyranny, as he was a sacrosaint Magistrate, and consecrated unto the gods for the good and safety of the common wealth. But being not easily induced to hearken unto reason, and that which was most expedient for him, because he was little better than half drunk; he hanging still in doubtfull suspence and perplexity, arose up on his Feet, and presented unto us his javelin, with the head forward, which by the custome of the place, the Provosts with us, ever go withall: whereupon I caught hold of the Javelin in the mid'st, and held it over my head, crying unto him, to let it go, and save himself; or elst he should die for it. In this mean while, *Theopompus* standing on his right side, ran him through with his Sword, saying withall: There lye thou also together with them whom thou hast flattered and soothed up: for it were not beseeming thee to wear a Coronet and Garland when *Thebes* is set free, nor to offer any more sacrifice to the gods, before whom thou hast cursed thy country, by making

making prayers so often for the prosperity of her enemies. When *Cabirichus* was fallen down dead; *Theocritus* who stood by, caught up the Sacred Javelin, and drew it out of the blood that there was shed. This massacre being done, some few of the servants, who durst interpose themselves, and come between for the defence of those usurpers, we slew; but as many as were quiet, and stirred not; we shut up within a chamber, where men are wont to keep; being not willing that they should get forth, and go to publish throughout the City what was done, before we knew how the world went with others.

Thus you hear how this chare was done. As for *Pelopidas* and his train, they came to the utmost gate of *Leontidas*, where they knocked as softly, as they thither came gently and with silence, and to one of the servants who heard them knock, and demanded who was there, they answered, That they were come from *Athens*, and brought Letters unto *Leontidas* from *Calistratus*. The servitor went and told his master so much, who being commanded to set open the gate, unbarred and unbolted it; the gate no sooner yielded from them a little, but they rushed in all at once with violence, bare down the man, and laid him along, ran a pace through the Court and Hall, and so directly passed to the Bedchamber of *Leontidas*: who presently suspecting what the matter was, drew his dagger, and put himself forward to make resistance, and to stand upon his defence. Unjust he was, no doubt, and Tyrannical, howbeit otherwise a tall man of his hands, and of a couragious stomach: yet forgat he to overthrow the lamp, and put out the light, and in the dark to intermingle himself with those who came to assault him, and so haply to get away from them; but being espyed by them, so soon as ever the door was open, he stabbed *Cephisodorus* in the very flank under the short ribs: and then encountring with *Pelopidas*, who would have entred second into the Chamber, he cryed out aloud, and called to his servants for help: but *Samidas*, with others about him, kept them back, and otherwise of themselves they durst not meddle nor hazard their lives to deal with the noblest persons of the City, and those who for strength and valor were known to surpass the rest. So there was a scuffling and stiff combate between *Pelopidas* and *Leontidas*, in the very portal of the Chamber door, which was but narrow, where *Cephisodorus* fell down in the midst between them ready to dye, so that others could not come in to succor *Pelopidas*: At the last when our friend *Pelopidas* had received a little wound in his head, but given *Leontidas* many a one, he overthrew him, and slew him upon the body of *Cephisodorus*, who being yet warm, and not fully dead, saw his enemy fall, and therewith putting forth his right hand to *Pelopidas*, and bidding all the rest adieu, he joyfully yielded up his breath. When they had dispatched this businesse, they turned immediately from thence to *Hypates* house, and when the door was likewise set open for them, they killed him also, as he thought to escape, and fled by the roof of the house unto his neighbors. Which done, they returned with speed directly unto us, whom they found abroad at a Gallery called *Polystylon*. After we had saluted and embraced one another, and talked a little altogether, we went strait to the common Gaol; where *Phyllidas* having called forth the Gaoler: *Archias* (quoth he) and *Philippus* command you with all speed to bring your Prisoner *Amphitheus* unto them. The Gaoler considering that it was an unreasonable hour, and withal, perceiving that *Phyllidas* in his speeches was not very well stayed, but that he was yet chafed, and panted still unquietly upon the fresh fray that he had been at, doubting and suspecting a skirmish: When was it ever seen (quoth he) O *Phyllidas*, that the Polemarchy or chief Captains sent for a Prisoner at this time of the night? when by you? and what token or watchword bring you from them? As the Gaoler reasoned thus, *Phyllidas* made no more ado, but with an Horsemans staff or launce that he had in his hand, ran him through the sides, and laid him dead on the ground, wicked wretch that he was, whom the next morrow, many a woman trampled under their feet, and spit in his face as he lay. Then brake we the Prison door open, and first called by name unto *Amphitheus*, and afterwards to others, according as each of them was of our acquaintance and familiarity; who hearing and knowing our voyces, leapt out of their Pallets upon their feet, and willingly drew their chains and irons after them: but such as had their feet fast in the stocks, stretched forth their hands and cryed unto us, beseeching they might not left behinde: and whiles we were busie in setting them loose, many of the neighbors by this time who dwelt neer and perceived what was done, were run forth already into the streets with glad and joyful hearts. The very women also, as any of them heard ought of their acquaintance, without regard of observing the custom and manner of the Bœotians, ran out of doors one to another, and demanded of every one whom they met in the street, what news? And as many of them as light either upon their fathers or husbands, followed them as they went, and no man impeached them in so doing: for the pitiful commiseration, the tears, prayers, and supplications, especially of honest and chast wives, were in this case very effectual, and moved men to regard them. When things were brought to this pass, so soon as we heard, that *Epaminondas* and *Gorgidas*, with other friends, were now assembled within the Temple of *Minerva*, we went directly unto them, and thither repaired also many honest Citizens, and men of quality, flocking still more and more in great frequency. Now after relation was made unto them, how all things sped, and that they were requested to assist us in the performance and execution of that which was behinde, and for that purpose to meet all together in the common Market-place, incontinently they set up a shout, and cryed unto the Citizens, *Liberty, liberty*, distributing Arms and Weapons among as many as came to joyn with them: which they took forth of the Temples and Halls, being full of the spoils of all sorts, won from enemies in times past, as also out of the Armorers, Furbushers, and Cutlers shops there adjoyning. Thither came *Hippostbenidas* likewise with a Troop of friends and servants, bringing those trumpeters with him, who were by chance come to the City against the feast of *Hercules*: and

immediatly some sounded the alarm in the Market place, and others in all parts of the City besides, and all to astonish and affright those of the adverse part, as if the whole City were revolted, and had risen against them: who making a great smoak, for the nonce in the streets, because they would not be descried, put themselves within the Castle *Cadmea*, drawing with them those choice Souldiers called Κατ'ἐξοχὴν, that is to say, the better, who were wont usually to Ward all night, and keep a standing corps de guard about the said Castle. Now those who were above in the said Fort, seeing their own Captain to run so disorderly and in great affright, and to make haste to get in, perceiving also from above, how we were gathered together about the Market-place in Arms; and no part of the City quiet, but full of tumult, uprores and garboil, whereof the noise ascended up unto them, durst not adventure to come down, though they were to the number of five thousand, as fearing the present danger; but pretended for their excuse the absence of *Lysanoridas* their Captain, who was ever wont to remain with them, but only that day, which was the cause that afterwards, as we have heard, the Lacedæmonians making means by a piece of money, to apprehend him in *Corimb*, whither he was retired, immediately put him to death: but upon Composition and safe Conduct, they delivered up the Castle into our hands, and departed with all the Souldiers in it.

Of the Malice of *Herodotus*,

The Summary.

PLutarch *considering in what credit and request* Herodotus *the Historiographer was, who in many places of his Books, which are at this day extant in our hands, defameth divers States and honourable persons of* Greece, *is minded here in this Treatise to arm, as it were, and prepare the Readers against all such false suggestions and imputations: and in the very entry of his Discourse, accuseth* Herodotus *of malice and leasing. For proof of this Challenge he setteth down certain marks, whereby a man may discern a slanderous Writer from a sage and discreet Historiegrapher. Which done, he applyeth the said markes unto* Herodotus, *shewing by a number of examples drawn out of his Stories and Narrations, that often times he useth odious words, when as others more milde and gentle were as ready for him to use: that he describeth an evil matter, when as there was no need to make mention thereof: that he taketh pleasure to speak ill and to rail: that among praises, he inserteth the bitter blames of one and the same personage: and in recounting one thing two manner of ways and more, he resteth always in the worse, and imputeth worthy deeds and brave exploits unto disordinate and irregular passions, and so after an oblique manner doth the persons injury. So that this Treatise teacheth as well the Writers of Histories, to look well about themselves, and stand upon their guard, lest they be esteemed, slanderous, foolish and impudent: as also the Readers, to carry with them a pure and sincere judgment, for to make their profit by those Books, which they take in hand to read.*

Of the Malice of Herodotus.

MAny men there be, O *Alexander*, whom the stile and phrase of *Herodotus* the Historiographer (because it seemeth unto them plain, simple, natural, and running smoothly upon the matters which he delivereth) hath much deceived: but more there are, who have been caught and brought into the same errour, by his manners and behaviour. For it is not only extream injustice, as *Plato* said, to seem just and righteous, when a man is nothing less, but also an act of malice in the highest degree, to counterfeit mildness and simplicity, and under that pretence and colour, to be covertly most bitter and malicious. Now for that he sheweth this spight of his against the Bœotians and Corinthians especially, although he spareth not any others whatsoever, I thought it my part and duty do defend herein the honour of our Ancestors in the behalf of truth, against this only part of his Writings, and no more. For to pursue and go thorow all other lies and forged tales of his, dispersed in that history, would require many great volumes. But as *Sophocles* said:

Of Eloquence the flattering face,
Prevaileth much and winneth grace,

especially when it meeteth with a tongue which is pleasant, and carrieth such a force, as to cover among other vices, the malicious nature of an Historiographer. *Philip* king of *Macedonie* was wont to say unto those Greeks who revolted from his alliance, and sided with *Titus Quintius*, that they had changed their former chains, and given them for others, that were indeed more polished; howbeit longer a fair deal. Even so a man may say, that the Malignity of *Herodotus* is smoother and more delicate than that of *Theopompus*, but it toucheth neerer to the quick, and stingeth more; like as the winds are more sharp and piercing, which blow through a narrow streight or close glade, than such as are spred more as

at large. I think therefore that I shall do very well, first to describe generally, and as it were in grosse, the tracts and marks as it were of a narration which is not pure, sincere, and friendly, but spightfull and malicious, for to apply the same afterwards to each point that we shall examin, and see whether they do agree fitly thereto.

First and formost therefore, he that useth the most odious nowns and verbs, when there be others at hand more milde and gentle, for to express things done: as for example; whereas he might say, that *Nicias* was very ceremonious, and somewhat superstitiously given; reporteth that he was fanatical; and chuseth rather to Chalenge *Cleon* for rash audacity, and furious madnesse, than for light and vain speech: surely he carrieth not a good and gentle mind, but taketh pleasure to make a narration in the worst manner.

Secondly, when there is some vice otherwise in a man, which appertaineth not unto the History, and yet the Writer catcheth hold thereof, and will needs thrust it into the narration of those affairs which require it not, drawing his History from the matter, fetching a compasse about, after an extravagant manner, and all to bring in either the infortunity or unhappy accident, or else some absurd and shamefull act of a man: it is very evident that such an one delighteth in reproachfull and evill language. And therefore contrariwise, *Thucidides*, howsoever *Cleon* committed an infinite number of grosse and foul faults, yet he never traduced him openly for them in his writings. And as touching the busy Orator *Hyperbolus*, he glanced at him onely by the way, terming him a naughty man, and so let him go: *Philistus* likewise passed over all the outrages and wrongs (many though they were) of *Dionysius* the Tyrant, which he offered unto the Barbarous Nations, so long as they were not interlaced among the affairs of the Greeks. For the digressions and excursions of an History, are allowed, principally for some Fables or Antiquities. Moreover, he who among the praises of some great personages, thrusteth in some matter tending to reproach and blame, seemeth to incurre the malediction of the Tragicall Poet,

Cursed be thou, that lov'st a roll to have,
Of mens mishaps, who now lie dead in grave.

Furthermore, that which is equipollent and reciprocall thereto, every man knoweth, that the leaving out and passing over quite of some good quality, or laudable fact, seemeth not to be a thing reprehensible and subject to account, though done it were maliciously, and the same were left out in some such place as perteined well to the train of the History: for to commend a man coldly after an unwilling manner, favoureth no more of civility, than to blame him affectionately; and besides that, it is nothing more civill, it smelleth haply more of malice, and of the twain is worse.

The fourth sign of a malicious nature in an Historian, in my account is this: when one and the same thing is interpreted or reported two wayes, or more, to encline unto the harder construction. For permitted it is unto Sophisters and Rhetoricians, either for to gain their fee, or to win the name and reputation of eloquence, otherwhiles to take in hand for to defend and adorn the worse cause; because they imprint not deeply any credit or belief of that which they deliver: & they themselves do not deny, that they undertake to prove things incredible, even against the common opinion of men. But he that composeth an History, doeth his part and devoir, if he writeth that which he knoweth to be true: but of matters doubtfull, obscure, and uncertain, those which are better seem to be reported more truly alwayes, than the worse. And many there be, who omit quite and overpasse the worse: as for example; *Ephorus* having said as touching *Themistocles*, that he was privy to the Treason that *Pausanias* Plotted and Practised, and how hee Treated with the Lieutenants of the King of *Persia*: Howbeit, he consented not (quoth he) nor never could be induced to take part with him of those hopes, whereto he did sollicite him. And *Thucidides* left this matter wholly out of his story, as not acknowledging it to be true. Again, in matters confessed to have been done, but yet not known, for what cause, and upon what intention; he that guesseth and casteth his conjecture in the worse part, is naught and maliciously minded: and thus did the comicall Poets, who gave out, that *Pericles* kindled the Peloponnesian War, for the love of the courtisan *Aspasia*, or else for *Phidias* sake, and not rather upon an high mind and contention to take down the pride of the Peloponnesians, and in no wise to give place unto the Lacedæmonians. For of arts approved and laudable affairs, he that supposeth and setteth down a leud and naughty cause, and by calumniations draweth men into extravagant suspicions, of the hidden and secret intention of him who performed the Act, which he is not able to reprove or blame openly: as they who report of *Alexander* the Tyrants death, which Dame *Thebe* his wife contrived, that it was not a deed of magnanimity, nor upon the hatred of wickednesse and vice, but proceeding from the passionate jealousie of a woman: as also those who say, that *Cato Uticensis* killed himself, fearing lest *Cæsar* would execute him shamefully: these (I say) are envious and spightfull in the highest degree. Semblably, an Historicall Narration smelleth of Malice, according as the manner of a work or act done is related: as if it be put down in writing, that it was by the means rather of Money and corruption, than of vertue and valour, that some great exploit was performed, (as some there were who did not stick to say as much of *Philip*:) or else, that it was executed without any travell and danger, as others gave out of *Alexander* the Great: also not by forecast and wisedome, but by the favour of fortune; like as the envious and ill willer of *Timotheus*, who in Painted Tables represented the Pourtrature of divers Cities and Towns, that of themselves fell within the compass of his Net and Toil, when he lay fast asleep: evident it is, that it tendeth to the empairing of the Glory, Beauty, & Greatness of those acts, when they take from them the magnanimity,

vertue, and diligence of the authors, and give out, they were not done and executed by themselves. Over and besides, those who professedly and directly speak evill of one, incur the imputation of quarrellers, rash-headed and furious persons, in case they keep not within a mean: but such as do it after an oblique manner, as if they discharged bullets, or shot arrows at one side from some blind corner, charging surmises and suspicions; and then to turn behind and shift off all, by saying, they do not believe any such thing, which they desire most of all to be believed, howsoever they disclaim all malice and evill will: over and besides their cancred nature, they are stained with the note of notorious impudency. Next neighbours unto these, are they, who among imputations and blames, adjoyn certain praises: as in the time of *Socrates*, one *Aristoxenus* having given him the terms of ignorant, untaught, dissolute; came in with this afterwards: but true it is that he doth no man wrong, and is worst to himself: for like as they, who will cunningly and artificially flatter otherwhiles, among many and unmeasurable praises, mingle some light reprehensions, joyning with their sweet flatteries, (as it were some tart sauce to season them) certain words frankly and freely spoken: even so the malicious person, because he would have that believed which he blameth, putteth thereto some little sprinkling of a few praises. There may be exemplified and numbered many other signs and marks of malice: but these may suffice to give us to understand the nature and intention of this Author whom now we have in hand.

First and formost therefore to begin at heavenly wights, and as they say at *Vesta*, *Io* the daughter of *Inachus*, whom all the Greeks think to have been deified & honoured with divine honours by the Barbarous Nations, in such sort as that she hath left her name to many Seas, and noble Ports, in regard of her great glory and renown; and opened the source (as it were) and original beginning of many Right Noble, most Famous and Royal Families; this our gentle Historiographer saith, that she yeelded her self unto certain Merchants of *Phœnicia*, to be carried away, for that she having been deflowred not against her will, by a Master of a Ship, feared left she should be spied great with child; and withall belyeth the Phœnicians themselves, as if they gave out as much of her. He reports himself also to the testimony of the sages and wise men of *Persia*, that the Phœnicians ravished and carried her away with other women: shewing withall directly his opinion a little after, that the most noble and bravest exploit that ever the Greeks atcheived, to wit, the war of *Troy*, was an enterprise begun in folly, for a lewd and naughty woman: for it is very apparent quoth he, that these women if they had not been willing themselves, they had never been so ravished, and had away as they were. And therefore we may as well say that the gods did foolishly to shew themselves angry and offended, with the Lacedæmonians for the abusing of the daughters of *Scedasus* the Leuctrian; as also to punish *Ajax*, for that hee forced Lady *Cassandra*: for certain it is according to *Herodotus*, that if they had not been willing, they had never been defloured: and yet himself saith that *Aristomenes* was taken alive, and carried away by the Lacedæmonians, and afterwards *Philopœmen* Captain General of the Achæans tasted the same fortune, and *Atilius Regulus* the Consull of the Romans, fell likewise into the hands of his enemies: all of them such personages as hardly may be found more valiant and hardy warriors in the world. But what marvell is this, considering that men do take Leopards, and Tygres alive? Now *Herodotus* blameth the poor women, who were by force abused, and defendeth those wicked men who offered them that abuse. Besides, so much affected he is in love unto the Barbarous Nations, that he will acquit and cleer *Busirides* of that ill name which went of him, for slaying of his guests, and sacrificing men, and attributing unto all the Ægyptians by his testimonies, much godlinesse, Religion and Justice, returneth upon the Greeks this inhuman and abhominable cruelty. For in his second Book he writeth that *Menelaus* having received *Helena* at the hands of King *Proteus* his wife, and been by him honoured with great and rich presents, shewed himself again a most unjust and wicked man. For when the wind and weather served him not for to embark and sail away, he wrought by his report, a most cursed and detestable fact, in taking two of the inhabitants male children of that Countrey, and cut them in peeces for sacrifice: by occasion whereof being hated of the Ægyptians, and pursued, he fled directly with his fleet, and departed into *Libya*. For mine own part, I wot not what Ægyptian hath given out this report of *Menelaus*: but contrariwise I know full well, that in *Ægypt* they retain still to this day many honours in the memoriall, both of him and also of his wife *Helena*. Moreover this writer holding on still his course, reporteth that the Persians learned of the Greeke, to abuse boyes carnally and contrary to kind. And yet how is it possible that the Persians should learn this vilany and filthinesse of the Greeks, considering that the Persians in manner all do confesse, that the children were there guelded, before they had ever seen the Greeks sea. Also he writeth, that the Greeks were taught by the Ægyptians, their solemn pomps, feastivall processions, and publick Assemblies: likewise to adore the twelve gods: yea and that *Melampus* had learned of the same Ægyptians the very name of *Dionysius*, that is to say, *Bacchus*, who taught it the others Greeks. As touching the sacred mysteries, and secret ceremonies of *Ceres*, that they were brought out of *Ægypt* by the daughters of *Danaus*: as also that the Ægyptians beat themselves and are in great sorrow, yet will themselves name nothing why they so do, but remain close and keep silence in the Religious Service of the gods. As touching *Hercules* and *Bacchus* whom the Ægyptians esteem as gods, and the Greeks very aged men, he maketh mention in no place of this precise observation and distinction: howsoever he saith, that this Ægyptian *Hercules*, was reckoned and ranged in the second order of the gods, and *Bacchus* in the third, as those who had a beginning of their essence, and were not eternall: and yet he pronounceth those other to be gods, but unto these, he judgeth that we ought to perform anniversary funerals, as having been sometime mortall, and

and now canonized demi-gods, but in no wise to sacrifice unto them as gods. After the same manner spake he of *Pan*, overthrowing the most holy and venerable sacrifices of the Greeks by the vanities and fables which the Egyptians devised. Yet is not this the worst, nor so intollerable; for deriving the pedegree of *Hercules* from the race of *Perseus*, he holdeth, that *Perseus* was an Assyrian, according to that which the Persians say: But the Captains and Leaders of the Dorians (saith he) seem to be descended in right line from the Egyptians, and fetch their genealogie and ancestours from before *Danae* and *Acrisius*: for as concerning *Epaphus*, *Io*, *Jasus* and *Argus*, he hath wholly passed over and rejected, striving to make, not onely the other two *Hercules* Egyptians and Phœnicians, but also this whom himself nameth to be the third, a meer stranger from Greece, and to enroll him among Barbarians, notwithstanding that of all the ancient learned men, neither *Homer*, nor *Hesiodus*, ne yet *Archilochus*, *Pisander*, *Stesichorus*, *Aleman*, nor *Pindarus*, do make mention of any *Hercules* an Egyptian or Phœnician, but acknowledge one alone, to wit, our Bœotian and Argien. And that which more is, among the seven sages, whom he termeth by the name of Sophisters, he will needs bear us down, that *Thales* was a Phœnician born, extracted from the ancient stock of the Barbarians. And in one place, reproaching in some sort the gods, under the visard and person of *Solon*, he hath these words: O *Græsus*, thou demandest of me as touching humane things, who know full well, that the deity is envious and full of inconstant incertitude: where attributing unto *Solon*, that opinion which himself had of the gods, he joyneth malice unto impiety and blasphemy. And as for *Pittachus*, using him but in light matters, and such as are of no consequence, he passeth over in the mean while, the most worthy and excellent deed that ever the man did: for when the Athenians and Mitylenians were at war about the port *Sigæum*, *Phrynon* the Captain of the Athenians having given defiance, and challenged to combat hand to hand, the hardiest warriour of all the Mitylenians, *Pittachus* advanced forward and presented himself to his face for to perform his devoir, where he bare himself with such dexterity, that he caught this Captain, as mighty a man as he was and tall of stature, and so entangled him, that he slew him outright. And when the Mitylenians, for this proweſſe of his, offered unto him goodly rich presents, he launced his javelin out of his hand as farre as ever he could, and demanded so much ground onely as he raught with that shot. And thereupon, that field, even at this day, is called *Pittacium*. But what writeth *Herodotus*, when he comes to this place? In lieu of reciting this valiant act of *Pittachus*, he recounteth the flight of *Alcæus* the Poet, who flung from him his Armour and Weapons, and so ran away out of the Battell: whereby it appeareth, that in avoiding to write of vertuous and valiant acts, but in not concealing vicious and foul facts, he testifieth on their side who say, that envy, to wit, a grief for the good of another, and joy in other mens harms, proceed both from one root of malice.

After all this, the Alcmæonidæ who shewed themselves brave men and generous; and namely, by delivering their Countrey from tyranny, are by him challenged for Treason: for he saith, That they received *Pisistratus* upon his Banishment, and wrought means for his return again, upon condition, that he should espouse and marry the daughter of *Megacles*: and when the Maiden said thus unto her Mother, See my good Mother, *Pisistratus* doth not company kindly with me, as he should, and according to the law of nature and marriage; hereupon the said Alcmæonidæ took such indignation against the Tyrant for his perverse dealing, that they chased him into exile. Now, that the Lacedæmonians should taste as well of his malice as the Athenians had done before them, see how he defaceth and traduceth *Othryadas*, a man esteemed and admired among them above all others, for his valiance: He only (saith he) remaining alive of those three hundred, ashamed to return to *Sparta*, when all the rest of that company and consort of his were slain and left dead in the field, presently overwhelmed himself in the place under an heap of his enemies shields reared for a Trophæ, and so dyed: for a little before, he said, that the Victory between both sides rested doubtfull in even Ballance; and now he witnesseth, that through the shame and bashfulnesse of *Othryadas*, the Lacedæmonians lost the day: for as it is a shame to live being vanquished, so it is as great an honour to survive upon a victory. I forbear now to note and observe, how in describing *Græsus* every where for a foolish, vain-glorious and ridiculous person in all respects, yet nevertheless he saith, that being prisoner he taught and instructed *Cyrus*, a Prince who in prudence, vertue and magnanimity surpassed all the Kings that ever were. And having by the testimony of his own History, attributed no goodnesse unto *Græsus*, but this onely, that he honoured the gods with great offerings, oblations and ornaments, that he presented unto them; which very same (as himself declareth) was the most wicked and profanest act in the world: for whereas his Brother *Pantaleon* and he were at great variance and debate, about succession in the Kingdome during the life of their Father; after that he came to the Crown, he caught one of the Nobles, a great friend and companion of his Brother *Pantaleon*, who had before-time been his adversary, and within a fullers mill all to beclawed and mangled him with Tuckers Cards and Burling Combs, so as he died therewith; and of his money which he did confiscate and seize upon, he caused those oblations and Jewels to be made which he sent as a present to the gods. Concerning *Deioces* the Median, who by his vertue and justice atteined to the Kingdome, he saith, that he was not such an one indeed, but an Hypocrite, and by semblance of justice was advanced to that regall dignity. But what should I stand upon the examples of Barbarous Nations; for he hath minister matter enough in writing onely of the Greeks. He saith, that the Athenians and many other Ionians, being ashamed of that name, were not only unwilling, but also denied utterly to be called Ionians: also, as many of them as were of the noblest blood, and descended from the very Senate and *Prytaneum* of the Athenians, begat children

of

of Barbarous women, after they had killed their Fathers and former children : by occasion whereof those women made an Ordinance among themselves, which they bound with an oath, and minister the same unto their daughters, never to eat nor drink with their Husbands, nor to call them by their names : and that the Milesians at this day be descended from the said women. And having cleanly delivered thus much under hand, that those onely who celebrated the feast named *Apaturia*, were indeed true Ionians : And all (quoth he) do keep and observe that solemnity, save onely the Ephesians and Colophonians. By this slie device he doth in effect deprive these States, of the Noble Antiquity of their Nation. He writeth likewise, that the Cumæans and Mitylenæans, were compacted and agreed withall, for a peece of Money, to deliver into the hands of *Cyrus*, *Pactyas*, one of his Captains, who had revolted from him : But I cannot say (quoth he) certainly, for how much, because the just sum is not exactly known. But he ought not by his leave to have charged upon any City of *Greece* such a note of Infamy, without he had been better assured thereof. And afterwards he saith, that the Inhabitants of *Chios* pulled him, being brought unto them out of the Temple of *Minerva Poliuchos*, that is to say, Tutelar and Protectresse of the City, for to deliver him unto the Persians; which the Chians did after they had received for their hire, a peece of Land called *Atarnes*. Howbeit, *Charon*, the Lampsacinian, a more Ancient Writer, when he handleth the story of *Pactyas*, taxeth neither the Mitylenæans, nor the Chians, for any such sacrilege : but writeth of this matter, thus, word for word : *Pactyas* (quoth he) being advertised that the Persian Army approached, fled first to *Mitylene*, and afterwards to *Chios* : and there he fell into the hands of *Cyrus*. Moreover this our Author in his third Book, describing the expedition or journey of the Lacedæmonians against *Polycrates* the Tyrant, saith that the Samians, both are of opinion and also report, that it was by way of recompence and requitall, because they had sent them aid in their War against *Messene*, that the Lacedæmonians entred into Arms and warred upon the Tyrant, for to reduce the exiled persons home again, and restore them to their livings and goods : but he saith, that the Lacedæmonians deny flatly this to have been the cause : saying it was neither to set the Isle *Samos* at liberty, nor to succour the Samians, that they enterprised this War : but rather to chastise the Samians, for that they had intercepted and taken away a fair standing Cup of Gold, sent by them as a present unto King *Cræsus* : and besides a goodly Cuirace or Brest-plate, sent unto them from King *Amasis*. And yet we know for certain, that in all those dayes, there was not a City in *Greece* so desirous of Honour, nor so inseft and deadly bent against Tyrants, as *Lacedæmon* was : for what other Cup of Gold, or Cuirace was there, for which they chaced out of *Corinth* and *Ambracia* the usurping race of the Cypselidæ; banished out of *Naxos*, the Tyrant *Lygdamis*; expelled out of *Athens*, the Children of *Pisistratus*; drave out of *Sicyone*, *Aeschines*; exiled from *Thesos*, *Symmachus*; delivered the Phocæans from *Anlis*; and turned *Aristogenes* out of *Miletus* : as for the lordly dominions over *Thessaly*, they utterly ruinated and rooted out, which *Aristomedes* and *Angelus* usurped, whom they suppressed and defaited by the means of *Leotychidas* their King ? But of these things I have written elsewhere more exactly and at large. Now if *Herodotus* saith true, what wanted they of extreme folly and wickednesse in the highest degree, in disavowing and denying a most just and honourable occasion of this War, to confesse that they made an invasion upon a poor and miserable Nation oppressed and afflicted under a Tyrant, and all in remembrance of a former grudge, to be revenged for a small wrong upon a base mind and mechanicall avarice. Now haply he had a fling at the Lacedæmonians and gave them a blur with his pen, because in the train and consequence of the story, they came so just under it; but the City of the Corinthians, which was clean out of his way, he hath notwithstanding taken it with him and besputted and dashed as he passed by, with a most grievous slander and heavy imputation. The Corinthians also (quoth he) did favour and second with great affection this voyage of the Lacedæmonians, for to requite an hainous outrage and injury, which they had received before time at the Samians hands : And that was this ; *Periander* the Tyrant of *Corinth*, sent three hundred young Boyes, that were the Sons of the most Noble persons in all *Corfu*, to King *Aliattes* for to be guelded. These youths arrived in the Isle *Samos*, whom being landed the Samians taught how to sit as humble suppliants within the Temple and Sanctuary of *Diana*, and set before them for their nourishment Certain Cakes made of Sesam Seed and Honey. And this forsooth was it that our trim Historiographer calleth so great an outrage and abuse offered by the Samians unto the Corinthians; for which he saith, the Lacedæmonians also were stirred up and provoked against them, because they had saved the children of Greeks from eviration. But surely he that fasteneth this reproach upon the Corinthians, sheweth that the City was more wicked than the tyrant himself. As for him, his desire was to be revenged of the Inhabitants of *Corfu*, who had killed his son among them: but the Corinthians, what wrong received they of the Samians, for which they should in hostile manner set upon them, who opposed themselves and empeached so inhumane and barbarous cruelty to be committed ? and namely, that they should revive and raise up again an old cankred grudge and quarrels, that had lien dead and buried the space of three Generations; and all in favour and maintenance of Tyranny, which had lain very grievous and unsupportable upon them, and whereof, being overthrown and ruined as it is, they cease not still to abolish and do out the remembrance for ever. Loe, what outrage it was, that the Samians committed upon the Corinthians; but what was the revenge and punishment that the Corinthians devised against the Samians ? For if in good earnest they took indignation and were offended with the Samians, it had been meet, not to have incited the Lacedæmonians, but to have diverted them rather, from levying Warre upon *Polycrates*, to the end that the Tyrant not being defaited and put down, they might not have been freed nor delivered from Tyrannicall servitude.

But

But that which more is, what occasion had the Corinthians to be angry with the Samians, who though they desired, yet they could not save the Corcyreans children, considering they took no displeasure against the Cnidians, who not only preserved, but also restored them to their Parents ? And verily the Corcyreans make no great regard, nor speak ought, of the Samians in this behalf; marry the Cnidians, they remembred in the best manner; for the Cnidians they ordained honours, privileges, and immunities, and enacted publike decrees to ratifie and confirm the same. For these Cnidians sailing to the Isle of *Samos*, arrived there, drave out of the foresaid Temple the Guard of *Periander*, took the children forth, and brought them safe to *Corfu*, according as *Antenor* the Candior, and *Dionysius* the Chalcidian in the Book of Foundations have left in writing. Now that the Lacedæmonians undertook this expedition, not for to be quit with the Samians, and to punish them, but to deliver them rather from the tyrant, and for to save them; I will believe no other testimony but the Samians themselves. For they affirm, that there is among them now standing, a Tomb or Monument by them erected at the publike charges of the City, for the corps of *Archias* a Citizen of *Sparta*, whose memorial they do honour, for that in the said service he fought valiantly, and lost his life; for which cause the posterity descended from that man, do yet unto this day, bear singular affection, and do all the pleasures they can unto the Samians, as *Herodotus* himself beareth witnesse. Furthermore, in his fifth Book he Writeth, that *Calisthenes*, one of the most noble and principal personages of all *Athens*, perswaded the Priestess *Pythia*, to be a false Propheteſs, in moving the Lacedæmonians always by her answers that she gave out, for to deliver the City of *Athens* from the thirty Tyrants : and thus unto a most glorious piece of work and right just, he adjoyneth the imputation of so great an impiety, and a damnable device of fallhood; and withal, bereaved god *Apollo* of that prophecie which is so good and honest, yea and beseeming *Themis*, who also as they say assisteth him in the Oracle. He saith also, that *Isagoras* yielded his wife unto *Cleomenes*, for to use her at his pleasure, whensoever he came unto her : and then, as his ordinary manner is, intermingling some praises among blames, because he would be the better believed : This *Isagoras* (quoth he) the son of *Tisander*, was of a noble house; but I am not able to say of what Antiquity before-time his pedigree was; but only that his kinsfolk and those of his blood, do sacrifice unto *Jupiter*, surnamed *Carius*. Now I assure you, this our Historian is a proper and pleasant conceited fellow, to send away *Isagoras* thus to the Carians, as it were to Ravens, in a mischief. And as for *Aristogiton*, he packeth him away not by a back door or Postern, but directly by the broad and open gate, as far as unto *Phœnice*; saying, that his first original came long since from the Gephyrians : but what Gephyrians trow ye ? not those in *Eubœa*, or in *Eretria*, as some do think : but he saith plainly they be Phœnicians, and that he is so perswaded of them by hear-say. And not being able to deprive the Lacedæmonians of their glory, for delivering the City of *Athens* from the servitude of the thirty Tyrants, he goeth about to obliterate quite, or at leastwise in some sort to disgrace and dishonour that most noble act, with as foul a passion, and as villanous a vice : for he saith, that they repented incontinently, as if they had not well done, by the induction of false and supposed Oracles, thus to have chaced out of their Countrey the Tyrants their Friends, Guests, and Allies, who promised to deliver *Athens* into their hands, and to have yielded the City unto an unthankfull people; and that anon they sent for *Hippias*, as far as to *Sigæum*, for to reduce him to *Athens* : but the Corinthians opposed themselves, and diverted them; whiles *Soficles* discoursed and shewed how many miseries and calamities the City of *Corinth* had endured whiles *Periander* and *Cypselus* held them under their Tyrannical Rule : and yet of all those enormous outrages which *Periander* committed, they could not name any one more wicked and cruel, than that of the three hundred children which he sent away for to be gelded: Howbeit, this man dareth to say, that the Corinthians were moved and provoked against the Samians, who had saved the said youths, and kept them from suffering such an indignity, and carried the remembrance thereof for revenge, as if they had done them some exceeding great injury : so full is his malice and gall of inconstancy, of repugnance and contradiction in all his speeches, which ever and anon is ready to offer it self in his Narrations. After all this, coming to describe the taking of the City *Sardis*, he diminisheth, defameth, and discrediteth the exploit all that ever he can, being so armed with shameless audacity, that he termeth those Ships which the Athenians set out, and sent to succour the King, and to plague the Ionians, who rebelled against him, the original causes of all mischief, for that they assayed to set at liberty and deliver out of servitude, so many goodly and fair Cities of the Greeks, held forcibly under the violent Dominion of the barbarous Nations. As touching the Eretrians, he maketh mention of them only by the way, and passeth in silence a most worthy and glorious piece of service, which they performed at that time : for when all *Ionia* was now already in an uproar and hurliburly, and the Kings Armada neer at hand, they put out their Navy, and in the main Sea of *Pamphylia*, defeated in a Naval battel the Cyprians : then returning back, and leaving their Navy in the Rode before *Ephesus*, they went by land to lay Siege unto the Capital City of *Sardis*, where they beleagured *Artaphernes* within a Castle, into which he was fled, intending thereby to raise the Siege before the City *Miletus* : which service they put in execution and performed; causing their enemies to remove their Camp, and dislodge from thence, in a wonderfull great fear and affright : but seeing a greater number of enemies to press hard upon them, they returned. Many Chroniclers report the History in this manner; and among the rest *Lysanias Mallotes*, in his Chronicle of the Eretrians. And verily it would have beseemed well, if for no other reason, yet after the taking and destruction of their City, to have added this their act of valour and

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powesse. Howbeit, this good Writer, contrariwise saith, that being vanquished in the field, the Barbarians followed in chase, and pursued them as far as to their ships: and yet *Charon* the Lampsacenian, maketh no mention thereof, but writeth thus, word for word: The Athenians (quoth he) put to Sea with a fleet of twenty Galleys, for to ayd the Ionians, and made a voyage as far as to *Sardeis*, where they were masters of all, except the Kings Fortresse or Wall; which done, they returned to *Miletus*. In the sixth book, our *Herodotus*, after he had related thus much of the Platæans, that they had yielded and committed themselves to the protection of the Lacedemonians, who made Remonstrance unto them, that they should do far better to range and side with the Athenians their neighbors, and able to defend them: he addeth moreover, and saith afterwards, not by way of opinion and suspicion, but as one who knew it was so indeed, that the Lacedemonians thus advised and counselled them at that time, not for any good will and loving affection that they bare unto them, but because they were all very well appayed to see the Athenians to have their hands full, and to be matched with the Bœotians. If then *Herodotus* be not malicious, it cannot chuse, but that the Lacedemonians were very cautelous, fraudulent, and spightful; and the Athenians as blockish and senseless, not to see how they were thus deluded and circumvented. The Platæans likewise were thus posted from them, not for any love or honor intended unto them, but because they might be the occasion of War. Furthermore, he is convinced to have falsly devised, and colourably pretended the excuse of the Full Moon against the Lacedemonians, which whiles they attended and stayed for, he saith, they failed and went not in that journey of *Marathon*, to ayd the Athenians; for not onely they began a thousand voyages, and fought as many battels in the beginning of the moneth and new of the Moon, but also at this very battel of *Marathon*, which was fought the sixth day of the moneth *Boedromion*, that is to say, *November*, they missed very little, but they had arrived in due time: for they came soon enough to finde the dead bodies of those that were slain in the field, and lying still in the place: and yet thus hath he written of the Full Moon. It was impossible for them to do this out of hand, being as they were, not willing to break the Law; for that, as yet, it was but the ninth day of the moneth; and they made answer, that they might not set forth, unless the Moon were at the full. And thus these men waited for the Full Moon. But you, good Sir, transfer the Full Moon into the beginning of the Half Moon, or Second Quarter, confounding the course of Heaven, and the order of days, yea, and shuffling every thing together. Over and besides, promising in the forefront and inscription of your History, to write the deeds and affairs of the Greeks, you employ all your eloquence to magnifie and amplifie the acts of the Barbarians; and making semblance to be affectionate to the Athenians, yet for all that, you make no mention at all of that solemn pomp and procession of theirs at *Agræ*, which they hold even at this day, in the honor of *Hecate*, or *Proserpina*, by way of thanksgiving for the victory, the feast whereof they do celebrate: But this helpeth *Herodotus* very much to meet with that improperation and slander that went of him, namely, that he flattered the Athenians in his story, for that he had received a great sum of money of them for that purpose: for if he had read this unto the Athenians, they would never have neglected nor let pass that wicked *Philippides*, who went to move and sollicite the Lacedemonians to be at that battel, from which himself came, and he especially, who as he saith himself, within two days was in *Sparta*, after he had been at *Athens*, if the Athenians after the winning of the field, did not send for the ayd of their Confederates and Allies. But *Diyllus* an Athenian, none of the meanest Chroniclers, writeth, that he received of the Athenians the summe of Ten Talents of Silver, by vertue of an Act that *Anytus* propounded.

Moreover, many are of opinion, that *Herodotus* in his Narration of the battel of *Marathon*, himself marred the whole grace and honor of the exploit, by the number that he putteth down of them who there were slain: for he saith, that the Athenians made a vow to sacrifice unto *Proserpina* or *Diana* firnamed *Agrotera*, as many year-old Goats as they slew of the Barbarians: But when after the discomfiure and overthrow, they saw that the number of the dead bodies were infinite, they made supplication to the Goddesse for to be dispensed for their vow and promise, and to acquit them for five hundred every year to be killed in sacrifice for her. But to pass over this, let us see what followed after the battel. The Barbarians (quoth he) with the rest of their ships drawing back and retiring into the open Sea, and having taken a ship-boord those slaves of *Eretria*, out of the Isle where they had left them, doubled the point of *Sunium*, with a full purpose to prevent the Athenians before they could recover the City. And the Athenians were of opinion, that they were advised thus to do by a secret complot between them and the Alcmæonidæ, who had appointed and agreed with the Persians to give them a signal so soon as they were all embarked, by holding up aloft, and shewing them a shield afar off. And so they fetched a compass about the Cape *Sunium*. And here I am content that he should go clear away with this, that he called those Prisoners of *Eretria* by the name of slaves, who shewed as much courage and valor in this War, yea, and as great a desire to win honor, as any Greeks whatsoever, although their vertue sped but ill, and was unworthily afflicted. And less account I make also of this, that he defamed the Alcmæonidæ, of whom were the greatest families, and noblest persons of all the City. But the worst of all is this, that the honor of this brave victory is quite overthrown, and the issue or end of so worthy and renowned a piece of service is come just to nothing in a manner, neither seemeth it to have been any such battel, or so great an exploit, but onely a short scuffling or light skirmish with the Barbarians when they were landed, as evil willers, carpers and envious persons give out to deprave the service, if it be so, that after the battel, they fled not when they had

had cut the Cables of their Ships, permitting themselves to the wind, for to carry them as far as possibly might be from *Attica*, but that there was a Shield or Targuet lifted up aloft in the air as a Signall unto them of Treason, and that of purpose they made sail toward the City of *Athens*, in hope to surprise it; and having without any noise in great silence doubled the foresaid point of *Sunium*, and were discovered a float, hovering about the Port *Phaleræ*, insomuch as the principall and most honourable personages of the Athenians, being out of all hope to save the City, betrayed it into their hands: for afterwards he discharged and cleereth the Alcmæonidæ, and attributeth this Treason unto others: And certain it is (quoth he) that such a Targuet or Shield was shewed. And this he saith so confidently, as if himself had seen the thing. But impossible it is that it should be so, in case the Athenians won the victory cleer: and say it had so been, the Barbarians never could have perceived it, flying so as they did in great affright and danger, wounded also as they were, and chased both with Sword and Shot into their Ships, who left the field every man, and fled from the Land as fast as ever he could. But afterwards again, when he maketh semblance to answer in the behalf of the Alcmæonidæ, and to refute those crimes which himself broched, and charged upon them: I wonder (quoth he) and I cannot believe the rumour of this imputation, that ever the Alcmæonidæ, by any compact with the Barbarians, shewed them the signall of a shield, as willing that the Athenians should be in subjection to the Barbarians under *Hippias*. In thus doing, he putteth me in mind and remembrance of a certain clause running in this manner: Take him you will; and having taken him, let him go you will. Semblably, first you accuse, and anon you defend: write you do and frame accusatory imputations against honourable persons, which afterwards you seem to cancile, discrediting herein (no doubt) and distrusting your self: for you have heard your own self to say, that the Alcmæonidæ set up a Targuet for a signal to the Barbarians vanquished and flying away; but in relieving them again and answering in their defence, you shew your self to be a slanderous sycophant: for if that be true which you write in this place, that the Alcmæonidæ were worse, or at least wise, as badly affected to Tyrants, as *Callias* the Son of *Phenippus* and Father of *Hipponicus*, where will you bestow and place that conspiracy of theirs against the Commonwealth, which you have written in your former Books? saying, that they contracted alliance and affinity in marriage with *Pisistratus*; by means whereof, they wrought his return from exile to exercise Tyranny: neither would they ever have banished him again, had it not been that their daughter had complained and accused him, that he used her not according to law of marriage and of nature. Thus you see what confused variations, contradictions and repugnances there be in that imputation and suspicion of the Alcmæonidæ: but in sounding out the praises of *Callias* the Son of *Phenippus*, with whom he joyneth his Son *Hipponicus*, who by the report of *Herodotus* himself, was in his time the richest man in all *Athens*, he confesseth plainly, that for to insinuate himself into the favour of *Hipponicus*, and to flatter him, without any reason or cause in the world arising out of the matter of the story, he brought *Callias*. All the world knows, that the Argives refused not to enter into that generall confederacy and association of the Greeks, requiring onely, that they might not be ever at the Lacedæmonians command, nor forced to follow them, who were the greatest enemies, and those who of all men living hated them most: when it would not otherwise be, he rendereth a most malicious and spightfull cause and reason thereof, writing thus: When they saw (quoth he) that the Greeks would needs comprise them in that league, knowing full well, that the Lacedæmonians would not impare unto them any prerogative to command, they seemed to demand the communion thereof, to the end that they might have some colourable occasion and excuse to remain quiet and sit still; which he saith, that *Artaxerxes* long after, remembred unto the Embassadors of the Argives, who came unto him at *Susa*, and gave this testimony unto them, That he thought there was not a City in all *Greece* friended him more than *Argos*. But soon after, as his accustomed manner is, seeming to retract all, and cleanly to cover the matter, he comes in with these words: Howbeit, as touching this point, I know nothing of certainty; but this I wot well, all men have their faults; and I do not believe, that the Argives have carried themselves worst of all others: but howsoever (quoth he) I am bound to say that which is commonly received, yet I believe not all: and let this stand thorowout the whole course of mine History. For this also, is given out abroad, That they were the Argives who sollicited and sent for the King of *Persia* to levy War upon all *Greece*; because they were not able in Arms to make head against the Lacedæmonians, and cared not what became of them, to avoid the present discontentment and grief wherein they were. And may not a man very well return that upon himself, which he reporteth to be spoken by an Æthiopian, as touching the sweet Odours and rich Purple of the Persians? * *Deceitfull are the Persian Ointments, deceitfull are their habiliments.* For even so a man may very well say of him: *Deceitfull are the* * *phrases, deceitfull are the figures of* Herodotus *his speeches*;

So intricate and tortuous,
so winding quite throughout,
As nothing found is therein found,
but all turn's round about.

And like as Painters make their light Colours more apparent and eminent, by the shadows that they put about them; even so *Herodotus* by seeming to deny that which he affirmeth, doth enforce and amplifie his calumniations so much the more; and by ambiguities and doubtfull speeches, maketh suspicions the deeper. But if the Argives would not enter into the common League with all other Greeks,

* *Græce melius, δόλιος ἐστὶ καὶ τὰ γράμματα τοῦ λόγου· ἔστι γὰρ καὶ γράμματα δόλια τοῦ λόγου.*

* *Μαντεύεται δὲ καὶ τὰ τοῦ λόγου γράμματα.*

Greeks, but held off and stood out upon a jealousie of sovereign command or emulation of vertue and valour against the Lacedæmonians; no man will say the contrary, but that they greatly dishonoured the memory of their Progenitour *Hercules*, and disgraced the Nobility of their Race. For better it had been, and more beseeming, for the Siphnians and Cithnians, the inhabitants of two little Illes, to have defended the liberty of *Greece*, than by striving thus with the Spartans, and contesting about the prerogative of command, to shift off and avoid so many combats and so honourable pieces of service. And if they were the Argives, who call'd the King of *Persia* into *Greece*, because their Sword was not so sharp as the Lacedæmonians was, and for that they could not make their part good with them; what is the reason, that when the said King was arrived in *Greece*, they shewed not themselves openly to band with the Medes and Persians? And if they were unwilling to be seen in the Field and Camp with the Barbarian King; why did they not, when they stayed behind at home, invade the territory of the Lacedæmonians? why entred they not again upon the Thurians Countrey, or by some other means prevented and impeached the Lacedæmonians? for in so doing, they had been able greatly to have endamaged the Greeks, namely, by hindring them from comming into the field at *Platee* with so puissant a power of Armed Footmen. But the Athenians verily in this service, he highly extolleth and setteth out with glorious Titles, naming them, The saviours of *Greece*; which had been well done of him and justly, if he had not intermingled with these praises, many blames and reproachfull terms. Howbeit now, when he saith, that the Lacedæmonians were abandoned of the other Greeks, and nevertheless, thus forsaken and left alone, having undertaken many worthy exploits, dyed honourably in the field, foreseeing that the Greeks favouring the Medes, complotted and combined with King *Xerxes*; is it not evident hereby, that he gave not out those goodly words directly to praise the Athenians, but rather, that he commended them, to the end that he would condemn and defame all other Greeks? For who can now be angry and offended with him, for reviling and reproaching in such vile and bitter terms the Thebans and Phoceans continually as he doth, considering that he condemneth of Treason (which never was, but as he guesseth himself might have so fallen out) even those who were exposed to all perils of death for the liberties of *Greece*? And as for the Lacedæmonians themselves, he putteth a doubt into our heads, Whether they dyed manfully in fight, or rather yeelded? making slight arguments, God wot, and frivolous conjectures, to impair their honour, in comparison of others that fought at *Thermopyle*.

Moreover, in relating the overthrow and shipwrack which hapned to the King of *Persias* fleet, wherein a mighty and infinit masse of Money and Mony worth was cast away: *Aminocles* a Magnesian Citizen (quoth he) and Son of *Cretines*, was mightily enriched; for he met with infinit Treasure as well in Coyn as in Plate both of Silver and Gold. But he could not passe over so much as this, and let it go, without some biting nip favouring of malice: For this man (quoth he) who otherwise before-time was but poor and needy, by these wind-fals and unexpected cheats became very wealthy: but there befell unto him also an unhappy accident, which troubled him and disgraced his other good fortune, for that he killed his own Son. For who seeth not, that he inserteth in his History these golden words of wrecks, and of great Treasure found floating or cast upon the Sands by the Tides of the Sea, of very purpose, to make a fit room and a convenient place, wherein he might bestow the Murder committed by *Aminocles* upon the Person of his own Son. And whereas *Aristophanes* the Bœotian wrote, that having demanded Money of the Thebans, he could receive none of them; and that when he went about to reason and dispute scholastically with the youth of the City in points of learning, the Magistrates (such was their rusticity and hatred of good Letters) would not suffer him: other Proof and Argument thereof he putteth down none: but *Herodotus* gave Testimony with *Aristophanes*, whiles those imputations wherewith he chargeth the Thebans, he putteth down some falsly, others ignorantly, and some again upon hatred, as one that had a quarrell against them: for he affirmeth, that the Thessalians combined and sided with the Medians at the first upon meer necessity, wherein he saith true. And Prophesying as it were of other Greeks, as if they minded to betray and forsake the Lacedæmonians, he commeth in afterwards with this shift, that this was not voluntarily and with their good liking, but upon constraint and necessity, because they were surprised City by City, one after another. But yet he alloweth not unto the Thebans the excuse of the same compulsion, albeit they had sent a band of five hundred men under the Conduct of Captain *Anaxandras*, for to keep the Streights of *Tempe*, and likewise unto the passe of *Thermopyle*, as many as King *Leonidas* demanded, who onely together with the Thespians stuck to him and remained with him, when hee was forsaken of all other, after they saw how he was environed round about on every side. But after that the Barbarous King, having gotten all the Avennes, was entred upon their confines, and *Demaratus* the Spartan, being in right of mutuall Hospitality friendly affected to *Apaginus* a chief upholder and principall Pillar of the Oligarchy, or faction of some few, usurping principality, wrought so, as that hee brought him first acquainted and afterwards into familiar friendship with the Barbarian King, whiles all other Greeks were embarked and at Sea, and none seen upon the land to encounter the enemies. By this means, at the last driven they were to accept conditions of Peace, and to grow into a composition with the Barbarians, finding themselves brought to so hard termes of necessity: for neither had they Sea at hand, nor any Navy at Command as the Athenians, neither dwelt they far off from the heart of *Greece* in a most remote angle thereof, as did the Lacedæmonians, but were not above one dayes journey and an half from the Medians Royall Camp, and had already encountred in the streight passages with the Kings power, assisted onely with the Spartans and Thespians, where they had the worse and were

were defeited. And yet this our Historiographer is so just and equal, that he saith, The Lacedemonians seeing themselves forsaken and abandoned of all their Allies, were fain to give ear unto any composition whatsoever, and to accept at a venture what was offered: and so being not able to abolish nor utterly blot out so brave and so glorious an act, nor to deny, but that it was atchieved; he goeth about to discredit and deface it with this vile imputation and suspicion, writing thus, The Allies then and the Confederates being sent back, returned into their Countreys, and obeyed the Commandement of *Leonidas*; onely the Thespians and Thebans remained still with the Lacedemonians: and as for the Thebans, it was full against their wills, for that *Leonidas* kept them as Hostages; but the Thespians were willing thereto, for they said, they would never forsake *Leonidas* nor his company. Sheweth he not apparently herein, that he carrieth a spightful and malicious minde particularly against the Thebans, whereby not onely he slandereth the City falsly and unjustly, but also careth not so much, as to make the imputation seem probable, no nor to conceal at leastwise unto few men, that he might not be espied to have been privy unto himself of contradictions: for having written a little before, that *Leonidas*, seeing his Confederates and Allies out of heart, and altogether discouraged to hazard the fortune of the field, commanded them to depart: a little after, clean contrary he saith, that he kept the Thebans perforce with him, and against their wills, whom by all likelihood he should have driven from him, if they had been willing to stay, in case that he had them in jealousie and suspicion, that they took part with the Medians: for seeing he would not have those about him who were cowardly affected, what boot was it to keep among his Souldiers men suspected? For being as he was, a King of the Spartans, and Captain-General of all the Greeks, he had not been in his right wits, nor found in judgement, if he would have stayed with him in hostage four hundred men well armed, when his own company were but three hundred in all, especially at such a time when as he saw himself hardly bested and beset with enemies, who pressed upon him at once, both before and behind. For howsoever before time he had led them about with him as Hostages, probable it was that in such an extremity they would either have had no regard of *Leonidas*, and so departed from him, or else that *Leonidas* might have feared to be environed by them rather than by the Barbarians. Over and besides, had not King *Leonidas* been ridiculous and worthy to be laughed at, to bid other Greeks to depart, as if by tarrying they should soon after lose their lives: and to forbid the Thebans, to the end that he might keep them for the behalf of other Greeks: he, I say, who was resolved anon to dye in the field; for if he led the men about with him in truth as Hostages, or no better than slaves, he never should have kept them still with those who were at the point to perish & be slain, but rather delivered them unto other Greeks who were from him. Now whereas there remaineth one cause yet, that a man may allege, why he retained them still with him, for that peradventure they should al die with him, this good writer hath overthrown that also, in that he writeth thus of the honorable minde & magnanimity of *Leonidas*, word for word in this wise: *Leonidas* (quoth he) casting and considering all these matters in his minde, and desiring that this glory might redound unto the Spartans alone, sent away his friendly allies every on into their own Countreys, therefore rather than because they were of different mindes and opinions: for exceeding folly it had been of his part, to keep his enemies for to be partakers of that glory, from which he repelled his friends. It appeareth then by the effects, that *Leonidas* distrusted not the Thebans, nor thought amiss of them, but reputed them for his good and loyal friends: For he marched with his Army into the City of *Thebes*, and at his request obtained that which to no other was ever granted, namely, to be lodged all night, and sleep within the Temple of *Hercules*, and the next morning related unto the Thebans, the vision which appeared unto him: For he saw, as he thought, all the greateft and most principal Cities of *Greece* in a Sea, troubled and disquieted with rough windes, and violent tempests, wherein they floted and were tossed to and fro. But the City of *Thebes* surpassed all the rest, for mounted it was on high up to heaven, and afterwards suddenly the sight thereof was lost, that it would no more be seen. And verily these things as a type, resembled that which long time after befel unto that City. But *Herodotus* in writing of this conflict, burieth in silence the bravest act of *Leonidas* himself, saying thus much barely, They all lost their lives in the Streights, about the top of a certain hill. But it was far otherwise: For when they were advertised in the night that the enemies had invested them round about, they arose and marched directly to their very Camp, yea, and advanced so far forth as they came within a little of the Kings Royal Pavilion, with a full resolution there to kill him, and to leave their lives all about him. And verily down they went with all before them, killing, slaying, and putting to flight, as many as they met, even as far as to his tent. But when they could not meet with *Xerxes*, seeking as they did for him in so vast and spacious a Camp, as they wandred up and down searching for him with much ado, at the last hewed in pieces they were by the Barbarians, who on every side in great number came about them. And albeit we will write in the life of *Leonidas*, many other noble acts and worthy sayings of his, which *Herodotus* hath not once touched, yet it shall not be amiss to quote here also by the way, some of them. Before that he and his noble Troop departed out of *Sparta* in this journey, there were exhibited solemn Funeral Games for his and their sakes, which their fathers and mothers stood to behold: and *Leonidas* himself, when one said unto him, That he led forth very few with him to fight a battel: Yea, but they are many enough (quoth he) to dye there. His wife asked him when he took his leave of her, what he had else to say? No more (quoth he) turning unto her, but this, that thou marry again with some good man, and bear him good children. When he was within the Vale or Pass of *Thermopyle*, and there invironed, two there were in his Company of his own Race and Family, whom he desired to save: So he gave unto one of them a Letter to carry

whither he directed it, because he would send him away: but the party would not take it at his hands, saying in great cholar and indignation, I am come hither to fight like a Warrior, and not to conveigh Letters as a Carrier. The other he commanded for go with credence, and a Message from him unto the Magistrates of *Sparta*: but he made answer not by word of mouth, but by his deed: for he took up his Shield in hand, and went directly to his place, where he was appointed to fight. Would not any man have blamed another for leaving out these things? But this writer having taken the pains to collect and put in writing the Basen and Close-stool of *Amasis*, and how he brake winde over it; the comming in of certain Asses which a Thief did drive; the congiary or giving of certain bottles of Wine, and many other matters of such good stuff; can never be thought, to have omitted through negligence, nor by oversight and forgetfulnesse, so many worthy exploits and notable sayings: but even of Peevishnesse, Malice and Injustice, to some. And thus he saith, that the Thebans at first being with the Greeks, fought indeed, but it was by compulsion, because they were held there by force. For it should seem forsooth, that not only *Xerxes*, but *Leonidas* also, had about him a company that followed the Camp with Whips, to courge those I trow, who lagged behind, and these good fellowes held the Thebans to it, and made them to fight against their Wills: And thus he saith that they fought perforce, who might have fled and gone their wayes: and that willingly they took part with the Medes, whereas there was not one came in to succour them. And alittle after, he writeth, that when others made haste to gain the Hill, the Thebans being disbanded and divided asunder, both stretched forth their hands unto the Barbarians, and as they approached near unto them, said that which was most true, namely, that they were Medians in heart, and so in token of homage and fealty, gave unto the King Water and Earth: that being kept by force they were compelled to come into this passe of *Thermopyle*, and could not do withall, that their King was wounded, but were altogether innocent thereof: By which allegations they went clear away with their matter: For they had the Thessalians witnesses of these their words and reasons. Loe how this Apology and Justification of theirs, had audience among those barbarous out-cryes of so many thousand men, in those confused shouts and dissonant noises, where there was nothing but running & flying away of one side, chasing and pursute of another: See how the witnesses were deposed, heard and examined. The Thessalians also amid the throng and rout of those that were knocked down and killed, and over those heaps of bodies which were trodden under foot (for all was done in a very gullet and narrow passage) pleaded no doubt very formally for the Thebans: for that a little before they having conquered by force of armes all *Greece*, chased them as far as to the City *Thespie*, after they had vanquished them in battell, and slain their Leader and Captain *Lattamias*. For thus much passed even at that very time between the Thebans and the Thessalians: whereas otherwise there was not so much as civill love and humanity, that appeared by mutuall offices from one to the other. B. sides, how is it possible that the Thebans were saved, by the testimony of the Thessalians? For the barbarous Medes, as himself saith, partly killed outright such as came into their hands: and in part whiles their breath was yet in their bodies, by the commandement of *Xerxes*, set upon them a number of the Kings marks, beginning first at the Captain himself *Leontiades*. And yet neither was *Leontiades* the Generall of the Thebans at *Thermopyle*, but *Anaxander*, as *Aristophanes* writeth out of the Annals, and records in the arches of *Thebes*, as touching their soveraign Magistrates: and so *Nicander* likewise the Colophonian hath put down in his Chronicle: neither was there ever any man before *Herodotus* who knew that *Xerxes* marked and branded in that manner any Theban: for this had been an excellent plea in their defence against the foresaid calumniation, and a very good meanes for this City to vaunt and boast of such marks given them, as if King *Xerxes* meant to punish and plague as his greatest and most mortall enemies, *Leonidas* and *Leontiades*. For he caused the one to be scourged, and his body to be hanged up when he was dead; and the other to be pricked whiles he was alive. And this our Historiographer hath used this cruelty which they shewed unto *Leonidas* dead, for a manifest proof that the barbarous King hated *Leonidas* in his life time above all the men in the world. And in avouching that the Thebans who sided with the Medes at *Thermopyle* were thus branded and marked as slaves, and afterwards, being thus marked, fought eagerly in the behalf of the same Barbarians before *Platee*, me thinks he may well say as *Hippoclides* the feat morisk dancer, unto whom, when at a feast he bestirred his legs, and hopped artificially about the tables, one said unto him, thou danceſt truly. *Hippoclides* answered again, *Hippoclides* careth not greatly for the truth. In his eighth book he writeth that the Greeks being affrighted like Cowards, entred into a resolution for to fly from *Artemisium* into *Greece*: and that when those of *Eubœa* besought them to tarry still a while, untill such time as they might take order how to bestow their Wives, Children and Family, they were nothing moved at their prayers, nor gave any ear unto them, untill such time as *Themistocles* took a piece of mony of them, and parted the same between *Eurybiades* and *Adimantus* the Pretor or Captain of the Corinthians. And then they stayed longer, and fought a navall battell with the Barbarians. And verily *Pindarus* the Poet, albeit he was not of any confederate City, but of that which was suspected and accused to hold of the Medians side, yet when he had occasion to make mention of the battell at *Artemisium*, brake forth into this exclamation:

This is the place where Athens *youth,*
some time as writers say,
Did with their blood, of liberty
the glorious groundwork lay.

But

But *Herodotus* contrariwise, by whom some give out that *Greece* hath been graced and adorned, writeth that the said victory was an act of corruption, bribery and meer theft, and that the Greeks fought against their wills, as being bought and sold by their Captains, who took money therefore. Neither is here an end of his malice. For all men in manner do acknowledge and confesse, that the Greeks having gotten the upperhand in Sea-fight upon this coast, yet abandoned the cape *Artemisium*, and yielded it to the Barbarians, upon the news that they heard of the overthrow received at *Thermopyle*. For it had been no boot, nor to any purpose, for to have sitten still there, and kept the Sea for the behoof of *Greece*, considering that now the War was hard at their doors within those streights, and *Xerxes*, Master of all the Avenies. But *Herodotus* feigneth, that the Greeks, before they were advertised of *Leontidas* death, held a counsel, and were in deliberation to fly. For these be his words, Being in great distresse (quoth he) and the Athenians especially, who had many of their ships, even the one half of their fleet, shrewdly brused and shaken, they were in consultation to take their flight into *Greece*. But let us permit him thus to name or to reproach rather this retreat of theirs before the battel: but he termed it before, a flight: And now at this present he calleth it a flight; and hereafter he will give it the name of flight, so bitterly is he bent to use this vile word, Flight. But (quoth he) there came to the Barbarians presently after this, in a Bark or light Pinnace a man of *Eſtiæa*, who advertised them, how the Greeks had quit the cape *Artemisium* and were fled: which because they could not believe, they kept the Messenger in Ward and safe custody, and thereupon put forth certain swift soists in espial to discover the truth. What say you *Herodotus*? What it it you write? That they fled as vanquished, whom their very enemies themselves, after the battel, could not believe that they fled, as supposing them to have had the better hand a great deal? And deserveth this man to have credit given him, when he writeth of one particular person, or of one City apart by it self, who in one bare word, spoileth all *Greece* of the victory? He overthroweth and demolisheth the very Trophee and Monument, that all *Greece* erected. He aboliſheth those Titles and Inscriptions, which they set up in the honor of *Diana*, on the East side of *Artemisium*, calling all this but pride and vain-glory. And as for the Epigram, it ran to this effect:

From Asia *Land, all sorts of Nations stout,*
When Athens *Youth, sometime in naval fight*
Had vanquished, and all these coasts about
Dispersed their fleet; and therewith put to flight
And slain the host of Medes: *Lo here in sight*
What Monuments to thee with due respect,
Diana *Virgin pure, they did erect.*

He described not the order of the Battels, and how the Greeks were ranged, neither hath he shewed what place every City of theirs held, during this terrible fight at Sea: But in that retreat of their fleet, which he tearmeth a flight, he saith, that the Corinthians sailed formost, and the Athenians hindmost: he should not then have thus trodden under foot, and insulted too much over those Greeks, who took part with the Medes: He (I say) who by others is thought to be a Thurian born, and reckoneth himself in the number of the Halicernasseans, and they verily being descended from the Dorians, come with their wives and children to make war against the Greeks. But this man is so far off from naming and alleging before the streights and necessities whereto those States were driven, who sided with the Medians, that he reporteth thus much of the Medians, how notwithstanding the Phocæans were their capital Enemies, yet they sent unto them aforehand, that they would spare their Countrey, without doing any harm or damage unto it, if they might receive from them as a reward, fifty talents of silver. And this wrote he as touching the Phocæans in these very terms: The Phocæans (quoth he) were the onely men who in these quarters sided not with the Medians, for no other cause, as I finde upon mature consideration, but in regard of the hatred which they bare against the Thessalians: for if the Thessalians had been affected to the Greeks, I suppose the Phocæans would have turned to the Medes. And yet a little after, himself will say, that thirteen Cities of the Phocæans were set on fire, and burnt to ashes by the Barbarian King, their Countrey laid waste, the Temple within the City *Abes* consumed with fire, their men and women both put to the sword, as many as could not gain the top of the Mount *Parnassus*: Nevertheless, he rangeth them in the number of those that most affectionately took part with the Barbarians, who indeed, chose rather to endure all extremities and miseries that war may bring, than to abandon the defence and maintenance of the honor of *Greece*. And being not able to reprove the men for any deeds committed, he busied his brains to devise false imputations, forging and framing with his pen divers surmises and suspicions against them, not willing that their intentions should be judged by their acts, if they had not been of the same minde and affection with the Thessalians, as if they would have renounced the Treason, because their Countrey was already seized by others. If then a man, who would go about to excuse the Thessalians for siding with the Medes, should say, that they were not willing thereto, but for the hatred which they bare unto the Phocæans, seeing them adhere and allied to the Greeks, therefore they took the contrary side, and clave to the Medes, even against their will and judgement: might not he seem to be an egregious flatterer, who thus in favor of others, searching honest pretences to colour and cover foul facts, perverteth the truth? Yes verily, as I think. How then can it otherwise be, but that he shall be taken for a plain Sycophant, who saith, that the Phocæans followed not the better for vertue, but because they knew the Thessalians were of a contrary minde and judgement? For he doth not turn

and rather this slander and calumniation upon others, as his manner is elsewhere to do, saying, that he heard say, &c. but he affirmeth, that in conferring all things together, himself found no other occasion thereof. He ought then to have alledged withal, his presumptions and proofs; whereby he was perswaded, that they who perform all actions semblable to the best, are yet in will and intention all one with the worst. For the occasion which he alledgeth, to wit, Enmity, is frivolous, and to be laughed at, because neither the enmity that was between those of *Ægina* and the Athenians; nor that which the Chalcidians bare against the *Eretrians*; nor the Corinthians against the Megarians; was a bar to empeach them for joyning together in the League of *Greece*, for the defence of common liberty: like as on the contrary side, the Macedonians most bitter and mortal enemies unto the Thessalonians, and those who plagued them most, diverted them not from the confederacy and alliance with the Barbarians. For the publique peril, covered and hid their private quarrels: insomuch as abandoning and banishing their passions, they gave their consent, either to honesty for vertue, or to profit for necessity. And yet beside this necessity, wherewith they found themselves overtaken, yea, and forced to submit themselves to the Medes, they returned again to the Greeks side: and hereof *Leocrates* the Spartan, giveth direct testimony in their behalf. Yea, and *Herodotus* himself being forced and compelled thereto, confesseth in the description of the affair that passed at *Platee*, that the Phocians sided with the Greeks. And no marvel is it, if he be so rough and violent with such as have been infortunate; when as, even those who were present in the action, and hazarded their whole estate for the good of the Common-wealth, he transposeth into the rank of Enemies and Traytors. For the men of *Naxos* sent three Galleys or Ships of war to ayd the Barbarians in their service: but ons of the Captains of those vessels, named *Democritus*, perswaded his other two fellows, to turn, and range rather on the Greeks side. See how he cannot for his life, praise, but he must wishal dispraise: but look when some particular person is commended, he must needs by and by condemn a whole City and Nation: Witness hereof, among ancient Writers, *Hellanicus*, and of our modern Authors, *Ephorus*: for the one saith, that the Naxians came to succour the Greeks with six Galleys, and the other saith with five: yea, and *Herodotus* himself is convinced to have feigned and falsified this: For the particular Chroniclers of the Naxians write, that before time they had repulsed *Megabetes* the Lieutenant of the Kings, who with two hundred sail arrived at their Isle, and there rid at anchor: Afterwards drave away *Datis* another General of his, who as he passed by, burnt their Cities. And if it be so as *Herodotus* saith elsewhere, that they themselves destroyed their City, by setting it on fire, but the people saved themselves, by flying into the Mountains, had they good cause to send ayd unto those, who were the cause of the ruine and destruction of their own Countrey, and not to joyn with them who fought for the common liberty? But that it was not so much to praise *Democritus*, as to blame the Naxians, that he devised this lye, he sheweth evidently by this, that he concealeth and omitteth to speak of the valiant feats of Arms, which at that time Captain *Democritus* exploited, according as *Simonides* shewed by this Epigram,

Democritus *in the third place gave*
the charge with all his might,
What time as Greeks neer Salamis,
with Medes at Sea did fight;
Five ships of enemies he took:
a sixth there chanc'd to be,
One of the Greeks in Barbarous hands,
and that recovered he.

But why should any man be angry with him about the Naxians? For if there be any *Antipodes*, as some say there are, who dwell in the other Hemisphere, and go opposite unto us, I suppose that they also have heard of *Themistocles*, and the counsel that he gave unto the Greeks for to fight a naval Battel before *Salamis*, who afterwards caused a Temple to be built in the Isle of *Melite*, unto *Diana* the wise Counsellor, after that the Barbarous King was discomfited. Now this kinde and gentle Chronicler of ours, refusing as much as lieth in him to avow this exploit, and to transfer the glory thereof unto another, writeth expresly thus, When things stood upon these terms, as *Themistocles* went aboard into his own Galley, there was a Citizen of *Athens* named *Mnesiphilus*, who demanded of him what they had resolved upon in their Council? And when he heard that concluded it was, to retire with their fleet unto *Isthmus*, or the Streights, there to fight a Battel at Sea even before *Peloponnesus*: I say unto you (quoth he) again, that if they remove the Navy from *Salamis*, you shall never fight more upon the Sea for any Countrey of your own: for every man will presently return home to his own City. And therefore if there be any device and means in the world, go your ways and endeavor to break this resolution, and if it be possible, deal so with *Eurybiades*, that he may change his minde, and tarry here still: And a little after, when he had said that this advice pleased *Themistocles* wondrous much, and that without making any answer at all, he went directly to *Eurybiades*: he writeth again in these very terms: And sitting neer unto him, he relateth what counsel he had heard *Mnesiphilus* to give, taking it upon himself, and addeth more things besides. Thus see you not how in some sort he brings *Themistocles* unto an ill name and opinion of lewdness, in that he attributeth unto himself a counsel which was none of his own, but the invention of *Mnesiphilus*? And afterwards deriding still the Greeks more and more, he saith, that *Themistocles* was no such wise man, as to see what was good and expedient, but failed in his foresight, notwithstanding that for his prudence and cunning he carried the surname of *Ulysses*. Marry, Lady *Artemisia* born in the same City that *Herodotus*, without prompting or teaching of any person, but even of her own head, foretold *Xerxes*, that the Greeks could not hold out long, nor make head against him, but would disband and disperse themselves, and every one fly home unto his own City: Neither it is like (quoth she) if you march with your Army by Land unto *Peloponnesus*, that they will be quiet and sit still, and take no care to fight at Sea for the Athenians: Whereas, Sir, if you make haste to give them a naval battel, I fear me greatly that if your Armada receive any foil or damage, it will greatly prejudice your Land Forces. But here *Herodotus* wanted nothing but his Prophetical verses, to make *Artemisia* another *Sibylla*, prophesying of things to come so exactly. Well, in regard of this advertisement, *Xerxes* gave her commission to carry his children with her to the City of *Ephesus*: for he had forgotten belike, to bring any women with him from his Royal City of *Susa*, in case his children needed a convoy of women to conduct them. But I make no account of such lies as these which he hath devised against us: yet let us onely examine a little what slanders he hath raised upon others. He saith that the Athenians give out, how *Adimantus* the Captain of the Corinthians, when the enemies were at the point of giving the charge, and joyning battel, in great fear and astonishment fled, not by shoving the ship backward at the poop by little and little after a soft manner of retreat, nor yet making way of evasion, and escape closely and with silence through his enemies; but hoising up, and spreading full sail, and turning the prore and beak heads about of all his vessels at once. And then there was a Frigot or swift Pinnace sent out after him, which overtook him about the coasts of *Salamis*, out of which one cryed unto him, What *Adimantus*, do you fly indeed, and have you abandoned and betrayed the Greeks? And yet they have the better hand, according as they made their prayers unto the gods for to vanquish their enemies. Now this Frigot, we must think verily came down from heaven: for what need had he to use any such Tragick Engine or Fabrick, so work such feats, who every where else surpasseth all the Poets Tragical in the world, for lying and vanity. Well, *Adimantus* believing the said voyce, was reclaimed and returned again to the Armada, when all was done, and the business dispatched by others to his hands. Thus goes the bruit and speech among the Athenians. But the Corinthians confess not so much, saying, that they themselves were the formost who in the vaward gave the first onset, and charged the enemies in this battel at sea: and on their side bear witness all the other Greeks. And thus dealeth this man in many other places: He soweth slanders here and there upon one or other, to the end that he may not miss, but light upon some, fall it out as it will, who may appear most wicked. Like as in this place he speedeth very well in his purpose. For if his slander and accusation be believed, the Corinthians shall sustain infamy: if discredited, the Athenians shall bear the dishonor: or if the Athenians have not lyed upon the Corinthians, yet himself hath spared neither of them, but told a lye of them both. For proof hereof, *Thucydides*, who bringeth in an Ambassador of *Athens*, to contest against a Corinthian at *Lacedemon*, and speak bravely of their own worthy exploits against the Medes, and namely, of the naval battel of *Salamis*, chargeth upon the Corinthians no matter of treason nor cowardize in abandoning their colours: for there is no liklihood, that the Athenians would have reproached the City of *Corinth* in such terms, considering that they saw it engraven in the third place after the Lacedemonians, and those Inscriptions of Spoils which they won from the Barbarians, were consecrated to the gods. And at *Salamis*, they permitted them to inter and bury their dead neer to the City side, as who were brave Warriors, and had born themselves most valiantly in that service, with an Inscription in Elegick Verses to this effect:

Once (passenger) we dwelt in Corinth *Town,*
Well watered with Sea on either side:
And now our bones this Isle of renown,
Hight Salamis, *within dry mould doth hide:*
Phœnician Ships were sunk, that here did ride.
The Medes so stout we slew and Persians brave,
That sacred Greece *from bondage we might save.*

But their Cenotaph or imaginary Tomb which was erected in *Isthmus*, carrieth this Epitaph:

Lo here we lye, who with our lives set free
All Greece, *neer brought to shameful slavery.*

Likewise over the offerings which *Diodorus* one of the Captains of the Corinthian Galleys, caused to be set up in the Temple of *Latona*, there was this Superscription:

From cruel Medes, these arms which hang in sight,
The Mariners of Theodorus *won:*
And as memorial of their naval fight,
To Dame Latona *offered them anon.*

Adimantus himself, whom *Herodotus* evermore doth revile and reproach, saying, That he alone of all the Captains, went away with a full purpose to fly from *Artemisium*, and would not stay until the conflict: see what honor he had?

Friend Passenger, here lies Sir Adimant
Entombed, by whose prowess valiant
All Greece *is crown'd with freedom at this day,*
Which else had been to thraldome brought for ay.

For neither is it like that such honor should have been done unto him after his death, if he had been a Coward and a Traytor; neither would he ever have dared to name one of his daughters *Nausinice*, that is to say, Victory in Battel at Sea; another, *Acrothinion*, which is as much, as the First-fruits of Spoils won from enemies; and a third, *Alexibia*, that is to say, Ayd against Force; also, to give unto his son the name of *Aristeus*, which signifieth a brave Warrior: if he had not won some glory and reputation by worthy feats of Arms. Moreover, it is not credible, I will not say, that *Herodotus*, but the meanest and most obscure Carian that is, was ignorant of that glorious and memorable prayer which in those days the Corinthian Dames alone, of all other Grecian wives made, That it might please the Goddess *Venus* to inspire their husbands with the love and desire to give battel unto the Barbarians. For this was a thing commonly known and divulged abroad, insomuch as *Simonides* made an Epigram engraven over those their Images of brass, which are set up in the Temple of *Venus*, which by report was founded in times past by *Medea*, as some say, to this end, that she herself might cease to love her husband; but as others, that *Jason* her husband might give over the love of one *Thetis*. And the said Epigram goeth in this manner:

These Ladies here, whose Statues stand in place,
Did whilom prayers to Goddess Venus *make,*
In Greeks behalf; that it might please her grace
Them to incite, the Wars to undertake.
Dame Venus *then, for those good womens sake*
To Median Archers expos'd not as a prey
The Greeks, nor would their Citadel betray.

Such matters as these, he should have written and made mention of, rather than inserted into his History, how *Aminocles* killed his own son. Over and besides, after he had satisfied himself to the full with most impudent imputations which he charged upon *Themistocles*, accusing him, that he ceased not secretly to rob and spoil the Isles, without the knowledge of the other Captains joyned in Commission with him; in the end, taketh from the Athenians the crown of principal valiance, and setteth it upon the head of the Æginets, writing thus, The Greeks having sent the first-fruits of their spoils and pillage unto the Temple at *Delphos*, demanded of *Apollo* in general, whether he had sufficient, and stood content with that portion of the booty: unto whom he answered, that of all other Greeks, he had received enough, and wherewith he was well pleased: But of the Æginets not so; at whose hands he required the chief prize and honor of prowess, which they won at the battel of *Salamis*. Thus you see he fathereth not upon the Scythians, the Persians, or Egyptians his lying tale, which he coggeth and deviseth, as *Æsop* doth upon Crows, Ravens and Apes; but he useth the very person of god *Apollo Pythius*, for so disappoint and deprive the Athenians of the first place in honor, at the battel of *Salamis*; as also *Themistocles* of the second, which was adjudged unto him at *Isthmus*, or the Streights of *Peloponnesus*; for that each Captain there, attributed the highest degree of prowess to himself, and the next unto him: and thus the judgement hereof growing to an end and conclusion, by reason of the ambition of the said Captains, he saith, All the Greeks weighed anchor and departed, as not being willing to confer upon *Themistocles* the soveraign honor of the victory. And in his ninth and last Book, having nothing left to wreak his teen upon, and to discharge his malicious and spightful stomack, but onely the Lacedemonians, and their excellent piece of service which they performed against the Barbarians before the City of *Platea*, he writeth, That the Lacedemonians, who aforetime feared greatly that the Athenians being sollicited and perswaded by *Mardonius*, would forsake all other Greeks: now that the Streights of *Isthmus* were mured up, and their Countrey safe enough, they took no further care of others, but left them at six and seven, feasting and making Holiday at home, deluding the Ambassadors of the Athenians, and holding them off with delays, and not giving them their dispatch. And how is it then, that there went to *Platea* a thousand and five Spartans, having every one of them seven Ilotes about him, for the guard of his person? How is it (I say) that they taking upon them the adventure of so great a peril, vanquished and discomfited so many thousands of Barbarians? But hearken what a probable cause he allegeth: There was (quoth he) by chance, a man at *Sparta*, named *Chileus*, who came from *Tegea* thither, and so joyned there, for that among the Ephori he had some friends, as between whom and him there was mutual Hospitality: He it was who perswaded them to bring their Forces into the field, shewing unto them that the Bulwark and Wall for the defence of *Peloponnesus*, would serve in small stead or none, if the Athenians joyned once with *Mardonius*; and this was it that drew *Pausanias* forth with his power to *Platea*; so that if some particular business haply had kept *Chileus* at home still in *Tegea*, *Greece* had never gotten the victory. Again, not keowing another time what to do with the Athenians: one while he extolleth their City on high, and another while he debaseth it as low, tossing it to and fro, saying, that being in question about the second place of honor with the Tegeats, they made mention of the Heraclidæ, alleging their valiant acts, which before-time they had atchieved against the Amazones: the Sepultures also of the Peloponnesians, who dyed under the very walls of the Castle *Cadmea*; and finally, that they went down to *Marathon* vaunting gloriously in words, and taking great joy that they had the conduct of the left wing or point of the Battel. Also a little after, he putteth down, that *Pausanias* and the Spartans willingly yielded the superiority of command to them, and desired them to take the charge of the right wing themselves, to the end they might confront the Persians, and give them the left: as if they had excused themselves by their disuse, in that they were wont to encounter with the Barbarians. And verily, albeit

albeit this is a meer mockery, to say, that they were unwilling to deal with those enemies, who were not accustomed to fight with them: yet he saith moreover, that all the other Greeks, when their Captains led them into another place for to encamp in, so soon as ever their Standards marched and advanced forward, The Horsemen (quoth he) in general fled, and would willingly have put themselves within the City *Platea*, but they fled indeed as far as to the Temple of *Juno*. Wherein he accuseth all the Greeks together of disobedience, cowardize, and treason. Finally, he writeth, that there were none but the Lacedemonians and the Tegeats who charged the Barbarians; nor any besides the Athenians, who fought with the Thebans; depriving all other Cities equally of their part in the glory of that so noble an exploit: for that there was not one of them who laid hand to work, but sitting all still, or leaning upon their weapons hard by, abandoned and betrayed in the mean time, without doing ought, those who fought for their safety, until that the Phliasians, and the Megarians, though long it were first, hearing that *Pausanias* had the upperhand, ran in with more haste than good speed, and falling upon the Cavalry of the Thebans, where they were presently defeated and slain, without any great ado: But the Corinthians (quoth he) were not at this fray, but after the victory, keeping above on high ground among the Mountains, by that means met not with the Thebans Horsemen. For the Cavalry of the Thebans, seeing the Barbarians to fly all in a rout, put themselves forth before them, to make them way, and by this means very affectionately assisted them in their flight, and all in recompence, and by way of thanksgiving, forsooth (for so you must take it) for those marks which were given them in their faces, within the Streight of *Thermopile*. But in what rank and place of this battel the Corinthians were ranged, and how they did their devoir, and quit themselves against the Barbarians before *Platea*, you may know by that which *Simonides* writeth of them in these verses:

Amid the host arranged stood,
and in the battel main,
Those who inhabit Ephyra,
water'd with many a vain
Of lively springs: Men who in feats
of Martial Arms excel:
And joynt with them, they that in old
Sir Glaucus *City dwell,*
Fair Corinth *hight: and these their deeds*
of prowess to express,
A stately gift of precious gold,
did afterwards address,
And consecrate to gods above
in heavens: and by the same
Much amplified their own renown,
and their forefathers fame.

For this he wrote of them, not by way of a Scholastical exercise, as if he taught a School in *Corinth*; nor as one who of purpose made a Song or Balad in praise of the City, but as a Chronicler penning the History of these affairs in Elegiack verses to that effect. But this Writer here of ours, preveneth the conviction of a loud lye, left he might be taken therewith, by those that should demand of him in this manner, How cometh it then to pass, that there be so many Sepulchres, Tombs, Graves, and Monuments of the dead, upon which the Plateans even to this day do solemnly celebrate the Anniversary Effusions, to the Ghosts and Souls of those that are departed, in the presence of other Greeks assistant with them? And verily in mine opinion, he seemeth yet more shamefully to charge these Nations with the crime of Treason, in these words following, And these Sepultures or places of burial which are seen about *Platea*, those I mean, which their posterity and successors, being ashamed of this foul fault, that their Progenitors were not at this battel, or came too late, cast up, and raised on high, every man for his part in general, for the posterity sake. As for *Herrdotus*, he is the onely man of all others who hath heard of this absence from the battel, which is reputed Treason: But *Pausanias*, *Aristides*, the Lacedemonians and the Athenians, never knew of those Greeks who made default, and would not be at this dangerous conflict: And yet the Athenians neither impeached the Æginetes, though they were their adversaries, that they were not comprized within the Inscription, nor yet charged and convinced the Corinthians for flying from the battel at *Salamis*, considering that *Greece* beareth witness against them. And verily as *Herodotus* himself doth testifie, ten years after this war of the Medes, *Cleadas* a Citizen of *Platea*, to gratifie and pleasure the Æginetes as a friend, raised a great Mount bearing their name, as if they had been interred therein. What ailed then the Lacedemonians and Athenians, or what moved them, being so jealous one of another about this glory as they were, that they had like to have gone together by the ears presently upon the exploit performed, for erecting of a Trophee or Monument of Victory, not to deprive them of the price of honor, who upon cowardly fear were either away, or else fled from the service, but to suffer their names to be writen upon the Trophees, Colosses and Gyant-like statues erected in memorial of them, allowing them their part in the spoils and pillage, yea, and in the end causing this Epigram or Superscription to be engraven upon a publik Altar?

The Greeks in ſign of noble victory,
Which they ſometimes wan of the Perſians hoſt,
And to retain the thankful memory
That they them drave away from Grecian coaſt,
(So reſolute they were or elſe all had been loſt)
This common Altar built to Jupiter
Surnamed hereupon Deliverer.

How now *Herodotus*, was it *Cleades*, or ſome other, I pray you, who in flattery of the Greeks, made this Epigram or Inſcription? What need had they then to take ſuch pains and trouble themſelves in digging the ground in vain, and by caſting up earth raiſe ſuch Mounts and Monuments for the age to come, when as they might ſee their glory conſecrated and immortalized in theſe moſt conſpicuous and famous memoriale, dedicated to the honor of the gods? And verily *Pauſanias*, when as he intended, as men ſay, to uſurp Tyrannical Government, in a certain oblation which he offered in the Temple of *Apollo* at *Delphos*, ſet this Inſcription;

Pauſanias *the Captain General*
Of all the Greeks, when he had conquered
The Medes in fight, for a memorial
This Monument to Phœbus *offered.*

And albeit in ſome ſort he communicated the glory of this execution with the Greeks, whoſe ſoveraign Captain he termed himſelf, yet the Greeks being not able to endure it, but utterly miſliking him therefore, the Lacedemonians above the reſt ſent their Ambaſſadors unto *Delphos*, and cauſed the ſaid Epigram to be cut out with a chizzel, and in lieu thereof, the names of the Cities, as good reaſon was, to be engraven: And yet what likelihood is there, that either the Greeks ſhould take offence and diſcontentment for being left out in this Inſcription, in caſe they were culpable, and privy to themſelves, that they were not with others at the battel? or the Lacedemonians when they raced out and defaced the name of their General and Chief Commander, cauſe to be written and engraved their names, who had forſaken and left them in the midſt of danger? For this were a manifeſt indignity, and moſt abſurd, if when *Sochares*, *Deipniſtus*, and all thoſe that performed the beſt ſervice in that journey, never grieved nor complained that the Cythnians and Melians had their names recorded in thoſe Trophees, *Herodotus* in attributing the honor of this battel unto three Cities onely, ſhould daſh all others out, and not ſuffer their names to ſtand upon any Trophies or Conſecrated Places: For whereas there were four battels given then unto the Barbarians, he ſaith, that the Greeks fled from the Cape *Artemiſium*: And at the Paſs or Streights of *Thermopylæ*, whiles their King and Soveraign Captain expoſed himſelf to the hazard of his life, they kept themſelves cloſe at home, and fate ſtill, taking no thought for the matter, but ſolemnized their Olympick Games and Carnian Feats.

Moreover, when he cometh to deſcribe the battel at *Salamis*, he ſpeaketh ſo much of *Artemiſia*, that he ſpendeth not ſo many words again, in all the narration of that naval battel, and the iſſue thereof. Finally, as touching the journey of *Platæe*, he ſaith, that all other Greeks, ſiteing idly at their eaſe, knew nothing of the field fought, before all was done, according as *Pigres Artimiſius* being pleaſantly diſpoſed to jeſt, writeth merrily in verſe, that there was a battel between Frogs and Mice, wherein they were agreed to keep ſilence, and make no noiſe all the while they fought: to the end that no others might take any knowledge thereof: alſo, that the Lacedemonians were no better Warriors, nor more valiant than the Barbarians: But their hap was to defeat and vanquiſh them, becauſe they were naked men, and diſarmed: For *Xerxes* himſelf being preſent in perſon, if they had not been followed with whips, and ſcourged forward, had never been able to have made them fight with the Greeks; marry, in this journey of *Platæe*, having changed their hearts and courages (for needs it muſt be ſo) they were nothing inferior in boldneſs of heart, ſtrength of body, and reſolution, to the Greeks; but it was the apparel, which wanting arms upon it, hurt them ſo much, and marred all, for being themſelves lightly appointed, and in manner naked, they had to deal with the Lacedemonians that were heavily armed at all pieces. What honor then, or great matter of glory could redound unto the Greeks out of theſe four battels, in caſe it be ſo that the Lacedemonians encountred naked and unarmed men? And for the other Greeks, although they were in thoſe parts preſent, yet if they knew not of the combate, until the ſervice was done to their hands: and if the Tombs honored yeerly by the ſeveral Cities belonging to them, be empty, and mockeries onely of Monuments and Sepulchres; and if the Trevets and Altars erected before the gods, be full of falſe Titles and Inſciptions; and *Herodotus* onely knew the truth; and all men in the world beſides, who have heard of the Greeks, were quite deceived by the honorable name and opinion that went of them for their ſingular proweſs and admirable vertue; what is there then to be thought or ſaid of *Herodotus*? Surely that he is an excellent Writer, and depainteth things to the life: he is a fine man; he hath an eloquent tongue: his Diſcourſes are full of grace, they are pleaſant, beautiful, and artificial: And as it was ſaid of a Poet or Muſician in telling his tale; how ever he hath pronounced his Narration and Hiſtory not with Knowledge and Learning, yet ſurely he hath done it elegantly, ſmoothly, and with an audible and clear voyce, And theſe, I wis, be the things that move delight, and do affect all that read him. But like as among roſes

roſes we muſt beware of the venimous Flies *Cantharides*: even ſo we ought to take heed of detractions and backbiting of his baſe penning likewiſe of things deſerving great praiſe, which inſinuate themſelves and creep under his ſmooth ſtile, poliſhed phraſe, and figurative ſpeeches: to the end, that ere we be aware, we intertain not, nor foſter in our heads, falſe conceits and abſurd opinions of the braveſt men, and nobleſt Cities of *Greece*.

Of Muſick.

A Dialogue.

The Perſons therein diſcourſing, Oneſicrates, Soterichus, Lyſias.

This Treatiſe, little or nothing at all concerneth the Muſick of many Voyces according and interlaced together, which is in uſe and requeſt at this day; but rather appertaineth to the ancient faſhion, which conſiſteth in the accord and conſonance of Song with the ſenſe and meaſure of the letter, as alſo with the good grace of geſture: And by the ſtile and manner of writing, it ſeemeth not to be of *Plutarchs* doing.

THe wife of that good man *Phocion*, was wont to ſay, that the jewels and ornaments wherein ſhe joyed, were thoſe ſtratagems and worthy feats of Arms which her husband *Phocion* had atchieved: but I for my part may well and truly avouch, that the ornaments not onely of my ſelf in particular, but alſo of all my friends and kinſfolk in general, is the diligence of my Schoolmaſter, and his affection in teaching me good Literature. For this we know full well, that the nobleſt exploits, and braveſt pieces of ſervice performed by great Generals and Captains in the field, can do no more but onely ſave from preſent peril or imminent danger, ſome ſmall Army, or ſome one City, or haply at the moſt, one entire Nation and Countrey; but are not able to make either their Souldiers or Citizens, or their Countreymen, better in any reſpect: whereas on the other ſide, good erudition and learning, being the very ſubſtance indeed of felicity, and the efficient cauſe of prudence and wiſdom, is found to be good and profitable, not onely to one Family, City and Nation, but generally to all mankinde. By how much therefore the profit and commodity enſuing upon knowledge and good letters, is greater than that which proceedeth from all ſtratagems or martial feats; by ſo much is the remembrance and relation thereof more worthy and commendable. Now it fortened not long ſince, that our gentle friend *Oneſicrates* invited unto a feaſt in his houſe, the ſecond day of the Saturnal Solemnities, certain perſons very expert and skilful in Muſick, and among the reſt, *Botericbus* of *Alexandria*, and *Lyſias*, one of thoſe who received a penſion from him: And after the ordinary ceremonies and complements of ſuch Feaſts were performed, he began to make a ſpeech unto his company after this manner: My good friends (quoth he) I ſuppoſe, that it would not beſeem a Feaſt or Banquet, to ſearch at this time what is the efficient cauſe of Mans Voyce; for, a queſtion it is, that would require better leiſure, and more ſobriety: but foraſmuch as the beſt Grammarians define Voice to be the beating or percuſſion of the ayr, perceptible unto the ſenſe of hearing, and becauſe that yeſterday we enquired and diſputed as touching Grammar, and found it to be an Art making profeſſion and very meet, to frame and ſhape Voyces according to lines and letters, yea, and to lay them up in writing, as in the Treaſury and Store-houſe of Memory; let us now ſee what is the ſecond Science next to it, that is meet and agreeable to the Voyce: and this I take to be Muſick. For a devout and religious thing it is, yea, and a principal duty belonging unto men, for to ſing the praiſes of the gods, who have beſtowed upon them alone this gift of a diſtinct and articulate Voyce: which *Homer* alſo by his teſtimony hath declared in theſe Verſes.

Then all day long the Grecian youth
in ſongs melodious,
Beſought god Phœbus *of his grace,*
to be propitious:
Phœbus *I ſay, who from afar*
doth ſhoot his arrows nigh,
They chant and praiſes who takes great joy,
to hear ſuch harmony.

Go

Go to therefore my masters, you that are professed Musicians, relate unto this good company here that are your friends, who was the first inventor of Musicks, what it is that time hath added unto it afterwards, who they were that became famous by the exercise and profession of this Science; as also, to how many things, and to what, is the said study and practice profitable. Thus much as touching that which *Socrates* our Master moved and propounded; whereupon *Lysias* inferred again, and said, You demand a question, good *Socrates*, which hath already been handled and discussed: for the most part of the Platonique Philosophers, and the best sort of the Peripateticks, have employed themselves in the writing of the ancient Musick, and of the corruption that in time crept into it. The best Grammarians also, and most cunning Musicians, have taken great pains, and travelled much in this argument; and yet there is no small discord and jar among them, as harmonical otherwise as they be about these points. *Heraclides* in his Breviary, wherein he hath collected together all the excellent Professors of Musick, writeth that *Amphion* devised first the manner of singing to the Lute or Cithern, as also, the Citharædian Poesie; for being the son of *Antiope* and *Jupiter*, his father taught him that skill. And this may be proved true, by an old evidence or record enrolled, and diligently kept in the City *Sicyone*, wherein he nameth certain Priestesses in *Argos*, as also Poets and Musicians. In the same age, he saith, there lived *Linus* also of *Eubœa*, who composed certain lamentable and doleful Ditties; *Anthes* likewise of *Anthedon* in *Bœotia*, who made Hymns; and *Pierius* born in *Pieria*, who wrote Poems upon the Muses: he maketh mention besides of *Philammon* a Delphian, who reduced into Songs and Canticles the nativity of *Latona*, *Diana*, and *Apollo*; and he it was who instituted first the Quires and Dances about the Temple of *Apollo* in *Delphos*. And as for *Thamyris* a Thracian born, he reporteth, that of all men living in those days, he had the sweetest breast, and sung most melodiously, insomuch as if we may believe Poets, he challenged the Muses, and contended with them in singing. It is written moreover, that this *Thamyris* compiled in verse the War of the Titans against the gods; as also, that *Demodocus* of *Corcyra* was an ancient Musician, who endited a Poem of the destruction of *Troy*, and the mariage between *Venus* and *Vulcan*: Semblably, that *Phemius* of *Ithaca* wrote in verse of the return of those Greeks from *Troy*, who came home again with *Agamemnon*. Furthermore, it is said, that the stile of those Poems aboveſaid, was not loose, and in prose, without metrical numbers, but like unto that of *Stesichorus*, and other old Poets, and Song-makers, who first made naked Ditties in Verse, and afterwards arrayed them with musical Tunes and Notes: for the same Author reporteth, that *Terpander* a maker of Songs, with Notes and Measures, to be sung unto the Lute or Cithern, according to each Law and Rule of the said measures, adorned both his own Verses, and those of *Homer* also, with harmonical Tunes, and sung them accordingly at the solemn games, wherein Musicians sing one against the other for the prize: he affirmeth likewise, that the same *Terpander* was the first who imposed names and terms to those Tunes which are to be sung to the foresaid stringed instruments; and in imitation of *Terpander*, *Clonas* first composed Songs and Set-tunes to the Flute and other winde instruments, as also the Prosodies and Sonets sung at the entry of sacrifices, and that he was a Poet who made Elegiack and Hexameter Verses; also, that *Polymnestus* the Colophonian, who came after him, used likewise the same Poems. Now the Metrical Laws and Songs in measures, called in Greek Nomoi, which these Poets and Musicians used to the Pipe, were termed (good *Onesicrates*) in this sort, namely *Apotbetos*, *Elegi*, *Comarchios*, *Schœnion*, *Cepion*, *Dios* and *Trimeles*; but in process of time, were devised others beside, called *Polymnastia*. As for the Musical Laws or Tunes to be sung unto the stringed instrument, they were invented long time before those other belonging to Pipes, by *Terpander*; for he beforetime named those of the stringed instruments, *Bœotius*, *Æolius*, *Trochæus*, *Oxys*, *Cepion*, *Terpandrios* and *Tetraedios*. Furthermore, the said *Terpander* made certain Proœms, or voluntary Songs to the Lute, in Verse. Now, that Songs or Ditties to be sung unto stringed instruments, were composed in old time of Hexameter Verses, *Timotheus* giveth us to understand; for mingling the first metrical rules in his Verses, he sung the Dithyrambick Ditty, to the end, that he might not seem immediately at the first, to break the Laws of the ancient Musick. This *Terpander* seemeth to have been excellent in the art of playing upon the Lute, and singing to it; for we finde upon record in ancient Tables written, that four times together, one after another, he carried the prize away at the Pythian Games: and no doubt, of great antiquity he was. Certes, *Glaucus* the Italian Writer, will have him to be more ancient then *Archilochus*; for so he writeth in a certain Treatise as touching the old Poets and Musicians, saying, that he followed in the second place after those who instituted first Songs unto the Flute and other Pipes. And *Alexander* in his Breviary of the Poets and Musicians of *Phrygia*, recordeth *Olympus* to be the first man who brought into *Greece* the feat and skill of striking the strings of instruments, and besides, those that are called *Idæi Dactyli*. But *Hyagnis* was the first by his saying, who played upon Pipes: after him, his son *Marsyas*, and then *Olympus*: also, that *Terpander* imitated *Homer* in Verses, and *Orpheus* in Song: as for *Orpheus*, it should seem, that he imitated none, considering that before him there was not one, but those Poets who made Ditties and Songs to Pipes, wherewith the works of *Orpheus* have no resemblance at all. Touching this *Clonas* a Composer of Songs and Tunes for the Pipe, who lived somewhat after the time of *Terpander*, he was a Tegeæan born, as the Arcadians say, or rather as the Bœotians give out, a Theban. After *Terpander* and *Clonas*, *Archilochus* is ranged in a third place, howsoever other Chroniclers write, that *Ardalus* the Trœzenian ordained the Musick of Pipes before *Clonas*, as also, that there was one *Polymnestus* a Poet, the son of *Meles* a Colophonian, who made those Tunes and Songs which carry the name of *Polymnestos* and *Polymneste*. True it is, that those who compiled the Tables and Records of

of Musicians, make mention that *Clonas* devised these two Songs or Tunes named *Apothetos*, and *Schœnios*. And as for the above named *Polymnestus*, *Pindarus* and *Alcman*, both Song-makers, made mention of him; and they report besides, that old *Philammon* of *Delphos* composed some of those Songs and Tunes to the Lute and Harp, which he attributed unto *Terpander*. In summ, the Song and Musick to the Lute and Harp, devised by *Terpander*, continued very plain and simple, unto the dayes of *Phrynis*: for in old time, it was not lawfull to sing voluntary, as now they do at their pleasure, to stringed Instruments; nor to transfer either Harmonies or Musicall numbers and measures: for according to every Song and Tune, they kept a proper and peculiar tension or stretching of the strings; which is the reason that they be called Nomoi, as one would say Laws, because it was not lawful to transgresse in any of these Songs or Tunes, that severall kinde of tension and stretching the strings, which was usuall and ordinary. For after that they had performed those Songs which appertain to the pacifying of Gods Wrath, they leapt immediately to the Poetry of *Homer* and of others, at their pleasure, which may evidently appear, by the Proœmes and voluntary Tunes of *Terpander*. And verily, about this time, according as *Cepion* the Scholar of *Terpander* reporteth, it was first formed that manner of Lute or Cithern which was called *Asias*, for that the Lesbian Minstrels and Musicians, who bordered hard upon *Asia*, used such form: and it is said, that *Pericletus* was the last Player upon such an Instrument, who wan the prize at the Carnian games at *Lacedæmon*, of all those who were Lesbians born: after whose death ever after, there failed in *Lesbos*, that continuall succession of such Musicians. But some there be, who are greatly deceived, to think that *Hipponax* was of the same time with *Terpander*: and it seemeth that even *Periclitus* was more ancient than *Hipponax*.

Having thus declared the old metricall Songs and Tunes joyntly together, of Musicians to stringed Instruments and Pipes, let us turn now to such as properly concern those that pertain to players upon Pipes alone: for it is said, that the above named *Olympus* being a Player of the Flute and other Pipes, and came out of *Phrygia*, set a Song to his instrument in the honour and praise of *Apollo*, and the same was called *Polycephalus*: and by report, this *Olympus* descended lineally from that first *Olympus* the Scholar of *Marsyas*, who composed Ditties, and set Tunes for the worship of the gods: for this *Olympus* being the Darling of *Marsyas*, and singularly loved of him, learned likewise of him to play upon the Flute and other Pipes, and by that means brought into *Greece* those harmonical Tunes and Songs, which as this day the Greeks use at the solemn feasts of the gods. Others are of opinion, that the fore said Song or Tune *Polycephalus*, is to be ascribed unto *Crates* a Scholar of *Olympus*: but *Pratinas* writeth, that this Song came from another *Olympus* of latter time; and as for that other kinde of Song or Tune, named *Harmation*, the first *Olympus*, Disciple to *Marsyas*, by report, composed it. And some there be who hold, that *Marsyas* was named *Masses*: others say no, and that he was called *Marsyas* onely, being the Son of *Hyagnis*, who first devised the art of playing upon the Flute. And that this *Olympus* was the author of the Musick or Tune, named *Harmatias*, appeareth by the Table or Register of the ancient Poets, collected by *Glaucus*: and by the same, a man may also learn, that *Stesichorus* born in *Himera*, proposed to himself for to imitate, neither *Terpander*, nor *Antilochus*, ne yet *Thaletes*, but *Olympus*; using altogether the Law of Musick *Harmatias*, and that form of measure which is according to *Dactylus*: and that, some say, ariseth from the loud Musick called *Orthios*, but others hold, that it was the invention of the Mysians, for that there were certain ancient Pipers of the Mysians. Moreover, there is another antick Song or Tune, called *Cardias*, according to which (as *Hipponax* saith) *Mimnermus* played: for at the beginning, the Minstrels and Players of Pipes, sung certain Elegies, reduced into measures and metricall Lawes, which appeareth by the Tables and Registers, that testifie what Musicians they were, that contended at the Games of Prize in the festivall Panathenaick solemnities. Moreover, there was one *Sacadas* of *Argos*, a Poet that made Songs and Elegies or Ditties, reduced into measures, for to be sung; and reckoned he is among the better sort of Poets, and as it appeareth upon Record in those Registers, he wan the best Game three times at the Pythian solemnities. And *Pindarus* himself maketh mention of him. And whereas there be three kinds of Tunes and measures in Musick, according to *Polymnestus* and *Sacadas*, to wit, the Phrygian, Dorian, and the Lydian, they say, that in every one of them *Sacadas* made a certain Flection or Tune, called Strophe, and taught the Chorus to sing the first according to the Dorian Tune; the second after the Phrygian measures; and the third, to the Lydian Musick: and that this manner of Song was thereupon called *Trimeres*, by reason of the three changes or parts: Howbeit in the Tables and Registers of the ancient Poets, which are to be seen at *Sicyone*; it is observed and noted, that it was *Clonas* who devised this Melody or Musick *Trimeres*. Now the first manner of Musick, ordained and instituted in the City of *Sparta*, by *Terpander*, was in such sort. The second was appointed as it is most generally received, by *Thaletas* the Gortynian, by *Xenodamus* the Cytherian, *Xenocritus* the Locrian, *Polymnestus* the Colophonian, and *Sacadas* the Argive; as the principall Authors and Directors: for as these were they who instituted first at *Lacedæmon* the naked Dances called *Gymnopædiæ*, so in *Arcadia* they ordained those that were termed *Apodixes*; and in *Argos* the *Endymaties*. As for *Thaletas*, *Xenodamus*, and *Xenocritus*, they were the Poets that composed the Songs of Victory, named Pæans: *Polymnestus*, of the Orthian Canticles; and *Sacadas* of the Elegies. Others say, that *Xenodamus* was the Poet who invented the Songs intituled Hyporchemata, at the sound whereof, folke danced at the feasts of the gods: but he devised not the Pæans aforesaid, as *Pratinas* did. And even at this day, there is a Sonet extant of this very same *Xenodamus*, which is evidently Hyporchema; and this kinde of Poesie *Pindarus* useth. Now that there is a difference between a Pæan and an Hyperchema, the works of

Pindarus

Pindarus sufficiently do shew: for he hath written as well the one as the other. *Polymnestus* also made Songs and Ditties to the Flute: And in Orthian Canticles, used measures and melody, according as our harmonical Musicians give it out: As for us, we know not the truth, because our Ancients have left nothing in writing thereof. There is some doubt also, whether *Thaletas* of *Candie* were a Poet that made Pæans: For *Glaucus* in saying, that he was after *Archilochus* writeth indeed, that he imitated his Songs; but he extended them farther, and made them longer, inserting the measures Maron and Creticus into his melody, which *Archilochus* never used, nor *Orpheus*, nor yet *Terpander*: for it is said, that *Thaletas* learned this from *Olympus* his playing and piping, and was reputed a good Poet. As touching *Xenocritus* of *Locres* in *Italy*, it is not yet resolved, and for certain known, that he was a maker of Pæans. Certes, it is confidently said, that he took for the subject matter and argument of his Poesie Heroick deeds, insomuch as some term his arguments Dithyrambes. *Glaucus* assureth us, that *Thaletas* was more ancient than *Xenocritus*. And *Olympus*, as *Aristocritus* writeth, is reputed by Musicians to have been the Inventor of the Musick called Enharmonian: for before his time, all Musick was either Diatonique, or Chromatique: and it is conjectured to have been invented in this manner: For *Olympus* practising the Diatonique Musick, and extending his song otherwhiles as far as to the note Parhypate Diatonique, sometimes from Parameses, and sometime from Mese, and surpassing Lichenos Diatonique, observed the sweetness and beauty of such an affection, and the composition arising of that proportion, and allowing it to be good, inserted it in the Dorian Musick: for he touched nothing of that which properly pertaineth to the Diatonique or Chromatique kinde, neither medled he with that which concerned harmony. And these were the beginnings of the Enharmonique Musick: For first of them they put a Spondæus, wherein no division sheweth that which is proper, unless a man having an eye unto a vehement Spondiasm, will conjecture and say the same to be a kinde of Diatonos. But manifest it is, that he will put a falsity and discord, who thus setteth it down: A falsity (I say) in that it is by one Diesis; next unto the prime; and a discord or dissonance: for that if a man do set in the power of Toniæum, that which is proper unto a vehement Spondiasm, it will fall out that he shall place joyntly together, two Diatoniques, the one simple, and the other compound, for this Enharmonique re-enforced, and coming thick upon the Mese, which now adays is so much used, seemeth not to be devised by the Poet. Thus may a man soon perceive if he observe and mark one very well, who playeth upon a Pipe after the old manner: For by his good will, the Hemitone in the Mese, will be incompounded. Thus you see what were the first rudiments and beginnings of Enharmoniques: But afterwards the demi tone, was divided and distracted as well in Lydian as in Phrygian Musick: and it seemeth that *Olympus* hath amplified and augmented Musick, because he brought in that which never yet was found, and whereof his Predecessors all were ignorant; so that he may very well be thought the Greekish and Elegant Musician. Semblably we are to speak of the numbers and measures in Musick called Rhythmi: for devised there were and found out to the rest, certain kindes and special sorts of Rhythmi, as also there were those who ordained and instituted such measures and numbers. For the former innovation of *Terpander*, brought one very good form into Musick: *Polymnestus* after that of *Terpander* another: which he used, and yet he adhered also to that good form and figure before. Semblably did *Thaletas* and *Sacadas*: And these men verily were sufficient in making of these Rhythmi, and yet departed not from that good and laudable form: But *Crexus*, *Timotheus*, and *Philoxenus*, and those about their age, were overmuch addicted to new devices, and loved novelties, in affecting that figure which in these days is called *Philantaropon*, that is to say, humane; and *Thematicon*, that is to say, positive. For antiquity embraced few strings, simplicity also, and gravity of Musick. Thus having according to my skill and ability discoursed of the primitive Musick, and of the first Authors who invented it, and by what inventions in process of time it grew to some mean perfection, I will break off my speech, and make an end, giving leave to our friend *Soterichus* for to speak in his turn, who is a man not onely well studied in Musick, and as well practised therein, but also throughly seen in all other Learning, and Liberal Literature. For mine own part, I am better acquainted with the fingering Musick and manual practise, than otherwise.

When *Lysias* had thus said, he held his peace: and then *Soterichus* after him began thus, You have here, good *Onesicrates*, moved and exhorted us to discourse of Musick, a venerable Science, and a Profession right pleasing to the gods: and for mine own part, I greatly approve of my Master *Lysias*, as well for his good conceit and knowledge, as for his memory, whereof he hath given us a sufficient proof, by reciting the Authors and Inventors of the first Musick, and the writers also thereof. This will I put you in minde by the way, that in all his proofs he hath reported himself, to the Registers and Records of those who have written thereof, and to nothing else. But I am of a far other minde, and think verily that no earthly man was the Inventor of this so great good, which Musick bringeth with it unto us, but even god *Apollo* himself, who is adorned with all manner of vertues. For neither *Marsyas*, nor *Olympus*, nor yet *Hyagnis*, as some do think, devised the use of the Flute and Pipe, no more than the Lute or the Harp onely, was the invention of *Apollo*: for this god devised the play both of the one and the other: which may easily be known by the dances, and solemnities of Sacrifices, which were brought in with the sound of Hautboys and Flutes, to the honor of that god: according as *Alcæus* among many others, hath left written in one of his Hymns: moreover, his very image in the Isle of *Delos* testifieth as much, where he is pourtraied standing thus; holding in his right hand a bow, and in his left the Gracet, and every one of them hath an instrument of Musick; the one an Harp or Lute; another the Shaulm

Shaulm or Hautbois; and she in the midst a Flute or shril Fife neer unto her mouth. And because I would not have you to think, that I have picked this out of mine own fingers ends; both *Anticles* and *Hister* in their Commentaries, and *Elucidaries*, of these things do quote and allege as much. As for the Image aforesaid, and the dedication thereof, so ancient it is, that by report, it was made and erected in the time that *Hercules* lived. Moreover, the Child that bringeth the Lawrell out of the valley of *Tempe* to the City of *Delphos* is accompanied with a Piper or Player of the Hautboies: yea and the sacrifices which were wont in old time to be sent from the Hyperboreans into the Isle of *Delos*, went with a sort of Hautboies, Flutes, Pipes, and Lutes, or stringed Instruments about them. And some there be who say more than this, namely, that god *Apollo* himself played upon the Flute and Hautboies. And thus writeth *Alcman* an excellent Poet, and maker of sonnets. And *Corinna* saith furthermore, that *Apollo* was taught by *Minerva*, for to pipe. See how honourable and sacred every way Musick is, as being the very invention of the gods. And in old time they used it with great reverence, and according to the dignity thereof, like as they did all other such exercises and professions: whereas in these dayes men rejecting and disdaining the majesty that it hath, in stead of Musick, namely, holy and acceptable to the gods, bring that into the theaters, which is effeminate, enervate, broken, puling and deceitfull. And therefore *Plato* in his third book of his Common-wealth, is offended with such Musick, and utterly rejected the Lydian Harmony, which is meet for mones and lamentation, like as it is said, that the first institution and making thereof was lamentable: for *Aristoxenus* in his first book of Musick reporteth, that *Olympus* founded with the Hautboies a dolefull and funerall dump in Lydian Musick, upon the death of *Python*. And others there be who affirm, that *Melanippides* began first this tune. *Pindarus* in his Pæans saith, that this Lydian Musick began first to be taught at the wedding of *Niobe*; Others, that one *Torebus* used first this Harmony, according as *Dionysius Iambus* writeth. The Myxolydian Musick also, is full of affection, and in that regard meet for tragedies. *Aristoxenus* writeth, that *Sappho* invented first this Myxolydian Harmony, of whom the tragedy-makers learned it, and joyned it with the Dorian: for that as one giveth a certain dignity and stately magnificence, so the other moveth affections: and a Tragedy you wot well is mixed of them both: Howbeit, in their rolls and registers, who have written of Musicians, it is said, that *Pythoclides*, the Player of the Hautboies, was the first inventer of this Musick. But *Lysis* referreth the invention thereof to *Lamprocles* the Athenian, who having found & perceived, that the disjunction is not there where in manner all others think it is, but toward that which is high and small, made such a form and figure thereof, as is from Paramese to Hypate and Hypaton. Likewise the Sublydian Musick, if it be contrary unto the Myxolydian, and in resemblance comming near unto the Ionique, was by report devised by *Damon* the Athenian: Now because of these two Harmonies, the one is mournfull and lamentable, the other dissolute and enervate; *Plato* had good reason to reject them both: and therefore he chose the Dorian, as that which is most beseeming valiant, sober and temperate men: not I assure you because he was ignorant (as *Aristoxenus* saith, in his second book of Musicians and Musick) that in the other there was some thing good for a Common-wealth, and circumspect policy: for *Plato* had much applyed his mind unto Musick, as having been the Scholar of *Draco* the Athenian, and *Metellus* the Agrigentine) but considering as we have said before, that there was more gravity and dignity in the Dorian Musik, he preferred the same before the rest. And yet he wist well enough, that *Pindarus*, *Alcman*, *Simonides*, and *Bacchylides*, had written and sent many other Parthenies to the Dorian Musick: besides Prosodies and Pæans also. Neither was he ignorant, that tragicall Plaints, and dolefull mones, yea, and amatorious ditties, were composed for to be sung in this Dorian Tune. But he stood sufficed and contented with those which are endited to the praise of *Mars*, and *Minerva*, and with *Spondees*; for these are sufficient to fortifie and confirm the mind of a temperate and sober man. Neither was he unskilfull in the Lydian Musick nor the Ionian; for he knew well enough that the tragedy used this kinde of Melody. Moreover, all our ancients before time, being not unexpert of all other kinds of Musick, yet contented themselves with the use of one. For ignorance or want of experience, was not the cause that they ranged themselves into so narrow a streight, and were contented with so few strings; neither are we to think that *Terpander* and *Olympus*, and they that followed their sect, for default of skill and experience, cut off the multiplicity of strings, and their variety. Witnesse hereof the Poems of *Terpander*, *Olympus*, and all their followers, and such as took their course: for being but simple, and having no more than three strings, yet are they more excellent than those which consist of many strings, and be full of variety; in such sort, as no man is able to imitate the manner of *Olympus*; and all those who use many strings and variety, be far short and come behind him. Now that our ancients in old time abstained from the third, in that Spondeaik kinde, not upon ignorance, they shew sufficiently, in the use of striking the strings: for never would they have used the accord and consonance with Parehypate, if the use thereof had been known unto them: but certain it is, that beauty of affection which is in the Spondeaick kinde, by the third, was it that led their sense to raise and exalt their note and song to Paranete: and the same reason also there is of Nete: For this verily they used to their stroke of the instrument, to wit, unto Paranete in discord, and unto Mese in accord. But in song they seemed not unto them, proper and fit for the Spondeaik kinde. And not only in these, but also in Nete of the Terrachord conjunct, all used so to do: For in the very stroak of the strings, they discorded with Paranete, Paramese, and Lichanos, but in song, they were ashamed thereof, for the very affection that resulted thereupon. Moreover, it appeareth manifestly by the Phrygians, that this was not for any

ignorance of *Olympus*, or his sectaries: for they used it not only in singering, and in the stroak of the strings, but also in singing at the solemn feasts of the great Mother of the gods, *Cybele*, and in some other Phrygian solemnities. I appeareth also manifestly, by the Hypate, that it was not for ignorance that in the Dorian Tunes they forbare this Tetrachord, for incontinently in other tunes they used it: so that it is evident that they did it willingly. But to avoid affection they took it out of the Doriq ie Musick, honoring the beauty and honesty thereof: as we may observe some such like thing in tragicall Poets. For never yet to this very day, did the tragedy use Chromatick Musick, nor Rhyme: whereas the Cithern or Lute, which by many ages is more ancient then the tragedy, used it even from the very beginning. And evident it is that Chroma is of greater antiquity than is Harmony. For we must account this antiquity, whereby the one is said to be more ancient than an other, according to the use and practice of men, because in regard of the nature of these kinds one is not elder than another. If then some one would say, that *Aeschylus* or *Phrynicus* forbare to use Chromatick Musick upon ignorance, and for that they knew it not, were he not think you very absurd and much deceived? For the same man might as well say that *Pancrates* also was ignorant of this Chromatick kinde, because for the most part he forbare to use it: and yet in some places he used it. So that it was not for want of Knowledge, but of set purpose, and upon Judgement that he abstained from it. He imitated then, as he saith himself, the manner of *Pindarus* and *Simonides*, and in one word, that which the modern Musicians call the ancient Musick. The like reason there is of *Tyrtæus* the Mantinean, of *Andreas* the Corinthian, *Thrasyllus* the Phliasian, and of many others whom we know upon good consideration to have abstained from the Chromatick, from change and multiplicity of strings, yea and many other things interserted which are in common use, namely, Rhymes, Harmonies, Ditties, Songs, and interpretations. And not to go far for proof hereof, *Telephanes* the Megarian was so great an enemy to Flutes, Fifes, and small Pipes, that he would never abide the Artificers and Pipemakers so much as to set them to the Shawm and Hautboies; and for this cause especially, he forbare to come unto the Pythick or Apollican games of prize. In summ, if a man will conjecture that if a thing be not used, it is long of ignorance, he might condemn of ignorance many of those who live in these dayes; as for example the Dorioncans, because they despise the Antigenidian kinde of Musick, for that they used it not. To the Antigenidians likewise they might impute ignorance of the Dirionian Musick, for the same cause, as also the minstrels and harpers, as ignorant of the manner of *Timotheus* his Musick. For they have in manner all betaken themselves to patcheries and fallen to the Poems of *Polydius*. On the other side, if a man consider aright, and with experience make comparison between that which then was and that which now is, he shall finde that variety and diversity was in use and request even in those dayes also: For the ancient Musicians used in their numbers and measure, their variety, much more diverse and indifferent than now it is. So that we may boldly say that the variety of Rhymes, the difference also and diversity of strokes was then more variable. For men in these dayes love Skill and Knowledge, but in former times they affected numbers and measures. So that it appeareth plainly, that the ancients abstained from broken Musick and song, not because they had no skill, but for that they had no will to approve thereof. And no marvell: for many fashions there be in the world and this our life, which are well enough known, though they be not practised: many strange they be by reason of disuse, which grew upon occasion that something was observed therein, not decent and seemly. But, that it was not for ignorance, nor want of experience, that *Plato* rejected other kindes of Musick, but only because they were not beseeming such a Common-wealth of his, we will shew hereafter: and withall that he was expert and skillfull in Harmony: For in that procreation of the soul which he describeth in the book of *Timæus*, he declareth what study he had employed in other Mathematicall studies, and in Musick besides, writing after this manner: Thus in manner (quoth he) did God at the first: And after that, he filled the double and treble intervals, in cutting off one portion from thence, and putting it between both of them: in such sort as in every intervall or distance, there were two moieties. Certs, this Exordium or Procæme, is a sufficient proof of skill and experience in Harmony, according as we will shew hereafter. Three sorts of primitive medieties there be, out of which all other be drawn, to wit, Arithmetical, Geometricall, and Harmonicall. Arithmeticall is that which surmounteth, and is surmounted in equall number: Geometricall, in even proportion: and Harmonicall neither in reason and proportion nor in number. *Plato* therefore intending to declare Harmonically, the Harmony of the four elements of the soul, and the cause why things so divers accorded together: in each intervall hath put down two medieties of the soul, and that according to Musicall proportion. For in the accord Diapason in Musick, two intervals there are between two extremities, whereof we will shew the proportion. For the accord Diapason consisteth in a double proportion: as for example, six and twelve will make a double proportion in number: And this intervall, is from Hypate Meson, unto Nete Diezeugmenon: Now six and twelve being the two extremities: Hypate Meson containeth the number of six, and Nete Diezeugmenon that of twelve. It remaineth now, that we ought to take unto these the mean numbers between these two extremities; the extreams whereof will be found, the one in proportion Epitritos or sesquitertian, the other Hemiolios, or sesquialteral, And these be numbers eight and nine. For eight is sequitertian to six; and nine is sesquialteral. Thus much as touching one of the extreams. As for the other which is twelve, it is above nine in sesquitertian proportion, and above eight in sesquialteral. These two numbers then, being between six and twelve, and the intervall Diapason compounded and consisting of Diatesseron and Diapente, it appeareth that Mese shall have the number

number of eight; and Paramese, the number of nine: which done, there will be the same habitude, from Hypate and Mese, that is from Paramese to Nete, of a disjoynt Tetrachord. The same proportion is found also in numbers, for the same reason that is from six to eight, is from nine to twelve, and look what reason there is between six and nine, the same is between eight and twelve. Now between eight and six the proportion is sesquitertian, as also between twelve and nine. But between nine and six, sesquialterall, like as between twelve and eight. Thus much may serve to shew that *Plato* was well studied and very expert in the Mathematicks.

Now that Harmony is a venerable, worthy and divine thing, *Aristotle* the Disciple of *Plato* testifieth in these words: Harmony (quoth he) is Celestial, of a beautifull and wonderfull nature, and more than human: which being of it self divided into four, it hath two medieties, one Arithmeticall, the other Harmonicall; and of the parts thereof the magnitudes and extremities are seen according to number and equality of measure: for accords in Song are appropriate and fitted in two Tetrachords. These be the words of *Aristotle*: who said that the body of Harmony is composed of parts dislike, and accordant verily one with another, but yet the medieties of the same agree according to reason Arithmeticall: for that Nete according to Hypate, by double proportion maketh an accord and consonance of Diapason: For it hath as we have before said, Nete of twelve unities, and Hypate of six, and Parameſe according with Hypate, in proportion sesquialterall of nine unities. But of Mese, we say, it hath eight unities: and the principall intervals of Musick are composed of these: to wit, Diatesseron, which consisteth of a proportion sesquitertian, and of Diapente, which standeth upon a sesquialterall: and Diapason of a duple: For so is preserved the proportion sesquioctave, which is according to the proportion Tonicus. Thus you see how the parts of Harmony do both surmount and also are surmounted of other parts, by the same excesse: and the medieties of medieties, as well according to excesse in numbers, as Geometricall puissance. Thus *Aristotle* declareth them to have these and such like powers, namely that Nete surmounteth Mese by a third part, and that Hypate is semblably surmounted of Parameſe: in such sort as these excesses are of the kinde of Relatives, which have relation to another: for they surmount and be surmounted by the same parts. And therefore by the same proportion the two extreams of Mese and Parameſe, do surmount, and be surmounted, to wit, sesquitertian and sesquialterall. And after this sort is the harmonicall excesse. But the excesse of Nete and Mese by Arithmeticall proportion, sheweth the exuperances in equall parts: and even so Parameſe in proportion to Hypate: for Parameſe surmounteth Mese in proportion sesquioctave: Like as again Nete is a double proportion of Hypate: and Parameſe of Hypate in sesquialterall: and Mese sesquitertian in regard of Hypate. See then how Harmony is composed according to *Aristotle* himself, of her parts and numbers. And so verily it is by him composed most naturally of a nature as well finite as infinite: both of even and also of odd, it self and all the parts thereof: for it self totally and whole is even, as being composed of four parts or terms: the parts whereof and their proportions, be even, odd, and even not even. For Nete it hath even of twelve unities: Parameſe odd of nine unities: Mese even of eight unities, and Hypate even not even of six unities. So that Harmony thus composed both of it self and the parts thereof one to the other, as well in excesse as in proportions, the whole accordeth with the whole and the parts together. And that which more is, the very senses being inserted and ingraffed in our bodies by Harmony, but principally those which are Celestiall and Divine, namely Sight and Hearing, which together with God give Understanding and Discourse of reason unto men with the voice and the light, do represent Harmony: yea and the other inferiour senses which follow them, in as much as they be senses, are likewise composed by Harmony: for all their effects they perform not without Harmony, and howsoever they be under them and lesse noble, yet they yeeld not for all that: for even they entring into the body accompanied with the presence of a certain Divinity, together with the discourse of reason, obtain a forcible and excellent nature. By these reasons evident it is that the ancient Greeks, made great account, and not without good cause, of being from their infancy well instructed and trained up in Musick: for they were of opinion, that they ought to frame and temper the minds of young folk unto vertue and honesty by the means of Musick, as being right profitable to all honest things, and which we should have in great recommendation, but especially and principally for the perillous hazzards of war: In which case some used the Hautboies, as the Lacedæmonians, who chaunted the Song called *Castorium* to the said instruments, when they marched in ordinance of battell, for to charge their enemies. Others made their approach, for to encounter and give the first onset, with the noyse of the *Lyra*, that is to say, the Harp or such like stringed instruments. And this we finde to have been the practice of the Candiots, for a long time, for to use this kinde of Musick, when they set forth and advanced forward to the doubtfull dangers of battell. And some again continue even to our time in the use of Trumpets sound. As for the Argives, they went to wrestle as the solemn games in their city called *Sthenia* with the sound of the Hautboies. And these games, were by report instituted at first in honour and memory of their King *Danaus*: and afterwards again were consecrated to the honour of *Jupiter* surnamed *Sthenius*. And verily even at this day, in the Pericathian games of prize, the manner and custom is to play upon the Hautboies, and to sing a Song thereto, although the same be not antique nor exquisite, nor such as was wont to be played and sung in times past as that Canticle composed sometime by *Hierax*, for this kinde of Combat, and named it was *Endromo*. Well, though it be but a faint and feeble manner of song, yet somewhat, such as is was, they used with the Hautboies. And in the times of great Antiquity it is said that the Greeks did not so much as know Theatricall Musick,

for that they employed all the skill and knowledge thereof in the service and worshipof the gods, and in the institution and bringing up of youth, before any Theater was built in *Greece* by that people: but all the Musick that yet was, they bestowed to the honour of the gods and their divine service in the Temples, also in the praises of valiant and worthy men: So that it is very probable that these terms Theater afterwards, and Θεωρία, long before, were derived of Θεὸς, that is to say, God. And verily in our daies Musick is grown to such an height of difference and diversity, that there is no mention made, nor memory remaining of any kinde of Musick for youth to be taught, neither doth any man set his mind thereto, or make profession thereof: but look whosoever are given to Musick, betake themselves wholly to that of Theaters for their delight. But some man may haply say unto me: What good Sir, think you that in old time they devised no new Musick, and added nothing at all to the former? Yes I wis, I confesse they did adjoyn thereto some new inventions, but it was with gravity and decency. For the Historians who wrot of these matters, attributed unto *Terpander* the Dorian Note, which before time they used not in their songs and tunes: And even so it is said that the Myxolidian tune was wholly by him devised to the rest: as also the note of the melody Orthien: and the song named Orthius, by the Trochæus, for sounding the al'arme and to encourage unto Battel.

And if it be true as *Pindarus* saith, *Terpander* was the inventor of those songs called *Scolia*, which were sung at feasts. *Archilochus* also adjoyned those rhymes or Iambick measures called *Trimetra*: the translation also and change into other number and measures of a different kinde, yea, and the manner how to touch and strike them. Moreover, unto him, as first inventour, are attributed the Epodes, Tetrameter Iambicks, Procritique and Prosodiacks; as also, the augmentation of the first, yea, and as some think, the Elegy it self: over and besides, the intension of Iambus unto Pæan Epibatos, and of the Herous augmented both unto the Prosodiaque, and also the Cretick. Furthermore, that of Iambique notes, some be pronounced according to the stroke, others sung out. *Archilochus* was the man, by report, who shewed all this first, and afterwards, tragical Poets used the same: likewise it is said, that *Crexus* receiving it from him, transported it to be used at the Bacchanal songs, called Diathyrambs. And he was the first also, by their saying, who devised the stroke after the song; for that beforetime they used to sing, and strike the strings together. Likewise unto *Polymnestus* is ascribed all that kinde of note or tune, which now is called *Hypolydius*, and of him they say, that he first made the drawing out of the note longer, and the dissolution and ejection thereof much greater than before. Moreover, that *Olympus*, upon whom is fathered the invention of the Greek Musick, that is tied to laws and rules, was he who first brought up, by their saying, all the kinde of Harmony, and of rhymes or measures, the Prosodiaque, wherein is contained the tune and song of *Mars*; also the *Chorias*, whereof there is great use in the solemnities of the great Mother of the gods: yea, and some there be, who make *Olympus* the authour also of the measure *Bacchius*. And thus much concerning every one of the ancient tunes and songs. But *Lasus* the Harmonian, having transferred the rhymes into the order of Dithyrambs, and followed the multiplicity in voice of Hautboies, in using many sounds and those diffused and dispersed to and fro, brought a great change into Musick, which never was before. Semblably, *Melanippides* who came after him, contained not himself in that manner of Musick which then was in use, no more than *Philoxenus* did and *Timotheus*, for he, whereas beforetime unto the daies of *Terpander* the Antisseian, the Harp had but seven strings, distinguished it into many more sounds and strings: yea, and the sound of the Pipe or Hautboies, being simple and plain before, was changed into a Musick of more distinct variety. For in old time, unto the daies of *Melanippides* a Dithyrambick Poet, the players of the Hautboies were wont to receive their salaries and wages at the hands of the Poets, for that Poetry you must think, bare the greatest stroke, and had the principal place in Musick and acting of Plaies, so as the Minstrels beforesaid were but their ministers: but afterwards, this custom was corrupted; upon occasion whereof, *Pherecrates* the Comical Poet bringeth in Musick in form and habit of a woman, with her body piteously scourged and mangled all over: and he devised besides, that Dame Justice demanded of her the cause why, and how she became thus misused; unto whom Poesie or Musick maketh answer in this wise:

Musick.

I will gladly tell, sinee that we pleasure take
You for to hear, and I to answer make.
One of the first, who did me thus displease
And work my woe, was Melanippides;
He with twelve strings my body whipt so sore,
That soft it is, and looser than before;
Yet was this man unto me tolerable,
And not to these my harmes now, comparable.
For one of Athick *land,* Cynesias *he,*
Shame come to him, and curs'ed may he be,
By making turnes and winding cranks so strange
In all his strophes, and those without the range
Of harmony, hath me perverted so,
That where I am, unneth I now do know.
His Dithyrambs are framed in such guise,
That left seem right, in shield and targuet wise.

And

And yet of him, one cannot truly say,
That cruelly he meant me for to slay.
Phrynis *it was who set to me a wrest*
(His own device) that I could never rest:
Wherewith he did me winde and writh so hard,
That I well neer for ever was quite marr'd.
Out of five strings for sooth he would devise
No fewer than twelve harmonies to rise:
Well, of this man I cannot most complain,
For what he mist, he soon repair'd again.
Timotheus *sweet Lady (out alas)*
Hath me undone: Timotheus *it was,*
Most shamefully who wrought me all despite,
He hath me torne, he hath me buried quite.

Justice.

And who might this Timotheus *be (dear heart)*
That was the cause of this thy wofull smart?

Musick.

I mean him of Miletus, Pyrrhias
Surnam'd, his head and hair so ruddy was.
This fellow brought upon me sorrows more
Than all the rest whom I have nam'd before.
A sort he of unpleasant quavers brings,
And running points, when as he plaies or sings:
He never meets me when I walk alone
Upon the way, but me assails anon.
Off go my robes, and thus devested bare
He teares me with twelve strings, and makes no spare.

Aristophanes also the Comical Poet makes mention of *Philoxenus*, and saith, that he brought songs into the dances called Rounds: and in this manner he deviseth, that Musick should speak and complain:

What with his Exharmonians,
Niglars and Hyperbolians,
And such loud notes, I wot not what,
He hath me stuft so full, as that
My voice is brittle when I speak,
Like radish root that soon will break.

Semblably, other Comical Poets have blasoned and set out in their colours, our modern Musicians, for their absurd curiosity, in hewing and cutting Musick thus by peace-meal, and mincing it so small. But that this science is of great power and efficacy, aswel to set strait and reform, as to pervert, deprave and corrupt youth in their education and learning, *Aristoxenus* hath made very plain and evident: for he saith, that of those who lived in his time, *Telesias* the Theban happened when he was young, to be brought up and instructed in the most excellent kinde of Musick, and to learn many notable ditties and songs; among which, those also of *Pindarus*, of *Dionysius* the Theban, of *Lamprius*, *Pratinas* and other Lyrical Poets, singular men in their faculty, and profession of playing cunningly upon the Harp and other stringed instruments. He had learned likewise to sound the Hautboies passing well, and was sufficiently exercised and practised in all other parts of good literature: but when he was once past the flower and middle of his age, he became so far ravished and carried away with this Scenicall Musick so full of variety, that he despised that excellent Musick and Poesie wherein he was nourtred, and all for to learn the ditties and tunes of *Philoxenus* and *Timotheus*, and principally such of them as had most variety and novelty: and when he betook himself to compose ditties and set songs, making triall what he could do in both kindes, aswell in that of *Pindarus* and this of *Philoxenus*, he was able to perform nothing well and to the purpose in that Musick of *Philoxenus*: the reason whereof was, his excellent education from his infancy. If then a man be desirous to use Musick well and judiciously, let him imitate the old manner: and yet in the mean while furnish the same with other Sciences, learn Philosophy, as a mistresse to guide and lead; for she is able to judge what kinde of measures is meet for Musick, and profitable. For whereas three principal points and kindes there be, unto which all Musick is universally divided, to wit, Diatonos, Chroma, and Harmony, he ought to be skilful in Poetry, which useth these several kindes, who cometh to learn Musick; and withall, he must attain to that sufficiency, as to know how to expresse and couch in writing his Poeticial inventions. First and foremost therefore he is to understand, that all musical science is a certain custom and usage, which hath not yet attained so far as the knowledge to what end every thing is to be learned by him that is the scholar. Next to this it would be considered, that to this teaching and instruction, there be not yet adjoyned presently the enumeration of the measures and manners of Musick. For, the most part learn rashly and without discretion, that which seemeth good and is pleasant either to the learner or the teacher: but the better sort reject such indiscretion; as the Lacedæmonians in old time, the Mantineans likewise and the Pellenians: for these, making choise of one manner above the rest, or else of very few, which they took to be

meet for the reformation and correction of manners, uſed no other muſick but it: which more evidently may appear, if a man will enquire and conſider, what it is that every one of theſe Sciences taketh for the ſubject matter to handle: for certain it is, that the Harmonique skill containeth the knowledge of intervals, compoſitions, ſounds, notes and mutations of that kinde which is named *Hermoſmenon*, that is to ſay, well beſitting and convenient: neither is it poſſible for it to proceed farther. So that, we muſt not require nor exact of her, that ſhe ſhould be able to diſcern whether a Poet hath well, properly and fitly uſed (for example ſake in muſick) the Hyperdorian tune in his entrance; the Mixolydian and the Dorian at his going forth; and the Phrygian or Hypophrygian in the mids: for this pertaineth not at all to the ſubject matter of the Harmonick kinde, and hath need of many other things: for he knoweth not well the force of the propriety. And if he be ignorant of the Chromatick kinde and Enharmonian, he ſhall never attain to have the perfect and abſolute power of the propriety, according to which, the affection of the meaſures that are made are ſeen: for this is the office and part of the artificer. And manifeſt it is, that the voice of the compoſition called *Syſtema*, is one thing; and the melody or ſong which is framed in the ſaid compoſition, another; which to teach and whereof to treat, pertaineth not to the faculty of the Harmonick kinde. Thus much alſo we are to ſay as touching Rhythm; for no Rhythm will ever come to have in it the power of perfect propriety: for that alwaies which is ſaid to be proper, is in regard and reference to the affection; whereof we affirm the cauſe to be either compoſition or mixtion, or elſe both together: like as with *Olympus*, the Enharmonian kinde is put in the Phrygian tune, and Pæon mixed with Epibatos: for this affection of the beginning hath it ingendred and brought forth in the ſong of *Minerva*. For when the melody and rhythm or meaſure was artificially ſet to, and the number or rhythm alone cunningly tranſmuted, ſo as a Trocheus was put in ſtead of a Pæon; Hereof came the Harmonick kinde of *Olympus* to be compoſed. Yet nevertheleſſe, when both the Enharmonick kinde and the Phrygian tune remain: and beſide theſe, the whole compoſition alſo, the affection received a great alteration: for that which is called Harmony in the ſong of *Minerva*, is far different from the affection which is in common uſe and experience. If he then, who is expert and skilful in Muſick, had withal the faculty to judge, certain it is, that ſuch an one would be a perfect Workman, and a paſſing good Maſter in Muſick. For he who is skilful in the Dorique muſick, and knoweth not how to judge and diſcern the propriety, he ſhall never know what he doth, nor be able to keep ſo much as the affection, conſidering there is ſome doubt as touching the judgement of Dorian melodies and tunes, whether they appertain to the ſubject matter of Harmony or no? as ſome Dorians are of opinion. The like reaſon there is of all the Rhythmick skill; for he who knoweth Pæon, ſhall not incontinently know the property of the uſe thereof, foraſmuch as there is ſome doubt as concerning the making of Pæonick rhythms, to wit, whether the Rhythmetique matter is able to judge with diſtinct knowledge of them? or whether as ſome ſay, it do not extend ſo far? Of neceſſity therefore it followeth, that there muſt be two knowledges at the leaſt in him, who would make diſtinction and be able to judge between that which is proper and that which is ſtrange: the one of manners and affections, for which all compoſition is made; the other, of the parts and members of which the compoſition doth conſiſt. Thus much therefore may ſuffice, to ſhew that neither the Harmonique, nor the Rhythmick, nor any one of theſe faculties of Muſick, which is named particular, can be ſufficient of it ſelf alone to judge of the affection, or to diſcern of other qualities. Whereas therefore, Hermoſmenian, which is as one would ſay, the decent and elegant temperature of voices and ſounds, is divided into three kindes, which be equal in the magnitudes of compoſitions, in puiſſances of ſounds, and likewiſe of Tetrachords; our ancients have treated but of one: for thoſe who went before us, never conſidered, either of Chroma, or Diatonos, but only of Enharmonior, and that onely in a magnitude of a compoſition, called Diapaſon: for of the Chroma they were at ſome variance and difference: but they all in manner did accord to ſay, that there was no more but this Harmony alone. And therefore he ſhall never underſtand that which pertaineth unto the treatiſe of Harmony, who hath proceeded ſo far as to this only knowledge: but apparent it is that he ought to follow both other particular ſciences, and alſo the total body of Muſick; yea and the mixtions and compoſitions of the parts; for he that is only Harmonical is confined within one kinde and no more. To ſpeak therefore generally and once for all, it behoveth, that both outward ſenſe and inward underſtanding concurre to the judgement of the parts in Muſick: Neither is one to prevent and run before another, as the ſenſes do, which are more forward and haſty than their fellows; nor to lag behinde and follow after, as thoſe ſenſes do which are ſlow and heavy of motion. And yet otherwhile in ſome ſenſes it falleth out upon a naturall inequality which they have, that both happen at once, to wit, they draw back, and haſte forward together: we muſt therefore cut off theſe extremities from the ſenſe, if we would have it runne joyntly with the underſtanding: for neceſſary it is, that there be alwaies three things at the leaſt meet together in ſenſe of hearing, to wit, the ſound, the time, and the ſyllable or letter. And come to paſſe it will, that by the going of the ſound, will be known the proportionable continuity, called Hermoſmenon; by the gate of time, the Rhythm, and by the paſſing and proceeding of the ſyllable or letter, the ditty: Now when they march altogether, there muſt needs be an incurſion of the ſenſe. This alſo is evident, that the ſenſe not being able to diſtinguiſh and diſcern every one of theſe three things, and accompany them ſeverally, impoſſible it is, that it ſhould know or judge that which is well or amiſs, in each of them particularly. Firſt and foremoſt therefore, we are to take knowledge of the coherence and continuation; for neceſſary it is, that there ſhould be in the faculty and power of judging, a certain

certain continual order, for as much as good and bad be not determinately in ſuch ſounds, times, letters or ſyllables, ſevered one from the other, but in the continued tuit and coherence of them, for there is a certain mixture or parts which cannot be conjoyned in uſage. And thus much may ſuffice for the conſequence. After this we are to conſider, that men, ſufficient otherwiſe, and ſkilful Maſters in Muſick, are not by and by able to judge: for impoſſible it is to be a perfect Muſician, and a judge withal of thoſe which ſeem to be the parts of total Muſick, as the ſcience and skill of inſtruments; likewiſe of ſong, as alſo of the exerciſe of the ſenſes, I mean that which tendeth to the intelligence and knowledge of the well-proportioned Harmoſmenon, and of Rhythm. Over and beſides, of the Rhythmick and Harmonique treatiſe, and of the ſpeculation, touching the ſtroke and the ditty, and what other ſoever there are beſides. But what the cauſes ſhould be, that it is not poſſible for one to be a Critick and able to judge, by means of theſe things by themſelves, let us endeavour to ſearch and know. Firſt, by this ſuppoſal, That of thoſe things which are propoſed unto us for to be judged of, ſome be perfect, others imperfect: Perfect, for example, every Poetical work, that is either chanted, or played upon the Pipe, or ſounded on the Lute and ſtringed inſtrument; or elſe the interpretation or elocution of the ſaid Poems, which they call ἑρμηνεία: as is the noiſe of pipe, or of the voice, and ſuch like: Unperfect, as thoſe which tend hereto, and are for them ordeined, as be the parts of that which is called interpretation. Secondly, by Poeſie or fiction, whereof the caſe is alike; becauſe a man may as well judge if he hear the minſtrel play or ſing, whether his pipes accord or no, and whether his dialect or ditty be clear, or contrary wiſe obſcure: for each of theſe is a part of the foreſaid interpretation of pipes, not the end it ſelf, but that which reſpecteth the end; for the affection of the interpretations ſhall be judged hereby, and by all ſuch cauſes, whether they be well fitted and accommodate to the Poem compoſed, which the agent hath taken in hand to treat of, to handle, to expreſſe and interpret. Semblable is the reaſon alſo of the affections and paſſions, which are ſignified in the Poems, by Poeſie. Our Ancients then, as theſe who made principal account of the affection, preferred and eſteemed beſt that faſhion of antique Muſick, which was grave, not curious nor much affected. For it is ſaid that the Argives did ſet down in times paſt a puniſhment for thoſe who brake the laws of Muſick, yea, and condemned him to pay a good fine, who firſt uſed more than ſeven ſtrings, and who went about to bring in the uſe of the Mixolydian Muſick. But *Pythagorus* that grave and venerable perſonage, reproved all judgement of Muſick which is by the ear, for he ſaid, that the intelligence and vertue thereof, was very ſubtile and ſlender, and therefore be judged thereof, not by hearing, but by proportional harmony: and he thought it ſufficient to proceed as far as to Diapaſon, and there to ſtay the knowledge of Muſick: Whereas Muſicians in theſe dales diſeſteem and reject wholly that kinde of Muſick which was in greateſt reputation among our anceſtours, for the gravity thereof: inſomuch as the moſt part of them make no reckoning of any apprehenſion of Enharmonian intervals and ſpaces. So idle and lazy they be, that they think and ſay, the harmonical Dieſis givethino apparence at all, nor repreſentation of thoſe things that fall under the ſenſe of hearing; yea, and baniſh it quite out of their tunes and ſongs, counting thoſe no better than prating, vain, and toyiſh perſons, who have either written or ſpoken thereof, or uſed that kinde: and for proof hereof, that they ſay true, they ſuppoſe they have found a doubty good argument and demonſtration, drawn from their own groſſe ſtupidity and ſenſeleſneſs, as if all that which their ſenſe apprehended not, muſt needs incontinently have no ſubſiſtence at all in nature, and be altogether unprofitable. And then moreover they hold, that there can no magnitude be apprehended by ſymphony and conſonance of voice, as the note, the halfe note, and other ſuch intervals. Mean while they do not perceive (ſuch is their ignorance) that they may as well baniſh the third magnitude, the fift, and the ſeventh; whereof the firſt conſiſteth of three, the ſecond of five, and the third of ſeven Dieſes: and generally they ſhould reject and reprove all the intervals that be odd, as ſuperfluous and good for nothing: inaſmuch as none of them can be found by conſent or ſymphony. And theſe they may be, which the leaſt Dieſis doth meaſure in odd numbers: whereupon it followeth neceſſarily, that no diviſion of the Tetrachord, is profitable, but this only, by which we may uſe all even intervals: and theſe verily were that of Syntonos, Diatonos, and Toniæan Chroma. But to give out, or to conceive ſuch things, were the part not of thoſe only who contradicted that which is apparent and evident, but alſo of ſuch as went againſt themſelves: for they uſe more than any other ſuch partitions of Tetrachords, wherein all the intervals be either odd or elſe proportionable to thoſe that be odd: for evermore they mollifie all the notes, called Lichani, and Paraneta: yea, and they let down a little, thoſe very notes which are ſteadfaſt and firm, by I wot not what interval, without all reaſon; and together with them, they let ſlack alſo very abſurdly, the Thirds and the Paraneteæ, and they ſuppoſe that the uſe of ſuch compoſitions is moſt commendable, wherein the moſt part of the intervals, be without all reaſon and proportion, by letting down not only thoſe ſounds which naturally are wont to ſtir and be moved, but alſo ſome of them which are immovable: as appeareth manifeſtly to thoſe who are ſufficient and able to judge of ſuch things.

To come now to the uſe of Muſick, how meet and ſeemly it is for a valiant man, gentle *Homer* hath given us very well to underſtand: for to prove unto us how commodious Muſick is in many reſpects, he feigned and deviſed *Achilles* to concoct his anger which he had conceived againſt *Agamemnon*, by the means of Muſick, which he had learned of that moſt prudent and wiſe *Chiron*: for thus he writeth:

They found him then, within his tent,
with ſound of Lute ſo ſhrill,

His

His heart that was now diſcontent,
to ſolace and to ſtill:
An inſtrument right fair in ſight
this was, and trimly wrought:
The neck with ſilver richly dight
which he himſelf had caught
Out of the ſpoils then lately won
of Thebes, that ſtately Town,
And City of Eetion,
when it was raſed down:
Herewith I ſay, he paſs'd his time,
this was his hearts delight,
He ſang withall the praiſe in rhyme
of many a valiant Knight.

Note hereby and learn (quoth *Homer*) what uſe we ought to make of Muſick: for he ſung unto the Lute the noble exploits of brave men, and the glorious acts of worthies and demi-gods: a thing that full well beſeemed *Achilles* the ſon of moſt righteous *Peleus*. Over and beſides, *Homer* teaching us the proper and convenient time of uſing Muſick, found out an exerciſe, both profitable and pleaſant for a man at leiſure, and not occupied otherwiſe in affairs. For *Achilles* being a martial man of action, yet for the anger that he had conceived againſt *Agamemnon*, had no hand in the perils and hazards of War: *Homer* thought therefore that it became very well this Heroique and hardy Knight, to whet his courage by theſe excellent ſonge, to the end that he might be provided and ready againſt that ſally and skirmiſh which ſoon after he undertook: and this no doubt he performed very well, by calling to remembrance the doubty deeds and feats of armes atchieved by others in times paſt. Such verily was the ancient Muſick, and for this purpoſe it ſerved. For we do hear, that both *Hercules* made uſe of Muſick, and alſo *Achilles*, with many other valourous Knights, whom *Chiron* that moſt ſage and learned maſter and bringer up of youth taught, who was a teacher not of Muſick only, but of juſtice beſide and Phyſick. In ſum, a man of wiſedom and ſound judgement, will thus deem, that good Sciences are not to be blamed, if haply they be not well uſed, but impute all fault unto them that abuſe the ſame. And therefore if any one from his childhood, ſhall be well inſtructed and trained up in Muſick, and withall employ his labour and diligence therein, he will receive and approve that which is honeſt and commendable: blame alſo he will and reject the contrary: not in Muſick only, but in all things elſe: and ſuch a one will decline all unhoneſt and unworthy actions, and thus reaping from Muſick the greateſt and beſt contentment that can be, he may benefit exceeding much, as well himſelf as his whole Countrey, uſing no word nor deed unſeemly, but obſerving at all times and in every place, that which is beſitting, decent, temperate and elegant. Moreover, that Cities and States beſt Governed by Policy and good Laws, have alwaies had a ſpecial regard of generous and good Muſick, many and ſundry teſtimonies may be alleged: and namely, a man may very well cite to this purpoſe *Terpander*, who ſuppreſſed in times paſt, the great ſedition and civil diſcord that was in *Lacedemon*: *Thales* alſo the Candiot, who went as it is ſaid, by the commandement and Oracle of *Apollo*, to *Lacedemon*, and there cured the Citizens, and delivered them from that great peſtilence, which reigned in that City, and all by the means of Muſick, as writeth *Pratinas*. *Homer* alſo himſelf ſaith, that the plague which afflicted the Greeks, was by Muſick ſtaied and appeaſed:

Then all day long, the Grecian youth
in ſongs melodious,
Beſought god Phœbus *of his grace,*
to be propitious:
Phœbus *I ſay, who from a far*
doth ſhoot his arrows nie
They chant and praiſe, who takes great joy,
to hear ſuch harmony.

With theſe verſes as with Corollaries, good maſter I will conclude this my diſcourſe of Muſick, and the rather, becauſe you firſt by the very ſame verſes commended unto us the force and power of Muſick: for in very truth, the principal and moſt commendable work thereof, is thanksgiving unto the gods, and the acknowledgment of their grace and favour: the ſecond, and that which next followeth, a ſanctified heart, a pure, conſonant and harmonical eſtate of the ſoul. When *Soterichus* had ſaid: Thus you have (quoth he) my good Maſter heard us diſcourſe of Muſick round about the board as we ſit. And verily *Soterichus* was highly admired for that which he had delivered: for he ſhewed evidently both by his voice and viſage, how much he was affected unto Muſick, and what ſtudy he had employed thereto. Then my maſter: Over and above other things, this alſo I commend in you both, that you have kept your own courſe and place, the one as well as the other. For *Lyſias* hath furniſhed our feaſt with thoſe things which are proper and meet for a Muſician, who knoweth only to handle the Lute or Harp, and hath no farther skill than manual practice. *Soterichus* alſo hath taught us whatſoever concerneth both the profit and alſo the ſpeculation thereof, yea and withall comprehendeth therein the power and uſe of Muſick, whereby he hath mended our fare, and feaſted us moſt ſumptuouſly. And I ſuppoſe verily that both of them, have of purpoſe and that right willingly, left thus much unto me, as to

to draw Muſick unto feaſts and banquets: neither will I condemn them of timidity, as if they were aſhamed ſo to do: For if in any part of mans life, Certes in ſuch feaſts and merry meetings it is right profitable. For according as good *Homer* ſaith,

Both ſong and dance, delight afford,
As things that well beſeem the board.

Neither would I have any man to infer hereupon, that *Homer* thought Muſick good for nothing elſe but to delight and content the company at a feaſt: conſidering there is in thoſe verſes couched and hidden a more deep and profound meaning. For he brought Muſick to thoſe times and places, wherein it might profit and help men moſt. I mean the feaſts and meetings of our ancients: and expedient it was to have her company there, for that ſhe is able to divert and temper the heat and ſtrength of wine, according as our *Ariſtoxenus* alſo elſe where ſaith: Muſick (quoth he) is brought in thither, becauſe that whereas wine is wont to pervert, and overturn as well the bodies as the minds of thoſe who take it immoderately, Muſick by that order, ſymmetry, and accord which is in it, reduceth them again into a contrary temperature, and dulceth all. And therefore *Homer* reporteth that our ancients uſed Muſick as a remedy and help, at ſuch a time: But that which is principal and maketh Muſick above all things moſt venerable, you have my good friend let paſſe and omitted. For *Pythagoras*, *Archias*, *Plato*, and all the reſt of the old Philoſophers do hold, that the motion of the whole World, together with the revolution of the Starrs, is not performed without Muſick: For they teach that God framed all things by Harmony. But to proſecute this matter more at large, this time will not permit: and beſides it is a very high point and moſt Muſical to know in every thing how to keep a mean and competent meaſure. This ſaid, he ſung an hymn, and after he had offered a libation of wine unto *Saturn*, and to all the gods his children, as alſo to the Muſes, he gave his gueſts leave to depart.

Of the Fortune or Vertue of King *Alexander*.

The Summary.

IN this treatiſe and that which followeth, framed both in form of a declamation, Plutarch *magnifieth* Alexander, *a praiſe-worthy Prince, for many good parts that were in him: wherein he ſheweth alſo, that we ought to attribute unto Vertue and not to Fortune, thoſe brave exploits which be performed. By Fortune, he meaneth that courſe of the affairs in this World, whereby it falleth out many times that the wiſeſt men are not alwaies moſt happy and beſt advanced. To prove therefore, that* Alexander *was endued with exquiſit qualities for execution of thoſe enterpriſes which by him were atchieved afterwards and brought to an end, he compareth him in the beginning of this treatiſe, with the Kings of* Perſia *raiſed up to their greatneſſe by Fortune: and then ſheweth, that* Alexander *being an excellent Philoſopher, we ought not to wonder or be aſtoniſhed, if by his vertue he ſaw the end of many things which the moſt fortunate Princes of the World durſt never take in hand and begin. Now the better to ſet out the excellency of this Philoſophy of* Alexander, *he compareth his ſcholars with the diſciples of* Plato *and* Socrates: *proving that thoſe of this Prince ſurpaſſed the others, as much as a good deed or benefit done to an infinit number of men ſurmounteth a good ſpeech or inſtruction given to ſome particular perſons; the moſt part of whom make no account thereof. He proceedeth forward and deſcribeth the wiſdom and ſufficiency of* Alexander *in politick Government, which he amplifieth by the conſideration of his amiable behaviour and lowly carriage toward thoſe Nations which by him were ſubdued: alſo by the recital of ſome notable ſayings of his: likewiſe by the love and affection which he carried unto wiſdom, and men of knowledge. In briefe, his acts be evident proofes of his vertue, and in no wiſe of the temerity and raſhneſſe of Fortune. But even in this very place,* Plutarch *hath broken off his treatiſe, leaving the end thereof defectuous: namely where he began to diſcourſe of the contempt of death, and of the conſtant reſolution of* Alexander *againſt the moſt churliſh and boiſterous aſſaults of Fortune.*

Of the Fortune or Vertue of King Alexander.

THeſe are the ſayings and allegations of Fortune, affirming and proving that *Alexander* was her own peculiar piece of work, and to be aſcribed unto her alone. But we muſt gainſay her in the name and behalf of Philoſophy, or rather of *Alexander* himſelf: who taketh it not well, but is highly diſpleaſed, that he ſhould be thought to have received his Empire at Fortunes hand gratis, and as a meer gift and benefit which he had bought and purchaſed with ſheding much of his own bloud, and receiving many a wound one upon another.

Who many reſtleſſe nights did paſſe
Without all ſleep full broad awake:
And many a bloudy day there was,
Whiles he in field did ſkirmiſh make.

Whiles

Whiles he fought against forces and Armies invincible, against Nations innumerable, Rivers impassable, Rocks inaccessible, and such as no shot of arrow could ever reach; accompanied always with prudent counsel, constant patience, resolute valour, and staied temperance. And verily I am perswaded, that himself would say unto Fortune, chalenging unto herself the honour of his haughty and worthy acts, in this manner. Come not here either to deprave my vertue, or to deprive me of my due honour, in ascribing it unto thy self. *Darius* was indeed a piece of work made by thee, whom of a base servitor, no better than a Currioure or a Lackey to a King, thou diddest advance and make the Lord of the Persians. *Sardanapalus* likewise was thy handy-work, upon whose head, when he was carding and spinning fine purple wooll among women, thou diddest set the Imperial Diadem. As for me, I mounted up and ascended as far as to *Susa* with Victory after the Battel at *Arbella*. The conquest of *Cilicia* made the way open for me to enter into *Egypt*: and the field that I wan at the river *Granicus*; which I passed over going upon the dead bodies of *Mithridates* and *Spithridates* Lieutenants to the King of *Persia*, gave me entrance into *Cilicia*. Vaunt now and boast as much as thou wile of those Kings, who never were wounded in Fight, nor lost one drop of their bloud. These I say may well be counted fortunate and thy darlings, *Ochus* I mean and *Artaxerxes*, whom immediately from the very day of their nativity thou hast enstalled in the Royal Throne of *Cyrus*. But this body of mine carries the marks and tokens of fortune not favourable and gracious, but contrariwise adverse and opposite unto me. First in *Ilyricum*, I had my head broken with a great stone, and my neck bruised and crushed with a pestil. Afterwards in the journey and Battel of *Granicus*, my head was cloven with a Barbarians Cimeter. At the field fought neer *Issus*, my thigh was run through with a sword: before the City of *Gaza*, I was shot through the ancle above my foot with one arrow, and into the shoulder with another, whereupon I was unhorsed, and falling heavy in mine armour out of my saddle, I lay there for dead upon the ground. Among the Maracadarts, my shin bone was cut in sunder with shot of quarels and arrows. Besides many a knock and wound which I gat among the Indians: and every where I met with hot service among them, until I was shot quite through the shoulder. Another time as I fought against the Gandridæ I had the bone of my leg cut in twain; with another shot likewise in a skirmish with the Mallotæ, I caught an arrow in my breast and bosome, which went so far, and stuck so fast, that it left the head behinde: and with the rap and knock of an iron pestill my neck bone was crushed. And at what time as the skaling ladders reared against the wals brake, fortune enclosed and shut me up alone to fight and maintain combate, not against noble concurrents and renowmed enemies, but obscure and simple Barbarous Souldiers, gracing and gratifying them thus far forth, as they went with in a little of taking away my life: And had not *Ptolomeus* come between and covered me with his Targuet; had not *Limneus* in defence of me opposed his own body and received many a thousand darts, and there lost his life in the place for me; had not I say the Macedonians by force of armes and resolute courage broken down the wall and laid it along, Ceres that base village, that Barbarous burrow of no name, had been at this day the sepulcher of *Alexander*. Furthermore, all that journey and expedition of mine, what was it else but tempestuous stormes, extream heat and drought, rivers of an infinit depth, mountains so exceeding high, as no bird could flie over them, monstrous beasts and so huge withal, as they were hideous and terrible to be seen, strange and savage fashions of life, revolts of dissoyal States and Governours, yea and afterwards their open treasons and rebellions? And as for that which went before his voyage: all *Greece* panting still and trembling for remembrance of the Wars which they endured under his father *Philip*, now put up their head. The City of *Athens* now shaking off from their armour the dust of the Battel at *Cheronea*, began to rise again and recover themselves after that overthrow. To it joyned *Thebes* and put forth their helping hand. All *Macedonia* was suspected, and stood in doubtful termes, as enclining to *Amyntas* and the children of *Æropus*. The Illyrians brake out into open Wars and made hostile invasions. The Scythians hung in equal ballance uncertain which side to take, expecting what their neighbours would do, that began to stir and revolt. Besides the good gold of *Persia* which had found the way into the purses of Orators and Governours of every City, made all *Peloponnesus* to rise in armes. The coffers of *Philip* his father were empty and had no treasure in them: but instead thereof they were indebted and paid interest as *Onesicritus* writeth for * two hundred talents. In these great wants, in such poverty and so troubled a State, see a young man newly come out of his infancy and childhood, durst hope and assuredly look, for to be Lord of *Babylon* and *Susa*: nay to speak more truly in a word, he intended in his designe nothing else but the conquest of the whole World; and that with a power only of thirty thousand footmen, and foure thousand horse: for no greater forces brought he into the field, as *Aristobulus* reporteth: or according as King *Ptolomæus* writeth, they were thirty thousand foot, and five thousand men of armes: or as *Anaximenes* putteth it down, his Army amounted to fourty thousand three hundred footmen, and five thousand five hundred horsemen. Now all the glorious means and great provision for the maintenance and entertainment of this power more or lesse, which fortune had prepared for him, came to seventy talents: as *Aristobulus* hath set it down in writing, or as *Duris* recordeth, he was furnished with money and victuals to serve for thirty daies and no longer. How then? was *Alexander* so inconsiderate, rash and void of counsel, as to enterprise War with so small means, against so puissant an Army of the Persians? No I wis: for never was there Captain, that went forth to War better appointed and with greater and more sufficient helps than he, to wit, magnanimity, prudence, temperance, and fortitude, wherewith Philosophy had furnished him, as with munition for his voyage: as being better provided for this enterprise against the Persians, by that which he had learned of his Master and Teacher *Aristotle*, than by

* That is to say, 12000 French-crownes.

by all patrimony and revenews which his father *Philip* had left him. Well, to believe those who write, that *Alexander* himself would otherwhiles say, that the Ilias and Odyssæa of *Homer* accompanyed him alwaies as his voyage provision to the Wars, we may be easily enduced, for the reverence and honour which we owe unto *Homer*: but if a man should say, that *Homers* Ilias and Odyssæa, were unto him an easement of his travels, or an honest pastime and recreation at his leasure, and that the true munition and voyage-provision indeed for the maintenance of his Wars, were the discourses and precepts which he had learned out of Philosophy, and the treatises or commentaries as touching confidence and fearlesse resolution: of prowesse, valour, magnanimity and temperance, we are ready to mock and deride him: and why so? because forsooth he hath written nothing of Syllogismes, of Axiomes, or of the elements and principles of Geometry; because he hath not used to walk in the School of *Lycen*, nor held positions and disputed of questions in the Academy: for these be the things whereby they measure and define Philosophy, who think that it consisteth in words and not in deeds. And yet *Pythagoras* never writ ought, nor *Socrates*, nor *Arcesilaus*, no nor *Carneades*: who all, no doubt, were most renowned Philosophers: neither were they employed and occupied in so great Wars, in reducing Barbarous Kings to civility, or in founding and building great Cities, among savage Nations; neither travelled they through the world visiting lawlesse and cruel people, to teach them to live peaceably and in order, who had never heard of peace or of laws: but these great and famous personages, for all the leasure and rest that they had from imployments and busie affairs, left all writing for Sophisters only. How came it then, that they were reputed Philosophers? Surely it arose either upon their sayings which they delivered, or the manner of life that they led, and the actions which they did, or else the doctrine which they taught. Let us now therefore judge of *Alexander* also accordingly, by the same: for it will be found and seen by the words which he said, the deeds that he wrought, and the lessons which he taught, that he was some great Philsopher: and in the first place, if you think good, consider (which at first sight may seem most strange and wonderful) what disciples *Alexander* had; and compare them with the scholars of *Plato* or of *Socrates*. These men taught those, who were of quick wit, and spake the same language that they did; and if they had nothing else, yet understood they at leastwise the Greek tongue: howbeit for all this, many of their auditours and disciples there were whom they could never perswade to their rules and precepts: but such as *Critias*, *Alcibiades*, *Clestiphon*, rejected and shook off all their doctrine, as the bite of a bridle, and turned another way. Whereas, if you mark and consider the discipline of *Alexander*, you shall finde, that he taught the Hyrcanians to contract Marriage and live in Wedlock; the Arachosians to Till the ground and follow husbandry; the Sogdians he perswaded to nourish their aged Fathers, and not to kill them; the Persians to reverence and honour their Mothers, and not to Marry them as they did before. O the admirable Philosophy of this Prince! By means whereof, the Indians adore and worship the gods of *Greece*: the Scythians bury their dead and eat them not. We wonder at the powerful and effectual speech of *Carneades*, for that he knew how to make *Clitomachus*, named before *Asdrubal*, and a Carthaginian born, to conform himself to the Greeks fashion and language. We admire the emphatical gift of *Zeno*, who was able to perswade *Diogenes* the Babylonian, to give himself to the study of Philosophy. But while *Alexander* conquered *Asia*, and reduced it to civility, *Homer* was read ordinarily: the sons of the Persians, Susians, and Gedrosians, chanted the Tragedies of *Euripides* and *Sophocles*. As for *Socrates*, condemned he was and put to death by the Athenians, at the sute of sycophants and promoters, who enformed against him, that he had brought into *Athens* new gods: whereas by the means of *Alexander*, the inhabitants of *Bactra* and the Mountain *Caucasus*, even at this present, adore the gods of *Greece*. *Plato* hath left in writing one form of Policy and Government of Common-wealth, but he could never perswade so much as one man to use and follow it, so harsh and austere it was found to be. But *Alexander* having founded above threescore and ten Cities among the barbarous Nations, and sowen throughout all *Asia*, the mysteries, sacrifices, and ceremonies of Divine service which were used in *Greece*, reclaimed them from their savage and brutish life. And verily, few there be among us, who read and peruse the laws of *Plato*: whereas there be infinit thousands and millions of men, who have used, and do at this day practice those of *Alexanders* ordaining: and such Nations were much more happy whom he conquered and subdued, than they that escaped his puissance. For these had never any person who eased and delivered them out of their miserable life, but the other were forced by the conquerour to lead a blessed life; in such sort, as that which *Themistocles* sometime said, when being banished out of *Athens*, and fled to the King of *Persia*, at whose hands having received rich gifts, and the donation besides of three Cities which paid him yeerly tribute, one for bread, another for wine, and the third for his meat and other viands; he spake thus unto his sons: Oh, how had we been undone, if we had not been undone! The same may more justly be verified of those who were then subdued by *Alexander*: Never had they been civilized, if by him they had not been vanquished and brought under his subjection: there had been no City *Alexandria* built in *Egypt*; no *Seleucia* in *Mesopotamia*; no *Prophthasia* in the Sogdians Countrey; no *Bucephalia* among the Indians; neither should the mountain *Caucasus* have had neer unto it the City *Hellas*, inhabited and peopled; by the means of which Cities, their rude bestiality being first staied and held under, by litle and little was extinct, and by custom of the better, changed the worse. To conclude therefore, if Philosophers stand most upon this point, and bear themselves aloft, for that they are able to dulce and reform rude manners, and not polished before by any doctrine. And if it be seen that *Alexander* hath altered and brought into order an infinite number of wilde Nations, and beastly natures, good reason there is, that he should be esteemed an excellent Philosopher.

Moreover,

Moreover, that Policy and form of Government so highly esteemed, which *Zeno* the first founder of the Stoicks sect devised, tendeth to this one principal point, that we who are men, should not live divided by Cities, Towns and divers Countries, separated by distinct Laws, Rights, and Customs in several, but think all men our fellow-Citizens, and of the same Countrey: also that there ought to be but one kinde of life, like as there is but one World, as if we were all of the same flock under one herdman, feeding in a common pasture. *Zeno* hath set this down in writing, as a very dream and imaginary Idea, of a Common-wealth well-governed by Philosophical laws; but *Alexander* hath put that in real execution and practice, which the other had figured and drawn out in words: for he did not as his Master *Aristotle* gave him counsel to do: namely, to carry himself towards the Greeks as a father; and towards the Barbarians as a Lord: likewise, to have regard and care of some, as of his friends and kinsfolk; but to make use of others, as if they were brute beasts or plants, and no better: for in so doing, he should have pestered his Dominions and Empire with banishments; which are evermore the secret seeds of War, of Factions and sidings most dangerous: but taking himself to be sent down from Heaven, as a common reformer, reconciler, and governour of the whole World; such as he could not draw to accord and agreement, by reason and speech, he compelled by force of armes, and so from every side reduced all into one; causing them to drink round (as one would say) of one and the same cup of amity and good fellowship, wherein he tempered and mixed together, their lives and manners, their marriages and fashions of life, commanding all men living to think the whole Earth habitable, to be their Countrey; his Camp their Citadel and Castle of defence; all good men to be their kinsfolk and alies; all lewd persons, strangers and aliens. He commanded them moreover, to distinguish Greeke and Barbarians, not by their Mantle, round Targuet, Cemeter, Turbants, or high-crowned Chaplets; but to mark and discern *Greece* by vertue; *Barbary* by vice: in reputing all vertuous folk Greeks, and all vicious persons Barbarians: to think also their habilliments and apparel common, their tables common, their marriages besides and manner of life common, as being united all, by the mixture of bloud and communion of children. *Demaratus* verily the Corinthian, one of the friends that used to give entertainment to King *Philip*, when he saw *Alexander* in the City of *Susa*, greatly rejoyced thereat, insomuch as for very joy of heart, the teares ran down his cheeks, and he brake forth into these words: That the Greeks before departed out of this life, were deprived of exceeding contentment, and hearts delights; in that they had not seen *Alexander* sitting upon the regall Throne of *Darius*. For mine own part verily, I would not repute them very happy, for seeing such a sight as that, considering it is the gift of Fortune, and as much as that befalleth ordinarily to meaner Kings: but I assure you, much pleasure could I have taken, if I had beheld those goodly and sacred espousals, when under the roof of one Pavilion, sealed all over, and wrought with Gold, he entertained at once, all at one common Feast and Table, a hundred Persian Brides, married to an hundred Bridegromes of *Greece* and *Macedonie*: at which solemnity himself being Crowned with a Chaplet of flowers, was the first that began to sing the Nuptial song Hymenæus, as a canticle of general amity, when two of the greatest and most puissant Nations of the World came to be joyned in alliance together by Marriage, being himself espouse unto one, but the maker of all their Marriages, yea, and common father and mediatour to them all, being the means of that knot and conjunction. For willingly I would have said; O barbarous, senselesse and blockish *Xerxes*, that tookest so great paines, and all to no purpose, about making a Bridge over *Hellespont*. For after this manner should wise Kings and prudent Princes, conjoyn *Europe* and *Asia* together, not with wood and timber; not with boats and barges, nor with those linkes and bonds which have neither life nor mutuall affection; but by lawfull love, by chaste and honest wedlock, by communication also of children, to unite and associate two Nations together. To this comely ornament *Alexander* had an eye, when he would not admit the habiliments and robes of the Medes, but the attire and apparell of the Persians, as being far more sober, modest and decent than the other: for rejecting and casting aside that outlandish, unusal pompous and tragical excesse in the barbarous habit, to wit, the copped Turbant, Tiara, the side and superfluous purple mantle Candies, their wide breeches and slack sloppes Anaxyridæ; he wore himself a certain kinde of robe, composed partly of the Macedonian, and in part of the Persian habit, according as *Eratosthenes* hath written. As a Philosopher he made use of things indifferent, neither good simply, nor ill: and as a gracious Ruler and courteous King, he wan the love and heart of those whom he had subdued, by gracing and honouring upon his own person their apparel: to the end that they should continue fast unto him, and firm in loyalty; loving the Macedonians as their natural Lords, and not hating them, as tyrannizing enemies. For it would have bewraied a foolish mind, and withall disdainful and proud, to have made great account of a self-coloured homely mantle, and withall, to have taken offence at a rich coat, embrodered all over with purple; or contrariwise, to have had this in admiration, and the other in contempt; like unto some infant or little child, keeping still precisely to that apparell, which the custome of the Countrey as a Nurse or Foster mother hath once put on: whereas we see, that huntsmen who use to chace Deere, are wont to clad themselves with skines and hides of those wilde beasts which they have taken; as for example, of Stagges and Hindes: Foulers also, that lie for to catch Birds, cast upon themselves, gabardines, and coates of featherwork, or besee with wings and feathers. Those who wear red clothes, beware how they come in the way of Buls: and such as be clothed in white, are as carefull not to be seen of Elephants; for that these beasts fare as though they were wood and mad at the sight of such colours. Now if so great a King as *Alexander* was, minding to tame warlike Nations, like unto wilde beasts, or to dulce and

and keep them gentle, who were so fierce and untractabee, used those Robes and Habilliments which were proper, usual, and familiar to them; and all to gain their hearts by little & little, mollifying by that means the fiercenesse of their courage, pacifying their displeasure, and dulcing their grimnesse and austerity: Would any man blame or reprove, and not rather honor and admire his Politick wisdom, in that with a little change and altering of his garments, he had the dexterity and skill to gain all *Asia*, and lead it as he would, making himself, thus by his Armor, Master and Lord of their bodies; and by his apparel alluring and winning their hearts. And yet these men commend *Aristippus* the Philosopher, and Disciple of *Socrates*, for that one while wearing a poor, thin and thredbare cloak, and another while putting on a rich mantel of Tiffew wrought and died at *Miletus*, he knew how to keep *decorum*, and decently to behave himself, as well in the one garment as the other: mean while, they blame and condemn *Alexander*, in that as he honored the habit of his own Countrey, so he disdained not the apparel of another, which he had conquered by Arms, intending thereby to lay the groundwork and foundation of greater matters: for his design and purpose was not to over-run and waste *Asia*, as a Captain and Ring-leader of a Rable of Thieves and Robbers would do, nor to sack and rack, harry and worry it, as the prey and booty of unpected and unhoped for felicity; like as afterwards *Annibal* did by *Italy*; and before time, the Trierians dealt by *Ionia*; and the Scythians by *Asia*, who made havock and waste as they went: but as one, who meant to range all the Nations upon earth, under the obedience of one and the same reason, and to reduce all men to the same policy, as Citizens under Government of a Common-weal, therefore thus he composed and transformed himself in his rayment and habit. And if that great God, who sent the soul of *Alexander* from heaven to earth below, had not so suddenly called it away again unto himself; peradventure there had been but one Law to rule and overlook all men living, the whole world haply had been governed by one and the same justice, as a common light to illustrate all places: whereas now, those parts of the earth, which never had a sight of *Alexander*, remain in the shadow of darknesse, as destitute of the very light of the Sun: and therefore the very first project of his expedition and voyage sheweth, that he carried the minde of a true Philosopher indeed, who aimed not at the gaining for himself dainty delights, and costly pleasures, but intended to procure and compasse an universal peace, concord, unity and society of all men living one with another.

In the second place consider we his words and sentences; for that in other Kings and Potentates also, their manners and intentions of their minde, are principally bewrayed by their speeches. *Antigonus* the elder, when a certain Sophister upon a time presented and pronounced unto him certain Commentaries and Treatises which he had composed as touching Justice: Good fellow (quoth he) thou art a fool, to preach unto me of Justice, when thou seest me bending mine ordnance against the Cities of other Princes, and battering their walls as I do. *Denys* also the Tyrant was wont to say, that we should deceive children with Dice and Cockal-bones, but beguile men with oathes: And upon the Tomb of *Sardanapalus* was engraven this Epitaph:

What I did eat and drink, I have:
the spots also remain
Which Lady Venus *did vouchsafe,*
all else I count but vain.

Who can deny, but that by the last of those speeches and apophthegms, sensual lust and voluptuousnesse was authorized; by the second, Atheism and impiety; and by the first, Injustice and Avarice? Now if you take away from the sayings of *Alexander* his Royal Crown and Diadem, the addition of *Jupiter Ammon* whose son he was stiled to be, and the Nobility of his birth, certes you would say they were the sage sentences of *Socrates*, *Plato*, or *Pythagoras*. For we must not stand upon the brave titles and proud inscriptions which Poets have devised to be imprinted or engraven upon his Pictures, Images and Statues, having an eye and regard not to shew the modesty, but to magnifie the puissance of *Alexander*: as for example;

This Image here that stands in brass so bright,
Of Alexander *is the Pourtract right:*
Up toward heaven he both his eyes doth cast,
And unto Jove *seems thut to speak at last:*
Mine is the earth, by conquest I it hold:
Thou Jupiter *in heaven maist be bold.*

And another:

Of Jupiter *that heavenly God of might,*
The son am I (Great Alexander *hight.)*

These were the glorious Titles which glavering Poets, I say, in flattery of his fortune fathered upon him. But if a man would recount the true apophthegms indeed of *Alexander*, he may do well to begin first at those which he delivered in his childehood: for being in footmanship the swiftest of all other yong lads of his age, when his familiar play-feeres and mates were in hand with him very earnestly to run a course at the Olympian Games for a prize, he demanded of them again, whether he should meet with Kings there for his concurrents in the race; and when they answered, No: Then were the match (quoth he) not equally nor indifferently made, wherein if I have the worse, a King shall be foiled; and if I gain the victory, I shall but conquer private persons. When his father *Philip* chanced in a battel against the Triballians to be run thorow the thigh with a Lance; and albeit,

that he escaped danger of death, yet was much much grieved and dismayed to limp and halt thereupon as he did: Be of good chear, good father (quoth he) and go abroad hardly in the sight of the whole world, that at every step you tread and set forward, you may be put in minde of your valour and vertue. How say you now, proceed not these words from a Philosophical minde? and shew they not an heart, which being ravished with a divine instinct and ardent love of good and honest things, careth not for the defects of the body? for how greatly, think you, joyed and gloried he in the wounds that he received in his own person, who in every of them bare the testimony and memorial of some Nation subdued, some Battel won, of some Cities forced by assail, or of some Kings that yielded to his mercy? Certes, he never took care to cover and hide his scars, but carried them aboue him, and shewed them wherever he went, as so many marks and tokens engraved, to testifie his vertue and prowess. And if at any time there grew some comparison, either by way of serious disputation in points of learning, or in table-talk, as touching the verses of *Homer*, which of them were best: when some seemed to commend this verse, others that, he would evermore prefer this, above all other:

Ἀμφότερον, βασιλῆά τ' ἀγαθὸν, κρατερόν τ' ἐγχεμπήν.
A Prince right good and gracious,
A Knight withal most valourous,

as making this account, that the praise which another had given to King *Agamemnon* beforetime, stood for a Law unto himself; insomuch, as he would say, that *Homer* in that one verse had recommended the vertue of *Agamemnon*, and prophesied the prowess of *Alexander*. And therefore, so often as he passed over the Streight of *Hellespont*, his manner was to go and visit *Troy*, where he represented unto his own minde, the worthy feats of Arms which those brave Princes and noble Worthies performed, who fought there. And when one of that Countrey promised to bestow upon him in free gift, if he would accept it, the Harp of *Paris*: I have no need (quoth he) of it, for I have already, that of *Achilles*; to the sound whereof he was wont for his recreation,

The praises for to sing and chant,
Of dowty Knights and valiant:

whereas this here of *Paris*, warbled a wanton and feminine harmony, to which he used to sing Sonnets and Balads of love.

Now most certain it is, that to love wisdom, and to have in esteem, Sages and Learned person, is an infallible sign of a Philosophical spirit. And this was in *Alexander*, if ever in any other Prince: for what kindeness and affection he carried to his Tutor and Master, *Aristotle*; also, that he did as great honor unto *Anaxarchus* the skilful Musician, as to no favorite and familiar friend the like; I have already shewed elsewhere. The first time that ever *Pyrrho* the Elian talked and conferred with him, he gave unto the man ten thousand pieces of gold. Unto *Xenocrates* one of *Platos* Disciples, he sent a present of fifty talents. And as most Historiographers do report, he made *Onesicritus*, one of *Diogenes* his Scholars, his Admiral at Sea. And himself meeting upon a time with *Diogenes* at *Corinth*, where he communed with him, he so wondered at his manner of life, and had his gravity in such admiration, that many a time after, in speaking of him, he would say, Were I not *Alexander*, I would be *Diogenes*: which was as much to say as thus, I could willingly employ my whole life, and spend my time at my Book and in Contemplation, but that I am determined to be a Philosopher in deed and action. He said not, If I were not a King, I could finde in my heart to be *Diogenes*: nor, If I were not rich, and one that loved to go gay and in sumptuous Robes, &c. For he never in his life preferred Fortune before Wisdom; nor the Purple Mantle of Estate, or the Royal Diadem, before a Scrip, and a poor threadbare Philosophers Cloak; but simply this was his saying, Were I not *Alexander*, I would be *Diogenes*; that is to say, Had I not purposed to my self to joyn together in mutual society, Barbarous Nations with the Greeks, and by travelling in voyage thorow the earth, to polish and make civil what savage people soever I finde, searching from one end of the world to another, and visiting all the coasts of the Sea, to joyn *Macedonie* unto the Ocean, to sow, as it were, *Greece* in all parts, and to spread thorowout all Nations peace and justice, yet would I not sit still idle in delights, and take my pleasure, but imitate the simplicity and frugality of *Diogenes*. But now pardon me, I pray thee, O *Diogenes*: I follow *Hercules*, I take the way of *Perseus*, I tread the trace of good *Bacchus*, my Stock-father and Author of my Race and Progeny; I would gladly, that the Greeks might once more dance with victory among the Indians, and reduce into the memory and remembrance of those Mountainers and Savage Nations who dwell beyond the Mountain *Caucasus*, the jollie feasts and merriments of the Bacchanales. And even there, by report, there be those who follow a certain strict, austere and naked profession of wisdom, called thereupon Gymnosophists, holy men, living according to their own Laws, devoted altogether to a contemplative service of God, making less account of this life than *Diogenes* doth, and living more barely, as having no need at all of bag and wallet; for, no provision make they of victuals, because the earth furnisheth them always with that which is new and fresh to their hand: the Rivers afford them drink; the leaves falling from trees, and the green grass of the earth together, serve for their beds: by my means shall they know *Diogenes*, and *Diogenes* them. I must also alter the stamp of the coyn, and instead of a Barbarian mark, sign it after the Greek manner, and according to their Commonwealth. Well, thus much of his words and sayings: Come we now to his deeds. And do they seem to carry before them the blinde rashness and temerity of Fortune, and bare force of arms and violences of the hand? or rather, of the one side, great prowess and justice; on the other side, much clemency and lenity, together with good order and rare prudence,

prudence, of one managing all things by sober, discreet and considerate judgement? Certes, I am not able to say and discern in all his acts thus much, as to pronounce, That this was a deed of valor; that, of humanity; and another, of patience or continence: but every exploit of his, seemeth to have been mingled and compounded of all vertues in one, to confirm the famous sentence and opinion of the Stoicks, That every act, a wise man doth effect by all vertues joyndy together. True it is indeed, that in each action there is one vertue or other, eminent and predominant always above others; but the same inciteth and directeth the rest to the same end: and even so we may see in the acts of *Alexander*, That as his martial valour is humane, so his humanity is valorous; his bounty is thrifty, his liberality frugal; his choler soon appeased, his heat quickly cold; his loves temperate, his pastimes not idle; and his travels not without their solace and recreation; who, evermore tempered feasts with war, military expeditions with games, masks and sports; who interlaced among his sieges of Cities, Warlike exploits and executions, festival Bacchanals, Wedding and Nuptial Songs of *Hymeneus*. Who was there ever, greater enemy to those that do wrong, or more merciful and gracious to the afflicted? Who ever carried himself more heavy to stiff-necked and obstinate persons; and more friendly again, to humble Suppliants? And here in this place it comes into my minde, for to allege and cite the saying of King *Porus*, who being brought Prisoner before King *Alexander*, and demanded by him, in what manner he wished that he should use him: Royally (quoth he) O *Alexander*. And when *Alexander* replyed again, and asked what he had else to say, Nothing, quoth *Porus*; for in that one word, *Royal*, is comprized all. And even so, methinks, that in all the actions of *Alexander*, a man may use this for a reffrein or faburden, All Philosophically. For this indeed containeth all. He was enamored of *Roxane* the daughter of *Oxiathres*, by occasion that he saw her to dance with a good grace among other captive Ladies: howbeit, he would not force her, nor offer any violence to her dishonor; but espoused her for his wife: wherein he did as a Philosopher. When he saw his enemy *Darius* lying dead, with many an arrow and dart sticking in his body, he neither sacrificed to the gods, nor sounded the triumph for joy, that so long a war by his death was come to an end; but taking the mantle from his own shoulders, cast it over the dead corps, as if he would thereby have covered and hidden the woful destiny of a King. And this also was done like a Philnsopher. He received one day a Letter of Secrets from his own Mother, which whiles he perused, it chanced that *Hephestion* also sitting at that time by him, read it simply together with him, and thought nothing, *Alexander* debarred him not; onely he took the signet from his own finger, set it to his mouth, sealing, as it were, his silence, by the faith that he owed unto a friend. See how herein he shewed the part of a Philosopher: for if these be not Philosophical acts, I know not what else be. *Socrates* was well enough content, that fair *Alcibiades* should lie with him; but *Alexander*, when *Philoxenus* his Lieutenant General over the Sea coasts of *Asia*, wrote unto him, that there was a yong Boy within his Government in *Ionia*, for sweet favor and beauty incomparable, demanding of him by his Letters to know his pleasure, whether he should send the said Youth unto him, he wrote sharply unto him, in this wise: What hast thou known by me, most leud and wicked Varlet as thou art, that thou shouldst presume thus to allure and entice me with such pleasures? *Xenocrates* we have in admiration, for turning back a present of fifty talents, which *Alexander* sent unto him; and shall we not wonder as well at the giver? shall we not think, that he made as small account of money, who gave so liberally, as he who refused it? *Xenocrates* had no need of riches, professing as he did Philosophy; but *Alexander* had use therefore, even in regard of Philosophy, because he might exercise his liberality in bestowing the same so bountifully upon such persons. We honor the remembrance of those, who have left behinde them testimonies of their contempt of death: and how often, think you, hath *Alexander* delivered as much, when he saw the darts and arrows flying so thick about his ears, and himself pressed hard upon by the violence of enemies? We are perswaded verily, that there is in all men whatsoever, some light of sound judgement, for that nature herself frameth them to discern that which is good and honest: but a difference there is between the common sort and Philosophers, for that Philosophers excel the rest in this, that their judgements be more firm, settled and resolute in dangers than others; whereas the vulgar sort are not armed and fortified beforehand with such deep impressions and resolutions as these:

Εἷς οἰωνὸς ἄριστος, &c.
The best presage by augury and bird-flight,
Is, in defence of Countrey for to fight.
Again,
This full account all men must make,
By death one day their end to take.

But the occurrences and occasions of perils presented unto them, do break their discourse of reason; and the imaginations of dangers imminent, do drive out all counsel and considerate judgement. For fear doth not onely masker and astonish the memory, as *Thucydides* saith, but also driveth out every good intention, all motions and endeavors of well-doing; whereas Philosophy bindeth them fast with cords round about, that they cannot stir. * * *

Of the Fortune or Vertue of King *Alexander*.

The second Oration.

The Summary.

PLutarch *doth prosecute in this Declamation, the Argument and Discourse begun in the former: the sum whereof is this, That the Vertue of* Alexander *surmounted his Fortune, which was always in manner contrary unto him. But before that he entreth into this matter, he opposeth unto the sufficiency and singular parts of this Prince, the base demeanor and brutish vilany of certain other Kings and Potentates, adjoyning over and besides thus much, That all his exercises and employments, are proofs of very one of his haughty courage and magnanimity. Then discourseth he particularly, in what account and reputation good Workmen were with* Alexander, *and what his self-conceit was of his own works in comparison of theirs. Afterward, he cometh to shew, that if* Alexander *be considered from his very first beginning to his last end, he will be found, to be the very handy-work of Valor and Fortitude. In proceeding forward, he saith, That fortune received more honor by* Alexander *than he by Her. The which is verified by considering the state of his Army, after his death. Upon this, he entreth into a Common-place of mans greatness, which serveth to clear and illustrate the former points and matters handled. And by the consideration of the evil carriage and government of many other Princes, as by a foil, he giveth a most beautiful lustre unto the Vertues of* Alexander, *which he decypbereth in particular. This done, he answereth those, who object that Fortune raised* Alexander *to that greatness. And to give the mightier force and weight to the reasons by him produced, he disputeth against Fortune her self: wherein he examineth his several exploits, wherein as Vertue is evidently seen to accompany and assist, so Fortune to oppose her self and resist him. And this doth he particularize at large. After this Digression he cometh again to his precedent matter, and bringeth out new proofs of the vertue and magnanimity of this mighty Monarch, even from his youth unto his dying day; comparing him as a Paragon, with the wisest Sages, and most valiant Warriors both of* Persia *and of* Greece; *Shewing also, that he surpasseth them all, in Continency, Liberality, Piety, Prudence, Justice, Beneficence and Valor. For the last point, he relateth the great jeopardy wherein* Alexander *was plunged one time among the rest, out of which, Vertue caused him to retire safe, as it were, in despite of Fortune; which is the very conclusion of this Treatise, confirming the principal intention of our Author, which is to prove that the foresaid Grandeur of* Alexander *ought not to be ascribed unto Fortune, but to Vertue.*

The Fortune or Vertue of King Alexander.

The second Oration.

WE forgat yesterday (as it should seem) among other matters to say, that the age wherein *Alexander* lived was in this respect happy, for that it brought forth many excellent Arts, and as many great and singular wits: or rather it may be said, that this was not so much the good fortune of *Alexander*, as of those Cunning Artisans and rare Spirits, to have for their Witness and Spectator such a personage, who both knew best how to judge truly of good workmanship, and also was most able to reward the same as liberally. And verily to this purpose reported it is, that sometime after, in the age ensuing, when *Archestratus* a fine headed Poet and a pleasant, lived in great want and penury, for that no man made any reckoning of him to his desert, there came one unto him, and said, Had it been thy hap *Archestratus*, to have lived in the days of *Alexander*, he would for every verse of thine, have bestowed upon thee either *Cyprus* or *Phœnice*. Certes, for mine own part, thus I conceive of it, that the Artificers and Workmen living in that age, became so famous and excellent, not so much under *Alexander*, as by *Alexander*. For it is the good temperature of the weather, and subtilty of the ambient ayr, that causeth abundance and plenty of fruits: but the gracious countenance, the favor, honor, bounty and humanity of a Prince, is it that provoketh and stirreth up good Arts, yea, and advanceth excellent wits: whereas contrariwise all the same languisheth, decayeth, is extinguished and perisheth clean by the envy, avarice, spary pinchilig, and peevish frowardness of Rulers, and those in Authority. And here I must call to minde the report that goeth of *Dionysius* the Tyrant, who hearing one day a famous Minstrel playing passing well upon the Lute, and as sweetly singing thereto, said openly, that he would bestow upon him for a reward a talent of silver. The morrow after comes this Musician to call for the money according to promise: Unto whom *Dionysius*

Dionysius made this answer, Sirra (quoth he) yesterday as I took contentment by thee so long as I heard thee play and sing, so I am sure I did thee a pleasure again in the hope of this promise: Thou were payed therefore presently for the delight which thou gavest me, by the joy that thou receivedst from me: go thy ways therefore, thou hast thy reward already. *Alexander*, the Tyrant of *Pheræ* (whom indeed I should call by this addition onely, *Tyrant*, and not stain and contaminate so good a name as *Alexander*, by stiling therewith so wicked a wretch:) This Tyrant, I say, whiles he beheld one day an excellent Player acting in a Tragedy, was so much moved with a certain tickling delight coming upon him, that his heart began to relent even upon a tender commiseration and pity: whereupon he suddenly left the Theater, made haste away, and went faster than an ordinary pace until he was out of sight, saying withal, that it were a great indignity for him to be seen for to weep and shed tears, in compassion of the miseries and calamities of Queen *Hecuba*, or Lady *Polyxena*, who every day caused so many Citizens and Subects throats to be cut. This monstrous Tyrant was so mischievously bent, that he went within a little of punishing that excellent Actor most grievously, because he had mollified his hard heart, and made it melt like a piece of iron in the furnace. *Archelaus* King of *Macedonie*, seemed to be not very free of gift, whereupon *Timotheus* the Musician singing to the Harp, would eftsoons glance at him, and iterate this pretty scoff as the foot of his Song;

Thou earth-bred metal, silver bright
*You *praise Sir, as your whole delight.* *Amat.

But *Archelaus* met with him *ex tempore* again, and replied not unwittily, in this wise,

And thou as fain wouldst silver have,
*And dost as shamelessly it *crave.* *Asse.

Ateas a King of the Scythians, having taken prisoner in war, that famous Minstrel *Ismenias*, commanded him to sound upon his Flute or Pipe, whiles he sate at dinner. Now when all the company besides wondred at his excellent musick, and applauded him for his good playing, he himself sware a great oath, that he took more pleasure to hear his horse neigh, so unmusical were his ears, and so far removed from the Muses: so much also was his minde set upon the stable and manger, fitter indeed to hear Asses bray, than Horses neigh. What honor then or advancement may a cunning Artizan, or so absolute a Master in musick hope for at the hands of such Kings? Certes no more than from those who would seem themselves to be skilful, yea, and dare contend with Professors in the sufficiency of their Arts; and therefore upon envy or malice seek to overthrow and deprave those that indeed be excellent Artists. Such an one was *Dionysius* abovenamed (whom here I must bring in again) who caused the Poet *Philoxenus* to be cast into the Prison or Dungeon called *Latomie*, that is to say, the Quarries, because when *Dionysius* had put into his hands a Tragedy of his own making, commanding him to review and correct the same, he dashed it out and interlined it all from the beginning to the end. And even *Philip* also King of *Macedonie*, for that late it was ere he gave his minde to musick, was in this behalf unlike himself, and not answerable to his greatness otherwise. Howbeit, upon an opinion that he had of his own skill that way, he would needs (as the report goes) enter into disputation with a professed Musician and Player of Instruments, and argue about the strokes and stops, points and notes, and such like terms, yea, and seem forsooth to control him in his own Art; whereat the Minstrel smiling pleasantly upon him: God forbid Sir (quoth he) that you a King, should ever be so unfortunate, and at so low an ebb, as to have more skill in these matters than I. But *Alexander* knowing full well what things he should be a Spectator and Auditor of, as also what he ought himself to practise and execute with his own hand, studied continually to be expert and accomplished in feats of Arms, endeavoring, as the Poet *Æschylus* saith,

Most manfully his standing, good to make:
And terribly to force his foes to quake.

And this indeed was the Hereditary Art which he received by succession from his Ancestors Æacidæ, and Hercules: as for other Sciences, he honored them in other men, without any emulation at all for their profession: and as he highly commended any excellency or grace therein, so for no pleasure and delight that he took thereby, was he easily surprized with any affection for to follow the same. In his time there flourished two noble Tragedians above the rest, *Thessalus* and *Athenodorus*; who when they contended one against another for the prize, who could act the better, the Kings of *Cyprus* defrayed the charges belonging to this solemn spectacle and pageant; but the principal and most renowned Captains, were Judges to decide the quarrel. In the end, when *Athenodorus* was declared Victor; *Alexander*, who stood better affected to *Thessalus*: I would I had (quoth he) lost the one half of my Kingdom, so I had not seen *Thessalus* take the foil; howbeit, he neither expostulated with the Umpiers, nor complained of their judgement; for howsoever he thought that himself ought in other respects to outgo all, yet he was to yield and give place to Justice. Among Comedians in those days, there was one *Lycon* a Scarphean: This Actor in playing his part before him in a Comedy, had interlaced handsomely a Verse, wherein he seemed cleanly to crave some reward: *Alexander* laughed at the conceit of the fellow, and gave him ten Tallents. Many excellent Harpers there were, and Players of the Lute, and one *Aristonicus* among others, who in a certain battel running in to rescue and succor him, fought manfully, and there was slain, and fell dead at his foot: *Alexander* hereupon caused his Statue to be made in brass, and to be set up in the Temple of *Apollo Pythius*, holding a Lute in the one hand, and a Lance in the other. In so doing he not onely honored the man, but also musick, as being an Art which breedeth animosity in mens hearts, filling those with a certain ravishment of spirit and couragious heart to fight valiantly, who are naturally framed and bred up to action:

for even himself one day, when *Antigenides* sounded the battel with his flute, and singing thereto a military song, called Harmation, was thereat so much moved, and set in such an heat by his warlike tune, that he started out of the place where he sate, and caught up the arms that hung up thereby, ready to brandish them and to fight, bearing witness thereby to the Spartans, chaunting thus:

Sweetly to play on Lute and Harp;
To sing thereto as pleasantly:
Beseemeth those that love at sharp,
To fight it out right valiantly.

There lived also in the time of *Alexander*, *Apelles* the Painter, and *Lysippus* the Imager: the former of these two, painted *Alexander* holding a thunderbolt in his hand, but so exquisitely to the life, and so like unto himself, that it was a common saying; Of two *Alexanders*, the one, King *Philips* son, was invincible; the other of *Apelles* drawing, was inimitable. As for *Lysippus*, when he had cast the first Image of *Alexander*, with his face up toward heaven, expressing thereby the very countenance of *Alexander*, who was wont so to look, and withal, to turn his neck somewhat at one side; there comes me one, and setteth over it this Epigram, alluding very prettily to the said Pourtraicture:

This image here that stands in brass all bright,
The Pourtraict is of Alexander, *right:*
Up toward heaven, he both his eyes doth cast,
And unto Jove *seems thus to speak at last:*
Thou Jupiter *in heaven maist well be bold:*
Mine is the earth, by conquest I it hold.

And therefore *Alexander* gave commandment, that no other Brass Founder, should cast his Image, but onely *Lysippus*: for he alone it was (as it should seem) that had the feat to represent his natural disposition in brass, and to express his vertue answerable to the lineaments and proportion of his shape. As for others, howsoever they might be thought to resemble the bending of his neck, the cheerful cast and amiable volubility of his quick eye; yet could they never observe and keep the virility of visage, and Lyon-like look of his. In the rank of other rare workmen, may be ranged a famous Architect, named *Stasicrates*, who would not seem to busie himself in making any thing, that was either gallant and pleasant, or delectable and gracious to the eye; but intended some great matter, and such a piece of work, and of that argument, as would require no less than the riches and treasure of a King to furnish and set forth. This fellow comes up to *Alexander*, being in the high Countreys and Provinces of his Dominion, where before him he found fault with all his images, as well painted and engraven, as cast and pourtraied any way; saying, they were the hand-works of base minded and Mechanical Artificers: But I (quoth he) if it may please your Majestie, know how, and do intend to found and establish the similitude of your Royal Person, in a matter that is living and immortal, grounded upon eternal roots, the weight and ponderosity whereof is immoveable, and cannot be shaken: For the Mountain *Athos* (quoth he) in *Thracia*, whereas it is greatest, and riseth to a most conspicuous height; where the broad plains and high tops are proportionate to it self every way; having in it, members, lims, joynts, distances, and intervals, resembling for all the world, the form of mans body, may be wrought and framed so, as it would serve very well both to be called, and to be indeed, the Statue of *Alexander*, and worthy his greatness: the foot and base whereof, shall touch the Sea; in one of the hands comprehending and holding a great City peopled and inhabited by an infinite number of men; and in the right, a running River, with a perpetual current, which it poureth, as it were, out of a great Pot into the Sea: As for all these petty Images and Puppets made of gold, brass, and ivory, these wodden Tables with Pictures, away with them all, as little paltery Pourtracts, which may be boughs and sold, Thief-stollen and melted, defaced and marred. *Alexander* having heard the man speak, highly praised him, as admiring his haughty minde, his bold courage, the conceit of his extraordinary invention: Good fellow (quoth he) let *Athos* alone, and permit it to stand a Gods name, in the place where it doth, and never alter the form of it: it sufficeth that it is the Monument of the outragious pride, insolent vanity and folly of one King already: and as for me, the Mountain *Caucasus*, the Hills *Emodi*, the River *Tanais*, and the Caspian Sea, shall be the Images and Statues to represent my acts. But set the case, I pray you, that such a piece of work had been made and finished as this great Architect talked of: is there any man, think you, seeing is in that form, disposition, and fashion, that would think it grew so by chance and adventure? No I warrant you. What say we now to his Image called *Ceraunophorus*, that is to say, the Thunderbolt-bearer? what say we to another named ὁπλίτης ἀγχιμάχης, that is to say, Leaning upon a Launce? Cannot the greatness and Majestie of such a Statue be performed by fortune, without the artificial hand of man, howsoever it confer and allow thereto great store of gold, brass, ivory, and all manner of rich and precious matter? and shall we think it then possible, that a great personage, nay, rather the greatest that ever the world saw, was made and perfected by fortune without vertue? and that it was fortune onely who made for him that provision of Arms, of money, of men, Cities, and Horses: All which things, bring peril to those that know not how to use them well; and neither honor and credit, nor puissance, but rather argue their feebleness and impuissance. For *Antisthines* said, very well and truly, that we should wish unto our enemies all the good things in the world, save onely valour and fortitude: for by that means they be not theirs who are in presens possession of them, but become theirs who are the Conquerors. And this

this is the reason men say, that nature hath set upon the head of an Hart for his defence, the most heartless and cowardly Beast that is, wonderful horns for bigness, and most dangerous by reason of their sharp and branching knags: teaching us by this example, that bodily strength and armor, serveth them in no stead, who have not the courage and resolution to stand their ground, and fight it out. And even thus we see, that fortune many times by heaping upon heartless cowards, and witless fools, a great estate of riches and dominion, which they know not how to weld, and wherewith they discredit themselves, doth honor and grace vertue, as upon which onely dependeth all the puissance, all the worship, glory, and reputation of men; for if, as *Epicharmus* saith,

The minde it is that seeth clear,
And tis the minde that eke doth hear,

then all the rest are blinde and deaf, which be void of reason: for the senses seem verily to have their proper and peculiar functions. Now, that the minde is all in all, that the minde is available in all things, that the mind disposeth every thing in good order, that it is the mind which conquereth, which ruleth and reigneth over all; and whatsoever beside, blinde, deaf, and without life, do hinder, depress, and dishonor the possessors thereof, if vertue be away, may be proved and exemplified by the experience and course of worldly affairs: for by the same puissance and command, *Semiramis* being but a woman, rigged and manned Armadoes at Sea, leavied and armed main battels of Land Forces, built *Babylon*, scoured and conquered all the coast of the Red-sea, subdued and brought to her obedience the Arabians and Ethiopians: whereas *Sardanapalus*, a man born, sat within house at home, carding and spinning purple, tumbling and lying along, waltring among a sort of Concubines: And when he was dead, they made for him a Statue of stone, dancing by himself alone after the Barbarian fashion, and knacking (as it were) with his fingers over his head, like an Antique, with this Epigram set over it:

Eat, drink, the wanton Lecher play,
For nothing else is ought I say.

Crates the Philosopher seeing upon a time within the Temple of *Apollo Pythius* at *Delphi*, the Image of *Phryne* the Courtezan, shrined all in gold, cryed out, Behold here stands the triumphant Trophie, over the loose and lascivious life of the Greeks. But whosoever beholdeth the Life or Sepulture, whether you will (for in mine opinion there is no difference) of *Sardanapalus*, he may well and truly say, Lo the Trophie of Fortunes goods. What then, shall we suffer Fortune after *Sardanapalus* to meddle with *Alexander*, and to challenge unto herself any part of his mightiness and puissance? That were no reason at all; for what gave she ever unto him, more than other Kings have received at her hands? whether it were armor, horses, weapons, money, souldiers, and a guard about their persons? Well, let her by these means make *Ariddeus* great if she can; let her magnifie (I say) by these means, *Amastis*, *Ochus*, *Oarses*, *Tigranes* the Armenian, and *Nicomedes* the Bithynian: of whom the one, to wit, *Tigranes*, slung down his Crown and Diadem at the feet of *Pompeius*, and shamefully lost his Kingdom, as a prey or escheat fallen into his enemies hand: the other, namely *Nicomedes*, having shaven his head, and wearing a cap upon it, declared himself thereby, to be an affranchised Vassal of the Romans? What? Say we then, that Fortune maketh men Cowards, fearful, and base minded? Surely, it were no reason to impute Cowardize upon infortunity, no more than to attribute valour and wisdom to prosperity. But well and truly may one say, that Fortune herself was great, in regard of her Lord and Master *Alexander*: for in him she was glorious, invincible, and magnanimous; not proud nor insolent, but full of clemency and humanity: no sooner was the breath out of his body, but presently her power, that is to say, his Army and Forces, as *Leosthenes* said, wandring up and down straggling, and running upon it self, resembled that same *Cyclops Polyphemus*, who after his eye was out of his head, went groping all about, putting forth his hands before him, but not knowing where to lay them: For even the greatness of her puissance, after he was once dead, went to and fro, wandring it wist not where, and stumbling ever and anon, wanting a Director and Governor, as in time of Anarchy, when there is no Soveraign Ruler known: or rather, it might be compared unto dead bodies, when the life is newly departed out of them. For like as the parts are not knit together, nor hold one to another any longer, but fall away one from the other, and loosely withdraw themselves apart: even so the Army of *Alexander*, after it had lost and forgone him, did no more but sprunt, pant, struggle and strive for life, toss and tumble to and fro, under the Perdiccaies, the Meleagers, the Seleuci, the Antegoni, and I wot not whom, like unto some small vital spirits, yet remaining hot, and beating within the arteries here and there disorderly, and now and then like intermittent pulses, until such time as at the last it grew to putrefaction and corruption in manner of a dead carcase, and engendred worms crawling within it: I mean, such base Kings, degenerate Rulers and Captains who had no generosity nor heart in them. Certes, *Alexander* himself in his life time rebuking *Hephestion*, when he quarreled with *Craterus*, tanted him, and took him up in this wise, What power hast thou of thy self? what couldst thou do, and where wouldst thou be, if a man should take *Alexander* from thee? Semblably, I will not stick to say thus unto the fortune of that time, What is thy greatness? what is thy glory? where is thy puissance? where is thine invincible power, if one should bereave thee of *Alexander*? That is as much to say, as if one should deprive thine Arms and Weapons, of skill and experience to use them; thy Riches, of Liberality; thy Sumptuosity and Magnificence, of Temperance; thy Fights and Combats, of resolute Valour; thy Victories and Superiorities, of Mildeness and Lenity. Make any other great if thou canst, who bestoweth not his goods bountifully, who in the forefront of the Battel hazardeth

hazzardeth not his own person first before his Army, who honoreth not nor regardeth his friends, who taketh no pitty of his enemies captive, who is not in his pleasures continent, in his occasions and affairs vigilant, in his victories soon pacified, and easie to be compounded with, and last of all, who in his prosperity and good success is not kinde and courteous. How can a man possibly be great, what power and authority so ever he have, if he be foolish, vicious, and wicked withal? for in one word, take vertue from a man otherwise fortunate, he is every way mean, and of base account; mean in his gifts and donations, by reason of nigardize; mean in his travels, in regard of his cowardize and tenderness; mean in the sight of the gods, because of his superstition; mean among good men, for his envy; mean with valiant warriors, in respect of his timorousness; and mean in the conceit of honest women, considering his dissolute voluptuousness. For like as unskilful workmen, who set little statues upon great bases and large piedstals, shew thereby the smallness of their statues so much the more: even so when Fortune raiseth up a man of base minde into high place, and to an estate wherein he is to be seen of the whole world, she discovereth his wants, she discrediteth and dishonoreth him the rather, waving and shaking every way through his levity. So that, by this we must confesse, that greatness lieth not in the bare profession, but in the well using of good things: For many times it falleth out, that very infants from their cradle, inherite the Realms and Seignories of their Fathers; like as *Charillus* did, whom *Lycurgus* his Uncle brought in his swadling-bands into the Common Hall *Phiditium*, where the Lords of *Sparta* were wont to dine together, set him in the Royal Throne, and in the stead of himself, declared and proclaimed him King of *Lacedemon*. Now was not this Babe for all this, great: but he rather might be accounted a great person, who rendring unto the new born Infant his Fathers honor due unto him, would not intervert and derive it upon himself, and so defraud his Nephew thereof. As for *Aradeus*, who could make him a great man, whom differing in truth nothing from a Babe, *Meleager* swadled indeed and enwrapped onely within a purple Robe and Royal Mantle of Estate, and so enstalled him in the Throne of *Alexander*: wherein he did very well, to give the world to understand within a few days after, how men reign by vertue, and how by fortune: for he subrogated in the place of a true Prince that managed the Empire indeed, a very counterfeit Player and Actor of a Kings part; or to speak more truly, he brought a mute and dumb Diadem to walk through the world for a time, as it were upon a Stage. The Comical *Poet said;

* *Ariſtoph.*

A very woman may well a burden bear,
If first a man upon her do it rear.

But a man may contrariwise say, that a silly woman or a young childe may take up, yea, and charge upon the shoulders of another, a Seignory, a Realm, a great Estate and Empire, as *Bagoas* the Eunuch took and laid upon *Oarses* and *Darius* the Kingdom of the Persians: Marry, when as one hath taken upon him a mighty power and domion, to bear, to weld and manage the same, and not under the weight and heavy load of affairs belonging thereto, to be overwhelmed, brused, or wrested awry: that is the act of a man endued with vertue, understanding and courage, such an one as *Alexander* was: howbeit some there be who reproach him that he loved wine too well, and would be drunk. But this great gift he had, that in his important affairs he was sober, neither was he drunk and overseen, nor ever forgat himself, and grew to any outrage, for all the Puissance, Authority and Liberty that he had; whereof others when they had some part and little taste, could not hold and contain themselves: For,

No sooner are their purses stuft
With coyn; or they to honor brought,
But they anon with pride are puft,
And soon bewray that they be naught:
They kick, they winse, they fling and prance,
None may stand safely in their way,
If Fortune once their house advance
Some unexpected power to sway.

Clytus for having sunk three or four Gallies of the Greeks, neer the Isle *Amorgus*, would needs be stiled with the name of *Neptune*, and a three-tined Mace carried before him. *Demetrius*, upon whom Fortune had bestowed a little skirt or lappet (as it were) which he tare from *Alexanders* Dominion, was well content to hear himself called *Jupiter, Kataibates*, that is to say, the Vawter. Cities sent unto him not Ambassadors, but *Theores*, forsooth, that is to say, especial persons deputed for to consult with the gods: And his answers to them, must be termed (I would not else) Oracles. And *Lysimachus* who held the coast of *Thracia*, which was but the border or edge of *Alexanders* Kingdom, grew to that height of surly pride, and intollerable arrogancy, that he would break out into these words, Now the Byzantines come to do homage unto me, seeing how I reach and touch the sky with my lance. At which speech of his, *Pasiades* standing by, could not forbear, but say unto the company, Let us be gone, my Masters, with all speed, lest this man bore an hole in heaven with the point of his lance. But what should we speak more of these persons? who might be allowed in some fort to carry an haughty minde, and bear their heads aloft, in regard of *Alexander*, whose Souldiers they were? seeing that *Clearchus* the Tyrant of *Heraclea*, carried upon his Scepter as his device, the resemblance of lightning, and one of his sons he named Κεραυνός, that is to say, a Thunderbolt. And *Denys* the younger, called himself the son of *Apollo*, in a certain Epigram to this effect:

Doris

Doris *the Nymph, by* Phœbus *did conceive,*
And from them both my birth I do derive.

And in truth, *Denys* the elder, the natural father of this man, who put to death ten thousand of his own Citizens and Subjects (if not more) who for very envy betrayed his own brother into the hands of his enemies; who had not the patience to stay for his own mothers death, an aged woman, and who by the course of nature, would have dyed within few days after, but smothered and stopped her breath; who also himself wrote in a Tragedy of his own making,

For why? know this, that Lordly Tyranny
The mother is of wrong and vilany,

yet forsooth, of three daughters which he had, named one *Arete*, that is to say, Vertue; another, *Sophrosyne*, that is to say, Temperance; and a third, *Dicæosyne*, that is to say, Justice. Some there were, who needs would be firnamed *Euergetes*, that is to say, Benefactors; others, *Soteres*, that is to say, Saviours. Some called themselves *Callinici*, that is to say, Victorious; others, *Megali*, that is to say, Great. And yet as glorious additions as they carried in their stiles, who is able to express in words, their marriages following thick one in the neck of another, spending the long day continually, like a sort of Stallions among a number of women, as if they had been a Stud of so many Mares; their unkinde abusing of fair Boys, their violent rapes and enforcements of young Damosels, their drumming and taboring with a sort of effeminate and women-like wantons, their dice playing in the day time, their piping and sounding the Flute in open Theaters, their nights spent in suppers, and whole days in long dinners? But *Alexander* gat up, and sat to his dinner by the break of day, and went not to supper before it was late in the evening; he drank and made good cheer when he had first sacrificed to the gods; he played at dice with *Midias*, one time, whiles he had a fever upon him; his pastimes and recreations were, to travel and march upon the way, and withal, to learn how to shoot an arrow, how to lance a dart, how to mount a chariot nimbly, and dismount again with facility. *Roxane* he espoused and wedded, onely for pure love, and to content his fancy and affection; but *Statira* the daughter of *Darius* he took to wife upon policy, because the state of his Kingdom and affairs required such a match; for expedient it was, thus to mix and unite two Nations together. As for other Ladies and women of *Persia*, he went as far beyond them in chastity and continence, as he did the Persian men in valor and fortitude; for he never would so much as see one of them against her will; and those whom he saw he less regarded than such as he never set eye upon: and whereas otherwise to all persons he was courteous and popular, to such onely as were fair and beautiful, he shewed himself strange, and used them to some sort proudly. As touching the wife of *Darius*, a Lady of surpassing beauty, he would not endure so much as one word that tended to the praise thereof; yet when she was dead, he performed her funerals with so sumptuous and Prince-like Obsequies, he mourned and bewailed her death so pitiously, that as his kindeness in that behalf made the world mistrust and suspect his chastity, so his bountiful courtesie incurred the obloquy and imputation of injustice. And verily, *Darius* was at the first moved to conceive jealousie and a sinister opinion of him that way, considering he had the woman in his hands, and was besides, a gallant young Prince: for he also was one of them, who were perswaded that *Alexander* held the tenure of his mighty Dominion and Monarchy, by the goodness and favor of Fortune; but after he knew the truth once, upon diligent search and inquisition by all circumstances into the thing: Well (quoth he) the Persians state I perceive is not utterly overthrown, neither will any man repute us plain cowards and effeminate persons, for being vanquished by such an enemy: for mine own part, my first wish and principal prayer unto the gods is, that they would vouchsafe me fortunate success, and at the last, an happy victory of this war, to the end that I may surmount *Alexander* in beneficence; for an earnest desire I have and an emulation, to shew my self more milde and gracious toward him, than he is to me ward: but if all be gone with me and my house, then, O *Jupiter*, the Protector of the Persians, and ye other tutelar gods and Patrons of Kings and Kingdoms, suffer noe any other but him, to be enthronized in the Royal seat of *Cyrus*. Certes, this was a very adoption of *Alexander*, that passed in the presence, and by the testimony of the gods. See what Victories are atchieved by Vertue.

Ascribe now (if you will) unto Fortune, the journey of *Arbela*, the battel fought in *Cilicia*, and all other such like exploits performed by force of Arms: let it be, that the fortune it was of War which shook the City of *Tyrus*, and made it quake before him, and opened *Egypt* unto him; grant, that by the help of Fortune *Halicarnassus* fell to the ground, and *Miletus* was forced and won; that *Mazeus* abandoned the River *Euphrates*; and left it disfurnished of Garisons; and that all the Plains about *Babylon* were overspread with dead bodies: yet it was not Fortune that made him temperate, richer than the continent by the means of Fortune; Fortune it was not, that kept and preserved his soul as within a Fortress inexpugnable, so as neither pleasures could, it surprize and captivate, nor lusts and fleshly desires wound or touch. And these were the very means whereby he vanquished and put to flight the proper person of *Darius* himself: All the rest were, the discomfiture of his great Barbe-horses, the overthrow and loss of his Armor, Skirmishes, Battels, Murders, Executions, Massacres and Flights of his men. But the great foil and desfeature indeed, most confessed, and against which least exception can be taken, was that wherein *Darius* himself was overthrown; namely, when as he yielded unto the vertue of *Alexanders* to his Magnitude, Fortitude and Justice, admiring that heart of his, invincible of pleasure, unconquered by travels, and in gratities and liberality immatchable. For in shields and speary, in pikes and targuets, in shouts and alarms, in giving the charge, and in buckling together

ther with the clattering of armor, right hardy and undaunted, as well as he, were *Tarrias* the son of *Dinomenes*, *Antigenes* of *Pellen*, and *Philotas* the son of *Parmenio*: but against tickling pleasures, against the attractive allurements of women, against flattering silver and gold, they were no better, nor had more rule of themselves than slaves and captives. For *Tarrias* at what time as *Alexander* undertook to pay all the debts of the Macedonians, and to make satisfaction unto all those who had lent any money, falsly belied himself, saying, he was in debt, and withal suborned and brought forth a certain Usurer, to the very table where this discharge was made, who took it upon him, that he was a Creditor of his. And afterwards when *Tarrias* was detected and convict hereof, he had made himself away for very shame and compunction of heart, but that *Alexander* being advertised thereof, pardoned his fault, yea, and permitted him also to keep the silver still, that he had disbursed for his counterfeit debt; calling to minde, how at what time as his father *Philip* laid siegge to the City *Perinthus*, the said *Tarrias* in a skirmish was shot into the eye, and would not suffer the same to be dressed, nor the shaft to be plucked forth, before the enemies were put to flight. *Antigenes* causing himself to be enrolled, and his name registred among others, who were sent back again from the Camp into *Macedonie*, by occasion of sickness or maim, whereby they were not serviceable: being found afterward to ail nothing, but to counterfeit sickness, who otherwise was a good Souldier, and carried the marks of many a scar in his body to be seen, offended *Alexander* hereby; and when the King demanded the reason, why he had so done; he confessed by and by, that he was in love with a yong woman named *Telesippa*, whom he purposed to follow and accompany, being minded to go to the sea-coast, for that he could not find in his heart to be far from her. Then *Alexander* asked him, to whom the wench appertained, and who was to be dealt with, for to make her stay: *Antigenes* answered, she was her own woman, and of free condition: Why then (quoth *Alexander*) let us perswade her to tarry still by fair promises, and good gifts; for in no wise force her we may. So easie was he to pardon and bear with love, in any other rather than in himself. The first cause of the unfortunate fall of *Philotas* the son of *Parmenio*, was in some sort his own intemperance: for there was a yong woman born in the City of *Pella*, named *Antigona*, who in the saccage of the City of *Damascus*, was taken Prisoner among other Captives, and indeed had been thither brought before by *Antephradates*, who surprized her at Sea, as she sailed from the coast of *Macedonie*, toward the Isle *Samothrace*: fair she was, and well-favored to see to; and so far had she entangled *Philotas* with her love, after he came once to be acquainted with her, that being a man otherwise as hard as iron, and steel to the very back, she had so mollified and made him pliable, that in the midst of his pleasures, poor man, he was not master of himself and his own heart, but lying open unto the woman, revealed many secrets unto her, and let fall foolish words in her hearing: For what had that *Philip* been (would he sometimes say) but for *Parmenio*: and what were this *Alexander* here, without *Philotas*? what would become of his high addition, *Jupiter Ammonius*, where were those Dragons of his, if we were not well pleased with him? *Antigona* told these speeches unto another woman, one of her familiar friends; and she reported them again to *Craterus*: *Craterus* brought *Antigona* herself secretly unto *Alexander*: and verily *Alexander* touched not her body, but abstained from her: howbeit, by her means, sounding *Philotas*, and coming within him, he discovered fully what he was: yet in seven years space and more, he never either at any feast where he drank wine liberally; and was thought otherwhiles to be drunk, made he shew of this suspicion conceived of him, or in his anger, being of nature hasty and choleric; or to his friend *Hephæstion*, unto whom he was wont to disclose all, and make partaker otherwise of his secrets: for one day by report, having opened a letter of secrets, sent from his own mother, as he read it to himself, *Hephæstion* held his head close to, and read it gently together with him; neither had he the heart to forbid him: onely after he had suffered him to read it through, he took the signet from his own finger, set it to his mouth, as it were to seal up his lips, that he should say nothing. But if a man should go about to rehearse at large all the notable examples, whereby it might be proved that this Prince used the greatness of his power exceeding well, and as most worthily became a King; his strength and voyce would fail him: for say, that by the goodness and favor of Fortune he became great; yet greater he is, in that he used his fortune aright, and wisely as he should: and the more that a man extolleth his good fortune, the more doth he amplifie that vertue of his, for which he was worthy of such fortune.

But now it is high time, that I should proceed to the beginning of his growth, and the first entry of his mighty power: wherein I consider and look every way about me, what act of fortune is therein, whereby men should suppose and maintain, that *Alexander* arose to such greatness? How now? Tell me, I beseech you for the love of God, placed she him in the Regal Throne of *Cyrus*, without drawing a sword, without striking one stroke, without bloodshed, without wounds, without a field fought, or expedition of arms made? by the neighing (forsooth) of an horse, as sometime she did by that first *Darius*, the son of *Histaspes*? or was it some kinde husband won by the flattering perswasion of his wife, that crowned him King; like as the same *Darius* made *Xerxes* King, induced by his wife *Atossa*; or haply the Royal Diadem came of it self to his very gates, as it came unto *Parysatis*, by the means of *Bagoas* the Eunuch; who did no more for it, but change and put off his Ladies Mandillion, put himself presently in the Royal Robe, and set upon his head the pointed Turbant, named *Cydaris*: Or all on a suddain, beyond all expectation, by the fortunate fall of a lot, and the meer benefit of fortune, he became the Monarch of the whole earth; like as at *Athens* their Officers the Smothetæ, and Archontes are created by lottery. But would you know how men come to be Kings

Kings by the means of Fortune? This one example will tell you. The race of the Heraclidæ, descending lineally from *Hercules*, out of which they were wont at *Argos* from time to time to elect their Kings, chanced to fail, and be utterly extinct: whereupon, when they had sent out to the Oracle of *Apollo*, for to demand and enquire what to do in this case; this answer was made, That an Eagle should direct them what was to be done. Some few days after an Eagle was seen soaring aloft in the aye, and at length to settle upon the house of one named *Ægon*: and thus was *Ægon* declared for their King. Will you have another? He who reigned for the time in the City *Paphos*, was found to be wicked, unjust, violent, and a great oppressor of his people: whereupon *Alexander* deposed him from his Regal State and Dignity; and when he had so done, sought for another to rule in his stead, out of the house and family of the Cinyradæ, which was thought in manner to be worn out, and utterly extinct: howbeit, advertised he was, that there remained of that race no more but one obscure and poor man, of whom there was no reckoning in the world made; and he dwelt in a certain garden unregarded, where he lived in very mean estate. Presently he sent forth to seek for this man: they who were put in commission hereabout, found him there indeed, watering certain beds of Leeks, and such like worts and pot-herbs. The man was wonderfully troubled and affrighted to see these Souldiers come toward him, and especially when they said, that he must come and speak with *Alexander* the King: Thus was he brought unto him, in a simple thin linnen Wastecoat, and presently proclaimed King of *Paphos*, received the purple Royal Robe, and was reckoned in the number of those who are called the Kings Minions: and his name was *Alyminus*. Lo how Fortune makes men Kings, onely by altering their robes, by permutation of their names, and changing their Copies a little, all on a sudden, quickly in a trice, with great facility, beyond all hope, and without any expectation at all. Come now unto *Alexander*, what great matter did he ever attain unto without his desert? what hapned unto him without the sweat of his brows, nay without the effusion of his blood? what had he *grátis*, that he paid nos for? what got he, that did not cost him pains and travel? Drunk he hath of Rivers stained and coloured with blood; passed he hath over them upon bridges made of dead bodies; for very hunger he hath been glad to eat of grass and green herbs, the first he could finde growing; he hath with much digging and searching, discovered nations buried under deep snow, & cities lying in caves within the ground: sailed he hath upon seas, warring and fighting against him: and travelling over the dry sands of the Gedrosians and Arbachosians, he saw trees & plants growing within the sea, before any upon the land. Now if a man might be allowed to address his speech unto Fortune, as unto some person, in the defence of *Alexander*, might not one say unto her? When & where was it that thou ever madest way for the affairs of *Alexander*? what fortress wan he through thy favor, without the loss of blood? what city or town didst thou cause to be yielded unto him without a garison? or what army, without their weapons? where found he ever through thy grace any Kings sluggish and slothful; any captain careless and negligent; any warder or porter of the gates drowsie and sleepy? nay, he never met with river that had found passible, winter that was tolerable, or summer that was not painful and irksom. Go thy ways, go, to *Antiochus* the son of *Seleucus*; to *Artaxerxes* the brother of *Cyrus*; to *Ptolemeus Philadelphus*. These were they, whom their fathers in their life time declared heirs apparent, yea, and crowned them Kings: these won fields and battels, for which never eye shed tear: these kept holiday continually: these celebrated festival solemnities daily in theaters, with all manner of pomps and goodly sights: every one of these reigned in all prosperity, until they were very aged: whereas *Alexander* (if there were nothing else) lo how his body is wounded and pitiously mangled, from the crown of his head, to the sole of his foot, gashed here, thrust in there, dry beaten, bruised and broken with all manner of hostile weapons;

With lance and spear, with sword most keen,
With stones that big and massie been.

At the River *Granicus*, his Armet or Morion was cleft with a Cuttlace, as far as to the hair of his head: before the Town of *Gaza* he was shot into the shoulder with a dart: in the Maragardians Country, his shin was wounded with a Javelin, insomuch as the greater bone thereof was (so broken and shattered, that it came out at the wound: in *Hircania* he gate a knock with a great stone behinde in his neck, which shook his head so, as that his eye-sight was dimmed thereby, so as for certain days, he was afraid that he should have been stark blinde for ever: in a skirmish with the Assacans, his ancle was wounded with an Indian dart; at what time when he saw it to bleed, he turned unto his Flatterers and Parasites, and shewing them the place, smiled and said, This is very blood indeed,

And not that humor, say all what you will,
Which from the gods most blessed doth distill.

At the battel of *Issus* his thigh was pierced with a sword, even by King *Darius* himself, as *Chares* writeth, who came to close with him at hand fight. And *Alexander* himself writing simply and the plain truth to *Antipater*, I my self also caught a stab with a short sword in my thigh, but thanked be God (quoth he) I had no great hurt thereby either at the present or afterwards. Fighting against the Mallians, he was wounded with a dart two cubits long, that being driven through his Curace entred in at his breast, and came out again at his neck, according as *Aristobulus* hath left in writing. Having passed over the River *Tanais*, for to march against the Scythians, when he had defeated them in battel, he followed the chase, and pursued them on horse-back for a hundred and fifty stadia, notwithstanding all the while he was troubled with a foul lask or flux of the belly. Now truly, Fortune, much beholden is *Alexander* unto thee for advancing his estate: Is this thy making of him great, by suffering him thus to be pierced thorow on every side? Here is a fair upholding of him indeed to lay

open

open thus all the parts of his body: clean contrary to that which *Minerva* did unto *Menelaus*, who with her hand turned aside all the shot of the enemies, and made them light upon his Armor, where it was most sure, and of the best proof, to wit, upon his Cuirace, his Bawdrick or Belt, or upon his Helmet; and by that means brake the force of the stroke before it could come to the bare body, so as all the harm it could do, was but a little to rase the skin, and let out some small shew, and a few drops of blood: but thou contrariwise, hast exposed his naked and unarmed parts, and those most dangerous to be wounded, causing the shot to enter so far, as to go thorow the very bone, environing and hemming in his body round, besetting his eyes and feet, impeaching him for chasing his enemies, diverting the train of his victories, and overturning all his hopes. Certes I am of this opinion, that there never was King who had Fortune more adverse and a shrewder stepdame than he, although she hath been cuest, envious, and spightful enough to many besides: for whereas she hath fallen upon others violently like a Thunderbolt or shot of Lightning, whom she hath cut off and destroyed right out at once; her malice and hatred unto *Alexander* hath been cankred, obstinate and implacable, even, as it was before him unto *Hercules*. For what Typhons or monstrous Gyants of prodigious stature hath she not raised up as concurrents to fight with him? What enemies hath not she fortified & furnished against him with infinite store of Arms, with deep Rivers, with prerupt and craggy Rocks, or with extraordinary strength of most savage Beasts? Now if the courage of *Alexander* had not been undaunted, and the same arising from exceeding great vertue, firmly grounded and settled thereupon to encounter fortune, how could it otherwise have been, but the same should have failed and given over, as being wearied and toiled out with setting so many battels in array, arming his Souldiers so daily, laying siege so many times unto Cities and Towns, chasing and pursuing his enemies so often, checked with so many revolts and rebellions, crossed so commonly with infinite Treasons, Conspiracies and Insurrections of Nations; troubled with such a sort of stiff necked Kings who shook off the yoke of Allegeance? and in one word, whiles he conquered *Bactra*, *Maracanda*, and the Sogdians, among faithless and treacherous Nations, who waited always to spy some opportunity and occasion to do him a displeasure, and who like to the Serpent *Hydra*, as fast as one head was cut off, put forth another, and so continually raised fresh and new wars? I shall seem to tell you one thing very strange and incredible, howbeit most true: Fortune it was, and nothing but Fortune, by whose malign and cross aspect, he went very neer of losing that opinion that went of him, namely, that he was the son of *Jupiter Ammon*. For what man was there ever extract and descended from the seed of the gods, who exploited more laborious, more difficult and dangerous combates? unless it were *Hercules* again the son of *Jupiter*? And yet one outragious and violent man there was who set him awork, enjoyning him to take fell Lions, to hunt wilde Bores, to chase away ravenous Fowls, to the end that he should have no time to be employed in greater affairs whiles he visited the world, namely, in punishing such as *Antæus*, and in repressing the ordinary murders which that Tyrant *Busiris*, and such like, committed upon the persons of Guests and Travellers. But it was no other thing than vertue alone that commanded *Alexander* to enterprize and exploit such a piece of work as beseemed so great a King, and one derived from a Divine Race: the end whereof was not a mass of gold to be carried along after him upon ten thousand Camels backs, nor the superfluous delights of *Media*, nor sumptuous and delicate Tables, nor fair and beautiful Ladies, not the good and pleasant Wines of *Calydonia*, nor the dainty Fish of *Hyrcania* out of the Caspian Sea: but to reduce the whole world to be governed in one and the same order, to be obedient to one Empire, and to be ruled by the same manner of life. And verily this desire was inbred in him, this was nourished and grew up with him from his very infancy. There came Ambassadors upon a time from the King of *Persia* to his father *Philip*, who at the same time was not in the Countrey, but gone forth: *Alexander* gave them honorable entertainment very courteously, as became his fathers son: but this especially was observed in him, that he did not ask them childish questions, as other Boys did, to wit, about golden Vines trailed from one tree to another, nor of the pendant Gardens at *Babylon* hanging above in the ayr, nor yet what Robes and sumptuous Habiliments their Kings did wear? But all his talk and conference with them, was concerning matters most important for the state of an Empire: inquisite he was, what forces and power of men the King of *Persia* could bring out into the field and maintain; in what ward of the battel the King himself was arranged when he fought a field: much like unto that *Ulysses* in *Homer*, who demanded of *Dolon* (as touching *Hector*)

His Martial Arms, where doth he lay?
His Horses, tell me, where stand they?

Which be the readiest and shortest ways for those who would travel from the coasts of the Mediterranian Sea up into the high Countreys? insomuch as these strangers, the Ambassadors, wondred exceedingly, and said, Now surely, this childe is the * great King, and ours the rich. No sooner was his father *Philip* departed this life, but presently his heart served him to pass over the Streights of *Hellespont*, and being already fed with his hopes, and forward in the preparation and provision of his voyage, he made what speed he could to set foot into *Asia*. But see here how Fortune crossed his designs: she averted him quite, and drew him back again, raising a thousand troubles and busie occasions to stay and hinder his intended course. First she caused those barbarous Nations bordereng and adjoyning upon him, to rise up in Armes, and thereby held him occupied in the Wars against the Illyrians and Tribalians: by the means whereof, he was haled away as far as to *Scythia*, and the Nations inhabiting along the River *Danubie*, who diverted him clean from his affaires intended in the high Provinces of *Asia*. Howbeit having overrun these Countreys, and dispatched all difficulties with great perils, and most

* For the King of *Persia* was called the great King.

most dangerous Battels, he set in hand again with his former enterprise, and made haste to his passage and voyage a second time. But lo, even there also Fortune excited the City of *Thebes* against him, and laid the War of the Greeks in his way to stop his expedition, driving him to extream streights and to a very hard exigent, by fire and sword to be revenged of a people that were his own Countreymen, and of the same Kinred and Nation, the issue whereof was most grievous and lamentable. Having exploited this, he crossed the Seas at the last, furnished with provision of money and victuals, as *Phylarchus* writeth: to serve for thirty daies and no longer, or as *Aristobulus* reporteth, having only seventy talents of silver to defray the whole charges of the voyage. For of his own demain and possessions at home, as also of the Crown revenewes, he had bestowed the most part upon his friends and followers: only *Perdiccas* would receive nothing at his hands, but when he made offer to give him his part with the rest, demanded thus of him: But what reserve you for your self, *Alexander*? Who answered, My hopes. Why then (quoth he) I will take part thereof: for it is not reason that we should receive your goods, but wait for the pillage of *Darius*. And what were those hopes of *Alexander*, upon which he passed over into *Asia*? Surely not a power measured by the strong wals of many rich and populous Cities, not Fleets of ships sailing through the mountains, not whips and fetters, testifying the folly and madnesse of barbarous Princes, who thought thereby to punish and chastice the raging Sea. But for external means without himself, o resolution of prowesse in a small power of armed men well trussed and compact together, an emulation to excell one another among young men of the same age, a contention and strife for vertue and glory in those that were his minions about him: But the great hopes indeed and most assured were in his own person, to wit, his devout religion to Godward, the trusty confidence and affiance that he had in his friends, frugality, continence, bounty, contempt of death, magnanimity and resolution, humanity, courtesie, affable intertainment, a simple nature, plain without plaits, not feigned and counterfeit, constancy in his counsel, celerity in his execution, soveraignty and priority in honour, and a resolute purpose to accomplish any honest duty and office. For *Homer* did not well and decently, to compose and frame the beautiful personage of *Agamemnon*, as the pattern of a perfect Prince out of three images, after this manner,

For eyes and head, much like he was in sight
To Jove, who takes in lightning such delight:
God Mars in waste and loines resembled he:
In breast compar'd to Neptune *he may be.*

But the nature of *Alexander* (in case that God who made or created him, formed and compounded it of many vertues) may we not well and truly say, that he endued with the courageous spirit of *Cyrus*, the sober temperance of *Agesilaus*, the quick wit and pregnant conceit of *Themistocles*, the approved skill and experience of *Philip*, the valourous boldnesse of *Brasidas*, the rare eloquence and sufficience of *Pericles* in State matters and politick Government? For to speak of those in ancient times, more continent he was and chast, than *Agamemnon*, who preferred a captive concubine before his own espoused and lawful wife: as for *Alexander*, he abstained from those women whom he took prisoners in War, and would not touch one of them before he had wedded her: more magnanimous than *Achilles*, who for a little money yielded the dead corps of *Hector* to be ransomed; whereas *Alexander* defraied great summes in the funerals and interring of *Darius* body. Again, *Achilles* took of his friends, for the appeasing of his choler, gifts and presents after a mercenary manner: but *Alexander* enriched his very enemies, when he had gotten the Victory. More religious he was than *Diomedes*, a man who was evermore ready to fight against the gods: whereas he thought all victory and happy successe came by the grace and favour of the gods. Dearer he was to his neer kinsfolk and friends, and more entirely beloved than *Ulysses*, whose mother died for sorrow and griefe of heart: whereas when *Alexander* died, his very enemies mother, for kinde affection and good will died with him for company. In summe, if it was by the indulgence of Fortune, that *Solon* established the common-wealth of *Athens* so well at home, that *Miltiades* conducted the Armies so happily abroad; if it was by the benefit and favour of Fortune, that *Aristides* was so just: then farewell vertue for ever; then is there no work at all effected by her; but only it is a vain name and speech that goeth of her, passing with some shew of glory and reputation through the life of man; feigned and devised by these prating Sophisters, cunning Law-givers and Statists. Now if every one of these persons, and such like, was poor or rich, feeble or strong, foul or fair, of long life or short, by the means of Fortune; again, in case each of them shewed himself a great Captain in the field, a great Politician or wise Law-giver, a great Governour and Ruler in the City and Common-wealth, by their vertue and the direction of reason within them; then consider (I pray you) what *Alexander* was in comparison of them all: *Solon* instituted at *Athens*, a general cutting off and cancelling of all debts, which he called Σεισάχθεια, which is as much to say, as A discharge of burdens; but *Alexander* out of his own purse paied all debts in the name of debtors, due unto their creditours. *Pericles* having imposed a tax and tribute upon the Greeks, with the money raised by that levy, beautified the Citadell or Castle of *Athens* with Temples and Chapels; whereas *Alexander* sent of the pillage and treasure which he gat from the Barbarians, to the number of ten thousand talents into *Greece*, with commandement to build therewith sacred Temples to the honour of the gods. *Brasidas* was a great name and reputation of valour among the Greeks, for that he passed from one end to another through his enemies Camp, pitched along the Sea side before the Town *Methon*: but that wonderfull leap that *Alexander* made into a Town of the Oxydaques, which to them that hear it, is incredible, and to as many as saw it, was mst fearfull;

namely, at what time he cast himself from the battlements of the walls among his enemies, ready to receive him with Pikes, with Javelins, with Darts and naked Swords; whereto may a man compare, but unto a very flash of lightning breaking violently out of a Cloud, and being carried with the wind lighteth upon the ground, resembling a spirit or apparition resplendent all about with flaming and burning armours? insomuch as at the first sight, men that saw it were so affrighted, as they ran backward and fled: but that after they beheld it was but one man setting upon many, then they came again, and made head against him. Here fortune shewed (no doubt) many plain and evident proofs of her speciall good will to *Alexander*; namely, first when she put him into an ignoble, base and barbarous Town, and there inclosed him sure enough within the walls thereof; then, after that those without made haste to rescue him, and reared their scaling ladders against the walls for to get over and come unto him, she caused them all to break and fall in pieces, whereby she overthrew & cast them down who were climed half way up: again, of those three onely whose hap it was to mount up to the top before the ladders brake, and who flang themselves desperately down, and stood about the King, to guard his person, she fell upon one immediately and killed him in the place, before he could do his Master any service: a second overwhelmed with a Cloud of Arrowes and Darts, was so near death, that he could do no more, but only see and feel. All this while, the Macedonians without, ran to the walls with a great noise and out-cry, but all in vain, for artillery they had none, nor any ordnance or engins of battery; onely they layed at the walls with their naked swords and bare hands: and so earnest they were to get in, that they would have made way with their teeth, if it had been possible. Mean while, this fortunate Prince, upon whom Fortune attended at an inch, ready now to accompany and defend him, you may be sure, as at all times else, was taken and caught as a wild beast within Toiles, abandoned & left alone, without aid and succour, not I wis to win the City of *Susa*, or of *Babylon*, nor to conquer the Province of *Bactria*, nor to seize upon that mighty body of King *Porus*: for of great and renowned attempts, although the end alwaies prove not happy, yet there can redound no infamy. But to say a truth, Fortune was in his behalf so spightfull and envious, but on the other side so good, and gracious to the Barbarians, so adverse I say she was to *Alexander*, that she went about as much as lay in her, to make him not only lose his life and body, but also to forfeit his honour and glory: for if he had been left lying dead along the river *Euphrates*, or *Hydaspes*, it had been no great disaster and indignity: neither had it been so dishonourable unto him, when he came to joyn with *Darius* hand to hand, if he had been massacred among a number of great horses, with the Swords, Glaives, and battel-axes of the Persians fighting for the Empire: no, nor when he was mounted upon the walls of *Babylon*, if he had taken the foil and been put by his great hope of forcing the City: for in that sort, lost *Pelopidas*, and *Epaminondas* their lives; and their death was rather an act of vertue, than an accident of infortunity, whiles they gave the attempt to execute so great exploits, and so gain so worthy a prize. But as touching Fortune, which now we examin and consider; what piece of work effected she? In a barbarous Country far removed, on the further side of a river, within the walls of a base village in comparison, to shut up and inclose the King and Soveraign Lord of the earth, that he might perish there shamefully, by the hands and rude weapons of a multitude of Barbarous Rascalls, who should knock him down with Clubs and Staves, and pele him with whatsoever came next hand; for wounded he was in the head with a bill that clove his Helmet quite thorow, and with a mighty Arrow which one discharged out of a bow, his breast-plate was pierced quite thorow, whereof the steil that was without his body weighed him down heavily: but the iron head which stuck fast in the bones about one of his Paps, was four fingers broad and five long. And to make up the full measure of all mischiefs, whiles he defended himself right manfully before, and when the fellow who had shot the foresaid Arrow adventured to approach him with his sword, to dispatch him out right with a dead thrust, him he got within, & with his Dagger gave him such a stab, as he layed him along and killed him out of hand: but see the malice of Fortune, there runs me forth out of a mil-house or bake-house there by, another Villain with a Pestle, and comming behind him, gave him such a souce upon the very neck-bone, that he was astonished therewith, and there lay along in a swoon, having lost his sight and other senses for a time. But Vertue it was that assisted him, which gave both unto himself a good heart, and also unto his friends strength, resolution and diligence to succour him: For *Limneus*, *Ptolemeus*, and *Leonnatus*, with as many besides, as either had clambred over the walls, or broken thorow, came in and put themselves between him and his enemies: they with their valour were to him instead of a wall and rampier; they for meer affection and love unto their King, exposed their bodies, their forces and their lives before him, unto all dangers whatsoever. For it is not by Fortune, that there be men who voluntarily present themselves to present death, but it is for the love of Vertue; like as bees having drunk (as it were) the amatorious potion of naturall love and affection, are alwaies about their King, and stick close unto him. Now say there had been one there without the danger of shot, to have seen this sight at his pleasure, would not he have said, that he had beheld a notable combat of fortune against vertue? wherein the Barbarians by the help of Fortune prevailed above their desert; & the Greeks by means of Vertue resisted above their power: and if the former get the upper hand, it would be thought the work of Fortune and of some maligne and envious Spirit; but if these become superiour, Vertue, Fortitude, Faith and Friendship should carry away the Honour of Victory; for nothing else accompanied *Alexander* in this place. As for the rest of his Forces and Provisions, his Armies, his Horses, and his fleets, Fortune set the wall of this vile Town between him and them. Well, the Macedonians in the end defeated these Barbarians, beat the place down over their Heads, and rased it quite, and

and buried them in the ruins and fall thereof. But what good did all this to *Alexander* in this case? Caried he might well be and that speedily away out of their hands, with the arrow sticking still in his bosom; but the war was yet close within his ribbs, the arrow was set fast as a spike or great nail, to bind as it were the cuirace to his body; for, whosoever went about to pluck it out of the wound, as from the root, the head would not follow withall, considering it was driven so sure into that solid breast bone which is over the heart; neither durst any saw off that part of the steile that was without, for fear of shaking, cleaving, and cracking the said bone by that means so much the more, and by that means also, cause exceeding and intollerable paines, beside the effusion of much blood out of the bottom of the wound: himself seeing his people about him a long time uncertain what to do, set in hand to hack the shaft a two with his dagger, close to the superficies of his cuirace aforesaid, and so to cut it off clean, but his hand failed him, and had not strength sufficient for to do the deed, for it grew heavy and benummed with the inflammation of the wound: whereupon he commanded his Chirurgions to set to their hands boldly and fear nought, incouraging (thus hurt as he was) those that were found and unwounded, chiding and rebuking some that kept a weeping about him and bemeaned him; others he called Traytors, who durst not help him in this distresse; he cried also unto his Minions and familiars, Let no man be timorous and cowardly for me, no not though my life lie on it: I shall never be thought and believed not to fear dying, if you be affraid of my death: * * *

most corrupily understood: and stretching the same yet farther, he rendreth a reason of that honour which the Egyptians did to such creatures: whereupon he would not have us in any wise to rest, but rather to look into the divinity represented by them. And for an end he entreth into an allegoricall discourse, of the habiliments, perfumes, and divers odoriferous confections made every day in the Temple of Isis: *but more especially he treateth of one named* Cyphi: *wherein there be to the number of sixteen ingredients: which composition they use in their very drink, observing therein as in all the rest of their superstitions, a million of ceremonies, whereof he doth particularize especially in the third part of this discourse, even to the very end thereof. All the premises being reduced to their right use, do shew the vanity of men abandoned and given over to their own senses: and prove, that all their sufficiency is nothing but blockish folly, and their intelligence a dark and mirk night, when the brightnesse and light of Gods Word doth fail them. For the more appearance they have both of celestiall and also human wisedom, be more appeareth their blind superstition, in such sort, as instead of resting upon the Creatour, they remain fixed upon the Creatures, and have a longing and languishing desire after discourses void of true instructions and consolations: which ought to incite so much the more all Christians to make great account of the effectuall grace offered unto them in the meditation and practice of true Philosophy, as well naturall as divine.*

Of Isis *and* Osiris.

MEN that are wise, or have any wit in them (O *Clea*) ought by prayer to crave all good things at the hand of the gods: but that which we most wish for, and desire to obtain by their means, is the very knowledge of them, so far forth as it is lawfull for men to have: for that there is no gift either greater for men to receive, or more magnificall and beseeming the gods to give, than the knowledge of the truth: for God bestoweth upon men all things else, whereof they stand in need, but this he reserveth to himself, and keepeth for his own use. Neither is the godhead and divine power in this regard accounted happy and blessed, because it possesseth a great quantity of Gold or Silver, nor puissant in respect of thunder and lightning, but for prudence, and wisedom. And verily of all those things which *Homer* hath well delivered, this simply is the best and most elegant speech, when as touching *Jupiter* and *Neptune*, he saith thus:

The self same parents they both had,
one native soil them bred,
But Jupiter the elder was,
and had the wiser head;

whereby he affirmeth, that the preeminence and rule of *Jupiter*, being the elder, was more venerable, sacred and fuller of Majesty, for his knowledge and wisedom. And of this Opinion I assure you am I, that the Beatitude and Felicity of eternall life, which *Jupiter* enjoyeth, consisteth herein, that he is ignorant of nothing that is done: as also, that immortality, if it be despoiled of the Knowledge and Intelligence of all things that be, and are done, is not life indeed, but bare time. And therefore we may very well say, that the desire of deity and divinity is all one with the love of truth, and especially of that truth which concerneth the nature of the gods; the study whereof, and the searching after such Science, is as it were a profession and entrance into Religion, yea, and a work more holy than is the Vow or Obligation of all the Chastity and Purity in the world, or than the Cloyster or Sanctuary of any Temple whatsoever: right acceptable also is this * Goddesse whom you serve, considering that she is most wise, and full of Knowledge according as the very derivation of her name doth imply, that Skill and Cunning appertaineth unto her more than to any other: for *Isis* is a meer Greek word; like as *Typhon* also the very adversary and enemy opposite unto this Goddesse, as one puffed up and swollen by his ignorance and error, dissipating, defacing, and blotting out the sacred Word and Doctrin, which this Goddesse collecteth, composeth, and delivereth unto those who are initiated and professed in this divine religion, by a continual precise observance of a sober and holy life, in abstaining from many meats, in depriving themselves of all fleshly pleasures, for to repress lust and intemperances; and in being acquainted long before to abide and endure within Temples and Churches, hard and painfull services performed unto the gods: of all which abstinences, paines, and sufferances, the end is the knowledge of that first Prince and Lord, who is apprehended onely by intelligence and understanding, whom the Goddess exhorteth to search & seek after, as conversing and companying with her. And verily the name of her Temple, doth manifestly promise an intelligence or knowledge of that which is, for *Ision* it is called, which is as much to say, as *εἰ ὄντως τὸ ὄν*, for that, if we enter into that sacred place & holy religion of this Goddess, with reason & devotion, as we ought to do, we shall attain to the understanding of all things whatsoever. Moreover, many have written, that she is the daughter of *Mercury*, others of *Prometheus*, of which twain, the one is reputed the Author of Wisedom and Providence, and the other, namely *Mercury*, the inventor of Grammar and Musick. And hereupon it is, that in the City *Hermopolis*, they call the former of the Muses, both *Isis*, and also Justice; as being Wisedom her self, (according as hath elsewhere been said)

* *Isis.*

* Importing the knowlege of that which is.

said) and shewing divine things to them who are justly surnamed *Hierophori*, and *Hierotoli*, that is to say, religious, and wearing the habits of holinesse and religion. And these be they that carry in their mind, and keep enclosed as within a box or casket, the holy doctrine of the gods, pure and cleansed from all superstition and affected curiosity: who also of that opinion which is held of the gods, declare some which are obscure and dark, others also which be clear and lightsome; like as be those which are reported as touching their holy and religious habit. And therefore whereas the religious priests of *Isis*, after they be dead, are thus clad with these holy habilliaments; it is a mark and signe witnessing unto us, that this sacred doctrine is with them, and that they be departed out of this world into another, and carry nothing with them but it: for neither to wear a long beard, nor to put on a frize rugge and course gabardine (dame *Clea*) makes a Philosopher; no more doth the surplice and linnen vestment or shaving, an Isiaque priest. But he indeed is a priest of *Isis*, who after he hath seen and received by law and custom, those things which are shewed and practiced in the religious ceremonies about these gods, searcheth and diligently enquireth, by the means of this holy doctrine, and discourse of reason, into the truth of the said ceremonies. For very few there be among them, who understand and know the cause of this ceremony, which is of all other the smallest, and yet most commonly observed; namely, why the Isiaque priests shave their heads, and wear no haire upon them; as also wherefore they go in vestments of Line? And some of them there be, who care not at all for any knowledge of such matters: yet others say, they forbear to put on any garments of wooll, like as they do to eat the flesh of those sheep which carry the said wooll, upon a reverence they bear unto them: semblably, that they cause their heads to be shaven in token of dole and sorrow likewise that they wear surplices and vestments of linnen, in regard of the colour that the flower of line or flax beareth, which resembleth properly that celestial azure-sky that environeth the whole world. But to say a truth, there is but one cause indeed of all: for lawfull it is not for a man who is pure and clean, to touch any thing (as *Plato* saith) which is impure and unclean. Now it is well known, that all the superfluities and excrements of our food and nourishment, be foul and impure, and of such be engendred and grow, wooll, hair, shagge and nailes: and therefore a meer ridiculous mockery it were, if when in their expiatory sanctifications and divine services, they cast off their hair, being shaven and made smooth all their bodies over, they should then be clad and arraied with the superfluous excrements of beasts: for we must think that *Hesiodus* the Poet when he writeth thus,

At feast of gods and sacred merriment,
Take heed with knife, thy nailes thou do not pare,
To cut I say, that dry dead excrement,
From lively flesh of fingers five, beware.

teacheth us, that we ought first to be cleansed and purified, then to solemnise festivall holy-daies, and not at the very time of celebration and performance of holy rites and divine service, to use such cleansing and ridding away of superfluous excrements. Now the herb Line groweth out of the earth which is immortall, bringeth forth a fruit good to be eaten, and furnisheth us wherewith to make a simple, plain, and slender vestment, which fitteth light upon his back, that weareth it, is met for all seasons of the year; and for all others, (as men say) least breedeth lice or vermine; whereof I am to discourse else where. Now these Isiaque priests so much abhorre the nature and generation of all superfluities and excrements, that they not only refuse to eat most part of Pulse, and of flesh meats, Mutton and Pork, for that Sheep and Swine breed much excrement, but also upon their daies of sanctification and expiatory solemnities, they will not allow any salt to be eaten with their viands; among many other reasons, because it whetteth the appetite, and giveth an edge to our stomack, provoking us to eat and drink more liberally: for to say as *Aristagoras* did, That salt was by them reputed unclean, because when it is congealed and grown hard, many little animals or living creatures, which were caught within it, die withall, is a very foolery. Furthermore, it is said, that the Egyptian priests have a certain pit or well apart, out of which they water their Bull or Beef Apis: and be very precise in any wise not to let him drink of *Nilus*, not for that they think the water of that river unclean, in regard of the Crocodiles which are in it, as some be of opinion (for contrariwise, there is nothing so much honoured among the Egyptians as the River *Nilus*) but it seemeth that the water of *Nilus* doth fatten exceeding much, and breed flesh over fast, and they would not in any case that their Apis should be fat, or themselves grosse and corpulent: but that their souls might be clothed with light, nimble, and delicate bodies; so as the divine part in them should not be oppressed or weighed down, by the force and ponderosity of that which is mortall. In *Heliopolis*, which is the City of the Sun, those who serve and minister unto their god, never bring wine into the Temple, as thinking it not convenient in the day time to drink in the sight of their Lord and King: otherwise the priests drink thereof, but sparily: and besides many purgatious and expiations they have, wherein they abstein wholly from wine; and during those daies, they give themselves wholly to their studies and meditations, learning and teaching holy things: even their very Kings are not allowed to drink wine their fill, but are stinted to the gage of a certain measure, according as it is prescribed in their holy writings, and those Kings also were priests, as *Hecateus* writeth. And they began to drink it after the daies of King *Psammetichus*; for before his time they drank it not at all, neither made they libaments thereof unto their gods, supposing it not acceptable unto them; for they took it to be the very bloud of those Gy-

ants which in times past warred against the gods; of whom after they were slain, when their bloud was mixed with the earth, the Vine-tree sprang: and this is the cause, say they, why those who be drunk, lose the use of their wit and reason, as being full of the bloud of their progenitours. Now that the Egyptian priests both hold and affirm thus much, *Eudoxus* hath delivered in the second book of his Geography. As concerning fishes of the sea, they do not every one of them abstein from all indifferently; but some forbear one kind, and some another: as for example, the Oxyrynchites will eat of none that is taken with an hook; for adoring as they do, a fish named Oxyrynchos, they are in doubt and fear lest the hook should be unclean, if haply the said fish swallowed it down with the bait. The Sienites will not touch the fish Phagrus, for it should seem that it is found, what time as *Nilus* begins to flow; and therefore the said fish by his appearing, signifieth the rising and inundation of *Nilus*, whereof they be exceeding joyous, holding him for a certain and sure messenger. But the priests abstein from all fishes in general: and whereas upon the ninth day of the first moneth, all other inhabitants of *Egypt*, feed upon a certain broiled or rosted fish before their doors; the priests in no wise taste thereof; marry they burn fishes before the gates of their houses; and two reasons they have: the one holy, fine and subtile, which I will deliver hereafter: as that which accordeth and agreeth very well to the sacred discourses as touching *Osiris* and *Typhon*: the other plain, vulgar and common, represented by the fish, which is none of the viands that be necessary, rare and exquisite, according as *Homer* beareth witnesse, when he brings not in the Pheacians delicate men and loving to feed daintily, nor the Ithacesians, Islanders, to eat fish at their feasts: no nor the mates and fellow travellers with *Ulysses*, during the time of their long Navigation and Voyage by Sea, before they were brought to extream necessity. To be brief, the very Sea it self they think to be produced a part by fire, without the bounds and limits of nature, as being no portion not element of the world, but a strange excrement, a corrupt superfluity, and unkinde malady: For nothing absurd and against reason, nothing fabulous and superstitious, (as some untruly think) was inserted or served as a sacred signe in their holy ceremonies, but they were all markes grounded upon causes and reasons moral, and the same profitable for this life, or else not without some historical or natural elegancy. As for example, that which is said of the Onion; for that *Dillys* the foster-father of *Isis*, fell into the River of *Nilus*, and was there drowned, as he was reaching at Onions and could not come by them, it is a meer fable and carryeth no sense or probability in the world: but the truth is this, the priests of *Isis* hate the Onion and avoid it as a thing abominable, because they have observed, that it never groweth nor thriveth well to any bignesse but in the decrease and wain of the Moon: Neither is it meet and fit for those who would lead an holy and sanctified life, or for such as celebrare solemn feasts and holidaies, because it provoketh thirst in the former; and in the other causeth tears, if they feed thereupon. And for the same reason they take the Sow to be a prophane and unclean beast, for that ordinarily she goeth a brimming and admitteth the Bore, when the Moon is past the Full: and look how many drink of her milk, they break out into a kinde of leaprosie or dry skurf all over their bodies. As touching the tale which they infer, who once in their lives do sacrifice a Sow when the Moon is in the Full, and then eat her flesh: namely that *Typhon* hunting and chasing the wilde swine at the Full of the Moon, chanced to light upon an ark or coffin of wood, wherein was the body of *Osiris*, which he dismembred and threw away by piece-meal, all men admit not thereof, supposing that it is a fable, as many others be, misheard and misunderstood. But this for certain is held, that our ancients in old time so much hated and abhorred all excessive delicacy, superfluous and costly delights and voluptuous pleasures, that they said within the Temple of the City of *Thebes* in *Egypt* there stood a square column or pillar, wherin were engraven certain curses and execrations against their King *Minis*, who was the first that turned and averted the Egyptians quite from their simple and frugal manner of life, without money, without sumptuous fare and chargeable delights. It is said also that *Technatis* the father of *Bocchoreus*, in an expedition or journey against the Arabians, when it chanced that his carriages were far behinde and came not in due time to the place where he incamped, was content to make his supper of whatsoever he could get, and so to take up with a very small and simple pitteance, yea and after supper to lie upon a corse and homely pallet, where he slept all night very soundly, and never awoke: whereupon, he ever after loved sobriety of life and frugality, and cursed the foresaid King *Minis*: which malediction of his being by the priests of that time approved, he caused to be engraven upon the pillar abovesaid. Now their Kings were created either out of the order of their priests, or else out of the degree of Knights and Warriours; for that the one estate was honoured and accounted noble for valour, the other for wisdome and knowledge. And look whomsoever they chose from out of the order of Knighthood, presently after his election he was admitted unto the College of priests, and unto him were disclosed and communicated the secrets of their Philosophy, which under the veil of fables and dark speeches couched and covered many mysteries, through which the light of the truth is some sort though dimly appeareth. And this themselves seem to signifie and give us to understand, by setting up ordinarily before the porches and gates of their Temples, certain Sphinges: meaning thereby, that all their Theology containeth under ænigmatical and covert words, the secrets of wisdome. In the City of *Sais*, the image of *Minerva* which they take to be *Isis*, had such an inscription over it, as this: I am all that which hath been, which is, and which shall be, and never any man yet was able to draw open my veil. Moreover many there be of opinion, that the proper name of *Jupiter* in the Egyptians language is *Amoun*, of which we have in Greek, derived the word *Ammon*: whereupon we surname *Jupiter*, *Ammon*: but *Manethos* who was an Egyptian himself of the City of *Sebenna*, supposeth that by this word is signified, a thing hidden, or occultation: and

and *Hecateus* the Abderite affirmeth, that the Egyptians used this tearm among themselves, when they called one unto another, for it was a vocative word, and for that they imagined the Prince and Soveraign of the gods to be the same: that *Pan*, that is to say an universall nature, and therefore unseen, hidden and unknown, they prayed and besought him for to disclose and make himself known unto them, by calling him *Amoun*. See then, how the Egyptians were very strict and precise, in not profaning their wisedom, nor publishing that learning of theirs which concerned the gods. And this the greatest Sages and most learned Clerks of all *Grece* do testifie, by name, *Solon*, *Thales*, *Plato*, *Eudoxus*, *Pythagoras*, and as some let not to say, *Lycurgus* himself; who all travelled of a deliberate purpose into *Egypt*, for to confer with the Priests of that Country. For it is constantly held that *Eudoxus* was the auditour of *Chonuphens* the Priest of *Memphis*, *Solon* of *Souchis* the Priest of *Sais*, *Pythagoras* of *Oenuphens* the Priest of *Heliopolis*. And verily this *Pythagoras* last named, was highly esteemed among those men, like as himself had them in great admiration, in so much as he of all others seemed most to imitate their manner of mystical speaking under covert words, and to involve his doctrine and sentences within figurative and ænigmaticall words: for the characters which are called Hieroglyphicks in *Egypt*, be in manner all of them, like to these precepts of *Pythagoras*: Eat not upon a stool or chair; Stir not over a bushell; Plant no Date tree; Stir not the fire in the house, nor rake into it with a sword. And me thinks, that whereas the Pythagoreans call Unity, *Apollo*; Two, *Diana*; the number of seven, *Minerva*; and the first cubick, *Neptune*; this resembleth very neer, that which the Egytians consecrate and dedicate in their Temples, and agreeth with that which they do and write. For their King and Lord *Osiris*, they depaint and pourtray, by an eye and a Scepter: and some there be, who make this interpretation of the name *Osiris*, as if it signified, having many eyes, for that *Os* in the Egyptian tongue, betokeneth many, and *Iri*, an eye. As for heaven, they describe by a young countenance, by reason of the perpetuity thereof, whereby it never waxeth old. And *Iri*, they set out by an heart, having under it an hearth with fire burning upon it. In the City of *Thebes* there stood up certain Images without hands, resembling Judges; and the Chief or President among them, was blindfolded or hoodwincked, to give us to understand, that Justice should neither be corrupted with bribery, nor partiall and respective of persons. In the signet or sealering of their martial and military men, there was engraven the portracture of the great Fly called the Beetell, because in that kinde there is no female, but they be all males: they blow or cast their seed in form of a pellet or round ball, under dung; which they prepare to be a place, not for their food more, than for their brood. Whensoever therefore you shall hear the Egyptians tell tales of the gods, to wit, of their vagrant and wandring perigrinations, or of their dismembrings, and other such like fabulous fictions, you must call to mind, that which you have before said; and never think that they mean any such thing is or hath been done according to that literall sense: for they do not say, that *Mercury* properly is a Dog, but forasmuch as the nature of this beast is to be wary, watchfull, vigilant, and wise, able to distinguish by his taking knowledgede and semblance of ignorance, a friend and familiar from an enemy and stranger: therefore (as *Plato* saith) they attributed and likened him to the most eloquent of all the gods. Neither do they think, when they describe the Sun, that out of the bark of the tree Lotus there ariseth a babe new born; but in this wise do they represent unto us the Sun rising, giving thus much to understand covertly, that the light and illumination of the Sun proceedeth out of the waters of the sea: for even after the same manner the most cruell and terrible King of the Persians, *Ochus*, who put to death many of his Nobles and Subjects, and in the end slew their Beef Apis, and eat him at the feast, together, with his friends, they called The sword; and even at this day, in the register and catalogue of their Kings, he goeth under that name; not signifying thereby his proper substance; but to expresse his hard and fell nature, his mischievous disposition, they compared him to a bloody instrument and weapon made to murder men. In hearing then and receiving after this manner, that which shall be told unto you as touching the gods after an holy religious manner, in doing also and observing alwaies diligently the accustomed rites, ordained for the sacred service of the gods, and believing firmly, that you can not perform any sacrifice or liturgy more pleasing unto them, than to study for to have a sound and true opinion of them: by this means you shall avoid superstition, which is as great a sin as impiety and Atheism. Now the fable of *Isis* and *Osiris*, is as briefly as may be, by cutting off many superfluous matters that serve to no purpose, delivered in this wise: It is said, that dame *Rhea*, at what time as *Saturn* lay secretly with her, was espied by the Sun, who cursed her; and among other maledictions, prayed that she might not be delivered, nor bring forth Child, neither in any moneth or year: but *Mercury* being inamoured of this goddesse, companied likewise with her; and afterwards, as he played at Dice with the Moon and won from her the seventieth part of every one of her illuminations, which being all put together, make five intire dayes, he added the same unto the three hundred and threescore dayes of the year; and so those od dayes the Egyptians do call at this present, the dayes of the Epact, celebrating and solemnizing them as the birth-dayes of their gods: for that when the full time of *Rhea* was expired, upon the first day of them was *Osiris* born; at whose birth a voice was heard, That the Lord of the whole world now came into light: and some say, that a certain woman named *Pamyle*, as she went to fetch water for the Temple of *Jupiter* in the City of *Thebes*, heard this voice, commanding her to proclame aloud, That the Great King and Benefactour *Osiris* was now born: also, for that *Saturn* committed this Babe *Osiris* into her hands for to be noursed, therefore in honuur of her there was a festivall day solemnized, named thereupon *Pamyla*, much like unto that which is named *Phallephoria* unto *Priapus*. On the second day she was delivered of *Aroveris*, who is *Apollo*, whom some likewise call the elder *Orus*. Upon the third day she brought forth

forth *Typhon*, but he came not at the just time nor at the right place, but brake thorow his mothers side, and issued forth as the wound. On the fourth day was *Isis* born, in a watery place called *Pansiade*, and issued forth as the wound. On the fifth day she was delivered of * *Nephthe*, who of some is named also *Teleute* and *Vebygra*. And the fifth day she was delivered of *Osiris* and *Aroueris* by the Sun, *Isis* by *Mercury*, *Typhon* and *Nephthe* by *Saturn*, which is the cause that the Kings reputing the third of these intercalar daies to be desasterous and dismall, dispatched no affairs thereupon, neither did they cherish themselves by meat and drink or otherwise, untill night: that *Nephthe* was honoured by *Typhon*; that *Isis* and *Osiris* were in love in their mothers belly before they were born, and lay together secretely and stealth; and some give out, that by this means *Aroueris* was begotten and born, who by the Egyptians is called *Orus* the elder, and by the Greeks, *Apollo*. Well, during the time that *Osiris* reigned King in *Egypt*, immediatly he brought the Egyptians from their needy, poor and savage kinde of life, by teaching them how to sow and plant their grounds, by establishing good Laws among them, and by shewing how they should worship and serve God. Afterwards, he travelled throughout the World, reducing the whole Earth to civility, by force of armes least of all, but winning and gaining the most Nations by effectual remonstrances and sweet perswasion couched in songs, and with all manner of Musick: whereupon the Greeks were of opinion, that he and *Bacchus* were both one. Furthermore, the tale goes, that in the absence of *Osiris*, *Typhon* stirred not, nor made any commotion, for that *Isis* gave good order to the contrary, and was of sufficient power to prevent and withstand all innovations; but when he was returned, *Typhon* complotted a conspiracy against him, having drawn into his confederacy seventy two complices, besides a certain Queen of *Ethiopia*, who likewise combined with him, and her name was *Aso*. Now when he had secretly taken the just measure and proportion of *Osiris* body, and caused a coffer or hutch to be made of the same length, and that most curiously and artificially wrought and set out to the eye, he took order, that it should be brought into the Hall, where he made a great feast unto the whole company. Every man took great pleasure with admiration, to behold such a singular exquisit piece of work; and *Typhon* in a merriment, flood up and promised that he would bestow it upon him, whose body was meet and fit for it: hereupon, all the company one after another assayed whose body would fit it; but it was not found proportionate nor of a just size to any of all the rest: at length, *Osiris* gat up into it, and layed him there along; with that, the conspiratours ran to it, and let down the lid and cover thereof upon him, and partly with nailes, and partly with melted lead which they powred aloft, they made it sure enough; and when they had so done, carried it forth to the river side, and let it down into the sea, at the very mouth of *Nilus* named *Taniticus*; which is the reason, that the said mouth is even to this day odious and execrable among the Egyptians, insomuch as they call it *Catophyston*, that is to say, Abominable, or to be spit at. Over and besides, it is said, that this fell out to be done upon the seventeenth day of the moneth named *Athyr*, during which moneth, the Sun entreth into the sign *Scorpious*, and in the eight and twentieth year of *Osiris* reign: howbeit, others affirm, that he lived in deed, but reigned not so long. Now the first that had an inckling and intelligence of this hainous act, were the Panes and Satyres inhabiting about *Chemnis*, who began to whisper one unto another, and to talk thereof; which is the reason, that all sudden tumults and troubles of the multitude and common people, be called Panique affrights. Moreover, it followeth on in the tale, that *Isis* being advertised hereof, immediatly cut off one of the tresses of her hair, and put on mourning weeds in that place which now is called the City *Coptus*, in remembrance thereof; howsoever others say, that this word *Coptos*, betokeneth Privation, for that κοπτεσθαι in Greek, signifieth as much as to deprive. In this doleful habit she wandred up and down in great perplexity to hear tidings of *Osiris*, and whomsoever she met withall, she failed not to enquire of them; and she missed not so much as little children playing together, but asked them, whether they had seen any such coffer: at length, the light of those children who had seen it indeed, and they directed her to the mouth of the river *Nilus*, where the complices and associates of *Typhon* had let the said vessel into the sea. And ever since that time, the Egyptians are of opinion, that young children have the gift of revealing secrets, and they take all their words which they passe in play and sport, as offes and presages, but especially within the Temples, what matter soever it be that they prattle of. Moreover, when *Isis* understood that *Osiris* fell in love with her sister *Nephthys*, thinking she was *Isis* and so carnally companyed with her, and withall, found a good token thereof, to wit, a chaplet or garland of Melilos which he had left with *Nephthe*, she went for to seek her babe (for presently upon the birth of the infant, for fear of *Typhon* the hid it) and when with much ado and with great pains taken, *Isis* had found it, by the means of certain hounds which brought her to the place where he was, she reared and brought it up, in such sort, as when he came to some bigge[illegible]

* Or *Nepthy*.

* ειλεη

* Or Some such shrub.

Some translate this, as if the ark were incloied within the trunke of the plant.

ness, he became her guide and squire, named *Anubis*, who also is said to keep the gods, like as dogs guard men. After this, she heard news of the foresaid coffer, and namely, that the waves of the sea had by tides cast it upon the coast of *Byblus*, where, by a billow of water it was gently brought close to the foot of a shrub or plant called * Erice: now this Erice or Tamarix in a small time grew so fair, and spread forth so large and big branches withall, that it * compassed, encloscd and covered the said coffer all over, so as it could not be seen. The King of *Byblus* wondring to see this plant so big, caused the branches to be lopped off, that covered the foresaid coffin not seen, and of the trunck or body thereof, made a pillar to sustain the roof of his house: whereof *Isis* by report being advertised by a certain divine spirit or winde of flying fame, came to *Byblus*, where she sat her down by a certain fountain, all heavy and in distresse, pitiously weeping to her self; neither spake she a word unto any creature, only the Queens waiting maids and women that came by, she saluted and made much of, plaiting and broiding the

the tresses of her hair most exquisitely, and casting from her into them a marvellous sweet and pleasant sent issuing from her body, whiles she dressed them. The Queen perceiving her woman thus curiously & trimly set out, had an earnest desire to see this stranger, as well for that she yeelded such an odoriferous smell from her body, as because she was so skilfull in dressing their heads: so she sent for the woman, and being grown into some familiar acquaintance with her, made her the Nurse and governesse of her young son: now the Kings name was *Malcander*, and the Queenes, *Astarte*, or rather *Saosis*, or as some will have it, *Nemanous*, which is as much to say in the greek tongue, as *Athenais*. And the speech goes, that *Isis* suckled and nourished this infant, by putting her finger instead of the breast-head or nipple, into the mouth thereof; also, that in the night season she burnt all away that was mortall of his body; and in the end, was her self metamorphized and turned a Swallow, flying, and lamenting after a moaning manner about the pillar aforesaid, untill such time as the Queen observing this, and crying out when she saw the body of her child on a light fire, bereaved it of immortality. Then *Isis* being discovered to be a goddesse, craved the pillar of wood: which she cut down with facility, and took from underneath the trunk of the Tamarix or Erice, which she anointed with perfumed oile, and enwrapped within a linnen cloth, and gave it to the Kings for to be kept: whereof it commeth, that the Byblians even at this day reverence this piece of wood, which lieth consecrate within the Temple of *Isis*. Furthermore, it is said, that in the end she * light upon the coffer, over which she wept and lamented so much, that the youngest of the Kings sons died for very pitty of her; but she her self accompanied with the eldest of them, together with the coffer, embarked, took sea and departed. But when the river *Phædrus* turned the wind somewhat roughly, about the dawning of the day, *Isis* was so much displeased and angry, that she dried it quite. And so soon as she came unto a solitary place, where she was by her self alone, she open'd the coffer, where finding the corps of *Osiris*, she laid her face close to his, embraced it and wept. Herewith came the child softly behind and espied what she was doing: whom when she perceived, she looked back, casting an untoward eye, and beheld him with such an angry aspect, that the poor infant not able to endure so terrible a look, died upon it. Some say it was not so; but that he fell into the sea, in manner aforesaid, and was honoured for the Goddesse sake, and that he is the same whom the Egyptians chant at their feasts, under the name of *Maneros*. But others give out, that this child was named *Palæstinus*, and that the City *Peluſium* was built in remembrance of him by the Goddesse *Isis*; and so took the name after him; and how this *Maneros* whom they so celebrate in their songs, was the first inventor of Musick. Howbeit others there are again, who affirm that this was the name of no person, but a kinde of dialect of language, proper and agreeable unto those who drink and banquet together, as if a man should say, In good hour & happily may this or that come. For the Egyptians were wont ordinarily to use this tearm *Maneros* in such a sense: like as no doubt the dry sceletos or dead corps of a man which they used to carry about and shew in a bierre or coffin at the table, was not the representation or memoriall of this accident which befell unto *Osiris*, as some do imagine, but served as an admonition to put the guests in mind to be merry & take their pleasure, & joy in those things wch were present; for that soon after they should be like unto it. This I say was the reason that it was brought in at their feasts and merry-meetings. Furthermore, when *Isis* was gon to see her son *Horus*, who was fostered & brought up in the City *Butus*, and had laid the foresaid coffer with *Osiris* body out of the way, *Typhon* fortuned as he hunted in a clear moon-shine night to meet with it, and taking knowledge of the body, cut it into fourteen pieces & flung them here and there one from another: which when *Isis* understood, she searched for them in a Bote of Punt made of papyr reed, all over the mores and marishes: whereof it comes that the Crocodiles never hurt those who sail or row in vessels made of that plant, whether it be that they are affraid of it, or reverence it for this Goddesse sake, I know not. And thus you may know the reason, why there be found many sepulchres of *Osiris* in the Country of *Egypt*, for ever as she found any piece of him, she caused a Tomb to be made for it: others say no: but that she made many images of him, which she left in every City, as if she had bestowed among them his very body indeed: to the end that in many places he might be honoured: and that if haply *Typhon* when he sought for the true Sepulchre of *Osiris*, (having vanquished and overcome *Horus*) many of them being reported and shewed, he might not know which was it, and so give over seeking farther. Over and besides, the report goes, that *Isis* found all other parts of *Osiris* body but onely his privy member, for that it was immediately cast into a River, and the Fishes named *Lepidotus*, *Phagrus* and *Oxyrynchus* devoured it: for which cause *Isis* detesteth them above all other Fishes: but instead of that naturall part, she made a counterfeit one, called *Phallus*, which she consecrated: and in the honour thereof the Egyptians hold a solemn feast. After all this it followeth in the Fable, that *Osiris* being returned out of the infernall parts, appeared unto *Horus*, for to exercise, instruct and train him against the battell: of whom he demanded what he thought to be the most beautifull thing in the world: who answered, To be revenged of the wrong and injury which had been done to a mans Parents. Secondly, what beast he thought most profitable to go into the field withall: unto whom *Horus* should make answer, The horse: whereat *Osiris* marvelled, and asked him why he named the Horse, and not the Lyon rather: Because (quoth *Horus*) the Lyon serveth him in good stead, who stands upon his own guard and defence onely, and hath need of aid: but the Horse is good to defeat the enemy quite, to follow him in chase, and take him prisoner. When *Osiris* heard him say so, he took great pleasure and contentment herein, judging hereby that his Son was sufficiently appointed and prepared to give battell unto his enemies. And verily it is said that among many that daily revolted from *Typhon* and sided with *Horus*, even the very concubine of *Tybon* named *Thueris* was one, who came unto him: & when a certain * Serpent followed after & pursued

* ωκεανῷ

* Ophis.

pursued her, the same was cut in pieces by the guard about *Horus*: in remembrance whereof, as this very day they bring forth a certain cord, which likewise they chop in pieces. Well, they say the battell continued many dayes: but in the end *Horus* had the victory: As also that *Isis* having *Typhon* prisoner fast bound in her hands, killed him not: but loosed him and let him go: which *Horus* not able to endure with patience, laid violent hands upon his Mother, and plucked from her head the roiall ornament that she had thereon: instead whereof, *Mercury* set on a morion made in maner of a Cowes head. Then *Typhon* called *Horus* judicially into question, charging him that he was a Bastard; but by the help of *Mercury* who pleaded his cause, he was judged by the gods, legitimate: who also in two other battels vanquished *Typhon*. And more than all this, the tale saith, that *Isis* after death, was with Child by *Osiris*, by whom she had *Helitomenus* and *Harpocrates* who wanted his nether parts. Thus you see what be in manner all the principall points of his fable, setting aside and excepting those which are most execrable, to wit, the dismembring of *Horus* and the beheading of *Isis*. Now, that if any there be who hold and affirm such fables as these touching the blessed and immortall nature, whereby especially we conceived in our mind the deity, to be true, and that such things were really done or hapned so indeed,

We ought to spit upon their face,
And cause such mouthes with all disgrace,

as *Æschylus* saith, I need not say unto you, for that you hate and detest those enough already of your selfe, who conceive so barbarous and absurd opinions of the gods. And yet you see very well, that these be not narrations like unto old Wives tales, or vain and foolish fictions, which Poets or other idle writers devise out of their own fingers ends, after the manner of Spiders, which of themselves without any precedent, and subject matter, spin their threds, weave and stretch out their webbs: for evident it is that they contain some difficulties, and the memorialls of certain accidents. And like as the Mathematicians say, that the rainbow is a representation of the Sun, and the same distinguished by sundry colours, by the refraction of our eye-sight against a cloud: even so this fable, is an appearance of some doctrine or learning, which doth reflect and send back our understanding, to the consideration of some other truth; much after the manner of sacrifices, wherein there is mingled a kinde of lamentable dole, and sorrowfull heavinesse. Semblably, the making and disposition of Temples, which in some places have fair open Isles and pleasant allies open over head: and in other, dark Caves, Vaults and Shrouds under the earth, resembling properly Caves, Sepulchers, or Charnell Vaults, wherein they put the bodies of the dead; especially the opinion of the Osiririans: for albeit the Body of *Osiris*, be said to be in many places, yet they name haply *Abydus* the Town, or *Memphis* a little City, where they affirm that his true Body lieth, in such sort, as the greatest and wealthiest persons in *Egypt* usually do ordain and take order, that their bodies be interred in *Abydus*, to the end they may lie in the same Sepulchre with *Osiris*: and at *Memphis* was kept the Beef Apis, which is the image and figure of his Soul, and they will have his body also to be there. Some likewise there be, who interpret the name of this Town, as if it should signifie the haven and harbour of good men: others, that it betokeneth the Tomb of *Osiris*: and there is before the Gate of the City, a little Isle, which to all others is inaccessible, and admitteth no entrance, insomuch, as neither fowles of the air will there light, nor fishes of the sea approach thither: onely at one certain time, the Priests may come in, and there they offer sacrifices, and present oblations to the dead, where also they crown and adora with flowers the monument of one *Methides*, which is overshadowed with a certain plant, greater and taller than any Olive tree. *Eudoxous* writeth, that how many sepulchers soever there be in *Egypt* wherein the corps of *Osiris* should lie, yet it is in the City *Busiris*; for that it was the Country and place of his nativity: so that now there is no need to speak of *Taphosiris*, for the very name itself saith enough, signifying as it doth, the Sepulture of *Osiris*. Well, I approve the cutting of the Wood, and rending of the Linnen, the effusions also and funerall libaments there performed, because there be many mysteries mingled among. And so the Priests of *Egypt* affirm, that the bodies not of these gods onely, but also of all others, who have been ingendred, and are not incorruptible, remain among them where they were honoured and reverenced; but their Souls became stars, and shine in heaven: and as for that of *Isis*, it is the same which the Greeks call *Cyon*, that is to say, the Dog-star, but the Egyptians *Sothis*: that of *Orus* is *Orion*, and that of *Typhon*, the Bear. But whereas all other Cities and States in *Egypt* contribute a certain tribute imposed upon them, for to pourtray, draw and paint such beasts as are honoured among them, those onely who inhabite the Country *Thebais*, of all others give nothing thereto, being of opinion, that no mortall thing, subject to death, can be a god: as for him alone, whom they call *Cneph*, he was never born, so shall he never dye. Whereas therefore many such things as these, be reported and shewed in *Egypt*, they who think, that all is no more but to perpetuate and eternize the memory of marvellous deeds and strange accidents of some Princes, Kings, or Tyrants, who for their excellent vertue and mighty puissance, have adjoyned to their own glory, the authority of deity, unto whom, a while after, there befell calamities: use herein a very cleanly shift, and expedite evasion, transferring handsomely from the gods unto men, all sinister infamy that is in these fables, and help themselves by the testimonies which they finde and read in Historie: for the Egyptians write, that *Mercury* was but small of stature, and slender limmed: that *Typon* was of a ruddy colour; *Orus* white; *Osiris* of a blackish hew, as who indeed were naturally men. Moreover, they call *Osiris*, Captain or Generall, *Canobus* pilot or governor of a ship, after whose name they have named a star: and as for the ship which the Greeks name

name *Argo*, they hold that it was the very resemblance of *Osiris* ship, which for the honour of him, being numbred among the stars, is so situate in heaven, as that it moveth & keepeth his course not far from that of *Orion*, and the *Cyon* or dog-star; of wch twain, the one is consecrate unto *Horus*, the other to *Isis*. But I fear me, that this were to stir and remove those sacred things which are not to be touched and medled withall, & as much as to fight against, not continuance of time onely & antiquity, as *Simonides* saith, but also the religion of many sorts of people & nations, who are long since possessed with a devotion toward these gods: I doubt (I say) lest in so doing they fail not to transfer so great names as these out of heaven to earth, & so go very near and misse but a little to overthrow and abolish that honour and belief, which is ingenerate and imprinted in the hearts of all men, even from their very first nativity: which were even to set the gates wide open for a multitude of Miscreants & Atheists, who would bring all divinity to humanity, and deity to mans nature; yea and to give a manifest overture & liberty for all the Impostures and Jugling casts of *Euemerus* the Messenian, who having himself coyned and devised the originals of fables, grounded upon no probability nor subject matter, but even against the course of reason & nature, spred & scattered abroad throughout the world all impiety, transmuting & changing those whom we repute as gods, into the names of Admiralls, Captains, Generalls, & Kings, who had lived in times past, according as they stand upon record, by his saying, written in golden letters, within the City * *Panchæa*, (which never Grecian nor Barbarian save himself saw) as having sailed unto the countries of the Panchonians and Triphylians; nations forsooth that neither are, nor ever were in this world. And yet verily, a great name there goeth among the Assyrians, of the worthy and renowned acts of *Semiramis*: as also in *Egypt* of *Sesostris*. As for the Phrygians, even at this day they term noble exploits and admirable enterprises, by the name *Manica*, of one of their ancient Kings, whom they called *Manis*, who in his times was a most prudent and valiant Prince, and whom others named *Masdes*. *Cyrus* led the Persians, & *Alexander* the Macedonians, with conquest still & victory, from one end of the world in manner to another: and yet for all these brave acts, no otherwise renowned they are, nor remembred, but onely for puissant and good Kings: and say, there were haply some of them who upon an over-weening and high conceit of themselves, helped forward with youth, and want of experience, as *Plato* saith, and whose minds were puffed up and inflamed with pride and vain glory, took upon them the surnames of gods, and had Temples founded in their names, yet this glory of theirs lasted but a while, and soon after being condemned by the posterity, of vanity, and arrogancy together, with impiety and injustice,

Were quickly gone, like smoak which mounting high,
Into the air, doth vanish by and by;

and now as fugitive slaves that may be brought back again where ever they be found, they are haled and pulled away from their Temples and Altars, and nothing remaineth for them but their tombs & sepulchres: and therefore that old King *Antigonus*, when a certain Poet named *Hermodotus*, in his verses called him the Son of the Sun, yea and a god; Well quoth he, my groom that daily voideth my close stool, knowes no such mater by me. *Lysippus* also the Imager did very well to reprove *Apelles* the painter, for that, when he drew the picture of *Alexander*, he portraied him with lightning in his hand; whereas *Lysippus* put in his hand a launce, the glory & renown whereof, as due & proper unto him, yea, & beseeming his person indeed, no time nor age should ever be able to abolish. In wch regard, I hold better with them who think that the things which be written of *Typhon*, *Osiris*, and *Isis*, were no accidents or passions incident to gods or to men; but rather to some great Dæmons: of which mind were *Pythagoras*, *Plato*, *Xenocrates*, & *Chrysippus*, following herein the opinions of the ancient Theologians, who held, that they were far stronger than men, & that in puissance they much surmounted our nature: but that divinity wch they hatl, was not pure & simple; but they were compounded of a nature corporal & spiritual, capable of pleasure, of grief, and other passions, & affections, which accompanying these mutations, trouble some more, others lesse. For in these Dæmons, there is like, as also among men, a diversity & difference of vice & of vertue. For the acts of Giants & Titans, so much chanted in every greek song, the abominable deeds likewise & practices of one *Saturn*, the resistance also of *Python* against *Apollo*, the sounds of *Bacchus*, & the wandrings of *Ceres*, differ in no respect from the accidents of *Osiris* and *Typhon*, & of all other such like fabulous tales, wch every man may hear as much as he list: as also what soever lying covered and hidden under the veil of mysticall sacrifices and ceremonies, is kept close not uttered nor shewed to the vulgar people, is of the same sort. And according hereto, we may hear *Homer* how he calleth good men and such as excel others, diversly, one while θεοειδέας, that is to say, like unto the gods; otherwhiles, ἀντιθέους, that is to say comparable to the gods: sometimes θεῶν ἀπὸ μήδε' ἔχοντας, that is to say, having their wisdom & counsel from the gods. But the denomination or addition drawen from the Dæmons, he useth commonly as well to the good as the bad; indifferent to valiant Persons and to Cowards: to a timorous and fearful souldier thus:

Δαιμόνι' χρὴ δὴ τοι ἐπιδευὴς ἔπεσσιν, Ἀργεῖος ὥς
Dæmonian, *approach thou near,*
The Greeks why dost thou so much fear?

On the other side, of an hardy souldier.

ἀλλ' ὅτε δὴ τὸ τέταρτον ἐπέσσυτο δαίμονι ἶσος,
When he the charge in field the fourth time gave,
Like to some Dæmon he did himself behave.

And again, in the worse sense,

Δαιμονίη, π' ῥο τ' Πρίαμος, Πριήμιός τε παῖδες, &c.
* Dæmonian, *what is that great offence,*
Which Priam and his Sons committed have,
Against thee, far to make thy just pretence,
In wrathfull tearms upon them just to rave,
And them no grace and mercy to vouchsave,
Nor rest, untill thou seest the stately Town
Of Ilion destroid and rased down.

* That is to say, wicked or curst. *Jupiter* to *Minerva*.

Giving

Giving us hereby thus much to understand, that the Dæmons have a mixt nature, and a will or affection which is not equal, nor alwaies alike. And hereupon it is, that *Plato* verily attributeth unto the Olympian and celestial gods, all that which is dexterous and odde: but unto the Dæmons, whatsoever is sinister and even. And *Xenocrates* holdeth, that those daies which be unlucky and dismal, those festival solemnities likewise, which have any beatings or knocking and thumping of breasts, or fasting, or otherwise any cursed speeches and filthy words, are not meet for the honour and worship either of gods or of good Dæmons: but he supposeth that there be in the air about us, certain natures great and puissant; howbeit, shrewd, malicious and unsociable, which take some pleasure in such matters: and when they have obtained and gotten so much to be done for their sake, they go about no farther mischief, nor wait any shrewder turnes: whereas contrariwise, both *Hesiodus* calleth the pure and holy Dæmons, such also as be the good angels and keepers of men,

Givers of wealth and opulence, as whom
This regall gift and honour doth become.

And *Plato* also termeth this kinde of Dæmons or Angels, *Mercurial*, that is to say, expositours or interpretours, and ministerial, having a middle nature between gods and men, who as mediators, present the prayers and petitions of men here unto the gods in heaven, and from thence transmit and convey unto us upon earth, the oracles and revelations of hidden and future things, as also their donations of goods and riches. As for *Empedocles*, he saith, that these Dæmons or Fiends, are punished and tormented for their sins and offences which they have committed, as may appear by these his verses:

For why? the power of air and skie,
did to the sea them chace:
The sea them cast up, of the earth,
even to the outward face:
The earth them sends unto the beams
of never-tired Sun,
The Sun to air, whence first they came,
doth fling them down anon:
Thus posted to and fro, twixt seas
beneath, and heav'ns above,
From one they to another passe:
not one yet doth them love.

untill such time as being thus in this Purgatory chastised and cleansed, they recover again that place, estate and degree which is meet for them and according to their nature. These things and such like for all the world they say, are reported of *Typhon*, who upon envy and malice committed many outrages; and having thus made a trouble and confusion in all things, filled sea and land with wofull calamities and miseries, but was punished for it in the end. For *Isis* the wife and sister of *Osiris* in revenge plagued him in extinguishing and repressing his fury and rage: and yet neglected not she the travels and pains of her own which she endured, her trudging also and wandring to and fro, nor many other acts of great wisdome and prowesse suffered she to be buried in silence and oblivion: but inserting the same among the most holy ceremonies of sacrifices, as examples, images, memorials and resemblances of the accidents happing in those times, she consecrated an enfignement, instruction and consolation of piety and devout religion to godward, as well for men as women afflicted with miseries. By reason whereof she and her husband *Osiris* of good Dæmons were transmuted for their vertue into gods, like as afterwards were *Hercules* and *Bacchus*, who in regard thereof, and not without reason, have honours decreed for them both of gods and also of Dæmons intermingled together, as those who in all places were puissant, but most powerfull both upon and also under the earth. For they say that *Serapis* is nothing else but *Pluto*, and *Isis* the same that *Proserpina*, as *Archemachus* of *Eubœa* and *Heraclitus* of *Pontus* testifie, and he thinketh that the Oracle in the City *Canobus*, is that of father *Dis* or *Pluto*. King *Ptolemeus* surnamed *Soter*, that is to say, saviour, caused that huge statue or colosse of *Pluto* which was in the City *Sinope*, to be taken from thence, not knowing, nor having seen before of what form and shape it was, but only that as he dreamed he thought that he saw *Serapis*, commanding him withall speed possible to transport him into *Alexandria*. Now the King not knowing where this statue was, nor where to finde it, in this doubtfull perplexity related his vision aforesaid unto his friends about him, and chanced to meet with one *Sosibius* a great traveller and a man who had been in many places, and he said that in the City of *Sinope* he had seen such a statue as the King described unto them. Whereupon *Ptolemeus* sent *Soteles* and *Dionysius*, who in long time, and with great travel, and not without the especiall grace of the divine providence, stole away the said colosse and brought it with them: Now when it was come to *Alexandria* and there seen, *Timotheus* the great Cosmographer and Antiquary, and *Manethon* of the Province *Sebennitis*, guessed it by all conjectures to be the image of *Pluto*, and namely by *Cerberus* the Hell-dog and the Dragon about him, perswading the King that it could be the image of no other god but of *Serapis*. For it came not from thence with that name; but being brought into *Alexandria*, it took the name *Serapis*, by which the Egyptians do name *Pluto*. And yet *Heraclitus* verily the Naturalist saith, that *Hades* and *Dionysus*, that is to say, *Pluto* and *Bacchus*, be the same. And in truth when they are disposed to play the fools and be mad, they are carried away to this opinion. For they who suppose that *Hades*, that is to say, *Pluto*, is said to be the body, and as it were the sepulchre of the soul, as if it seemed to be foolish and drunken all the while she is within it, me thinks they do allegorize but to very baldly. And better it were yet to bring *Osiris* and *Bacchus* together, yea and to reconcile *Serapis*, unto *Osiris*, in saying that after he hath changed his nature, he became to have this denomination. And therefore this name *Serapis* is common to all, as they know very well who are professed in the sacred religion of *Osiris*. For we ought not to give ear and credit to the Books and Writings of the Phrygians, wherein we find, that there was one *Charopus* the Daughter of *Herculei*, and that of *Iasius*, a Son of *Hercules* was engendred *Typhon*: neither yet to make account of *Phylarchus* who writeth, that *Bacchus* was the first, who from the Indians drave two Beefs, whereof the one was named *Apis*, the other *Osiris*: That *Serapis* is the proper name of him who ruleth and embellisheth the universall world, and is derived of the word *Sairein*, which some say, signifieth as much as to beautifie and adorn. For these be absurd toyes delivered by *Phylarchus*: but more monstrous and senselesse are their absurdities who write, that *Serapis* is no god, but that it is the Coffin or Sepuchre of *Apis*, that is so called: as also that there be certain two leaved brasen Gates in *Memphis*, bearing the names of *Lethe* and *Cocytus*, that is to say, Oblivion and Wailing, which being set open when they inter and bury *Apis*, in the opening make a great sound and rude noise: which is the cause that we lay hand upon every Copper or brasen vessell when it resoundeth so, to stay the noyse thereof. Yet is there more appearance of truth and reason in their opinion, who hold that it was derived of these verbs σεισθαι, and σεισαι, which signifieth to move, as being that which moveth the whole frame of the world. The Priests for the most part hold, that *Serapis* is a word compounded of *Osiris* and *Apis* together, giving this exposition withall and teaching us, that we ought to beleeve *Apis* to be an elegant image of the Soul of *Osiris*. For mine own part, if *Serapis* be an Egyptian name, I suppose rather that it betokeneth joy and mirth: And I ground my conjecture upon this, that the Egyptians ordinarily call the feast of joy and gladnesse, termed among the Athenians *Charmosyna*, by the name of *Sairei*. For *Plato* himself saith, that *Hades* which signifieth *Pluto*, being the Son of *Aidos*, that is to say, of Shamefastnesse and Reverence, is a mild and gracious god to those who are toward him. And very true it is, that in the Egyptians language, many other proper names are significant, and carry their reason with them: as namely that infernall place under the Earth, into which they imagine the Souls of the dead do descend after they be departed, they call *Amenthes*, which term is as much to say, as taking & giving; but whether this word be one of those, which in old time came out of *Greece* and were transported thither, we will consider and discusse better hereafter! Now for this present let us prosecute that which remaineth of this opinion now in hand. For *Osiris* and *Isis* of good Dæmons were translated into the number of the gods: And as for the plusance of *Typhon* oppressed and quelled, howbeit panting as yet at the last gasp and striving as it were with the pangs of death, they have certain Ceremonies and Sacrifices, to pacifie and appease. Other Feasts also there be again on the contrary side, wherein they insult over him, debase and defame him what they can: In so much as men of a ruddy colour they deride & make of them a laughing stock. And as for the inhabitants of *Coptos*, they use at a certain Feast to throw an Asse headlong down from the pitch of an high rock, because *Typhon* was ruddy and of a red Asses colour. The Busiritans and Lycopolites forbear to sound any Trumpets, because they resemble the braying of an Asse: and generally they take an Asse to be an unclean beast and dæmonicall, for the resemblance in hiew that it hath with him: and when they make certain Cakes in their Sacrifices of the moneths *Payni* and *Phaophi*, they work them in pastry with the print upon them of an Asse bound. Also in their solemn Sacrifice to the Sun, they command as many as will be there to worship that god, not to wear any brooches or jewels of gold about their bodies, nor to give any Meat or Provander unto an Asse what need soever he have thereof. It seemeth also, that the Pythagoreans themselves are of opinion, that *Typhon* was some fiend or dæmonicall power: for they say that *Typhon* was born in the even number of six and fifty: again, that the triangular number or figure, is the puissance of *Pluto*, *Bacchus*, and *Mars*: of the quadrangle, is the power of *Rhea*, *Venus*, *Ceres*, *Vesta*, and *Juno*: that of twelve angles belongeth to the might of *Jupiter*: but that of fifty six angles is the force of *Typhon*, as *Eudoxus* hath left in writing. But the Egyptians supposing that *Typhon* was of a reddish colour, do kill for Sacrifice unto him, Kine & Oxen of the same colour, observing withall so precisely, that if they have but one hair black or white, they be not sacrificeable: for they think such Sacrifices not acceptable, but contrariwise displeasant unto the gods, imagining they be the bodies which have received the Souls of lewd and wicked persons, transformed into other Creatures. And therefore after they have cursed the head of such a Sacrifice, they cut it off and cast it into the River, at least waies in old time: but now they give it unto strangers. But the Ox which they mean to sacrifice indeed, the Priests called *Sphragistæ*, that is to say, the Sealers, come and mark it with their Seal, which as *Castor* writeth, was the image of a man kneeling, with his hands drawn back and bound behind him, and having a sword set to his throat: Semblably they use the name of an Asse also, as hath been said, for his uncivill rudeneſſe and insolency, no lesse than in regard of his colour, wherein he resembleth *Typhon*; and therefore the Egyptians gave unto *Ochus* a King of the Persians, whom they hated above all others as most cursed and abominable, the surname of Asse: whereof *Ochus* being advertised and saying withall, This Asse shall devour your Ox; caused presently their Beef *Apis* to be killed and sacrificed, as *Dinon* hath left in writing. As for those who say, that *Typhon* after he had lost the field, fled six daies journy upon an Asse back, and having by this means escaped, begat two Sons, *Hierosolymus* and *Judæus*, evident it is herein that they would draw the story of the Jewes into this fable. And thus much of the allegoricall conjectures which this tale doth afford. But now from another head, let us (of those who are able to discourse somewhat Philosophically and with reason)

consider first and formost such as deal most simply in this behalf. And these be they that say, like as the Greeks alegorize that *Saturn* is time, *Juno* the air, and the generation of *Vulcan*, is the transmutation of Air into fire; even so they give out that by *Osiris* the Egyptians mean *Nilus*, which lieth and keepeth company with *Isis*, that is to say, the Earth: That *Typhon* is the Sea, into which *Nilus* falling loseth himself, and is dispatched here and there, unlesse it be that portion thereof, which the Earth receiveth, and whereby it is made fertill. And upon the River *Nilus* there is a sacred lamentation, even from the dayes of *Saturn*: wherein there is lamenting, how *Nilus* springing and growing on the left hand, decayeth and is lost on the right: For the Egyptians do think, that the east parts where the day appeareth, be the forefront and face of the World, that the North part is the right hand, and the South part the left. This *Nilus*, therefore arising on the left hand, and lost in the Sea on the right hand, is said truly to have his birth and generation in the left side, but his death and corruption in the right. And this is the reason why the Priests of *Egypt* have the Sea in abomination, and term Salt the fome and froth of *Typhon*. And among those things which are interdicted and forbidden this is one, that no Salt be used at the board: by reason whereof they never salute any Pilots or Sailors, for that they keep ordinarily the Sea, and get their living by it. This also is one of the principall causes, why they abhor Fishes; in such sort as when they would describe harred, they draw or pourtray a Fish: like as in the porch before the Temple of *Minerva* within the City *Sai*, there was pourtraied and engraven, an Infant, an old Man; after them a Falcon or some such Hauk, and close thereto a Fish, and last of all a River-Horse: which Hieroglyphicks, do symbolize and signifie thus much in effect. O all ye that come into the World, and go out of it: God hateth shameless injustice. For by the Hauk they understand God, by the Fish Hatred, and by the River-Horse impudent Violence and Villany, because it is said that he killeth his Father, and after that, forceth his own Mother and covereth her. And semblably it should seem, that the saying of the Pythagoreans, who give out that the Sea is a tear of *Saturn*, under covert words do mean, that it is impure and unclean. Thus have I been willing by the way to allege thus much, although it be without the train of our Fable, because they fall within the compasse of a vulgar and common received History. But to return to our matter: the Priests, as many as be of the wiser and more learned sort, understand by *Osiris*, not only the River *Nilus*, and by *Typhon* the Sea: but also by the former, they signifie in one word and simply, all Vertue and power that produceth moisture and Water, taking it to be the materiall cause of generation, and the nature generative of seed: and by *Typhon* they represent all desiccative Vertue, all heat of fire and drinesse, as the very thing that is fully opposite and adverse to humidity: and hereupon it is, that they hold *Typhon* to be red of hair and of skin yellow: and by the same reason they willingly would not encounter or meet upon the way men of that hew, no nor delight to speak unto such. Contrariwise they feign *Osiris* to be of a black colour, because all Water, causeth the Earth, Clothes and Clouds, to appear black with which it is mingled. Also the moisture that is in young folk maketh their hair black; but grisled hoarinesse, which seemeth to be a bale yellow, cometh by reason of siccity unto those who be past their flower, and now in their declining age: also the Spring time is green, fresh, pleasant, and generative: but the latter season of Autumn, for want of moisture, is an enemy to plants, and breedeth diseases in man and beast.

To speak also of that Ox or Beef named *Mneuis*, which is kept and nourished in *Heliopolis* at the common charges of the City, consecrated unto *Osiris*, and which some say, was the sire of *Apis*; black he is of hair, and honoured in a second degree after *Apis*. Moreover, the whole Land of *Egypt* is of all others exceeding black, such a black I mean, as that is of the eye, which they call *Chemia*, and they liken it to the heart; for hot and moist it is, and inclineth to the left and South parts of the Earth, like as the heart lieth most to the left side of a man. They affirm also, that the Sun and Moon are not mounted upon Chariots, but within Barges and Boats continually do move and sail as it were round about the World; giving us thereby covertly to understand, that they be bred and nourished by moisture. Furthermore, they think, that *Homer* (like as *Thales* also) being taught out of the Egyptians learning, doth hold and set down this position, That Water is the element and principle that engendereth all things: for they say, that *Osiris* is the Ocean, and *Isis*, *Tethys*, as one would say, the Nourse that suckleth and feedeth the whole World. For the Greeks call the ejaculation or casting forth of naturall seed, Ἀνωσία, like as the conjunction of male and female Συνουσία: likewise ὑσ, which in Greek signifieth a Son, is derived of the word ὕδωρ, that is to say, Water, and ὕειν betokeneth also to rain. Moreover, *Bacchus* they surname *Hyes*, as one would say, the Lord and Ruler of the moist nature; and he is no other than *Osiris*. Futhermore, whereas we pronounce his name *Osiris*, *Hellanicus* putteth it down *Hysiris*, saying, that he heard the very Priests themselves of *Egypt* to pronounce it so. And thus verily calleth he the said god in every place, not without good shew of reason, having regard unto his nature and invention. But that *Osiris* is the same god that *Bacchus*, who should in all reason better know than your self (O *Clea*) considering that in the City of *Delphi* you are the Mistresse and Lady Prioresse as it were of the religious Thyades, and from your infancy have been a Votary and Nun consecrated by your Father and Mother to the service of *Osiris*. But if in regard of others, we must allege testimonies, let us not meddle with their hidden secrets; howbeit, that which the Priests do in publick when they inter *Apis*, having brought his Corps in a Boat or Punt, differeth not at all from the Ceremonies of *Bacchus*: for, clad they be in Stags skins, they carry Javelins in their hands, they keep a loud crying, and of shaking their Bodies very unquietly, much after the manner of those who are transported with the fanatical & sacred fury of *Bacchus*. And what reason else should there be, that many Nations of *Greece* pourtray the statue of *Bacchus* with a Bulls head? and the Dames among

among the Elians in their prayers and invocations do call unto him, beseeching this god to come unto them with his bulls foot? yea and the *Argives* commonly surname *Bacchus Bugenes*, which is as much to say, as the son of a Cow, or engendred by a Bull: and that which more is, they invocate and call upon him out of the water with sound of Trumpets, casting into a deep gulf, a Lamb, as to the Portier, under the name of *Pylaochos*. Their Trumpets they hide within their Javelins, called Thyrsi, according as *Socrates* hath written in his books of sacred Ceremonies. Moreover, the Tyrannicall acts, and that whole, entire and sacred night, accord with that which is reported as touching the dismembring of *Osiris*, and the resurrection or renovation of his life: in like manner, those matters which concern his burial. For the Egyptians shew in many places the sepulchres of *Osiris*: and the Delphians think, they have the bones and reliques of *Bacchus* among them, interred and bestowed near unto the Oracle: and his religious Priests celebrate unto him a secret sacrifice within the Temple of *Apollo*, when the Thyades who are the Priestesses begin to chant the sonnet of * *Licuites*. Now that the Greeks are of opinion, that *Bacchus* is the Lord and Governor, not of wine liquor only, but also of every other nature which is moist and liquid, the testimony of *Pindarus* is sufficient, when he saith thus: *Bacchus*

* One of the surnames of *Bacchus*.

Taking the charge of trees that grow,
Doth cause them for to bud and blow:
The verdure fresh, and beauty pure
Of lovely fruits he doth procure.

And therefore it is, that those who serve and worship *Osiris* are streightly forbidden and charged, not to destroy any fruitfull Tree, nor to stop the head of any Fountain. And not onely the River *Nilus*, but all water and moisture whatsoever in generall, they call the effluence of *Osiris*: by reason whereof, before their sacrifices they carry alwaies in procession a Pot or Pitcher of Water, in honor of the said god.

They describe also a King and the Southern or Meridionall Climat of the World, by a Fig-tree leaf, which Fig-leaf signifieth the imbibition and motion of all things: besides, it seemeth naturally to resemble the member of generation. Also, when they solemnize the feast called *Pausylitia*, which as before hath been said, was instituted in the honour of *Priapus*, they shew and carry about in procession an image or statue, the genitall member whereof, is thrice as big as the ordinary: for this god of theirs is the beginning of all things; and every such principle, by generation multiplieth it self. Now, we are wont moreover to say, Thrice, for many times; to wit, a finite number for an infinite; as when we use the word Τεσσαρακοντάετες, that is to say, Thrice happy, for the most happy; and Three bonds, for infinite; unlesse peradventure this ternary or threefold number was expresly and properly chosen by our ancients. For the nature of moisture being the principle that engendreth all things, from the beginning hath ingendred these three elements or primitive bodies, Earth, Air, and Fire. For that branch which is set unto the fable, to wit, that *Typhon* flung the genitall member of *Osiris* into the River, that *Isis* could not finde it, but caused one to be made to resemble it, and when she was provided thereof, ordained that it should be honoured and carried in a solemn pomp; tendeth to this, for to teach us, that the generative and productive vertue of god, had moisture at the first for the matter, and by the means of the said humidity, was mixed with those things which were apt for generation. Another branch there is yet, growing to this Fable, namely, that one *Apopis* brother to the Sun, warred against *Jupiter*; that *Osiris* aided *Jupiter*, and helped him to defeat his enemy; in regard of which merit he adopted him for his Son, and named him *Dionysus*, that is to say *Bacchus*. Now the Mythology of this fable, as it evidently appeareth, accordeth covertly, with the truth of Nature: for the Egyptians call the winde *Jupiter*, unto which nothing is more contrary, than siccity, and that which is fiery: and that is not the Sun, although some consanguinity it hath unto it: but moisture comming to extinguish the extremity of that drinesse, fortifieth and augmenteth those vapors, which nourish the wind and keep it in force. Moreover, the Greeks consecrate the Ivy unto *Bacchus*, and the same is named among the Egyptians, *Chenosiris*, which word, (as they say) signifieth in the Egyptian tongue, the plant of *Osiris*: at leastwise *Ariston* who inrolled a colony of the Athenians, affirmeth that he light upon an epistle of *Anaxarchus*, wherein he found as much; as also, that *Bacchus* was the Son of a water Nymph, *Naias*. Other Egyptians also there be, who hold, that *Bacchus* was the Son of *Isis*, and that he was not called *Osiris*, but *Arsaphes*, in the letter *Alpha*, which word signifieth prowesse or valour. And thus much giveth *Hermæus* to understand, in his first book of Egyptian acts; where he saith also, that *Osiris* by interpretation, is as much, as * stour, or mighty. Here I forbear to allege *Mnaseas*, who referreth and ascribeth unto *Epaphus*, *Bacchus*, *Osiris*, and *Serapis*. I overpass *Anticlides* likewise, who affirmeth, that *Isis* was the Daughter of *Prometheus*, and married unto *Bacchus*. For the very particular properties that we have said were in their feasts and sacrifices, yeeld a more clear evidence and proof, than any allegations of witnesses whatsoever. Also they hold, that among the stars, the dog or *Sirius* was consecrate unto *Isis*, the which star draweth the water. And they honour the Lion, with whose head having the mouth gaping and wide open, they adorn the Doores and Gates of their Temples, for that the River *Nilus* riseth,

* ὠκύς or ὠκύπους

So soon as in the circle Zodiacke,
The Sun and Leo *sign, encounter make.*

And as they both hold and affirm, *Nilus* to be the effluence of *Osiris*, even so they are of Opinion, that the Body of *Isis* is the Earth or Land of *Egypt*; and yet not all of it, but so much as

Nilus overfloweth, and by commixtion maketh fertile and fruitfull: of which conjunction, they say, that *Orus* was ingendred, which is nothing else but the temperature and disposition of the Air, nourishing and maintaining all things. They say also, that this *Orus* was nourished within the Mores near unto the City *Butus*, by the Goddesse *Latona*: for that the earth being well drenched and watered, bringeth forth and nourisheth vapors, which overcome, extinguish, and represse (nothing so much) great siccity and drinesse. Furthermore, they call the Marches and borders of the Land, the confines also of the coasts which touch the sea, *Nephthys*: and this is the reason why they name *Nephthys*, *Teleutæa*, that is to say, finall or last; and say that she was married unto *Typhon*. And when *Nilus* breaketh out and overturneth his banks so, as he approacheth these borders, this they call the unlawfull conjunction or adultery of *Osiris*, with *Nephthys*, the which is known by certain plants growing there, among which is the Melilot: by the teed whereof, saith the tale, when it was shed and left behind, began *Typhon* to perceive the wrong that was done unto him in his marriage. And hereupon they say, that *Orus* was the legitimate Son of *Isis*, but *Anubis* was born by *Nephthys* in bastardy. And verily in the succession of Kings they record *Nephthys* married unto *Typhon*, to have been at first barren. Now if this be not meant of a Woman, but of a Goddesse, they understand under these ænigmaticall speeches, a Land altogether barren and unfruitfull, by reason of hardnesse and stiff solidity. The lying in wait of *Typhon* to surprise *Osiris*, his usurped rule and tyranny, is nothing else but the force of drinesse, which was very mighty, which dissipated also and spent all that humidity that both engendreth and also encreaseth *Nilus* to that height. As for that Queen of *Æthiopia*, who came to aid and assist him, she betokeneth the Southerly winds, comming from *Æthiopia*: for when these have the upper hand of the Etesian winds, which blow from the North, and drive the clouds into *Æthiopia*, and so hinders those showers and gluts of rain which powre out of the clouds, and make the River *Nilus* to swell: then *Typhon*, that is to say, Drought, is said to win the better, and to burn up all, and so having gotten the mastery clean of *Nilus*, who by reason of his weaknesse and feeblenesse, is driven in, and forced to retire a contrary way, he chaseth him, poor and low into the sea. For whereas the Fable saith, that *Osiris* was shut fast within an Ark or Coffer, there is no other thing signified thereby, but this departure back of the water, and the hiding thereof within the sea: which is the cause also, that they say *Osiris* went out of sight in the moneth *Athyr*, and was no more seen; at what time as when all the Etesian winds are laid and given over to blow, *Nilus* returneth into his chanell, leaving the land discovered and bare. And now by this time as the night groweth longer, the darknesse encreaseth, like as the force of the light doth diminish and is impaired: and then the Priests among other ceremonies, testifying their sadnesse and heavy cheer, bring forth and shew a Beef with golden hornes, whom they all cover with a fine veil of black silk, thereby to represent the heavy dole and mourning of the Goddesse for *Osiris*: (for thus they think, that the said Beef is the image of *Osiris*: and the vestment of black aforesaid, testifying the earth, doth signifie *Isis*) and this shew exhibit they four daies together; to wit, from the seventh unto the tenth following: And why? Four things there be for which they make demonstration of grief and sorrow: the first is the River *Nilus*, for that he seemeth to retire and fail: the second are the North-winds, which now are husht and still, by reason of the Southern-winds, that gain the mastery over them: the third is the Day, for that now it waxeth shorter than the night: and last of all, the discovering and nakednes of the earth, together with the devesting of trees, which at the very same time begin to shed and lose their leaves. After this, upon the nintenth day at night, they go down to the sea side, and then the Priests revested in their sacred Stoles and Habits, carry forth with them, a consecrated Chest, wherein there is a vessell of gold, into which they take and powre fresh and potable water; and with that, all those who are present set up a note and shout, as if they had found *Osiris* again: then they take a piece of fatty and fertile earth, and together with the water, knead and work it into a paste, mixing therewith most precious odors, perfumes and spices, whereof they make a little image in form of the Moon croissant, which they deck with Robes and adorn, shewing thereby evidently that they take these gods to be the substance of Water and Earth.

Thus when *Isis* had recovered *Osiris*, nourished *Orus*, and brought him up to some growth, so that he now became strengthened and fortified, by Exhalations, Vapors, Mists and Clouds, *Typhon* verily was vanquished, howbeit, not slain, for that the goddesse, which is the Lady of the Earth, would not permit and suffer, that the power or nature which is contrary unto moisture, should be utterly abolished: onely she did slacken and let down the vehement force thereof, willing that this combat and strife should still continue; because the world would not have been entire and perfect, if the nature of fire had been once extinct and gone. And if this go not current among them, there is no reason and probability, that any one should project this affection also, namely, that *Typhon* in times past overcame one part of *Osiris*: for that in old time, *Egypt* was sea: whereupon it is, that even at this day, within the mines wherin men dig for metals, yea, and among the mountains, there is found great store of sea fish. Likewise, all the Fountains, Wells, and Pits (and those are many in number) carry a brackish, saltish and bitter water, as if some remnant or refidue of the old sea were reserved, which ran thither. But in process of time, *Orus* subdued *Typhon*, that is to say, when the seasonable raine came, which tempered the excessive heat, *Nilus* expelled and drave forth the sea, discovered the Champian ground, & filled it continually more & more by new deluges and inundations, that layed some still unto it. And hereof, the daily experience, is presented unto our eyes; for we perceive even at this day, that the overflowes and rising of the River, bringing new mud, and adding fresh earth still by little and little, the sea giveth place and retireth: and as

as the deep in it is filled more and more, so the superficies riseth higher, by the continuall shelves that the Nile casts up; by which means, the Sea runneth backward: yea, the very isle of *Pharos*, which *Homer* knew by his days to lie far within the Sea, even a days sailing from the continent and firm land of *Egypt*, is now a very part thereof: not for that it removed & approached neerer and neerer to the Land; but because the Sea which was between, gave place unto the River that continually made new Earth with the mud that it brought, and so maintained and augmented the main Land. But these things resemble very near, the Theologicall interpretations that the Stoicks give out: for they hold, that the generative and nutritive Spirit, is *Bacchus*; but that which striketh and divideth, is *Hercules*; that which receiveth, is *Ammon*; that which entreth and pierceth into the earth, is *Ceres* and *Proserpina*; and that which doth penetrate farther and passe thorow the Sea, is *Neptune*. Others, who mingle among naturall causes and reasons, some drawn from the Mathematicks, and principally from Astrology, think that *Typhon* is the Solar Circle or Sphere of the Sun; and that *Osiris* is that of the Moon; inasmuch as the Moon hath a generative and vegetable light, multiplying that sweet and comfortable moisture which is so meet for the generation of living Creatures, of Trees and Plants: but the Sun having in it a pure firy flame indeed without any mixture or rebatement at all, heateth and drieth that which the earth bringeth forth, yea, and whatsoever is verdant and in the flower; insomuch as by his inflammation he causeth the greater part of the earth to be wholly desert and inhabitable, and many times subdueth the very Moon. And therefore the Egytians, evermore name *Typhon*, *Seth*, which is as much to say, as ruling Lordly, and oppressing with violence. And after their fabulous manner they say, that *Hercules* sitting as it were upon the Sun, goeth about the world with him; and *Mercury* likewise with the Moon: by reason whereof, the works and effects of the Moon resemble those acts which are performed by Eloquence and Wisedom: but those of the Sun are compared to such as be exploited by force and puissance. And the Stoicks say, that the Sun is lighted and set on fire by the Sea, and therewith nourished: but they be the Fountains and Lakes which send up unto the Moon a mild, sweet and delicate vapor. The Egyptians feign, that the death of *Osiris* hapned on the seventeenth day of the moneth, on which day, better than upon any other, she is judged to be at the full: and this is the reason why the Pythagoreans call this day, *The obstruction*, and of all other numbers they most abhor and detest it: for whereas sixteen is a number quadrangular or foure-square, and eighteen longer one way than another; which numbers onely of those that be plain, happen for to have the ambient unities, that environ them, equall to the spaces contained and comprehended within them; seventeen, which falleth between, separateth and disjoyneth the one from the other, and being cut into unequall intervalls, distracteth the proportion sesquioctave. And some there be who say, that *Osiris* lived, others that he reigned, eight and twenty year: for so many lights there be of the Moon, and so many days doth she turn about her own Circle: and therefore in those Ceremonies which they call The Sepulture of *Osiris*, they cut a piece of Wood, and make a certain Coffin or Case in manner of the Moon Croissant, for that as she approacheth near to the Sun, she becommeth pointed and cornered, untill in the end she come to nothing, and is no more seen. And as for the dismembring of *Osiris* into fourteen pieces, they signifie unto us under the covert veil of these words. The days wherein the said Planet is in the wane, and decreaseth even unto the change, when she is renewed again. And that day on which she first appeareth, by passing by and escaping the raies of the Sun, they call an unperfect good: for *Osiris* is a doer of good: and this name signifieth many things, but principally an active and benficial power, as they say: and as for the other name *Omphis*, *Hermæus* saith, that it betokeneth as much as a Benefactor. Also, they are of opinion, that the risings and inundations of the River *Nilus*, answer in proportion to the course of the Moon; for the greatest height that it groweth unto in the Country of *Elephantine*, is eight and twenty cubits; for so many illuminations there be, or days, in every revolution of the Moon: and the lowest gage about *Mendes* and *Xois*, six cubits, which answereth to the first quarter: but the mean between, about the City *Memphis*, when it is just at the full, cometh to fourteen cubits, correspondent to the full Moon. They hold moreover, Apis to be the lively image of *Osiris*, and that he is engendered and bred at what time as the generative light descendeth from the Moon and toucheth the Cow desirous of the male: and therefore Apis resembleth the formes of the Moon, having many white spots obfeured and darkened with the shadowes of black. And this is the reason, why they solemniz a feast in the new Moon of the moneth Phamenoth, which they call The ingresse or entrance of *Osiris* to the Moon; and this is the beginning of the Spring season: and thus they put the power of *Osiris* in the Moon. They say also, that *Isis* (which is no other thing but generation) lieth with him; and so they name the Moon, Mother of the world; saying, that she is a double nature, male and female: female, in that she doth conceive and is replenished by the Sun: and male, in this regard that she sendeth forth and sprinkleth in the Air, the seeds and principles of generation: for that the dry distemperature and corruption of *Typhon*, is not alwaies superiour, but often times vanquished by generation, and how soever tied it be and bound, yet it riseth fresh again, and fighteth against *Orus*, who is nothing else but the terrestriall World, which is not altogether free from corruption, nor yet exempt from generation. Others there be, who would have all this fiction covertly to represent no other thing but the Ecclipses: for the Moon is Ecclipsed, when she is at the full directly oppolite to the Sun, and cometh to fall upon the shadow of the Earth: like as they say, *Osiris* was put into the Chest or Coffer aboveſaid. On the other side, she seemeth to hide and darken the light of the Sun, upon certain thirtieth dayes, but yet doth not wholly abolish the Sun, no more then *Isis* doth kill *Typhon*: but when *Nephthys* bringeth forth *Anubis*,

bis, *Iſis* putteth her ſelf in place: for *Nephthys* is that which is under the earth and unſeen; but *Iſis* that which is above, and appeareth unto us: and the circle named *Horizon*, which is common to them both, and parteth the two Hemiſpheres, is named *Anubis*, and in form reſembleth a Dogg: for why? a Dogg ſeeth as well by night as by day: ſo that it ſhould ſeem, that *Anubis* among the Egyptians hath the like power that *Proſerpina* among the Greeks, being both celeſtiall and terreſtriall. Others there be, who think, that *Anubis* is *Saturn*, and becauſe he is conceived with all things, and bringeth them forth, which in Greek the word κυων, ſignifieth, therefore he is named Κυων, that is to ſay a Dogg. So that there is ſome hidden and myſticall ſecret in it, that cauſeth ſome, even ſtill to reverence and adore A Dogg: for the time was, when more worſhip was done unto it in *Egypt*, than to any other beaſt; but after that *Cambyſes* had killed *Apis*, cut him in pieces, and flung the ſame here and there, no other Creature would come near to taſt thereof, ſave the Dogge only; whereupon he loſt that prerogative and preeminence to be more honoured than other Beaſts. Others there are, who would have the ſhadow of the earth, which cauſeth the Moon to be ecclipſed when ſhe entereth into it, to be named *Typhon*. And therefore me thinks, it were not amiſſe to ſay, that in particular there is not any one of theſe Expoſitions and Interpretations perfect by it ſelf and right; but all of them together carry ſome good conſtruction: for it is neither Drought alone, nor Winds, nor Sea, nor darkneſſe; but all that is noiſome and hurtfull whatſoever, and which hath a ſpeciall part to hurt and deſtroy, is called *Typhon*. Neither muſt we put the principles of the whole World into Bodies that have no Life and Soul, as *Democritus* and *Epicurus* do: nor yet ſet down for the Workman and Framer of the firſt matter, a certain reaſon and providence, without quality (as do the Stoicks:) (ſuch a thing as hath a ſubſiſtence before and above all, and commandeth all: for impoſſible it is, that one ſole cauſe, good or bad, ſhould be the beginning of all things together; for God is not the cauſe of any evill, and the coagmentation of the world bendeth contrary waies, like as the compoſition of a Lute or Bow, as *Heraclitus* ſaith, and according to *Euripides*,

No things can be by themſelves good or bad:
That things do well, a mixture muſt be had.

And therefore this opinion ſo very ancient, is deſcended from Theologians and Law-givers, unto Poets and Philoſophers, the certain authour and beginning whereof, is not yet known: howbeit, ſo firmly grounded in the perſwaſion and belief of men, that hard it is to ſuppreſſe or aboliſh the ſame; ſo commonly devulged not onely in Conferences, Diſputation, and ordinary ſpeches abroad, but alſo in ſacrifices and divine ceremonies of gods ſervice, in many places, as well among Barbarians as Greeks, to wit, that neither this World ſloteth and waveth at adventure, without the goverment of Providence and Reaſon, nor Reaſon only it is that guideth, directeth, and holdeth it (as it were) with certain Helmes or bits of Obeiſance, but many things there be confuſed and mixed, good and bad together: or to ſpeak more plainly, there is nothing here beneath that naature produceth and bringeth forth, which of it ſelf is pure and ſimple: neither is there one Drawer of two Tuns, to diſperſe and diſtribute abroad the affairs of this world, like as a Taverner or Vintner doth his Wines or other Liquors, brewing and tempering one with another. But this liſe is conducted by two Principles and Powers, adverſe one unto another; for the one leadeth to the right hand directly, the other contrariwiſe turneth us aſide and putteth us back: and ſo this life is mixt, and the very World it ſelf, if not all throughout, yet at leaſtwiſe, this beneath about the earth, and under the Moon, is unequall, variable, and ſubject to all mutations that poſſibly may be. For if nothing there is, that can be without a precedent cauſe, and that which of it ſelf is good can never miniſter any cauſe of evill; neceſſary it is, that nature hath ſome peculiar cauſe and beginning by it ſelf, of good as well as of bad. And of this opinion are moſt part of the Ancients, and thoſe of the wiſeſt ſort. For ſome think there be two gods as it were of a contrary myſtery and profeſſion; the one author of all good things, and the other of bad. Others there be who call the better of them God; and the other Dæmon, that is to ſay, Devill, as *Zoroaſtes* the Magician did, who by report, was five thouſand years before the war of *Troy*. This *Zoroaſtes* (I ſay) named the good god *Oromazes*, and the other *Arimanius*. Moreover, he gave out, that the one reſembled light, more than any ſenſible thing elſe whatſoever: the other darkneſſe and ignorance: and alſo that there is one in the middſt between them, named *Mithres*: (and hereupon it is, that the Perſians call an Interceſſor or Mediator, *Mithres*.) He teacheth us alſo to ſacrifice unto the one of them, for petition of good things, and for thankeſgiving: but to the other, for to divert and turn away ſiniſter and evill accidents. To which purpoſe they uſed to ſtamp in a morter a certain herb which they call *Omomi*, calling upon *Pluto* and the darkneſſe: then they temper it with the blood of a Woolf, which they have killed in ſacrifice: this done, they carry it away, and throw it into a dark corner, where the Sun never ſhineth. For this conceit they have, that of Herbs and Plants, ſome appertain unto the good god, and others to the evill Dæmon or Devill. Semblably of living Creatures, Dogs, Birds, and land Urchins, belong to their good god: but thoſe of the Water, to the evill fiend. And for this cauſe they repute thoſe very happy, who can kill the greateſt number of them. Howbeit theſe Sages and wiſe Men report many fabulous things of the gods: as for example, that *Oromazes* is engendred of the cleareſt and pureſt light, and *Arimanius* of deep darkneſſe: alſo that they war one upon another: And the former of theſe created ſix other gods, the firſt of Benevolence; the ſecond of Verity; the third of good Diſcipline to ſay, and publick Law; and of the reſt behind, one of Wiſdom, another of Riches; and the ſixth, which alſo is the laſt, the maker of joy for good and honeſt deeds. But the *latter produceth as many other in

* That is *Arimanius.*

in number, concurrents as it were of adverſe operation to the former above named. Afterwards when *Oromazes* had augmented and amplified himſelf three times, he removed as far from the Sun, as the Sun is diſtant from the Earth, adorning and embelliſhing the Heavens with Stars; and one Star above the reſt he ordained to be the Guide, Miſtriſſe, and Overſeer of them all, to wit, *Sirius*, that is to ſay, the Dog-ſtar. Then, after he had made four and twenty other Gods, he incloſed them all within an Egg. But the other, brought forth by *Arimanius*, who were alſo in equall number, never ceaſed untill they had pierced and made a hole into the ſaid ſmooth and poliſhed Egg: and ſo after that, evill things became mingled pell-mell with good. But there will a time come predeſtinated fatally, when this *Arimanius*, who brings into the world Plague and Famine, ſhall of neceſſity be rooted out and utterly deſtroyed for ever, even by them; and the Earth ſhall become plain, even, and uniform: neither ſhall there be any other but one life, and one Common-wealth of men, all happy and ſpeaking one and the ſame Language. *Theopompus* alſo writeth, that according to the wiſe *Magi*, theſe two gods muſt for three thouſand yeers, conquer one after another, and for three thouſand yeers be conquered again by turns: and then for the ſpace of another three thouſand yeers, levie mutuall wars, and fight battels one againſt the other, whiles the one ſhall ſubvert and overthrow that which the other hath ſet up: untill in the end *Pluto* ſhall faint, give over, and periſh: then ſhall men be all in happy eſtate; they ſhall need no more food, nor caſt any ſhadow from them; and that god who hath wrought and effected all this, ſhall repoſe himſelf, and reſt in quiet, not long (I ſay) for a god, but a moderate time as one would ſay for a man taking his ſleep and reſt. And thus much as touching the fable deviſed by the *Magi*. But the Chaldæans affirm that of the gods, whom they call Planets or wandring Stars, two there be that are beneficiall and doers of good; two again miſchievous and workers of evill; and three there are of a mean nature and common. As for the opinion of the Greeks, concerning this point, there is no man I ſuppoſe ignorant thereof: namely, that there be two portions or parts of the world, the one good alotted unto *Jupiter Olympius*, that is to ſay, Celeſtiall; another bad, appertaining to *Pluto*, infernall. They fable moreover, and feign, that the goddeſſe *Harmonia*, that is to ſay, Accord, was engendered of *Mars* and *Venus*: of whom, the one is cruell, grim, and quarrellous; the other mild, lovely, and generative. Now conſider the Philoſophers themſelves, how they agree herein: For *Heraclitus* directly and diſcerly nameth war, the Father, King, and Lord of all the world; ſaying, that *Homer* when he wiſheth and prayeth,

Both out of Heaven and Earth to baniſh war,
That God and Men no more might be at jar,

wiſt not how (ere he was aware) he curſed the generation and production of all things, which indeed have their eſſence and being by the fight and antipathie in nature. He was ignorant that the Sun would not paſſe the bounds and limits appointed unto him; for otherwiſe the furies and curſed tongues which are the Miniſtreſſes and Coadjutreſſes of Juſtice would find him out. As for *Empedocles*, he ſaith, that the beginning and principle which worketh good, is Love and Amity; yea, and otherwhiles is called Harmony by *Merops*: but the cauſe of evill,

Malice, Hatred, cankered ſpight,
Quarrell, Debate, and bloody fight.

Come now to the Pythagoreans, they demonſtrate and ſpecifie the ſame by many names: for they call the good principle, One, finite, permanent or quiet, ſtraight or direct, odd, quadrat or ſquare, right and lightſome: but the bad, twain, infinite, moving, crooked, even, longer one way more than another, unequall, left and dark, as if theſe were the Fountains of generation. *Anaxagoras* calleth them the Mind or Underſtanding and Infinity. *Ariſtotle* termeth the one Form, the other Privation. And *Plato* under dark and covert termes hiding his opinion, in many places calleth the former of theſe two contrary principles, *The Same*, and the Latter, *The other*. But in the Bookes of his Lawes, which he wrote when he was now well ſtept in yeare, he giveth them no more any obſcure and ambiguous names, neither deſcribeth he them ſymbolically and by ænigmaticall and intricate means, but in proper and plain terms, he ſaith, that this work is not moved and managed by one ſole cauſe, but haply by many, or at leaſtwiſe no fewer than twain; whereof the one is the Creatour and worker of good, the other oppoſite unto it and operative of contrary effects. He leaveth alſo and alloweth a third cauſe between, which is neither without Soul nor reaſonleſſe, ne yet unmoveable of it ſelf, as ſome think, but adjacent and adherent to the other twain, howbeit inclining alwaies to the better, as having a deſire and appetite thereto, which it purſueth and followeth, as that which hereafter we will deliver ſhall ſhew more manifeſtly, which Treatiſe ſhall reconcile the Egyptian Theology with the Greeks Philoſophy, and reduce them to a very good concordance: for that the Generation, Compoſition, and Conſtitution of this World is mingled of contrary powers, howbeit the ſame not of equall force: for the better is predominant: but impoſſible it is that the evill ſhould utterly periſh and be aboliſhed, ſo deeply it is imprinted in the Body, and ſo far inbred in the Soul of the univerſall World, in oppoſition alwaies to the better, and to war againſt it. Now then, in the Soul, Reaſon and Underſtanding, which is the Guide, and Miſtreſſe of all the beſt things, is *Oſiris*. Alſo in the Earth, in the Winds, in Water, Sky and the Stars, that which is well ordained, ſtayed, diſpoſed and digeſted in good ſort, by temperate Seaſons and Revolutions, the ſame is called the defluxion of *Oſiris*, and the very apparent image of him: Contrariwiſe, the paſſionate, violent, unreaſonable, brutiſh, raſh and fooliſh part of the Soul, is *Typhon*: Semblably in the bodily nature, that which is extraordinarily adventitious, unholſom and diſeaſed, as for example, the

the troubled air and tempestious indispositions of the weather, the obscuration or Ecclipse of the Sun, the defect of the Moon and her occultation,be as it were the excursions,deviations out of course, and disparations: and all of them be *Typhons*; as the very interpretation of the Egyptian word signifieth no lesse: for *Typhon* they name *Seth*, which is as much to say, as violent and oppressing after a Lordly manner. It importeth also many times reversion, and otherwhiles an insultation or supplantation. Moreover some there be who say, that one of *Typhons* familiar friends was named *Bebeon*. But *Manethos* affirmeth, that *Typhon* himself was called *Bebon*, which word by interpretation is as much as cohibition, restraint or impeachment, as if the puissance and power of *Typhon* were to stay and withstand the affairs that are in good way of proceeding, and tend as they should do, to a good end. And hereupon it is that of tame Beasts they dedicate and attribute unto him, the most grosse and indocible of all others, namely an Asse: but of wild Beasts the most cruell and savage of all others, as the Crocodiles and River-horses. As for the Asse, we have spoken before of him. In the City of *Mercury*, named *Hermopolis*, they shew unto us the image of *Typhon*, pourtraied under the form of a River-horse, upon whom sitteth an Hauk, fighting with a Serpent. By the foresaid Horse they re, present *Typhon*: and by the Hauk, the power and authority which *Typhon* having gotten by force maketh no care oftentimes both to be troubled and also to trouble others by his malice. And therefore, when they solemnize a sacrifice, the seventh day of the moneth *Tybi*, which they call the comming of *Isis* out of *Phœnicia*, they devise upon their hallowed Cakes for sacrifice, a River-horse, as if he were tied and bound. In the City of *Apollo*, the manner and custom confirmed by Law was, that every one must eat of a Crocodile: and upon a certain day they have a solemn chase and hunting of them, when they kill as many of them as they can, and then cast them all before the Temple: and they say, that *Typhon* being become a Crocodile hath escaped from *Orus*: attributing all dangerous wicked Beasts, all hurtfull plants and violent passions unto *Typhon*, as if they were his works, his parts or motions. Contrariwise they pourtray and depaint unto us *Osiris*, by a Scepter and an Eye upon it: meaning by the Eye Foresight and Providence, by the Scepter authority and puissance: like as *Homer* nameth *Jupiter* who is the Prince, Lord and Ruler of all the world, *Hypatos*, that is Soveraign, and *Meistor*, that is, Foreseeing: giving us to understand, by Soveraign, his supream Power, by foreseeing his Prudence and Wisdom. They represent *Osiris* also many times by an Hauk, for that she hath a wonderfull clear and quick sight, her flight also is as swift, and she is wont naturally to sustain her self with very little food. And more than that (by report) when she flieth over dead bodies unburied, she casteth mould and earth upon their Eyes. And look whensoever she flieth down to the River for to drink she setteth up her feathers straight upright, but when she hath drunk she layeth them plain and even again, by which it appeareth that safe she is and hath escaped the Crocodile: For if the Crocodile seize upon her and catch her up, her pennach abideth stiff and upright as before. But generally throughout whersoever the image of *Osiris* is exhibited in the form of a man, they pourtray him with the naturall member of generation stiff and straight, prefiguring thereby the generative and nutritive vertue. The habiliment also, where-
* Or Fire. with they clad his images is bright, shining like fire: For they repute the * Sun to be a body representing the power of goodnesse, as being the visible matter of a spirituall and intellectuall substance. And therefore their opinion deserveth to be rejected who attribute unto *Typhon* the sphære of the Sun, considering that unto him properly appertaineth nothing that is resplendent, healthfull and comfortable, no disposition, no generation or motion which is ordered with measure or digested by reason: But if either in the air or upon the earth there be any unseasonable disposition of winds, of weather, or water, it hapneth when the primitive cause of a disordinate and indeterminate power commeth to extinguish the kinde vapors and exhalations. Moreover in the sacred hymns of *Osiris*, they invocate and call upon him who lieth at repose hidden within the armes of the Sun. Also upon the thirtieth day of the moneth *Epiphy*, they solemnize the feast of the Nativity or birth of *Orus*: Eyes: at what time as the Sun and Moon be in the same direct line: as being perswaded that not only the Moon but the Sun also is the Eye and light of *Horus*: Likewise upon the twentie eighth day of the moneth *Phaopi*, they celebrate another feast of the Suns bason or slaves, and that is after the Æquinox in Autumn, giving covertly thereby to understand, that the Sun hath need of an appuy or supporter to rest upon and to strengthen him, because his heat then begins to decay and languish sensibly, his light also to diminish and decline obliquely from us. Moreover about the Solstice or middle of Winter, they carry about his Temple seven times a Cow: and this procession is called the seeking of *Osiris*, or the Revolution of the Sun, as if the goddesse then desired the waters of Winter: And so many times they do it, for that the course of the Sun, from the Winter Solstice unto the Summer Solstice is performed in the seventh moneth. It is said moreover, that * *Horus* the Sun of *Isis* was the first who sacrificed unto the Sun, the fourteenth day of the
* Or *Orus*. moneth, according as is written in a certain book as touching the Nativity of *Horus*: howsoever every day they offer incense and sweet odors to the Sun three times: First at the Sun Rising, Rosin: Secondly about Noon, Myrrh: And Thirdly at the Sun Setting, a certain composition named Kiphi. The mysticall meaning of which Perfumes and Odors, I will hereafter declare: but they are perswaded that in all this they worship and honor the Sun. But what need is there to gather and collect a number of such matters as these? seeing there be some who openly maintain that *Osiris* is the Sun, and that the Greeks call him *Sirius*, but the Article which the Egyptians put before, to wit, [O] is the cause that so much is not evidently perceived: as also that *Isis* is nothing else but the Moon: and of her images those that have horns upon them, signifie no other thing but the Moon Croissant: but such as are covered and clad in black, betoken those days wherein she is hidden or

or darkened, namely, when she runneth after the Sun: which is the reason that in love matters they invocate the Moon. And *Eudoxus* himself saith, that *Isis* is the president over amatorious folk. And verily in these ceremonies there is some probability and likelihood of truth. But to say that *Typhon* is the Sun, is so absurd, that we ought not so much as give ear to those who affirm so. But return we now to our former matter. For *Isis* is the feminine part of nature, apt to receive all generation, upon which occasion called she is by *Plato*, the Nurse, and *Paindeches*, that is to say, capable of all: yea and the common sort name her *Myrionymus*, which is as much to say, as having an infinite number of names, for that she receiveth all formes and shapes, according as it pleaseth that first reason to convert and turn her. Moreover, there is imprinted in her naturally, a love of the first and principall essence, which is nothing else but the soveraign good, and it she desireth, seeketh, and pursueth after. Contrariwise, she flieth and repelleth from her, any part and portion that proceedeth from ill. And howsoever she be the subject matter, and meet place apt to receive as well one as the other, yet of it self, enclined she is alwaies rather to the better, and applieth her self to engender the same, yea, and to dissominate and sow the destuxions and similitudes thereof, wherein she taketh pleasure and rejoyceth, when she hath conceived and is great therewith, ready to be delivered. For this is a representation and description of the substance engendred in matter, and nothing else but an imitation of that which is. And therefore you may see it is not besides the purpose, that they imagine and devise the Soul of *Osiris* to be eternall and immortall: but as for the body, that *Typhon* many times doth tear, mangle, and abolish it, that it cannot be seen: and that *Isis* goeth goeth up and down, wandring here and there, gathering together the dismembred pieces thereof, for that which is good and spirituall, by consequence is not any waies subject to change and alteration; but that which is sensible and material doth yeeld from it self certain images, admitting withall and receiving sundry proportions, forms, and similitudes, like as the prints and stamps of seales set upon wax, do not continue and remain alwaies, but are subject to change, alteration, disorder, and trouble, and this same was chased from the superior region, and sent down hither, where it fighteth against *Horus* whom *Isis* engendred sensible, as being the very Image of the spirituall and intellectuall world. And hereupon it is, that *Typhon* is said to accuse him of Bastardy, as being nothing pure and sincere, like unto his father, to wit, Reason and Understanding; which of it self is simple, and not medled with any passion: but in the matter adulterate and degenerate, by reason that it is corporall. Howbeit, in the end the victory is on *Mercuries* side, for he is the discourse of reason, which testifieth unto us, and sheweth, that nature hath produced this world materiall metamorphozed to the spirituall form: for the nativity of *Apollo*, engendred between *Isis*, and *Osiris*, whiles the gods were yet in the belly of *Rhea*, symbolizeth thus much, that before the world was evidently brought to light and fully accomplished, the matter of reason, being found naturally of it self rude and unperfect, brought forth the first generation: for which cause they say, that god being as yet lame, was born and begotten in darkness, whom they call the elder *Horus*. For the world yet it was not, but an image onely and design of the world, and a bare fantasie of that which should be. But this *Horus* here is determinate, definite and perfect, who killeth not *Typhon* right out, but taketh from him his force and puissance that he can do little or nothing. And hereupon it is, that (by report) in the City *Coptus*, the image of *Horus* holdeth in one hand the genitall member of *Typhon*: and they fable besides, that *Mercury* having bereft him of his sinewes, made thereof strings for his harp, and so used them. Hereby they teach, that reason framing the whole world, set it in tune, and brought it to accord, forming it of those parts which before were at jar and discord: howbeit removed not, nor abolished altogether the pernicious and hurtfull nature, but accomplished the vertue thereof. And therefore it is, that it being feeble and weak, wrought also (as it were) and intermingled or interlaced with those parts and members which be subject to passions and mutations, causeth Earthquakes, and Tremblings, excessive Heats, and extreme Drinesse, with extraordinary Winds in the Air, besides Thunder, Lightnings, and fiery Tempests. It impoisoneth moreover the Waters and winds, infecting them with Pestilence, reaching up and bearing the head aloft, as far as to the Moon, obscuring and darkning many times even that which is by nature clean and shining. And thus the Egyptians do both think and say, that *Typhon* sometime strook the Eye of *Horus*, and another while pluckt it out of his head and devoured it, and then afterwards delivered it again unto the Sun. By the striking aforesaid, they mean ænigmatically the wane or decrease of the Moon monethly: by the totall privation of the Eye, they understand her ecclipse and defect of light: which the Sun doth remedy by relumination of her straight waies, as soon as she is gotten past the shade of the earth. But the principal & more divine nature is composed and consisteth of three things, to wit, of an intellectuall nature, of matter, and a compound of them both, which we call the world. Now, that intellectuall part, *Plato* nameth *Idea*, the pattern also of the Fathers: as for matter, he teameth it a Mother, Nurse, a foundation also and a plot or place for generation: and that which is produced of both, he is wont to call the issue and thing procreated. And a man may very well conjecture, that the Egyptians compared the nature of the whole world, especially to this, as the faireſt triangle of all other. And *Plato* in his books of Policy or Common-wealth, seemeth also to have used the same, when he composeth and describeth his nuptiall figure: which triangle is of this sort: that the side which maketh the right angle, is of three, the basis of four, and the third line called *Hypotinusa* of five, æquivalent in power to the other two that comprehend it: so that the line which, directly falleth plumb upon the base, must answer proportionably to the male; the base to the female, and the *Hypotinusa* to the issue of them both. And verily, *Osiris* representeth the beginning and principle: *Isis* that

which

which receiveth; and *Horus* the compound of both. For the number of three is the first od and perfect: the quaternary is the first square or quadrat number, compofed of the first even number, which is two; and five resembleth partly the Father, and in part the Mother, as consisting both of two and three. And it shall seem also that the very name Ηυρ, which is the universall world, was deriued of Ηυω, that is to say, five, and so in Greek πεμπαζειν, in old time signified as much as to number: and that which more is, five being multiplyed in it self, maketh a quadrat number, to wit twenty five, which is just as many letters as the Egyptians have in their Alphabet, and so many yeers *Apis* also lived. And as for *Horus*, they used to call him *Kaiwin*, which is as much to say, as seen, for that this world is sensible and visible. *Isis* likewise is sometime called Mouth, otherwhiles Athyri or Methyer. And by the first of these names, they signifie a Mother: by the second, the fair house of *Horus*, like as *Plato* termeth it to be the place capable of generation: the third is compounded of Full and the cause: for Matter is full of the world, as being maried and keeping company with the first principle, which is good, pure, and beautifully adorned. It should seem haply also, that the Poet *Hesiodus*, when he saith, that all things at the first, were Chaos, Earth, Tartarus, and Love, groundeth upon no other principles than those, which are signified by these names, meaning by the Earth *Isis*; by Love *Osiris*; and by Tartarus *Typhon*; as we have made demonstration. For by *Chaos* it seems that he would understand some place and receptacle of the world. Moreover, in some sort these matters require the fable of *Plato*, which in his book intituled *Sympsium*, *Socrates* inferred, namely, wherein he setteth down the generation of Love: saying that *Penia*, that is to say, Poverty, desirous to have Children, went and lay with *Poros*, that is to say, riches, and slept with him, by whom she conceived with Child, and brought forth Love: who naturally is long and variable; and begotten of a Father who is good, wise, and all-sufficient; and of a Mother who is poor, needy, and for want, desirous of another, and evermore seeking and following after it. For the foresaid *Poros*, is no other, but the first thing amiable, desireable, perfect and sufficient. As for *Penia*, it is matter, which of it self is evermore bare, needy, wanting that which is good, whereby at length she is conceived with Child, after whom she hath a longing desire, and evermore ready to receive somewhat of him. Now *Horus* engendred between them (which is the world) is not eternall, nor impassible, nor incorruptible, but being evermore in generation, he endeavoureth by vicissitude of mutations, and by periodicall passion, to continue alwaies young, as if he should never die and perish. But of such fables as these we must make use, not as of reasons altogether really subsisting: but so as we take out of each of them, that which is meet and convenient to our purpose. When as therefore we say Matter, we are not to rely upon the opinions of some Philosophers, and to think it for to be a body without soul, without quality, continuing in it self idle, and without all action whatsoever; for we call oil the matter of a perfume or ointment; and gold the matter of an image or statue, which notwithstanding is not void of all similitude: and even so we say, that the very soul and understanding of a man, is the matter of Vertue and of Science, which we give unto reason, for to bring into order, and adorn. And some there were, who affirmed the mind or understanding to be the proper place of forms, and as it were, the expresse mould of intelligible things: like as there be Naturalists who hold, that the seed of a woman hath not the power of a principle serving to the generation of man, but standeth instead of matter and nourishment onely: according unto whom, we also being grounded herein, are to think that this goddesse having the fruition of the first and chief god, and conversing with him continually, for the love of those good things and vertues which are in him, is nothing adverse unto him, but loveth him as her true spouse and lawfull Husband: and like as we say, that an honest wife who enjoyeth ordinarily the company of her Husband, loveth him never the lesse, but hath still a mind unto him; even so giveth not she over to be enamoured upon him, although she be continually where he is, and replenished with his principall and most sincere parts. But when and where as *Typhon* in the end thrusteth himself between, and setteth upon the extream parts, then and there she seemeth to be sad and heavy, and thereupon is said to mourn and lament, yea and seek up certain reliques and pieces of *Osiris*, and ever as she can find any, she receiveth and arrayeth them with all diligence, and as they are ready to perish and corrupt, she carefully tendeth and keepeth them close, like as again she produceth and bringeth forth other things to light of her self. For the reasons, the Ideæ and the influences of God, which are in Heaven and amongst the Stars, do there continue and remain: but those which be diffuminate among the sensible and passible bodies, in the Earth and in the Sea, diffused into the plants and living Creatures, the same dying and being buried, do many times revive and rise again fresh by the means of generations. And hereupon the fable saith thus much more, that *Typhon*, cohabiteth and lyeth with *Nephthys*, and that *Osiris* also by stealth and secretly, keepeth company with her: for the corruptive and destroying power, doth principally possesse the extream parts of that matter which they name *Nephthys* and death: and the generative and preserving vertue, conferreth into it little seed, and the same weak and feeble, as being marred and destroyed by *Typhon*: unlesse it be so much as *Isis* gathereth up and saveth, which she also nourisheth and maintaineth. But in one word, and to speak more generally, he is still better, as *Plato* and *Aristotle* are of opinion: for the naturall puissance to engender and to preserve, moveth toward him as to a substance and being: whereas, that force of killing and destroying moveth behind, toward non subsistence: which is the reason, that they call the one *Isis*, that is to say, a motion animate and wise; as if the word were derived of ἰσθι, which signifieth to move by a certain science and reason, for a barbarous word it is not. But like as the generall name of all gods and goddesses, to wit, *Theos*, is derived of θεω τὸ θεατὸν, that is to say,

say, of visible, and θεω τὸ θορτὸν, that is to say, of running; even so, both we and also the Egyptians, have called this goddesse ἱστὸν, and *Isis*, of intelligence and motion together. Semblably *Plato* saith, that in old time, when they said *Isia*, they meant *Osia*, that is to say, sacred; like as *Noesis* also & *Phronesis*, *quasi* νόησις, that is to say, the stirring & motion of the Understanding, being carried & going forward: & they imposed this word σωφροσυνη, to those who have found out and discovered Goodnesse and Vertue: but contrariwise, have by reproachful names noted such things as impeach hinder and stay the course of natural things, binding them so, as they can not go forward, to wit, κακια, Vice, ἀνοια, Indigence, δειλια, Cowardise, and ἀτη, Grief, as if they kept them from ἰεναι, or ἰεσθαι, that is to say, free progresse and proceeding forward. As for *Osiris*, a word it is compofed of ορω and ἱερος, that is to say, holy and sacred; for he is the common reason or Idea, of things above in Heaven, and beneath: of which, our ancients were wont to call the one sort, ἱερος, that is to say, sacred; and the other ὁσιος, that is to say, holy. The reason also which sheweth celestial things, and such as move upward, is called *Anubis*, & otherwhiles *Hermanubis*; as if the one name were meet for those above, & the other for them beneath: whereupon they sacrificed unto the former a white Cock, & to the other a yellow or of saffron colour; for that they thought those things above, pure simple and shining; but those beneath, mixed of a medly colour. Neither are we to marvail, that these terms are disguised to the fashion of Greek words; for an infinite number of more there be, which have been transported out of *Greece* with those men who departed from thence into exile, & there remain untill this day as strangers without their native Country; whereof some there be, which cause Poetry to be slandered, for calling them into use, as if it spake barbarously, namely, by those who term such Poeticall and obscure words, *Glottas*. But in the Books of *Hermes* or *Mercury*, so called, there is written by report, thus much concerning sacred names, namely, that the power ordained over the circular motion & revolution of the Sun, the Egyptians call *Horus*, & the Greeks *Apollo*: that wch is over the wind, some name *Osiris*, others *Serapis*, and some again in the Egyptian language *Sothi*, which signifieth as much as conception or to be with Child: and thereupon it is, that by a little deflection of the name, in the Greek tongue that Canicular or Dog-star is called Κυων, which is thought appropriate unto *Isis*. Well I wot, that we are not to strive as touching names, yet would I rather give place unto the Egyptians about the name *Serapis* than *Osiris*; for this is a meer Greek word, whereas the other is a stranger: but as well the one as the other signifieth the same power of Divinity. And hereto accordeth the Egyptian language; for many times they term *Isis* by the name of *Minerva*, which in their tongue signifieth as much, as I am come of my self. And *Typhon*, as we have already said, is named *Seth*, *Babon*, and *Smy*, which words betoken all, a violent stay and impeachment, a contrariety and a diversion or turning aside another way. Moreover, they call the Loadstone or Sideritis, the bone of *Horus*; like as Iron, the bone of *Typhon*, as *Manethos* is mine Author: for as the Iron seemeth otherwhiles to follow the said Loadstone, and suffereth it self to be drawn by it, and many times for it again, returneth back and is repelled to the contrary: even so, the good and comfortable motion of the World endued with reason, by perswasive speeches doth convert, draw into it, and mollifie that hardnesse of *Typhon*: but otherwhiles again, the same returneth back into it self, and is hidden in the depth of penury and impossibility. Over and besides, *Eudoxus* saith, that the Egyptians devise of *Jupiter* this fiction, that both his legs being so grown together in one, that he could not go at all, for very shame he kept in a desert Wildernesse: but *Isis*, by cutting and dividing the same parts of the body, brought him to his sound and upright going again. Which Fable giveth us coverdly thus to understand, that the Understanding and Reason of God in it self going invisibly, and after an unseen manner, proceedeth to generation by the means of motion. And verily, that brasen Timbrel which they sounded and rung at the Sacrifices of *Isis*, named *Sistrum*, sheweth evidently, that all things ought σωζεσθαι, that is to say, to bestir and shake, and never cease moving, but to be awakened and raised; as if otherwise they were drowsie, lay asleep and languished: for is said that they turn back and repulse *Typhon* with their Timbrels aforesaid, meaning thereby, that whereas Corruption doth bind and stay nature, generation again unbindeth and setteth it a work by the means of motion. Now the said *Sistrum* being in the upper part round, the curvature and *Absis* thereof comprehendeth four things that are stirred and moved: for that part of the World which is subject to Generation and Corruption, is comprehended under the sphere of the Moon, within which all things move and alter by the means of the four Elements, Fire, Earth, Water and Air. Upon the *Absis* or rundle of the *Sistrum* toward the top, they engrave the form of a Cat with a mans face; but beneath, under those things which are shaken, one while they engrave the visage of *Isis*, another while of *Nephthys*; signifying by these two faces, Nativity and Death: for these be the motions and mutations of the Elements. By the Cat, they understand the Moon, for the variesy of the skin, for the operation and work in the night season, and for the fruitfulnesse of this Creature: for it is said, that at first she beareth one Kisling, at the second time two, the third time three, then four, afterwards five, and so to seven; so that in all she bringeth forth 28. which are the dayes of every Moon. And howsoever this may seem fabulous, yet for certain it is true, that the appuls or sights of these Cats are full and large when the Moon is at full; but contrariwise, draw in and become smaller as the Moon is in the wane. As for the visage of a man, which they attribute unto the Cat, they represent thereby the witty subtilty and reason about the mutations of the Moon. But to knit up all this matter in few words, reason would, that we should think neither the Sun nor the Water, neither Earth nor Heaven to be *Isis* or *Osiris*; no more than exceeding Drought, extream Heat, Fire and Sea, is *Typhon*: but simply, whatsoever in such things is out of measure and extraordinary either in excesse or defect, we ought to attribute it unto *Typhon*: contrariwise, all that

that is well disposed, ordered, good and profitable, we must beleeve it to be the work verily of *Isis*, but the Image, example and reason of *Osiris*: which if we honour and adore in this sort, we shall not sin or do amisse: and that which more is, we shall remove and stay the unbelief and doubtfull scrupulosity of *Eudoxus*, who asked the reason, why *Ceres* had no charge and superintendence over Love matters, but all that care lay upon *Isis*, and why *Bacchus* could neither make the River *Nilus* to swell and overflow, nor govern and rule the dead: for if we should allege one generall and common reason for all, we deem these gods to have been ordained for the portion and dispensation of good things, and whatsoever in nature is good and beautifull, it is by the grace and means of these deities; whiles the one yeeldeth the first principles, and the other receiveth and * distributeth the same: by which means we shall be able to satisfie the multitude, and meet with those mechanicall and odious fellows; whether they delight in the change and variety of the air, according to the seasons of the year, or in the procreation of fruits, or in the seedneſſe and tillings, appropriating and applying thereto what hath been delivered of these gods; wherein they take pleasure, saying, that *Osiris* is interred, when the seed is covered in the ground; that he reviveth and riseth again to light, when it beginneth to spart. And hereupon it is said, that *Isis* when she perceived her self to be conceived and with Child, hangeth about her neck a preservative the sixth day of the moneth *Phaophi*, and is delivered of *Harpocrates* about the Solstice of Winter, being as yet unperfect, and come to no maturity in the prime of the first flowers and buds; which is the reason that they offer unto her the first fruits of Lentils new sprung, and solemnize the Feast and Holidaies of her Childbirth and lying in after the Equinox of the Spring: for when the vulgar sort hear this, they rest herein, take contentment, and believe it straightwaies, drawing a probability for beleef, out of ordinary things which are daily ready at hand. And verily, herein there is no inconvenience, if first and formoſt they make these gods common, and not proper and peculiar unto the Egyptians, neither compriſe *Nilus* only and the Land which *Nilus* watereth, under those names, nor in naming their Meeres, Lakes and Lotes, and the nativity of their gods, deprive all other men of those great gods, among whom there is neither *Nilus*, nor *Butus*, nor *Memphis*; yet nevertheleſs acknowledge and have in reverence the goddeſſe *Isis* and other gods about her, of whom they have learned not long since to name some with the Egyptian appellations: but time out of mind they knew their vertue and power, in regard whereof they have honoured and adored them. Secondly, which is a far greater matter, to the end they should take heed and be affraid, leſt ere they be aware, they diſſolve and diſſipate these divine powers in Rivers, Winds, Sowing, Plowing and other passions and alterations of the earth; as they do, who hold, that *Bacchus* is Wine, *Vulcan* the flame of Fire, and *Proſerpina* (as *Cleanthes* said in one place) the Spirit that bloweth and pierceth thorow the fruits of the Earth. A Poet there was, who writing of Reapers and Mowers, said:

What time young men their hands to Ceres *put,*
And her with hooks and sithes by piecemeal cut.

And in no respect differ they from those, who think the Sailes, Cables, Cordage and Anchor, are the Pilot; or that the Thred and Yarn, the warp and woof, be the Weaver; or that the Goblet and potion Cup, the Ptiſane or the Mede and honied water, is the Phyſician. But verily in so doing, they imprint absurd and blaſphemous opinions of the gods, tending to Atheiſm and impiety, attributing the names of gods unto natures and things senſeleſſe, liveleſſe and corruptible, which of neceſſity men uſe as they need them, and cannot chuſe but mar and deſtroy the same. For we muſt in no wiſe think that these very things be gods; for nothing can be a god which hath no Soul, and is subject to man and under his hand: but thereby we know, that they be gods who give us them to uſe, and for to be perdurable and ſufficient: not these in one place, and those in another, neither Barbarians nor Greeks, neither Meridionall nor Septentrionall; but like as the Sun and Moon, the Heaven, Earth, and Sea are common unto all, but yet in divers places called by ſundry names: even so of one and the same intelligence that ordereth the whole World, of the same providence which diſpenseth and governeth all, of the miniſteriall powers ſubordinate over all, ſundry honors and appellations according to the diverſity of Laws have been appointed. And the Prieſts and religious, profeſſed in ſuch Ceremonies, uſe Myſteries and Sacraments, ſome obſcure, others more plain and evident, to train our Underſtanding to the knowledge of the Deity: howbeit, without peril and danger; for not that ſome miſſing the right way, are fallen into ſuperſtition; and others avoiding ſuperſtition as it were a Bogg or Quavemire, have run before they could take heed, upon the rock of impiety. And therefore, it behoveth us in this caſe eſpecially to be inducted by the direction of Philoſophy, which may guide us in these holy Contemplations, that we may worthily and religiouſly think of every thing ſaid and done; to the end, that it betall not unto us as unto *Theodorus*, who ſaid, that the doctrin which he tendered and reached out with the right hand, ſome of his Scholars received and took with the left; even ſo, by taking in a wrong ſenſe and otherwiſe than is meet and convenient, that which the Laws have ordained touching Feaſts and Sacrifices, we groſly offend. For, that all things ought to have a reference unto reaſon, a man may ſee and know by themſelves: for celebrating a Feaſt unto *Mercury* the nineteenth day of the firſt moneth, they eat hony and figs, ſaying withall, this Mot, *Sweet is the truth*. As to that Phylactery or preſervative, which they ſeing *Iſis* to wear when ſhe is with Child, by interpretation it ſignifieth, A true voice. As for *Harpocrates*, we muſt not imagin him to be ſome young god, and not come to ripe years, nor yet a man: but he is the ſuperintendent and reformer of mens Language as touching the gods, being yet new, unperfect, and not diſtinct nor articulate; which is the reaſon, that he holdeth a ſeal-ring before his mouth, as a ſign and mark of taciturnity and ſilence.

* *Diaſpaſmatos*, ſome read, *diaſpongos*, that is to ſay, perſiſteth.

Alſo

Alſo in the moneth *Meſori*, they repreſent unto him certain kinds of Pulſe, ſaying withall, The tongue is Fortune: The tongue is Dæmon. Now of all Plants which *Egypt* bringeth forth, they conſecrate the Peach-tree unto him eſpecially, becauſe the fruit reſembleth an Heart, and the leaf a Tongue: For of all thoſe things which naturally are in man, there is nothing more divine than the Tongue and Speech, as touching the gods principally, neither in any thing commeth he nearer unto beatitude: and therefore I adviſe and require every man who repaireth hither and commeth down to this Oracle, to entertain holy thoughts in his heart, and to utter ſeemly words with his tongue, whereas the common ſort of people in their publick feaſts and ſolemn proceſſions do many ridiculous things, notwithſtanding they proclame and pronounce formerly by the voyce of the Cryer and Bedle in the beginning of ſuch ſolemnities, to keep ſilence, or ſpeak none but good words: and yet afterwards they ceaſe not but to give out moſt blaſpemous ſpeeches, and to think as baſely of the gods. How then ſhall men behave and demean themſelves in thoſe heavy and mournfull ſacrifices from whence all mirth and laughter is baniſhed, if it be not lawfull either to omit any thing of the accuſtomed and uſuall Ceremonies, or to confound and mingle the opinions of the gods with abſurd and falſe ſuſpicions? The Greeks do many ſemblable things unto the Egyptians even in manner at the very ſame time: For at *Athens* in the feaſt called *Theſmophoria* to the honour of *Ceres*, the Women do faſt, ſitting upon the ground: And the Bœotians make a riſling and removing of the houſes of *Achea*, naming this feaſt ἀπαχύδη, that is to ſay, odious: as if *Ceres* were in heavineſſe and ſorrow for the deſcent of her Daughter *Proſerpina* into Hell: and this is that moneth wherein the Stars called *Pleiades* appear, and when the husbandmen begin to ſow, which the Egyptians name *Athyr*, the Athenians *Pyanepſion*, and the Bœotians *Damatrios*, as one would ſay *Gerealis*. And *Theopompus* writeth, that the people inhabiting Weſtward, do both think and alſo call the Winter *Saturn*, the Summer *Venus*, and the Spring *Proſerpina*: and that of *Saturn* and *Venus* all things be ingendered. The Phrygians alſo imagining that God ſleepeth all Winter, and lieth awake in the Summer; thereupon celebrate in one ſeaſon, the feaſt of lying in bed and ſleeping; in the other of experrection or waking, and that with much drinking and belly cheer. But the Paphlagonians ſay, that he is bound & kept in ward as a Priſoner during Winter, and in the Spring inlarged again and ſet at liberty when he beginneth to ſtir and move. Now the very time giveth us occaſion to ſuſpect, that the heavy countenance and auſterity which they ſhew, is becauſe the fruits of the earth be then hidden: which fruits our Ancients in times paſt never thought to be gods, but the profitable and neceſſary gifts of the gods, availing much to live civilly, and not after a ſavage and beaſtly manner. But at what time of the year as they ſaw the fruits from the trees to fall and fail at once; and thoſe which themſelves had ſowen, with much ado, by little and little opening and cleaving the earth with their own hands and ſo covering and hilling the ſame, without any aſſured hope what would betide thereupon, and whether the ſame would come to any proof and perfection or no, they did many things like unto thoſe that commit dead bodies to the earth, and mourn therefore. Moreover, like as we ſay, that he who buieth the books of *Plato*, buieth *Plato*: and who is the actour of *Menanders* Comedies, is ſaid to act and play *Menander*: Semblably, they did not ſpare and forbear to give the names of the celeſtiall gods unto their gifts and inventions, honouring the ſame with all reverence, for the uſe and need they had of them. But they who come after, taking this groſly and fooliſhly, and upon ignorance unskilfully returning upon the gods the accidents of their fruits; not only called their preſence and fruition, the nativity of the gods; and their abſence or want of them, the death and departure of the gods; but alſo beleeved ſo much, and were perſwaded fully ſo: In ſuch wiſe as they have filled themſelves with many abſurd, lewd and confuſed opinions of the ſaid gods. And yet verily, the error and abſurdity of their opinions they had evidently before their eyes preſented by *Xenophanes* the Colophonian, or other Philoſophers after him, who admoniſhed the Egyptians, that if they reputed them gods, they ſhould not lament for them: and if they mourned, they ſhould not take them for gods: as alſo it was a ridiculous mockery, in their lamentations to pray unto them for to produce new fruits and bring them unto perfection for them, to the end that they might be conſumed again and lamented for. But the caſe ſtands not ſo: for they bewail the fruits that are gone and ſpent, but they pray unto the gods, the Authors and givers thereof, that they would vouchſafe to beſtow upon them new, and make them grow in ſupply of thoſe which were periſhed and loſt. Right well therefore was it ſaid of the Philoſophers, that thoſe who have not learned to hear and take words aright, receive alſo and uſe the things themſelves amiſſe: as for example, the Greeks who were not taught nor accuſtomed to call the ſtatues of braſſe and ſtone, or painted images, the ſtatues and images made to the honour of the gods, but the gods themſelves: and afterwards were ſo bold, as to ſay, that *Lachares* deſpoiled and ſtripped *Minerva* out of her clothes, and that *Dionyſius* the Tyrant polled *Apollo* who had a perruke or buſh of golden hair; alſo that *Jupiter Capitolinus* during the civill wars was burnt and conſumed with fire. And thus they ſee not, how in ſo doing they draw and admit falſe and erroneous opinions which follow upon ſuch manner of ſpeeches. And herein the Egyptians of all other Nations have faulted moſt, about the beaſts which they honour and worſhip. For the Greeks verily in this point both believe and alſo ſpeak well, ſaying that the Dove is a bird ſacred unto *Venus*, the Dragon to *Minerva*, the Raven or Crow to *Apollo*, and the Dog to *Diana*, according to that which *Euripides* ſaid;

The goddeſſe Diana *ſhining by night,*
In a Dogs portraict will take much delight.

But the Egyptian, at leaſtwiſe the common ſort of them, worſhipping and honouring theſe very beaſts as if they were gods themſelves, have not onely peſtered with laughter and ridiculous mockery their Leiturgy and divine ſervice, (for Ignorance and Folly in this caſe is the leaſt ſin of all others) but alſo there is crept into the midſt of men a ſtrong opinion, which hath ſo far poſſeſſed the ſimple and weaker ſort, as that it bringeth them to meer ſuperſtition. And as for ſuch as be of more quick and witty capacity, & who beſides are more audacious, thoſe it driveth headlong into beaſtly cogitations and Atheiſticall diſcourſes: And therefore I hold it not amiſſe, curſorily and by the way to annex hereto ſuch things as carry ſome probability and likelihood with them. For to ſay, that the gods for fear of *Typhon* were turned into theſe Creatures, as if they thought to hide themſelves within the bodies of the black Storks called *Ibides*, of Doggs and Haukes, paſſeth all the monſtrous wonders and fictions of tales that can be deviſed. Likewiſe to hold, that the Souls of thoſe who are departed, ſo many as remain ſtill in being, are regenerate again onely in the Bodies of theſe beaſts, is as abſurd and incredible as the other. And as for thoſe who will ſeem to render a civill and politick reaſon hereof; ſome give out that *Oſiris* in a great expedition or voyage of his, having divided his army into many parts (ſuch as in Greek are called λοχοι and ταξεις, that is to ſay, bands and companies) he gave unto every of them for their ſeverall enſignes the portractures and images of beaſts: and each band afterwards honoured their own and had in reverence as ſome holy and ſacred thing. Others affirm, that the Kings who ſucceeded after *Oſiris*, for to terrifie their enemies went forth to battell, carrying before them, the heads of ſuch beaſts made in gold and ſilver, upon their armes. Some there be again, who allege, that there was one of theſe their ſubtile and fine-headed Kings, who knowing that the Egyptians of their own nature were lightly diſpoſed, ready to revolt and given to change and innovations, alſo that by reaſon of their great multitude, their power was hardly to be reſtrained and in manner invincible, in caſe they joyned together in counſel, and drew joyntly in one common line, therefore he ſowed among them a perpetuall ſuperſtition, which gave occaſion of diſſention and enmity among them, that never could be appeaſed: For when he had given commandement unto them, for to have in reverence thoſe beaſts which naturally diſagreed and warred together, even ſuch as were ready to eat and devour one another, whiles every one endeavoured alwaies to ſuccour and maintain their own, & were moved to anger if any wrong or diſpleaſure were done to thoſe which they affected; they fell together themſelves by the ears ere they were aware, and killed one another, for the enmity and quarrell which was between thoſe beaſts whom they adored, and ſo foſtered mutuall and mortall hatred. For even at this day, of all the Egyptians the Lycopolitans onely, eat Mutton, becauſe the Woolf whom they adore as a god is enemy unto ſheep. And verily in this our age, the Oxyrinchites, becauſe the * Cynopolites, that is to ſay, the inhabitants of the City *Cynopolis*, eat the Fiſh named *Oxyrinchos*, that is to ſay, with the ſharp beck, whenſoever they can intrap or catch a Dogg, make no more ado but kill him for a Sacrifice and eat him when they have done. Upon which occaſion having levied war one againſt the other, and done much miſchief reciprocally, after they had been well chaſtiſed and plagued by the Romans, they grew to Attonement and Compoſition. And for as much as many of them do ſay, that the Soul of *Typhon*, departed into theſe beaſts, it ſeemeth that this fiction importeth thus much, that every brutiſh and beaſtly nature, commeth and proceedeth from ſome evill Dæmon, and therefore to pacifie him that he do no miſchief, they worſhip and adore theſe beaſts. And if peradventure there happen any great Drought or contagious Heat which cauſeth peſtilent Maladies or other unuſuall and extrordinary Calamities, the Prieſts bring forth ſome of thoſe Beaſts which they ſerve and honour in the dark Night, without any noyſe, in great ſilence, menacing them at the firſt, and putting them in fright. Now if the Plague or Calamity continue ſtill, they kill and ſacrifice them, thinking this to be a Puniſhment and Chaſtiſement of the ſaid evill Dæmon, or elſe ſome great expiation for notable ſins and tranſgreſſions. For in the City verily of *Idithya*, as *Manethos* maketh report, the manner is to burn men alive, whom they called *Typhonii*: whoſe aſhes when they had boulted through a tamiſe, they ſcattered abroad, untill they were reduced to nothing; But this was done openly at a certain time in thoſe dayes which are called Cynades or Canicular. Many the immolation of theſe beaſts, which they accounted ſacred, was performed ſecretly and not at a certain time or upon prefixed dayes, but according to the occurrences of thoſe accidents which happened. And therefore the common people neither knew nor ſaw ought, but when they ſolemnize their Obſequies and Funeralls for them, in the preſence of all the people they ſhew ſome of the other beaſts and throw them together into the Sepulchre, ſuppoſing thereby to vex and gall *Typhon*, and to repreſſe the joy that he hath in doing miſchief. For it ſeemeth that *Apis* with ſome other few beaſts was conſecrated to *Oſiris*: howſoever they attribute many more unto him. And if this be true, I ſuppoſe it importeth that which we ſeek and ſearch all this while, as touching thoſe which are confeſſed by all, and have common honours; as the foreſaid Stork *Ibis*, the Hauk and the *Babian* or *Cynocephalus*, yea and *Apis* himſelf, for ſo they call the Goat in the City *Mendes*. Now there remaineth the utility and ſymbolization hereof: conſidering that ſome participate of the one, but the moſt part of both. For as touching the Goat, the Sheep and the Ichneumon, certain it is, they honour them for the uſe and profit they receive by them: like as the inhabitants of *Lemnos* honour the birds called * *Corydali*, becauſe they finde out the Locuſt neſts and quaſh their eggs. The Theſſalians alſo have the Storks in great account, becauſe whereas their Country is given to breed a number of Serpents, the ſaid Storks when they come, kill them up all. By reaſon whereof they made an Edict, with an intimation, that whoſoever killed a Stork ſhould be baniſhed his Country. The Serpent *Aſpis* alſo, the Weaſill and the

* Who worſhip the Dogg.

* Larkes or Leverocks as ſome think.

the Fly called the Beetrill they reverence, becauſe they obſerve in them I wot not what little hidden Images (like as in drops of water we perceive the reſemblance of the Sun) of the divine power. For many there be even yet, who both think and ſay, that the Male Weaſill engendereth with the Female by her ear, and that ſhe bringeth forth her young at the mouth: which ſymbolizeth as they ſay, and repreſenteth the making and generation of ſpeech. As for the Beetile, they hold, that throughout all their kinde is no Female, but all the Males do blow or caſt their ſeed into a certain globus or round matter in form of balls, which they drive from them and roll to and fro contrariwaies, like as the Sun, when he moveth himſelf from the Weſt to the Eaſt, ſeemeth to turn about the Heaven clean contrary. The *Aſpis* alſo they compare to the planet of the Sun, becauſe he doth never age and wax old, but moveth in all facility, readineſſe and celerity without the means of any inſtruments of motion. Neither is the Crocodile ſet ſo much by among them, without ſome probable cauſe: For they ſay that in ſome reſpect he is the very image repreſenting God: as being the only Creature in the world which hath no tongue: for as much as divine ſpeech needeth neither voice nor tongue:

But through the paths of Juſtice walks
with ſtill and ſilent pace,
Directing right all mortall things,
in their due time and place.

And of all beaſts living within the water, the Crocodile onely (as men ſay) hath over his eyes a certain thin film or tranſparent web to cover them, which commeth down from his forehead in ſuch ſort, as that he can ſee and not be ſeen, wherein he is conformable and like unto the ſovereign of all the gods. Moreover look in what place the Female is diſcharged of her ſpawn, there is the utmoſt mark and limit of the riſing and inundation of *Nilus*: for being not able to lay their egs in the water, and afeaid withall to ſit far off, they have a moſt perfect and exquiſite foreſight of that which will be; inſomuch as they make uſe of the Rivers approach when they lay: and whiles they ſit and cove, their eggs be preſerved dry, and are never drenched with the water. A hundred eggs they lay, in ſo many dayes they hatch, and as many yeers live they, which are longeſt lived: And this is the firſt and principall number that they uſe who treat of celeſtiall matters. Moreover, as touching thoſe beaſts which are honoured for both cauſes, we have ſpoken before of the Dogg: but the *Ibis* or black Stork, beſides that it killeth thoſe Serpents whoſe prick and ſting is deadly, ſhe was the firſt that taught us the uſe of that evacuation or cleanſing the Body by Clyſtre, which is ſo ordinary in Phyſick: for perceived ſhe is to purge, cleanſe, and mundifie her ſelf in that ſort: whereupon the moſt religious Prieſts, and thoſe who are of greateſt experience, when they would be purified, take for their holy water to ſprinkle themſelves with, the very ſame out of which the *Ibis* drinketh, for ſhe never drinks of impoiſoned and infected water, neither will ſhe come near unto it. Moreover, with her two Legs ſtanding at large one from the other, and her bill together, ſhe maketh an abſolute triangle with three even ſides, beſides, the variety and ſpeckled mixture of her plume, conſiſting of white feathers and black, repreſenteth the Moon when ſhe is paſt the full. Now we muſt not marvail at the Egyptians, for pleaſing and contenting themſelves in ſuch ſlight repreſentations and ſimilitudes, for even the Greeks themſelves as well in their Pictures as other Images of the gods, melted and wrought to any mould, uſed many times ſuch reſemblances: for one ſtatue in *Creta* they had of *Jupiter* without ears, becauſe it is not meant for him who is Lord and Governour of all, to have any inſtruction by the hearing of others. Unto the image of *Pallas*, *Phidias* the Imager ſet a Dragon; like as to that of *Venus* in the City of *Elis* a Tortoiſe: giving us by this to underſtand, that Maidens had need of guidance and good cuſtody, and that Married Women ought to keep the houſe and be ſilent. The three-forked Mace of *Neptune*, ſignifieth the third place, which the Sea and Element of water holdeth, under Heaven and Air; for which cauſe they called the Sea *Amphitrite*, and the petty ſea-gods Tritons. Alſo the Pythagoreans have highly honored the numbers and figures Geometricall, by the gods names: for the triangle with three equall ſides they called *Pallas*, born out of *Jupiters* brain, and *Tritogeneia*, for that it is equally divided with three right lines, from three angles drawn by the Plumb. One or unity they named *Apollo*,

As well for his perſwaſive grace,
as plain ſimplicity,
That doth appear in youthfull face,
and this is unity.

Two, they termed Contention and Boldneſſe: and three Juſtice. For whereas to offend and be offended, to do and to ſuffer wrong, come the one by exceſſe, and the other by defect, Juſt remaineth equally between in the mids. That famous quaternary of theirs, named *Tetraktys*, which conſiſteth of four nines, and amounteth to thirty ſix, was their greateſt Oath, ſo rife in every mans mouth, and they called it the World, as being accompliſhed of the firſt four even numbers, and the firſt four odd, compounded into one together. If then the moſt excellent and beſt renowned Philoſophers, perceiving in things which have neither Body nor Soul, ſome type and figure of deity, have not thought it good to neglect or deſpiſe any thing herein, or paſs it over with due honor, I ſuppoſe we ought much leſſe ſo to do in thoſe properties and qualities which are in natures ſenſitive, having life, and being capable of paſſions and affections, according to their inclinations and conditions. And therefore we muſt not contend our ſelves and reſt in the worſhipping of theſe and ſuch like beaſts, but by them adore the Divinity that ſhineth in them, as in moſt clear and bright Mirrors, according to

nature, reputing them alwaies as the instrument and artificiall workmanship of God, who ruleth and governeth the universall world: neither ought we to think, that any thing void of life, and destitute of sense, can be more worthy or excellent than that which is indued with life and senses; no not although a man hung never so much Gold or a number of rich Emraulds about it: for it is neither colours nor figures, nor polliſhed bodies, that deity doth inhabit in; but whatsoever doth not participate life, nor is by nature capable thereof, is of a more base and abject condition than the very dead. But that nature which liveth and seeth, which also in it self hath the beginning of motion and knowledge of that which is proper and meet, as also of that which is strange unto it, the same (I say) hath drawn some influence and portion of that wise providence, whereby the universall world is governed, as *Heraclitus*, saith. And therefore the deity is no lesse represented in such natures, than in works made of brasse and stone, which are likewise subject to corruption and alteration, but over and besides, they are naturally voide of all sense and understanding. Thus much of that opinion, as touching the worship of beasts, which I approve for best.

Moreover the habiliments of *Isis*, be of different tinctures and colours: for her whole power consisteth and is imployed in matter which receiveth all formes, and becommeth all manner of things, to wit, Light, Darknesse, Day, Night, Fire, Water, Life, Death, Beginning and End. But the robes of *Osiris*, have neither shade nor variety, but are of one simple colour, even that which is light some and bright. For the first and primitive cause is simple; the principle or beginning, is without all mixture, as being spirituall and intillegible. Whereupon it is that they make a shew but once for all of all his habiliments, which when they have done they lay them up again and bestow them safe, and keep them so straightly, that no man may see or handle them: whereas contrariwise they use those of *Isis* many times: For that sensible things be in usage, and seeing they are ready and ever in hand, and be subject evermore to alternative alterations, therefore they be laid abroad and displayed, for to be seen often. But the intelligence of that which is spiritual and intellectual, pure, simple, and holy, shining as a flash of lightning, offereth it self unto the soul but once, for to be touched and seen. And therefore *Plato* & *Aristole* call this part of Philosophy Ἐποπτικὸν, for that those who discourse of reason, have passed beyond all matters subject to mingled & variable opinions, leap at length to the contemplation of this first principle, which is simple, and not material: and after they have in some sort attained to the pure and sincere truth of it, they suppose that their Philosophy as now accomplished is come to finall perfection. And that wch the Priests in these days are very precise & wary to shew, keeping it hidden and secret with so great care and diligence, allowing not so much as a sight thereof secretly and by the way: also that this god raigneth and ruleth over the dead, and is no other than he whom the Greeks name *Hades* and *Pluto*: the common people not understanding how this is true, are much troubled; thinking it very strange that the holy and sacred *Osiris* should dwell within or under the earth, where their bodies lie who are thought to be come unto their finall end. But he verily is most far removed from the earth, without stain or pollution, pure and void of all substance or nature, that may admit death or any corruption whatsoever. Howbeit the Souls of men, so long as they be here beneath clad within bodies and passions, can have no participation of God, unlesse it be so much only as they may attain unto the intelligence of, by the study of Philosophy, and the same is but in manner of a dark dream. But when they shall be delivered from these bonds, and passe into this holy place, where there is no passion, nor passible form: then, the same God is their Conductor and King: then they cleave unto him, as much as possibly they can: him they contemplate and behold without satiety: desiring that Beauty, which it is not possible for men to utter and expresse: whereof according to the old tales, *Isis* was alwaies inamoured: and having pursued after it untill she enjoyed the same, she afterwards became replenished with all Goodnesse and Beauty that here may be engendered. And thus much may suffice for that sense and interpretation which is most beseeming the gods. Now if we must besides speak as I promised before, of the incense and odors which are burnt every day: let a man consider first in his mind and take this with him, that the Egyptians were men evermore most studious in those matters which made for the health of their bodies, but principally in this regard, they had in recommendation those that concerned the Ceremonies of divine service in their sanctifications, and in their ordinary life and conversation; wherein they have no lesse regard unto wholsomenesse than to holinesse: For they think it neither lawfull nor beseeming to serve that essence which is altogether pure, every way sound and impolluted, either with Bodies or Souls corrupt with inward sores, and subject to secret maladies. Seeing then, that the Air, which we most commonly use, and within which we alwaie converse, is not evermore alike disposed nor in the same temperature: but in the night is thickned and made grosse, whereby it compresseth and draweth the body into a kinde of sadnesse and pensivenesse, as if it were overcast with dark mists and weighed down: so soon as ever they be up in the morning, they burn incense by kindling Rosin, for to clense and purifie the air by this rarefaction and subtilization, awaking as it were and raising by this meanes, the inbred spirits of our Bodies which were languishing and drowsie: for that in this odor there is a forceable vertue which vehemently striketh upon the senses. Again, about Noon, perceiving that the Sun draweth forcibly out of the earth by his heat, great quantity of strong vapours, which be intermingled with the air, then they burn Myrrh: For the heat of this aromaticall gum and odor is such, as that it dissipateth and dispatcheth whatsoever is gross, thick and muddy in the air. And verily in the time of Pestilence Physicians think to remedy the same by making great fires, being of this opinion, that the flame doth subtiliate and rarefie the air: which it effecteth no doubt the better in case they burn sweet

sweet-wood, as of the Cypresse-trees, of Juneper, or * Pitch-tree. And hereupon reported it is that the Physician *Acron*, when there reigned a grievous Plague at *Athens*, wan a great name and reputation, by causing good fires to be made about the sick persons; for he saved many by that means. And *Aristotle* writeth, that the sweet scents and good swells of Perfumes, Oyntments, Flowers, and fragrant Medows, serve no lesse for health than for delight and pleasure. For that by their heat and mildnesse they gently dissolve and open the substance of the brain; which naturally is cold, and, as it were, congeled. Again, if it be so that the Egyptians call Myrrh, in their Language Bal, which if a man interpret, signifieth as much as the discussing and chasing away of idle talk and raving; this also may serve for a testimony to confirm that which we say. As for that Composition among them named *Cyphi*, it is a Confection or Mixture receiving sixteen Ingredients. For there enter into it, Honey, Wine, Raisins, Cyperous, Rosin, Myrrh, Aspalathus and Seseli. Moreover, the sweet rush Schœnos, Bitumen, Mosse, and the Dock: Besides two sorts of the Juniper Berries, the greater and the lesse; Cardamomum and Galamus. All these species are compounded together, not at a venture, and as it cometh into their heads: but there be read certain sacred writings unto the Apothecaries and Perfumers, all the while that they mix them. As for this number, although it be quadrate, and made of a square, and onely of the numbers equal, maketh the space contained within, equal to his circumference, we are not to think that this is any way material to the vertue thereof: but most of the simples that go to this Composition being Aromatical, cast a pleasant breath from them, and yield a delectable and wholesome vapor, by which the ayr is altered: and withal, the body being moved with this evaporation, is gently prepared to repose, and taketh an attractive temperature of sleep, in letting slack and unbinding the bonds of cares, wearinesse and sorows incident in the day time, and that without the help of sursee and drunkennesse: polishing and smoothing the imaginative part of the brain which receiveth dreams in manner of a mirror, causing the same to be pure and neat, as much, or rather more, than the sound of Harp, Lute, Viol, or any other Instruments of Musick; which the Pythagoreans used for to procure sleep, enchanting by that device, and dulcing the unreasonable part of the soul which is subject to passions. For sweet Odors, as they do many times excite and stir up the sense when it is dull, and beginneth to fail: so contrariwise, they make the same as often drowsie and heavy, yea, and bring it to quietnesse, whiles those Aromatical smells by reason of their smoothnesse are spread and diffused in the body: According as some Physicians say, that sleep is engendred in us, when the vapour of the food which we have received, creepeth gently along the noble parts and principal bowels, and as it toucheth them, causeth a kinde of tickling which lulleth them asleep. This *Cyphi* they use in drink, as a Composition to season their cups, and as an oyntment besides: for they hold, that being taken in drink, it scoureth the guts within, and maketh the belly laxative: and being applied outwaadly, as a liniment, it mollifieth the body. Over and above all this, Rosin is the work of the Sun: but Myrrh they gather by the Moon light, out of those Plants from which it doth distil: But of those simples whereof *Cyphi* is compounded, some there be which love the night better; as many, I mean, as be nourished by cold winds, shadows, dews and moisture: For the brightnesse and light of the day is one and simple: and *Pindarus* saith, that the Sun is seen through the pure and solitary ayr: whereas the ayr of the night is a compound and mixture of many lights and powers, as if there were a confluence of many seeds from every star running into one. By good right therefore they burn these simple Perfumes in the day, as those which are engendred by the vertue of the Sun: But this being mingled of all sorts, and of divers qualities, they set on fire about the evening, and beginning of the night.

* *al.* ung.

Of the Oracles that have ceased to give Answer.

The Summary.

THe Spirit of Error hath endeavored always and assailed the best he can, to maintain his Power and Dominion in the world, having after the revolt and fall of Adam, *been furnished with instruments of all sorts, to Tyrannize over his Slaves. In which number we are to range the Oracles and Predictions of certain Idols erected in many places by his instigation; by means whereof, this sworn enemy to the glory of the true God, hath much prevailed. But when it pleased our heavenly Father to give us his Son for to be our Saviour, who descending from heaven to earth, took upon him our humane nature, wherein he sustained the pain and punishment due for our sins, to deliver us out of hell, and by vertue of his merits, to give us entrance into the Kingdom of heaven, the truth of his grace being published and made known in the world by the preaching of the Apostles and their faithful Successors; the Devil and his Angels, who had in many parts and places of the world abused and deceived poor Idolaters, were forced to acknowledge their Soveraign, and to keep silence and suffer him to speak unto those whom he meant to call unto Salvation, or else to make them unexcusable, if they refused to hear his voyce. This cessation of the Oracles put the Priests and Sacrificers of the Painims to great trouble, and wonderful perplexity, in the time of the Roman Emperors: whiles some imputed the cause to this, others to that. But our Author in this Treatise discourseth upon this Question, shewing thereby, how*

how great and lamentable is the blindeneſs of mans reaſon and wiſdom, when it thinketh to attain unto the ſecrets of God. For all the ſpeeches of the Philoſophers, whom he bringeth in here as Interlocutors, are meer tales and fables deviſed for the nonce, which every Chriſtian man of any mean judgement will at the firſt ſight condemn. Yet thus much good there is in this diſcourſe, that the Epicureans are here taxed and condemned in ſundry paſſages. As touching the Contents of this Conference, the occaſion thereof ariſeth from the ſpeech of Demetrius *and* Cleombrotus, *who were come unto the Temple of* Apollo: *for the one of them having rehearſed a wonder as touching the Temple of* Jupiter Ammon, *moveth thereby a farther deſire of Diſputation: but before they enter into it, they continue ſtill the former ſpeech, of the courſe and motion of the Sun. Afterwards, they come to the main point; namely, Why all the Oracles of* Greece *(excepting that onely of* Lebadia) *ceaſed? To which demand,* Platcniades *a Cynique Philoſopher anſwereth, That the wickedneſs of men is the cauſe thereof.* Ammonius *contrariwiſe attributeth all unto the Wars which had conſumed the Pilgrims that uſed to reſort unto the ſaid Oracles.* Lamprias *propoſeth one opinion, and* Cleombrotus *inferring another of his, fall into a Diſcourſe and Common-place as touching Dæmons, whom he verily rangeth between gods and men, diſputing of their nature, according to the Philoſophy of the Greeks. Then he proveth, that theſe Dæmons have the charge of Oracles, but by reaſon that they departed out of one Countrey into another, or dyed, theſe Oracles gave over. To this purpoſe he telleth a notable tale as touching the death of the great Pan, concluding thus, that ſeeing Dæmons be mortal, we ought not to wonder at the ceſſation of Oracles. After this,* Ammonius *confuteth the Epicureans, who hold, That there be no Dæmons. And upon the confirmation of the former Poſitions, they enter together into the examination of the opinions of the Epicureans and Platoniſts, concerning the number of the Worlds, to wit, whether they be many or infinite? growing to this reſolution after long diſpute, that there be many, and namely, to the number of five. Which done,* Demetrius *reviving the principal queſtion, moveth alſo a new one, Why the Dæmons have this power to ſpeak by Oracles? Unto which there be many and divers anſwers made, which determine all in one Treatiſe according to the Platoniſts Philoſophy, of the Principal, Efficient, and Final cauſe of thoſe things that are effected by reaſon, and particularly of Divinations and Predictions: for which, he maketh to concur, the Earth, the Sun, Exhalations, Dæmons, and the Soul of man. Now all the intention and drift of* Plutarch *groweth to this point, That the Earth being incited and moved by a natural vertue, and that which is proper unto it, and in no wiſe divine and perdurable, hath brought forth certain powers of Divination: That theſe Inſpirations breathing and ariſing out of the Earth, have touched the underſtandings of men with ſuch efficacy, as that they have cauſed them to foreſee future things afar off, and long ere they happed; yea, and have addreſſed and framed them to give anſwer both in verſe and proſe.* Item, *That like as there be certain grounds and lands more fertile one than the other, or producing ſome particular things according to the divers and peculiar property of each: There be alſo certain places and tracts of the world endued with this temperature, which both ingender, and alſo incite theſe Enthuſiack and Divining Spirits. Furthermore, that this puiſſance is meer divine indeed; howbeit, not perpetual, eternal, unmoveable, nor that which is for ever perdurable: But by proceſs and ſucceſſion of time, doth diminiſh and decay by little and little, untill at length, through age, it conſumeth to nothing. Semblably, that this great number of Spirits are not engendred inceſſantly, neither proceed they forward, or retire back continually; but this vertue of the Earth moveth of it ſelf in certain Revolutions, and by that means is enchafed and puffed up: And after that in time it hath gathered abundance of new vapors, it filleth the caves and holes ſo full, until they diſcharge and ſend them up again. Whereupon it cometh to paſs, that the exhalations ſtirred in the ſaid caves, and deſirous to iſſue forth, after that they have been beaten back again, violently aſſail the foundations, and ſhir the Temples built upon them, in ſuch ſort, as being ſhaken, as it were, by earthquakes, more or leſs in one place than another, according to the overtures and paſſages made for the exhalation, they finde iſſue through the ſtreights, break forth with forcible violence, and ſo produce theſe Oracles. In ſum, the intention and minde of* Plutarch *is to prove, that the beginning, progreſs, and end of theſe Oracles proceed all from natural cauſes, to wit, the exhalations of the Earth. Wherein he is fully and groſly deceived, conſidering that ſuch Oracles in* Greece *have been inſpired by the Devil, who hath kept an open ſhop there of impoſture, deceits, and the moſt horrible ſeducements that can be deviſed. For mine own part, I impute this whole diſcourſe of* Plutarch *unto the ignorance of the true God, the very mother of this deſpight, which bringeth forth this preſent Treatiſe, ſaved by the Pagans, for to darken the reſplendent light of that great King of the world and his truth: which hath diſcuſſed and brought to nothing all the ſubtil devices of Satan, who triumphed over all* Greece *by the means of his Oracles. Thus after large diſcourſes upon theſe matters,* Plutarch *concludeth the whole Diſputation: the Concluſion whereof, be enricheth with an accident that befel unto the Propheteſs of* Delphi: *where a man may evidently ſee the impoſture and fraud of Devils, and of malicious Spirits (and thoſe be the Dæmons which* Plutarch *would deſign) and their horrible tyranny over men deſtitute of Gods grace.*

Of

Of the Oracles that ceaſed to give Anſwers.

THere goeth a Tale, my friend *Terentius Priſcus*, that in times paſt certain Eagles, or elſe Swans, flying from the utmoſt ends of the earth oppoſite one unto the other, toward the midſt thereof, encountred and met together at the very place where the Temple of *Apollo Pythius* was built, even that which is called *Omphalos*, that is to ſay, the Navil. And that afterwards, *Epimenides* the Phæſtian being deſirous to know whether this Fable was true, fought unto the Oracle for to be reſolved: but having received from the god a doubtful and uncertain anſwer; by reaſon thereof made theſe verſes:

Now ſure in midſt of Land or Sea,
there is no Navil ſuch;
Or if there be, the gods it know:
men muſt not ſee ſo much.

And verily the god *Apollo* chaſtiſed and puniſhed him well enough, for being ſo curious as to ſearch into the tryal or proof of an old received Tale, as if it had been ſome antique Picture. But true it is, that in our days, a little before the Solemnity of the Pythique games, which were held during the Magiſtracy of *Calliſtratus*, there were two devout and holy Perſonages, who coming from the contrary ends of the earth, met together in the City of *Delphi*: the one was *Demetrius* the Grammarian, who came from as far * *Britain*, minding to return unto *Tarſus* in *Cilicia*, the City of his nativity; and the other, *Cleombrotus* the Lacedemonian, who had travelled and wandred long time in *Ægypt*, within the Troglodytique Province, and ſailed a good way up into the Red-Sea, not for any Traffique or Negotiation of Merchandize, but onely as a Traveller that deſired to ſee the world, and to learn new faſhions abroad. For having wherewith ſufficiently to maintain himſelf, and not caring to gather more than might ſerve his own turn, he employed that time which he had, this ways, and gathered together a certain hiſtory, as the ſubject matter and ground of that Philoſophy, which propoſed for the end thereof (as he himſelf ſaid) Theologie. This man having not long before been at the Temple and Oracle of *Jupiter Ammon*, made ſemblance as if he wondered not much at any thing he ſaw there; onely he reported unto us a ſtrange thing, worth the obſervation, and better to be conſidered of, which he learned of the Prieſts there, as touching the burning Lamp that never goeth out: for by their ſaying, every year it ſpendeth leſs oyl than another. Whereby they gather certainly (quoth he) the inequality of the years, whereby the latter is evermore ſhorter than the former: for great probability there is, that ſeeing leſs oyl is conſumed, the time alſo is in proportion ſo much leſs. Now when all the company there preſent made a wonder hereat, *Demetrius* among the reſt made a very jeſt of it, and ſaid it was a meer mockery to ſearch into the knowledge of matters ſo high, by ſuch ſlight and ſmall preſumptions: for this was not, as *Alcæus* ſaid, to paint a Lyon by meaſure of his claw or paw, but to move and alter heaven, and earth, and all the world, by the conjecture onely of a weik and lamp; yea, and to overthrow at once all the Mathematical Sciences. It is neither ſo nor ſo, good Sir, quoth *Cleombrotus*; for neither the one nor the other will trouble theſe men. For firſt, they will never yield and give place unto the Mathematicians in the certitude of their proofs; for ſooner may the Mathematicians miſreckon the time, and miſs in their calculation and accounts, in ſuch long motions and revolutions ſo far remote and diſtant, than they fail in the meaſure of the oyl which they obſerve continually, and mark moſt preciſely, in regard of that which they ſee ſo ſtrange and againſt all diſcourſe of reaſon. Again, not to grant and allow (O *Demetrius*) that pettythings may many times ſerve for ſigns and arguments of great important matters, would hinder and prejudice many Arts, conſidering that it is as much as to take away the proofs from many demonſtrations, concluſions and predictions. And verily, even you that are Grammarians, will ſeem to verifie and avow one point which is not of the leaſt conſequence; namely, that thoſe Heroick Princes and Worthies, who were at the Trojan war, uſed to ſhave their hair, and keep the skin ſmooth with the razor; becauſe, forſooth, in reading of *Homer*, you meet with ſome place where he maketh mention barely of the razor. Semblably, that in thoſe days men uſed to put forth their money upon uſury, for that in one paſſage the ſaid Poet writeth thus:

Whereas my debt is neither new nor ſmall:
*But as days come and go, it * grows withal.*

* ὀφλλω.

Meaning by the verb ὀφελλεις, that his debt did grow unto him by the intereſt for uſe. Furthermore, becauſe ever and anon the ſame *Homer* attributeth unto the night, the Epithete ὀξὺ, which ſignifieth Quick and ſharp; you Grammarians are much affected to this word, ſaying, He underſtandeth thereby, that the ſhadow of the earth being round, groweth point-wiſe or ſharp at the end, in manner of a Cone or Pyramis. And what is he, who ſtanding upon this point, that ſmall things may not be the proofs and ſigns of greater matters; will approve this argument in Phyſick: namely, that when there is a multitude of Spiders ſeen, it doth prognoſticate a peſtilent Summer: or in the Spring ſeaſon, when the leaves of the Olive tree reſemble the Crows feet? Who (I ſay) will ever abide to take the meaſure

* That is to ſay, England.

of

of the Suns body, by Clepſydres or Water-dials, with a gallon or pinte of water? or that a Tyle-formed Tablet, making a ſharp angle by the plumb, enclining upon a plain ſuperficies, ſhould ſhew the juſt meaſure of the elevation of pole from the Horizon, which always is to be ſeen in our Hemiſphere? Lo, what the Prieſts and Prophets in thoſe parts may allege and ſay. And therefore we ought to produce ſome other reaſons againſt them, in caſe we would maintain the courſe of the Sun to be conſtant and unvariable, as we hold here in theſe Countreys. And not of the Sun onely, (cryed out with a loud voyce *Ammonius* the Philoſopher, who was then in place) but alſo of the whole heaven, which by this reckoning cometh in queſtion. For if it be granted, that the years decreaſe: the race of the Sun which he runneth between the one Tropique and the other, muſt of neceſſity be cut ſhorter, and taketh not up ſo great a part of the Horizon, as the Mathematicians ſet down; but that it becometh ſhorter and leſs, according as the Southern or Meridional parts be contracted, and gather always toward the Septentrional and Northern. Whereupon it will enſue, that our Summer will be ſhorter, and the temperature of the ayr by conſequence colder; by reaſon that the Sun turneth more inwardly, and deſcribeth greater Parallels, or Equidiſtant Circles, than thoſe be about the Tropicks, at the longeſt and ſhorteſt days of the year. Moreover, this would follow hereupon, that the Gnomons in the Dials at *Syene* in *Egypt*, will be more ſhadowleſs at the Summer Tropick or Solſtice: and many of the fixed Stars will run under one another; ſome alſo of them will be forced for want of room to run one upon another, and be hudled pell-mell together. And if they ſhall ſay, that when other ſtars hold their own, and keep their ordinary courſes, the Sun onely obſerveth no order in his motions, they cannot allege any cauſe that ſhould ſo much as haſten his motion alone among ſo many others as there be, but they ſhall trouble and diſquiet moſt of thoſe things which are ſeen evidently above: and namely, thoſe generally which happen unto the Moon in regard of the Sun. So that we ſhall have no need of thoſe, who obſerve the meaſures of oyl, for to prove the diverſity of the years; becauſe the Eclypſes both of the Moon and Sun will ſufficiently ſhew if there be any at all, for that the Sun ſhall many times meet with the Moon, and the Moon reciprocally fall as often wirhin the ſhadow of the earth: ſo as we ſhall need no more to diſplay and diſcover the vanity and falſity of this reaſon. Yea, but I my ſelf (quoth *Cleombrotus*) have ſeen the ſaid meaſure of oyl, for they ſhewed many of them unto me; and that of this preſent year when I was with them, appeared to be much leſs than thoſe in the years paſt. So that *Ammonius* made anſwer in this wiſe: And how is it that other men who adore the inextinguible fire, who keep and preſerve the ſame religiouſly for the ſpace of an infinite number of years, one after another, could not as well perceive and obſerve ſo much? And ſay that a man ſhould admit this repore of yours to be true, as touching the meaſures of the oyl: were it not much better to aſcribe the cauſe thereof unto ſome coldneſs or moiſture of the ayr; or rather contrariwiſe to ſome dryneſs and heat, by reaſon whereof, the fire in the Lamp being enfeebled, is not able to ſpend ſo much nutriment, and therefore hath no need thereof? For I have heard it many times affirmed by ſome, That in Winter the fire burneth much better, as being more ſtronger and more fortified, by reaſon that the heat thereof is drawn in, more united and driven cloſer by the exterior cold: whereas great heats and droughts do weaken the ſtrength thereof, ſo as it becometh faint, looſe, and raw, without any great vehemency and vigour; nay, if a man kindle it againſt the Sun-ſhine, the operation of it is leſs, hardly catcheth it hold of the wood or ſewel, and more ſlowly conſumeth it the ſame. But moſt of all, a man may lay the cauſe upon the oyl it ſelf; for it goeth not againſt reaſon to ſay, that in old time the oyl was of leſs nutriment, and ſtood more upon the wateriſh ſubſtance than now it doth, as preſſed out of Olives which grew upon yong trees: but afterwards being better concocted, and riper in the fruit, coming of Plants more perfect and fully grown in the ſame quantity, was more effectual, and able longer to nouriſh and maintain the fire. Thus you ſee how a man may ſalve and ſave that ſuppoſition of the Ammonian Prieſts, although it ſeem very ſtrange and wonderfully extravagant. After that *Ammonius* had finiſhed his ſpeech. Nay, rather (quoth I) *Cleombrotus*, I beſeech you tell us ſomewhat of the Oracle: for there hath gone a great name, time out of minde, of the Deity reſident there; but now it ſeemeth that the reputation thereof is clean gone. And when *Cleombrotus* made no anſwer hereto, but held down his head, and caſt his eyes upon the ground. There is no need (quoth *Demetrius*) to demand or make any queſtion of the Oracles there, when as we ſee the Oracles in theſe parts to fail, or rather indeed (all ſave one or two) brought to nothing. This rather would be enquired into, what the cauſe ſhould be, that generally they all do ceaſe? For to what purpoſe ſhould we ſpeak of others, conſidering that *Bœotia* it ſelf, which heretofore in old time reſounded and rung again with Oracles, now is quite void of them, as if the ſprings and fountains were dryed up, and a great ſiccity and drought of Oracles had come over the whole Land? For there is not at this dey, go throughout all *Bœotia* (unleſs it be onely in *Lebadia*) one place where a man may, would he never ſo fain, draw any divination, what need ſoever he hath of any Oracle: for all other parts are either mute, or altogether deſolate and forlorn. And yet in the time of the Medes War, the Oracle of *Ptous Apollo* was in great requeſt, and that of *Amphiaraus* was in no leſs reputation; for both the one and the other was ſought unto. And in that of *Ptous Apollo*, when the Prieſt or Prophet who ſerved in the Oracle, uſed the Æolian Language, and made anſwer unto thoſe who were ſent thither by the Barbarians, inſomuch as none of the aſſiſtants underſtood one word, this Enthuſiaſm or Divine inſpiration, covertly gave thereby thus much to underſtand, that theſe Oracles pertained nothing unto the Barbarians, neither were they permitted to have the ordinary Greek Language at their command. As for that of *Amphiaraus*, the ſervant who was thither ſent, falling aſleep

ſleep within the ſanctuary, thought as he dreamed, that he ſaw and heard the miniſter of the god, as if with his word and voice he ſeemed at the firſt to drive him out, and command him to depart forth of the Temple, ſaying, that his god was not there; but afterwards to thruſt him away with both his hands: but in the end, ſeeing that he ſtaid ſtill, took up a great ſtone, and therewith ſmote him upon the head. And verily all this anſwered juſt to that which afterwards befell, and was a very prediction and denunciation of a future accident: for *Mardonius* was vanquiſhed not by the King himſelf, but by the Tutour and Lieutenant of the King of Lacedæmon, who at that time had the conduct and command of the Greeks army; yea, and with a ſtone felled to the ground, according as the Lydian ſervant aforeſaid imagined in his ſleep that he was ſmitten with a ſtone. There flouriſhed likewiſe about the ſame time the Oracle of *Tegyræ*, where the report goeth that the god *Apollo* himſelf was born: and verily two rivers there are that run near one to the other, whereof the one ſome at this day call *Phœnix*, that is to ſay, the Date-tree; the other *Elea*, that is to ſay, the Olive-tree. At this Oracle, during the time of the Medes war, when the Prophet *Echecrates* there ſerved, god *Apollo* anſwered by his mouth, that the Greeks ſhould have the honour of the victory in this war, and continue ſuperior. Alſo in the time of the Peloponneſiaque war, when the Delians were driven out of their Iſland, there was brought unto them an anſwer from the Oracle at *Delphi*; by vertue whereof, commanded they were, to ſearch and ſeek out the place where *Apollo* was born, and there to perform certain ſacrifices: whereat, when they marvelled, and in great perplexity demanded again, whether *Apollo* were born any where elſe, but among them? the Propheteſſe *Pythia* added moreover and ſaid: That a Crow ſhould tell them the place. Whereupon theſe Deputies who were ſent unto the Oracle, in their return homeward chanced to paſs through the City *Chæronea*, where they heard their Hoſteſſe in whoſe houſe they lodged, talking with ſome Paſſengers and Gueſts, (who were going to *Tegyræ*) as touching the Oracle, and when they departed and took their leave, they ſaluted her, and bad her farewell in theſe terms: Adieu dame *Coron*, for that was the Womans name, which ſignifieth as much as Crow. By this means they underſtood the meaning of the foreſaid Oracle or anſwer of *Pythia*: and ſo when they had ſacrificed at *Tegyræ*, not long after they were reſtored and returned into their native Country. Moreover, there were other apparitions beſides of Oracles, more freſh and later, than thoſe which we have alleged; but now they are altogether ceaſed: ſo that it were not amiſſe, conſidering that we are met near unto *Apollo Pythius*, for to inquire into the cauſe of this ſo great change and alteration. As we thus communed and talked together, we were now by this time gone out of the Temple, ſo far as to the very gates of the Gnidian hall: and when we were entered into it, we found thoſe friends of ours ſiting there within, whom we deſired to meet withall, and who attended our comming. Now when all the reſt were at leaſure, and had nothing elſe to do (being at ſuch a time of the day) but either to anoint their bodies, or elſe to look upon the Champions and Wreſtlers, who there exerciſed themſelves; *Demetrius* after a ſmiling manner began and ſaid:

What? were I beſt to tell a lie,
Or make report of truth ſhall I?

It ſeemeth as far as I can perceive, that you have in hand no matter of great conſequence: for I ſaw you ſitting at your eaſe, and it appeareth by your cheerfull and pleaſant looks, that you have no buſie thoughts hammering in your heads. True it is indeed (quoth *Heracleo* the Megarian:) for we are not in a ſerious argument and diſputation about the verb βάλλω, whether in the Future tenſe it ſhould loſe one of the two Lamdaes? neither reaſon we about theſe two comparatives χρεῖσσων, and βέλτιον, (that is to ſay, Worſe and Better) of what Poſitives they ſhould come? nor of what Primitives theſe two Superlatives χρέσσων, and βέλτιον, (that is to ſay, Worſt and Beſt) be derived? For theſe queſtions and ſuch like, are thoſe that make men knit and bend their browes: but of all other matters we may reaſon and Philoſophize well enough and quietly, without making any furrowes in our foreheads, and looking with an auſtere and ſoure Countenance for the matter upon the company preſent with us. Why then (quoth *Demetrius*) admit and receive us into your ſociety, and together with us, entertain the queſtion alſo, which erewhile was moved among us, being as it is, meet for this place, and in regard of god *Apollo*, pertinent unto us all as many as we be: but I beſeech you of all loves, let us have no frowning nor knitting of browes whiles we reaſon upon the point. Now when we were ſet intermingled one with another, and that *Demetrius* hath propounded the foreſaid queſtion, immediately *Didymus* the Cynique Philoſopher, ſurnamed *Plauteiades*, ſtarted up, and ſtood upon his feet; and after he had ſtamped with his ſtaff twice or thrice upon the floor, cried out in this manner: O God! Come you hither with this queſtion indeed, as if it were a matter ſo hard to be decided, and had need of ſome long and deep inquiſition? for a great marvail no doubt it is, if ſeeing ſo much ſin and wickedneſſe is ſpred over the face of the VVhole world at this day, not only ſhame and juſt indignation or Nemeſis (according as *Heſiodus* prophecied before) have abandoned mans life; but alſo the Providence of God being diſlodged and carrying away with it all the Oracles that be, is clean departed and gone for ever: But contrariwiſe I will put forth unto you another matter to be debated of, namely, how it comes to paſſe, that they have not rather already given over every one? and why *Hercules* is not come again, or ſome other of the gods, and hath not long ſince plucked up and carryed away the three-footed table and all, being ſo full ordinarily of ſhameſull, vilanous and impious demands, propoſed there daily to *Apollo*? whiles ſome prefer matters to him as a Sophiſter, to trie what he can ſay; others ask him concerning Treaſure hidden; ſome again, would be reſolved of ſucceſſion in Heritages, and of inceſtuous and unlawfull Marriages? Inſomuch as now *Pythagoras* is manifeſtly convinced of error and leſing,

lesing, who said, that men were then best, and excelled in goodnesse, when they presented themselves before the gods: for such things as it would well beseem to hide and conceal in the presence only of some ancient personage, (I mean the foul maladies and passions of the Soul) the same they discover and lay abroad naked before *Apollo*. And as he would have gone forward still, and prosecuted this theam, both *Heracleon* plucked him by the Cloak, and I also (who of all the Company was most familiar and inward with him) Peace (quoth I) my good friend *Planetiades*, and cease to provoke *Apollo* against you: for a cholerick and testie god he is, and not mild and gracious; but according as *Pindarus* said very well:

Misdeem'd he is, and thought amisse: To be
Most kinde to men, and full of lenity.

And were he either the Sun, or the Lord and Father of the Sun, or a substance beyond all visible natures, it is not like and probable, that he would disdain to speak any more unto men at this day living, of whose Generation, Nativity, Nourishment, Being, and Understanding, he is the cause and author: neither is it credible, that the Divine Providence, which is a good, kinde, and tender Mother, produceth and preserveth all things for our use, should shew her self to be malicious, in this matter onely of Divination and Prophecie; and upon an old grudge and rankor, to bereave us of that which at first she gave us, as if forsooth even then when Oracles were rife in all parts of the world, there was not in so mighty a multitude of men, the greater number of wicked. And therefore make Pythick truce (as they say) for the while with vice and wickednesse, which you are ever wont to chastice and rebuke in all your speeches, and come and sit down here by us again, that together with us you may search out some other cause of this generall Ecclipse and Cessation of Oracles, which now is in question: but withall remember that you keep this god *Apollo* propitious, and move him not to wrath and displeasure.

But these words of mine wrought so with *Planetiades*, that without any word replying, out of the doors he went his wayes. Now when the Company sat still for a prety while in great silence, *Ammonius* at length directing his speech to me: I beseech you (quoth he) *Lamprias*, take better heed unto that which we do, and look more nearly into the matter of this our disputation, to the end that we clear not the god altogether, and make him to be no cause at all that the Oracles do cease. For he who attributeth this Cessation unto any other cause than the Will and Ordinance of God, giveth us occasion to suspect him also, that he thinketh they never were nor be at this present by his disposition, but rather by some other means: for no other cause and puissance there is, more noble, more mighty, or more excellent, which might be able to destroy and abolish Divination, if it were the work of God. And as touching the discourse that *Planetiades* made, it pleaseth me never a whit: neither can I approve thereof, as well for other causes, as for that he admitteth a certain inequality and inconstancy in the god. For one while he maketh him to detest and abhor Vice, and another while to allow and accept thereof: much like unto some King or Tyrant rather, who at on: gate driveth out wicked persons, and receiving them in at another doth negotiate with them. But seeing it is so, that the greatest work which can be, sufficient in it self, nothing superfluous, but fully accomplished every way, is most beseeming the dignity and majesty of the gods, let this principle be supposed and layed for a ground, and then a man in mine opinion may very well say, that of this general defect & common scarcity of men, which evill seditions and wars before time have brought generally into the world, *Greece* hath felt the greatest part: insomuch as at this very day, hardly is all *Greece* able to make three thousand men for the wars, which are no more in number than one City in times past (to wit, *Megara*) set forth and sent to the battell of *Platea*: and therefore, whereas the god *Apollo* in this our age hath left many Oracles, which in ancient time were much frequented, if one should infer hereupon and say, that this argueth no other thing but that *Greece* is now much depopulate and dispeopled, in comparison of that which it was in old time, I would like well of his invention, and furnish him sufficiently with matter to discourse upon. For what would it boot, and what good would come of it, if there were now an Oracle at *Tegyre*, as sometime there was, or about *Ptoum?* whereas all the day long a man shall paradventure meet with one, and that is all, keeping and feeding Cattell there. And verily it is found written in histories, that this very place of the Oracle where we now are, which of all others in *Greece* is for Antiquity right ancient, and for Reputation most noble and renowned, was in times past for a great while desert and unfrequented; nay unaccessable altogether, in regard of a most venimous and dangerous beast, even a Dragon which haunted it. But those who write this, do not collect hereupon the Cessation of the Oracle aright, but argue clean contrary: for it was the solitude and infrequency of the place that brought the Dragon thither, rather than the Dragon that caused the said desert solitarinesse. But afterwards when it pleased God, that *Greece* was fortified again and replenished with many Cities and this place well peopled and frequented, they used two Propheteſſes, who one after the other in their course descended into the Cave and there sat; yea and a third there was besides chosen, as a suffragane or assistant to sit by them and help if need were: but now there is but one Propheteſſe in all, and yet we complain not; for she only is sufficient for all commers that have any occasion to use the Oracle. And therefore we are in no wise to blame or accuse the god: for that Divination and Spirit of Prophecie which remaineth there at this day, is sufficient for all, and sendeth all Suters away well contented, as having their full dispatch and answer for whatsoever they demand. Like as therefore *Agamemnon* in *Homer* had nine Heraults or Criers about him, and yet hardly with them could he contain and keep in order the assembly of the Greeks being so frequent as then it was; but now within these few dayes, you shall hear the voice of one man alone

alone able to resound over the whole Theater, and to reach unto all the people there contained: even so, we must think, that this Divination and Spirit of Prophecie in those dayes used many Organs and voices to speak unto the people, being a greater multitude than now there be. And therefore we should on the other side rather wonder, if God would suffer to run in vain like waste water, this prophetical Divination: or to resound again, like as the desert Rocks in the wide Fields and Mountains ring with the resonance and ecchoes of herd-mens hollaing, and beasts bellowing. When *Ammonius* had thus said, and I held my peace, *Cleombrotus* addressing his speech unto me: And grant you indeed (quoth he) thus much, that it is the god *Apollo*, who is the Author and Overthrower also of these Oracles? Not so, answered I, for I maintain and hold, that God was never the cause of abolishing any Oracle or Divination whatsoever: but contrariwise, like as where he produceth and prepareth many other things for one use and behoof, nature bringeth in the corruption and utter privation of some; or to say more truly, matter being it self privation, or subject thereto, avoideth many time and diffiveth that which a more excellent cause hath composed: even so I suppose there be some other causes, which darken and abolish the vertue of Divination, considering that God bestoweth upon men many fair and goodly gifts, but nothing perdurable and immortall: in such sort as the very works of the gods do die, but not themselves, according as *Sophocles* saith. And verily the Philosophers and Naturalists, who are well exercised in the knowledge of Nature and the primitive matter, ought indeed to search into the substance, property and puissance of Oracles, but to reserve the origin ill and principall cause for God, as very meet and requisite it is that it should so be. For very foolish and childish it is that the God himself, like unto those Spirits speaking within the bellies of possessed folks, such as in old time they called Engastrimythi, and Eurycles, and be now termed Pythons, entred into the bodies of Prophets, spake by their mouthes, and used their tongues and voices as Organs and instruments of speech: for he that thus intermedleth God among the occasions and necessities of men, maketh no spare as he ought of his majesty, neither carrieth he that respect as is meet, to the preservation of the dignity and greatnesse of his power and vertue. Then *Cleombrotus:* You say very well and truly (quoth he:) but for as much as it is a difficule matter to comprise and define in what manner, and how far forth, and to what point we ought to imploy this Divine Providence: in my conceit, they who are of this mind, that simply God is the cause of nothing at all in the world, and they again, that make him wholly the Author of all things; hold not a meaa and indifferent course, but both of them misse the very point of decent mediocrity. Certes as they say passing well, who hold that *Plato* having invented and devised that element or subject, upon which grow and be ingendered qualities, the which one while is called the primitive matter, and otherwhile Nature, delivered Philosophers from many great difficulties: even so me thinks, they who ordained a certain kinde by themselves of Dæmons, between God and men, have assoiled many more doubts and greater ambiguities by finding out that bond and link (as it were) which joyneth us and them together in society: Were it the opinion that came from the ancient Magi and Zoroaster, or rather a Thracian Doctrine delivered by *Orpheus*; or else an Egyptian or Phrygian tradition, as we may conjecture by seeing the sacrifices both in the one Country and the other: wherein, among other holy and divine Ceremonies, it seemeth there were certain doleful ceremonies of mourning and sorrow intermingled, savouring of mortality. And verily of the Greeks, *Homer* hath used these two names indifferently, terming the Gods Dæmons, and the Dæmons likewise Gods. But *Hesiodus* was the first who purely and distinctly hath set down four kindes of reasonable natures, to wit, the Gods: then the Dæmons, and those many in number and all good: the Heroes and Men; for the Demi-gods are ranged in the number of those Heroick worthies. But others hold, that there is a transmutation as well of Bodies as Souls: and like as we may observe, that of earth is ingendered Water, of Water Air, and of Air, Fire, whiles the nature of the substance still mounteth on high: even so the better Souls are changed, first from Men to Heroes or Demi-gods, and afterwards from them to Dæmons, and of Dæmons some few after a long time, being well refined and purified by vertue, came to participate the Divination of the gods. Yet unto some it befalleth, that being not able to hold and contain, they suffer themselves to slide and fall into mortall bodies again, where they lead an obscure and dark life, like unto a smoaky vapour. As for *Hesiodus*, he thinketh verily, that even the Dæmons also, after certain revolutions of time, shall dye: for speaking in the person of one of their Nymphs called *Naiades*, covertly and under ænigmatical terms he designeth their time, in this wise:

Nine ages of men * in their flower, doth live*
*The * railing Crow: four times the Stags surmount*
The life of Crowes: to Ravens doth nature give,
A three fold age of Stags by true account:
One Phœnix lives as long as Ravens nine:
But you fair Nymphs, the daughters verily
Of mighty Jove and of nature divine,
The Phœnix years ten-fold do multiply.

* γῆρας
* κόλοιος.
* λακτιζόμενος or Crying.

But they that understand not well, what the Poet meaneth by this word γῆρας, make the totall sum of this time to amount unto an exceeding great number of yeers. For in truth it is but one yeer and no more. And so by that reckoning, the whole ariseth in all to nine thousand seven hundred and twenty yeers just; which is the very life of the Dæmon. And many Mathematicians there be, by whose computation it is lesse. But more than so *Pindarus* would not have it, when he saith, that the Nymphs age

age is limitted equal to Trees; whereupon they be named *Hamadryades*, as one would ſay living and dying with Okes. As he was about to ſay more, *Demetrius* interrupted his ſpeech, and taking the words out of his mouth: How is it poſſible (quoth he) O *Cleombrotus*, that you ſhould make good and maintain, that the Poet called the age of man, a year only and no more? for it is not the ſpace either of his flower and beſt time, nor of his old age, according as ſome read it in *Heſiodus*: for as one reads ἑκάστου, that is to ſay, flouriſhing; ſo, another readeth γηρώντων, that is to ſay, aged. Now they that would have it to be ἑκάστων, put down for the age of man, thirty years, according to the opinion of *Heraclitus*, which is the very time that a Father hath begotten a Son able to beget another of his own: but ſuch as follow the reading that hath γηρώντων, attribute unto the age of man an hundred and eight years, ſaying, that four and fifty is the juſt moity or one half of a mans life: which number is compoſed of an unity; the two firſt plains, two ſquares, and two cubiques: which numbers *Plato* alſo took to the procreation of the Soul which he deſcribeth. But it ſeemeth verily, that *Heſiodus* by theſe words covertly did ſignifie that general conflagration of the VVorld; at what time, it is very pobable, that the Nymphs together with all humors and liquid matters ſhall periſh:

Thoſe Nymphs I mean, which many a tree and plant
In forreſts fair and goodly groves do haunt;
Or near to ſprings and river ſtreams are ſeen,
Or keep about the medowes gay and green.

Then *Cleombrotus*: I have heard many (quoth he) talk hereof, & I perceive very well how this conflagration which the Stoicks have deviſed, as it hath crept into the Poems of *Heraclitus* and *Orpheus*, and ſo perverted their Verſes: ſo it hath ceiſed upon and caught hold of *Heſiodus*, and given a perverſe interpretation of him as well as of others. But neither can I endure to admit this conſummation and end of the world, which they talk of, nor any ſuch impoſſible matters; and namely, thoſe ſpeeches as touching the life of the Crow and the Stag or Hinde, which yeers, if they were ſummed together, would grow to an exceſſive number. Moreover, a yeer containing in it the beginning and the end of all things which the ſeaſons thereof do produce, and the earth bring forth, may in my opinion not impertinently be called ὥρα, that is to ſay, the age of men: for even your ſelves confeſſe, that *Heſiodus* in one paſſage called mans life ὥρα. How ſay you, is it not ſo? Then *Demetrius* avowed as much. This alſo (quoth *Cleombrotus*) is as certain, that both the meaſure, & alſo the things which be meaſured, are called by one and the ſame names: as it appeareth by *Coyla*, *Chœnix*, *Amphora* and *Medimnus*. Like as therefore we name Unity, a number, which indeed of all numbers is the leaſt meaſure and beginning only of them: ſemblably, *Heſiodus* termed Year the age of man, for that with it principally we meaſure his age, and ſo communicate that word with the thing that it meaſureth: as for thoſe numbers which they make, there is no ſingularity at all or matter of importance in them as touching the renowned numbers indeed. But the number of 9720. hath a ſpeciall ground and beginning, as being compoſed of the four firſt numbers ariſing in order from one: and the ſame, added together or multiplied by four every way, ariſe to fourty. Now if * theſe be reduced into triangles five times, they make the juſt ſum of the number before named. But as touching theſe matters, what need I to contend with *Demetrius*? for whether there be meant thereby a longer time or ſhorter, a certain or uncertain, where-in *Heſiodus* would have the ſoul of a Dæmon, to change, or the life of a Demi-god or Heros to end, it ſkilleth not; for he proveth nevertheleſſe that wch he would, & that by the evidence of moſt ancient and wiſe witneſſes, that there be certain natures neuter and mean (as it were) ſituate in the confines between gods and men, and the ſame ſubject to mortall paſſions, and apt to receive neceſſary changes and mutations: which natures according to traditions and examples of our forefathers, meet it is that we call Dæmons, and honor them exceedingly. And to this purpoſe, *Xenocrates* one of the familiar friends of *Plato*, was wont to bring in the demonſtration and example of triangles, which agreed very well to the preſent matter in hand: for that triangle which had * three ſides and angles equall, he compared unto the nature divine and immortall; that which had * all ſides unequall, unto the humane and mortall nature; and that which had * two equall and one unequall, unto the nature of the Dæmons: for the firſt is every way equall, the ſecond on every ſide unequall, and the laſt in ſome ſort equall, and in other unequall, like unto the nature of the Dæmons, having humane paſſions and affections, yet withall, the divine power of ſome god. But Nature her ſelf hath propoſed unto us ſenſible figures and ſimilitudes viſible above; of gods verily the Sun and other Stars; but of mortall men, ſudden lights and flaſhes in the night, blazing Comets, and ſhooting of Stars: for unto ſuch *Euripides* compared them, when he ſaid:

Who was erewhile and lately in the floure,
Of bit freſh youth, all ſudden in an hour,
Became extinct (as ſtar which ſeemes to fall
From skie) and into air ſent breath and all.

* ταῦτα δὲ πεντάκις τετραγωνίσθεντα. I ſuſpect this place. Some to ſet all ſtrait read πανταπλάσια τριγωνίσθεντα: but neither the one nor the other attain to the point. For admit that the four firſt numbers added or multiplyed by four make 40. & 40. doubled ariſe to 80. and the ſame reduced into a triangle (or take three times) amount to 240: and it brought into a triangle or multiplyed by three, grow to 720: yet the 9000. remain ſtill, unleſſe we go this way to work: firſt multiply 40. πεντάκις, that is to ſay, five times, and you ſhall have 200. multiply it by five, it cometh to 1000. bring it to one triangle, it is 3000. and let the ſame be multiplyed by another, maketh 9000. * ἰσοπλάσιον. * σκαληνὸν. * ἰσόπλευρος.

Now

Now for a mixt body, repreſenting the nature of Dæmons or Angels, there is the Moon: which they ſeeing to be ſo ſubject to growing and decreaſing, yea and to periſhing altogether, and departing out of ſight, thought to accord very well, and to be ſortable unto the mutability of the Dæmons kind. For which cauſe, ſome have called her a terreſtriall Star; others an Olympian or celeſtiall earth; and there be again who have named her The heritage and poſſeſſion of *Proſerpina*, both heavenly and earthly. Like as therefore, if one took the air out of the world, and removed it from between the Moon and the Earth, he ſhould diſſolve the continuation, coherence and compoſition of the whole univerſall frame, by leaving a void and empty place in the midſt, without any bond to joyn and linck the extremes together: even ſo, they who admit not the Nation and kind of the Dæmons, aboliſh all communication, converſe and conference between gods and men, conſidering they take away that nature which ſerveth as a truchman, Interpreter, and miniſter between both, as *Plato* ſaid: or rather they would drive us to confound and huddle together, yea and to jumble all in one, if we came to intermingle the divine nature and deity among human paſſions and actions, and ſo pluck it out of heaven, for to make it intermeddle in the negocies and affairs of men; like as they ſay, the wives of *Theſſalie* draw down the Moon from heaven. Which deviſe and fiction hath taken root, and is believed among women, by reaſon that *Aglaonica*, the daughter of *Agetor* (by report) being a wiſe Dame, and well ſeen in Aſtrology, made ſemblance and perſwaded the vulgar ſort, that in every Eccliſpe of the Moon, ſhe uſed alwayes ſome Charms and Enchantments; by vertue whereof, ſhe fetched the Moon out of Heaven. As for us, give we no ear and credit unto them who ſay, there be ſome Oracles and divinations without a Deity, or that the gods regard not ſacrifices, divine ſervices, and other ſacred ceremonies, exhibited unto them: neither on the other ſide let us believe, that God is preſent to intermeddle or employ himſelf in perſon, but betaking and referring that charge unto the Miniſters of the gods, as it is meet and juſt; like as if they were deputies, officers, and ſecretaries: let us conſtantly hold, that thoſe be the Dæmons which are their eſpies and eſcouts, going too and fro throughout all parts, ſome to overſee and direct the ſacrifices, and ſacred rites and ceremonies performed to the gods: others to chaſtice and puniſh the enormous and outragious offences and wrongs committed by men: and others there are beſides, of whom the Poet *Heſiodus* ſpeaketh moſt reverently, ſaying:

Pure, holy, and ſyncere they be,
the Donors of good things:
This honour it allotted them,
beſeeming noble kings.

Giving us by the way thus much to underſtand, that to do good and be beneficiall is a royall office and function: for a difference there is, and ſundry degrees there be in the gifts and vertues of Dæmons, like as among men. For in ſome of them there remain ſtill certain ſmall reliques (and the ſame very feeble and ſcarce ſenſible) of that paſſionate and ſenſitive part of the ſoul which is not reaſonable, even as a very excrement and ſuperfluity left behind of the reſt: but in other again, there abideth a great deal, and the ſame hardly to be extinguiſhed, whereof we may ſee lively the works and evident tokens in many places, diſſeminate in ſome ſacrifices, feaſts and ceremonies celebrated unto them; yea, and in the tales reported by them. Howbeit, as touching the myſteries and ſacred ſervices (by which and through which a man may more cleerly perceive than by any other means whatſoever, the true nature of the gods) I will not ſpeak a word: let them lye cloſe and hidden ſtill for me, as *Herodotus* ſaith. But as for certain feſtivall ſolemnities and ſacrifices, which are held as diſmall, unfortunate and heavy dayes; when ſometimes they uſe to eat raw fleſh, and tear human bodies piece-meal: or otherwhile to faſt and knock their breſts; and in many places utter moſt filthy and beaſtly words during the ſacrifices;

Wagging their heads in frantick wiſe,
With ſtrange all-arms and hideous cries;

I will never believe that this is done for any of the gods: but will ſay rather, it is to avert the ire and appeaſe the fury of ſome malign devils. Neither carrieth it any likelihood and probability, that ever any god would require men to be ſacrificed unto them, as they were in old time: or ſtand well pleaſed with any ſuch ſacrifices. Neither was it for nought that Kings and great Captaines gave their own Children thus to be ſlain; yea, and with their own hands killed them for ſacrifice: but wee are to believe that it was to turn away and divert the rankor and wrath of ſome perverſe ſpirits and malicious fiends, or to ſatisfie ſuch hurtfull devils; yea, and to fulfill the violent, furious and tyrannicall luſts of ſome, who either could not, or would not enjoy them with their bodies, or by their bodies. But like as *Hercules* beſieged the City of *Oechalia*, for a Virgins ſake who was within: even ſo theſe powerfull and outragious fiends, demaunding ſome humane ſoul clad and compaſſed within a body, to be given unto them, and yet not able to fulfill their luſt by the body, bring Peſtilence, Famine, Dearth, and ſterility of the ground upon Cities, raiſe Wars and civill diſſentions, untill ſuch time as they come to have and enjoy that which they loved: and ſome do clean contrary; as it was my hap ſo obſerve in *Candie*, (where I abode a long time) how they celebrated a certain monſtrous Feaſt, in which they made ſhew of an headleſſe mans Image, ſaying it was *Molus*, the Father of *Meriones*: for having forced or defloured a Nymph, he was afterwards found without an head. Moreover, what raviſhment ſoever, what wandring voyages, what occultations, ſlights, baniſhments, miniſterings and ſervices of the

gods be reported and sung in fables or hymnes, certes they be all of them no passions and accidents that befell to gods indeed, but to some Dæmons, whose fortunes were recorded in memoriall of their vertue and puissance: neither meant the Poet *Aeschylus* (a god) when he said:

Apollo *chast, who now is fled,*
And out of heaven banished;

Nor *Admetus* in *Sophocles*;

My chaunting Cock that crows so shrill,
Hath raised him and brought to mill.

Also the Divines and Theologians of *Delphi*, are in a great error, and far from the truth, who think, that sometimes in this place, there was a combat between *Apollo* and a Dragon, about the hold and possession of this Oracle. They are to blame also, who suffer Poets and Oratours, striving one against another in their Theatres, to act or relate such matters; as if of purpose and expressly they contradicted and condemned those things which themselves perform in their most sacred solemnities. Hereat, when *Philippus* wondered much (for the Historiographer of that name was present in this company) and demanded withall, what divine rites and ceremonies they might be, which were contradicted and resisted against by these who contended in the Theaters? Marry even those (quoth *Cleombrotus*) which concern this very Oracle of *Delphi*, and by which this City not long since hath admitted and received into the sacred profession of holy mysteries, all the Greeks without *Thermopyle*, and excluded those that dwel as far as the vale of *Tempe*. For the tabernacle or cottage there of boughs, which is erected & set up every ninth yeer, within the Court-yard of this Temple, is not a representation of the Dragons Cave or Den, but rather of some Tyrants or Kings House: as also the assault or surprise thereof in great silence, by the way called *Dolonia*. Likewise, that a little after they bring thither a Boy who hath both Father and Mother living, with Torches light burning: and when they have set the said Tabernacle or Tent on Fire, and overthrown the Table, run away as hard as they can through the dores of the Temple, and never look behind them. And finally, the wanderings of this Boy in divers places, and his servile ministeries, together with the expiatory sacrifices and ceremonies about *Tempe*, move suspicion that there should be represented thereby some notorious outrage, and audacious fact perpetrated there in old time. For it were a meer mockery (my friend *Philippus*) to say, that *Apollo* for killing the Dragon, fled as far as to the utmost Coasts and Marches of *Greece*, for to be purified and assoiled: also, that he offered thereon certain expiatory libations and effusions, and performed all such duties and services which men do, when they would appease the wrath and indignation of such Dæmons and curst fiends, whom we call *Alastoras* and *Palamnæos*, as one would say, The revengers of such enormities and crimes as could not be forgotten, and those who bare still in mind some old sinn, and pursued the same. As for that tale, which I my self of late have heard as touching this flight and banishment, it is wonderfull strange and prodigious: but if it contain some truth among, we must not think, that it was a small and ordinary matter that befell in those dayes about the said Oracle. But for fear I might be thought as *Empedocles* sometimes said,

To stitch the heads of sundry tales together,
And go in divers pathes I know not whither:

Suffer me I beseech you to make a convenient end here of my light discourse. For now are we just come so far, as we may also be bold after many others to affirm and pronounce, that seeing the Dæmons ordained for the presidence and superintendence of prophecies and Oracles do fail, of necessity these Oracles also and divinations must cease with them; & when they be fled and gone, or change their residence, it cannot chuse but the former places must lose their prophetical power and vertue: also, that when after long time they be returned thither, the said places will begin again to speak and sound, like unto Instruments of Musick; namely, if they be present who have the skill to handle and use them accordingly. After that *Cleombrotus* had thus discoursed: There is not (quoth *Heracleon*) any one of this company that is a prophane miscreant and infidell, not professed in our religion, or who holdeth any opinions as touching the gods, discordant from us. Howbeit, let us take heed our selves, O *Philippus*, lest ere we be aware, we do not in our discourse and disputation put down some erroneous suppositions, and such as may make great ground-works of impiety. You say very well (quoth *Philip*) but what point is it of all those that *Cleombrotus* hath put down, that is so offensive and scandalizeth you most? Then *Heracleon*: Thus they be not gods indeed who are the presidents of Oracles (because we ought to believe of them, that they be exempt from all terrestriall affaires) but that they be Dæmons rather, or the Angels and Ministers of the gods; in my conceit is no bad nor impertinent suppositi: but all at once and abruptly, by occasion of *Empedocles* his verses, to attribute unto these Dæmons crimes, plagues, calamities, transgressions, inquietudes and errours sent from the gods above, and in the end to make them for to dye, as mortall men; this I take to be somewhat to presumptuously spoken, and to smell of barbarous audacity. Then *Cleombrotus* asked *Philippus*, who this young man was, and from whence he came? And when he had heard his name and his Countrey, he answered in this wise: We are not ignorant our selves (O *Heracleon*) that we are fallen into a speech favouring somewhat of absurdity: but a man cannot possibly discourse of great matters, without he lay as great foundations at the beginning, for to proceed unto probability and prove his opinion. And as for your self, you are not aware, how you overthrow even that which you grant: for confesse you do

do, that there be Dæmons; but when you will needs maintain that they be neither lewd nor mortall, you cannot make it good that they be at all. For wherein I pray you do they differ from gods, in case they be in substance incorruptible, and in vertue impassible, or not subject to sin? Hereupon *Heracleon*, when he had mused with himself, not saying a word, and studied what answer to make, *Cleombrotus* went on and said: It is not *Empedocles* who hath given out there were evill Dæmons, but *Plato* also himself, *Xenocrates* also, and *Chrysippus*; yea and *Democritus* when he wished and prayed that he might meet with lucky images, both knew and gave us (no doubt) thereby to understand, that he thought there were others of them crooked and shrewd, and such as were badly affected and had evill intentions. But as touching the death of such, and how they are mortall, I have heard it reported by a Man who was no Fool nor a vain lying Person: and that was *Epitherses* the Father of *Æmilianus* the Orator, whom some of you (I dare well say) have heard to plead and declame. This *Epitherses* was my Fellow-citizen, and had been my Schoolmaster in Grammar, and this narration he related: That minding upon a time to make a voyage by sea into *Italy*, he was imbarqued in a Ship fraught with much merchandize, and having many passengers beside aboord. Now when it drew toward the Evening, they hapned (as they said) to be calmed about the Isles *Echinades*; by occasion whereof their Ship hulled with the tides, untill at length it was brought near unto the Islands *Paxæ*, whiles most of Passengers were awake, and many of them still drinking after Supper: but then, all on a sudden there was heard a voce from one of the Islands of *Paxæ*, calling aloud unto one *Thamus*; insomuch as there was not one of all our company but he wondred thereat. Now this *Thamus* was a Pilot, and an Egyptian born: but known he was not to many of them in the Ship by that name. At the two first calls, he made no answer; but at the third time he obeyed the voice, and answered: Here I am. Then he who spake, strained his voyce and said unto him: When thou art come to ** *Palodes*, publish thou and make it known: *That the Great* Pan *is dead.* And as *Epitherses* made report unto us, as many as heard this voyce were wonderfully amazed thereat, and entred into a discourse and disputation about the poynt, whether it were best to do according to this commandement, or rather to let it passe, and not curiously to meddle withall; but neglect it. As for *Thamus*, of this mind he was, and resolved: If the wind served, to sail by the place quietly and say nothing; but if the winds were laid, and that there ensued a calm, to crie and pronounce with a loud voyce that which he heard. Well, when they were come to *Palodes* aforesaid, the winde was down, and they were becalmed, so that the Sea was very still without Waves. Whereupon *Thamus* looking from the poup of the Ship toward the Land, pronounced with a loud voice that which he had heard, and said: *The Great* Pan *is dead.* He had no sooner spoken the word, but there was heard a mighty noyse, not of one but of many together, who seemed to groan and lament, and withall to make a great wonder. And as it falleth commonly out when as many be present, the news thereof was soon spred and devulged through the City of *Rome*, in such sort as *Tiberius Cæsar* the Emperour sent for *Thamus*: and *Tiberius* verily gave so good credit unto his words, that he searched and enquired with all diligence who that *Pan* might be. Now the great Clerks and learned men (of whom he had many about him) gave their conjecture that it might be he, who was the Son of *Mercury* by *Penelope*. And verily *Philippus* had some of the company present to bear witnesse with him, such as had been *Æmilianus* Scholar & heard as much. Then *Demetrius* made report, that many little Deserts and desolate Isles there were lying dispersed and scattering in the sea about *Britain*, like unto those which the Greeks call *Sporades*; whereof some were named the Isles of Dæmons, and Heroes or Demi-gods: also that himself by commission and commandement from the Emperour, sailed toward the neareſt of those deserts Isles for to know and see somewhat; which he found to have very few inhabitants, and those all were by the Britainers, held for sacrosainct and inviolable. Now within a while after he was arrived thither, the air and the wether was mightily troubled, many portentous signes were given by terrible tempests and stormes, with extraordinary Winds, Thunders, Lightnings, and fiery impressions: but after that these tempests were ceased, the Islanders assured him, that one of these Dæmons or Demi-gods (who surmounted the nature of man) was departed. For like as a Lamp (say they) or Candle, so long as it burneth light offendeth no body; but when it is put out or goeth forth, it maketh a stink offensive unto many about it: even so these great Souls, whiles they shine and give light, be milde, gracious, and harmlesse; but when they come to be extinct or to perish, they raise (even as at that present) outragious tempests, yea and oftentimes infect the air with contagious and pestilent maladies. They reported moreover, that in one of those Islands *Briareus* kept *Saturn* prisoner in a found sleep (for that was the devise to hold him captive) about whose person there were many other Dæmons of his train & his servitours *Gleombrotus* then taking occasion for to speak: I am able my self also (quoth he) to allege many such examples if I list; but it may suffice for this present matter in hand, that this is nothing contrary nor opposite unto that which by us hath been delivered. And verily we know full well, that the Stoicks hold the same opinion not only of Dæmons that we do, but also of the gods: that there being so great a multitude of them, yet there is but one alone immortall and eternall; whereas all the rest had their beginning by Nativity, and shall have an end by Death. And as for the Scoffs, Scorns, and Mockeries that the Epicureans make, we ought not to regard them, nor be affraid of them: for so audacious they are, that they use the same even in Divine Providence, terming it a very Fable and Oldwives Tale. But we contrariwise hold, that their infinity of Worlds is a Fable indeed: as also to say, that among those innumerable Worlds, there is not so much as one governed by reason or the Providence of God; but that all things were first made and afterwards maintained by meer chance

* Some take it to be a place of many shelves & shallowes.

and fortune. Certes, if it be lawfull to laugh, and that we must needs make game in matters of Philosophy, we should rather mock those who bring into their disputations of naturall questions, I wot not what Deaf, Blind, Dumb and inanimate Images; remaining I know not where, and continuing in appearance infinite revolutions of years, wandring round about and going to and fro: which say they, issue and flow from bodies partly yet living, and partly from those who long ago were dead, burnt, yea and rotten and putrified to nothing. These men (I say) we should do well to laugh at, who draw such ridiculous toies and vain shadowes as these, into the serious disputations of nature.

Meanwhile forsooth, offended they are and angry, if a man should say there be Dæmons: and that not only in nature but in reason also it standeth with good congruity, they should continue and endure a long time. These speeches thus passed, *Ammonius* began in this wise: * *Cleombrotus* in mine opinion (quoth he) hath spoken very well: and what should impeach us, but that we may admit and receive his sentence, being so grave as it is, and most beseeming a Philosopher? For reject it once, we shall be forced to reject also and denie many things which are, and usually happen, whereof no certain cause and reason can be delivered: and if it be admitted, it draweth after it no train and consequence of any impossibility whatsoever, nor of that which is not subsistent. But as touching that one point, which I have heard the Epicureans allege against *Empedocles*, and the Dæmons which he bringeth in, namely: That they cannot possibly be happy and long lived, being evill and sinfull as they are, for that vice by nature is blind, and of it self falleth ordinarily headlong into perils, and inconviences which destroy the life; this is a very sottish opposition: for by the same reason they must confesse, that *Epicurus* was worse than *Gorgias* the Sophister; and *Metrodorus*, than *Alexis* the Comicall Poet: for this Poet lived twice as long as *Metrodorus*; and that Sophister, longer than *Epicurus*, by a third part of his age. For it is in another respect, that we say Vertue is puissant, and Vice feeble, not in regard of the lasting continuance or dissolution of the body: for we see that of Beasts there be many dull slow and blockish of spirit; many also by nature libidinous, unruly and disordered, which live longer than those that are full of wit, wily, wary and wise. And therefore they conclude not aright, in saying, that the divine nature enjoyeth immortality, by taking heed and avoiding those things that be noysome and mischievous. For it behooved, in the divine nature which is blessed and happy, to have set down an impossibility of being subject to all Corruption and Alteration, and that it standeth in no need of care and labour to maintain the said nature. But peradventure it seemeth not to stand with good manners and civility, to dispute thus against those that are not present to make answer for themselves: it were meet therefore, that *Cleombrotus* would resume and take in hand that speech again, which he gave over and layed aside of late, as touching the departure and translation of these Dæmons from one place to another. Then *Cleombrotus*: Yes mary, quoth he: but I would marvell, if this discourse of mine would not seem unto you much more absurd than the former delivered already: and yet it seemeth to be grounded upon naturall reason, and *Plato* himself hath made the overture thereto, not absolutely pronouncing and affirming so much; but after the manner of a doubtfull opinion and under covert words, casting out a certain wary conjecture tending that way, although among other Philosophers it hath been disclaimed and cryed out against. But forasmuch as there is set a Cup on the boord, full of reasons and tales mingled together, and for that a man shall hardly meet in any place again with more courteous and gracious hearers, among whom he may passe and put away such narrations, as pieces of foren coine, and strange mony: I will not think much to gratifie you thus far forth, as to acquaint you with a narration that I heard a stranger and a Barbarian relate: whom (after many a journey made to and fro for to finde him out, and much mony given by me for to hear where he was) I met with at length by good hap, near unto the Red-sea. His manner was to speak and converse with men but once in the year; all the rest of his time (as he said himself) he spent among the Nymphs, Nomades and Demons. Well, with much ado I light upon him, I communed with him, and he used me courteously. The fairest man he was to see to, of all that ever I set eye on: neither was he subject to any disease: once every moneth he fed upon a medicinable and bitter fruit of a certain herb: and this was the fare he lived upon. A good linguist he was, and used to speak many languages; but with me he talked commonly in Greek, after the Dorick Dialect. His speech differed not so much from Song and Meetre: and whensoever he opened his mouth for to speak, there issued forth of it so sweet and fragrant a breath, that all the place about was filled therewith, and smelled most pleasantly. As for his other learning and knowledge, yea, the skill of all histories, he had the same all the year long: but as touching the gift of Divination, he was inspired therewith one day every year, and no more; and then he wens down to the Sea side and prophecied of things to come: and thither resorted unto him the Princes and great Lords of that Country, yea and Secretaries of forein Kings who there attended his comming at a day prefixed: which done, he returned. This personage then attributed unto Dæmons the Spirit of Divination and Prophecy: most pleasure took he in hearing and speaking of *Delphi*: and look whatsoever we hold here as touching *Bacchus*, what adventures befell unto him, and what Sacrifices were performed by us in his honour, he had been enformed thereof, and knew all well enough, saying withall: That as these were great accidents, that hapned to Dæmons; so likewise was that, which men reported of the Serpent *Python*: whom he that slew, was neither banished for nine years, nor fled into the valley of *Tempe*, but was chased out of this world, and went into another; from whence (after nine revolutions of the great years) being returned all purified and *Phœbus* indeed, that is to say, clear and bright, he recovered the superintendance of the Delphick Oracle, which during that while was left to the custody of *Themis*. The same was the cause (said he) of Titons and Typhons. For

* Or *Thespratus* some read

For he affirmed, they were the battels of Dæmons against Dæmons: the flights and banishments also of those who were vanquished: or rather the punishments inflicted by the gods upon as many as had committed such outrages as *Typhon* had done against *Osiris*, and *Saturn* against * *Cœlus* or the heaven: whose honours were the more obscure or abolished altogether, by reason that themselves were translated into another world. For I understand and hear, that the Solymians who border hard upon the Lycians, highly honoured *Saturn* when the time was: but after that he having slain their Princes, *Arsalus*, *Dryus*, and *Trosobius*, fled and departed into some other Countrey (for whither he went they knew not) they made no more any reckoning of him: but *Arsalus* and the other, they termed by the name of *Solerei*, that is to say, severe gods: and in truth, the Lycians at this day, as well in publick as private, utter and recite the form of all their curses and execrations in their names.

* Or *Cœlum*

Many other semblable examples a man may draw out of Theologicall writings, as touching the gods. Now if we call some of these Dæmons by the usuall and ordinary names of the gods, we ought not to marvell thereat (quoth this stranger unto me:) for look unto which of the gods they do retain, upon whom they depend, and by whose means they have honour and puissance; by their names they love to be called: like as here among us men, one is called *Jovius* of *Jupiter*; another, *Palladius* or *Athenæus* of *Minerva*; a third, *Apollonius* of *Apollo*; or *Dionysius* and *Hermæus* of *Bacchus* and *Mercury*. And verily, some there be who although they be named thus at aventure, yet answer very fitly to such denominations; but many have gotten the denominations of the gods, which agree not unto them, but are transposed wrong and misgiven. Herewith *Cleombrotus* passed: and the speech that he had delivered seemed very strange unto all the company. Then *Heracleon* demanded of him, whether this doctrine concerned *Plato*? and how it was, that *Plato* had given the overture and beginning of such matter? You do well (quoth *Cleombrotus*) to put me in mind hereof, and to reduce it into my memory. First and formost therefore, he condemneth evermore the infinity of worlds: marry about the just and precise number of them he doubteth: and howsoever he seems to yeeld a probability and apparence of truth unto those who have set down five, and attributed to every element one; yet himself sticketh still to one, which seemeth indeed to be the peculiar opinion of *Plato*: whereas other Philosophers also have alwayes mightily feared to admit a multitude of worlds; as if necessary it were, that those who stayed not by the means of matter in one, but went out of it once, could not chuse but fall presently into this indeterminate and troublesome infinity. But this your stranger, (quoth I) determined he nothing of this multitude of worlds, otherwise than *Plato* did? or all the whiles than you conversed with him, did you never move the question thereof unto him, to know what his opinion was thereof? Think you (quoth *Cleombrotus*) that I failed herein, and was not (howsoever otherwise I behaved my self) a diligent Scholar and affectionate Auditor of his in these matters, especially seeing he was so affable, and shewed himself so courteous unto me? But as touching this point, he said: That neither the number of the worlds was infinit, nor yet true it was, that there were no more but one, or five in all: for there were 183, and those ordained and ranged in a form Triangular; of which Triangle, every side contained threescore worlds; and of the three remaining still, every corneer thereof had one: that they were so ordered, as one touched and intertained another round, in manner of those who are in a ring dance: that the plain within the Triangle, is as it were the foundation and altar common to all the worlds, which is called The Plain or Field of Truth: and within it lie immoveable the designes, reasons, forms, ideæ and examples of all things that ever were or shall be: and about them is eternity, whereof time is a portion, which as a riveret, runneth from thence to those things that are done in time. Now the sight and contemplation of these things was presented unto the souls of men, if they lived well in this world, and that but once in ten thousand yeers: as for our mysteries here beneath, and all our best and most sacred ceremonies, they were but a dream in comparison of that spectacle & holy ceremonies. Moreover, he said: That for the good things there, and for to enjoy the sight of those beauties, men employed their study in Philosophy here: or else all their pains taken was but in vain, and their travell lost. And verily (quoth he) I heard him discourse of these matters plainly and without any art, no otherwise than if it had been some Religion wherein I was to be professed, in which he instructed me without using any proof and demonstration of his doctrine. Then I (turning to *Demetrius*) called unto him, and asked what were the words that the woers of *Penelope* spake, when they beheld with admiration *Ulysses* handling his bow? And when *Demetrius* had prompted unto me the verse out of *Homer*: Surely (quoth I) it comes into my mind to say the very same of this stranger:

Surely, this fellow, as I ween,
*Some * prying spie or theef hath been.*

* Or *espying*, some read *envying*, that is to say, a hunter.

not of bowes, as he said of *Ulysses*, but of sentences, resolutions and discourses of Philosophy: he hath been conversant, I say, no doubt in all manner of literature: and I warrant you, no stranger nor Barbarian born, but a Grecian, thorowly furnished with all knowledge and doctrine of the Greeks. And verily, this number of the worlds whereof he talketh, bewraieth not an Egyptian nor an Indian, but savoureth of some Dorian out of *Sicilie*, and namely, of *Petron*, born in the City of *Himera*, who wrote a little Book of this argument; which I have not read my self, neither do I know whether it be now extant: but *Hippys* the Rhegine (of whom *Phanias* the Ereſſian maketh mention) writeth, that this was the opinion and doctrine of *Petron*'s namely, that there were 183 worlds, which raught one another in order and train: but what he meant by this Reaching one another in order or train, hee declared

clared not; neither annexed he any other probable reaſon thereof. Then *Demetrius*: And what likelihood or probability (quoth he) may there be in ſuch matters, conſidering that *Plato* himſelf alleging no argument or conjecture that carrieth with it any ſhew of truth and reaſon, hath by that meanes overthrown that opinion? And yet (quoth *Heracleon*) we have heard you Grammarians ſay, that *Homer* was the firſt Author of this opinion, as if he divided the univerſall frame of All into five worlds; to wit, Heaven, Water, Air, Earth, and Olympus: of which, he leaveth two to be common, namely, Earth, to All beneath; and Olympus, to All above: but the three in the midſt between them, he attributeth unto three gods. Semblably, it ſeemeth that *Plato* alloting unto the principall parts and members of the ſaid univerſall nature, the firſt forms and moſt excellent figures of the bodies, called them five worlds; to wit, of the Earth, the Water, the Air, the Fire, and finally, of that which comprehendeth the other: and that he called the form of *Dodecaedron*, that is to ſay, with twelve baſes or faces, which amply extendeth it ſelf, is very capable and moveable, as being a figure proper and meet for the animall motions and revolutions of the ſoules. What need we at this preſent (quoth *Demetrius*) to meddle with *Homer*? we have had fables enough already, if that be good. As for *Plato*, he is far enough off from naming thoſe five different ſubſtances of the world, five worlds; conſidering that even in that very place where he diſputeth againſt thoſe who maintain an infinit number of worlds, he affirmeth there is but one created by God, and beloved by him, as his onely begotten child, compoſed of all nature, having one entire body, ſufficient in it ſelf, and ſtanding in need of nothing elſe. Whereupon a man may very well wonder and think it ſtrange, that having himſelf delivered a truth, he ſhould give occaſion to others thereby, to take hold of a falſe opinion, and wherein there is no apparence of reaſon. For, if hee had not ſtuck hard to this unity of the world, in ſome ſort he might have laid the foundation for thoſe who hold them to be infinite: but that he ſhould preciſely affirm there were five, and neither more nor fewer, is exceeding abſurd, and farre from all probability; unleſſe haply, you (quoth he, caſting his eye upon me) can ſay ſomewhat to this point. How now (quoth I then) are you minded thus to leave your firſt diſputation of Oracles, as if it were fully finiſhed and ended, and to enter upon another matter of ſuch difficulty? Nay (quoth *Demetrius*) we will not paſſe it over ſo; but this here that preſenteth it ſelf now, and taketh us as it were by the hand, we cannot put by: for we will not dwell long upon it, but onely touch it ſo, and handle it by the way, as that we may find out ſome probability, and then will we preſently return unto our former queſtion propoſed in the beginning. Firſt and formoſt therefore, I ſay: The reaſons which permit us not to allow an infinite number of worlds, impeach us not, but that we admit more than one. For as well in many worlds as in one, there may be divination, there may be providence, and the leaſt intercurrence of fortune: but the moſt part of the greateſt and principall things ſhall have and take their generations, changes and mutations ordinarily: which cannot poſſibly be in that infinity of worlds. Over and beſides, more conſonant it is to reaſon, and accordeth better with the nature of God, to ſay, that the world is not created by him, one onely and ſolitary: for being (as he is) perfectly and abſolutely good, there is no vertue wanting in him, and leaſt of all others that which concerneth juſtice and amity; which as they be of themſelves moſt beautifull, ſo they are beſt beſitting the gods. Now ſuch is the nature of God, that he hath nothing either unprofitable or in vain and without uſe: and therefore needs there muſt be beſide and without him, other gods and other worlds, unto whom and which he may extend thoſe ſociall vertues that he hath. For neither in regard of himſelf, nor of any part in him, needeth he to uſe juſtice, gracious favour and bounty, but unto others. So that it is not likely that this world floteth and moveth without a friend, without a neighbour, and without any ſociety and communication, in a vaſt and infinit voidneſſe; eſpecially ſeeing we behold how nature encloſeth, environeth, and comprehendeth all things, in their ſeverall genders and diſtinct kinds, as it were within veſſels or the huſks and covertures of their ſeeds. For look throughout the univerſall nature, there is nothing to be found one in number, but it hath the notion and reaſon of the eſſence and being thereof, common to others: neither hath any thing ſuch and ſuch a denomination, but beſide the common notion it is by ſome particular qualities diſtinct from others of the ſame kind. Now the world is not called ſo in common: then muſt it be ſuch in particular: and qualified it is in particular, and diſtinguiſhed by certain differences, from other worlds of the ſame kind, and yet hath a peculiar form of the own. Moreover, conſidering there is in the whole world, neither man alone, nor horſe, nor ſtar, ne yet God or Dæmon ſolitary: what ſhould hinder us to ſay, that nature admitteth not one onely world, but hath many? Now if any man ſhall object unto me and ſay, that in nature there is but one earth, or one ſea: I anſwer, that he is much deceived and overſeen, in not perceiving the evidence that is of ſimilar parts: for we divide the earth into parts ſimilar, that is to ſay, of the ſemblable and the ſame denomination, like as we do the ſea alſo; for all the parts of the earth are called earth, and of the ſea likewiſe: but no part of the world is world, for that it is compoſed of divers and different natures. For as touching that inconvenience which ſome eſpecially fear, who ſpend all matter within one world, leſt forſooth if there remained any thing without, it ſhould trouble the compoſition and frame thereof, by the jurres and reſiſtances that it would make: ſurely there is no ſuch cauſe why they ſhould fear; for when there be many worlds, and each of them particularly having one definit and determinate meaſure and limit of their ſubſtance and matter, no part thereof will be without order and good diſpoſition, nothing will remain ſuperfluous, as an excrement without, to hinder or impeach; for that the reaſon which belongeth to each world, being able to rule and govern the matter that is allotted thereto, will not ſuffer any thing to go out of courſe and order, and wandring to and fro, for to hit and run upon another world; nor likewiſe that from another ought ſhould come for to ruſh upon it, becauſe in nature there is nothing in quantity infinit and inordinate, nor in motion without reaſon and order. But ſay there ſhould happly be ſome deflux or effluence that paſſeth from one world to another, the ſame is a brotherly ſweet and amiable communication, and ſuch as very well agreeth to all: much like unto the lights of ſtars, and the influences of their temperatures, which are the cauſe that they themſelves do joy in beholding one another with a kind and favourable aſpect; yea and yeeld unto the gods, which in every ſtar be many (and thoſe good) meanes to intertain and imbrace one another moſt friendly. For in all this, verily, there is nothing impoſſible, nothing fabulous nor contrary unto reaſon: unleſſe paradventure ſome there be who will ſuſpect and fear the reaſon and ſentence of *Ariſtotle*, as conſonant unto nature. For if as he ſaith, every body hath a proper and naturall place of the own; by reaſon thereof neceſſarily it muſt be, that the earth from all parts ſhould tend toward the midſt, and the water afterwards upon it, ſerving (by means of their weight and ponderoſity) inſtead of a foundation to other elements of a lighter ſubſtance. And therefore (quoth he) if there were many worlds, it would fall out oftentimes that the earth ſhould be found ſituate above air and fire, and as often under them: likewiſe the air and fire ſometime under, otherwhiles in their naturall places, and again in others contrary to their nature. Which being impoſſible, as he thinketh, it muſt follow of neceſſity, that there be neither two nor more worlds, but one alone, to wit, this which we viſibly ſee compoſed of all ſorts of ſubſtance, and diſpoſed according to nature, as is meet and convenient for diverſity of bodies. But in all this there is more apparent probability than verity indeed. For the better proof hereof, conſider I pray you my good friend *Demetrius*, that when he ſaith, among ſimple bodies ſome bend directly to the midſt, that is to ſay downward: others from the midſt, that is to ſay upward: and a third ſort move round about the midſt and circularly: in what reſpect taketh hee the midſt? Certain it is, not in regard of voidneſſe, for there is no ſuch thing in nature, even by his own opinion: again, according unto thoſe that admit it, middle can it have none, no more than firſt or laſt: For theſe be ends and extremities: and that which is infinite muſt conſequently be alſo without an end. But ſuppoſe, that ſome one of them ſhould enforce us to admit a middle in that voidneſſe, impoſſible it is to conceive and imagine the difference in motions of bodies toward it: becauſe there is not in that voidneſſe any puiſſance attractive of bodies; nor yet within the ſame bodies, any deliberation or inclination and affection to tend from all ſides to this middle. But no leſs impoſſible is it to apprehend, that of bodies having no ſoul any ſhould move of themſelves to an incorporall place, and having no difference of ſituation; than it is that the ſame ſhould draw them or give them any motion or inclination to it. It remaineth then, that this middle ought to be underſtood not locally but corporally, that is to ſay not in regard of place, but of body. For, ſeeing this world is an union, or maſſe compounded of many bodies different and unlike conjoined together; it muſt needs be, that their diverſities engender motions diſcrepant and differing one from the other: which appeareth by this, that every of theſe bodies changing ſubſtance, change their place alſo withall. For the ſubtilization and rarefaction diſtributeth round about the matter which ariſeth from the midſt and aſcendeth on high: contrariwiſe, condenſation and conſtipation depreſſeth and driveth it downward to the middle. But of this point, we need not diſcourſe any more in this place. For what cauſe ſoever a man ſhall ſuppoſe to produce ſuch paſſions and mutations, the ſame ſhall contain in it a ſeverall world: for that each of them hath an earth and ſea of the own, each one hath her own proper middle, as alſo paſſions and alterations of bodies, together with a nature and power which preſerveth and maintaineth every one in their place and being. For that which is without, whether it have nothing at all, or elſe an infinite voidneſſe, middle can it afford none, as we have ſaid before: but there being many worlds, each of them hath a proper middle a part, in ſuch ſort, as in every one there ſhall be motions proper unto bodies, ſome falling down to the midſt, others mounting aloft from the midſt, others moving round about the midſt, according as they themſelves do diſtinguiſh motions. And hee who would have, that there being many middles, weighty bodies from all parts ſhould tend unto one alone; may very well be compared unto him, who would have the blood of many men to run from all parts into one vein: likewiſe that all their brains ſhould be contained within one and the ſame membran or pannicle; ſuppoſing it a great inconvenience and abſurdity, if of naturall bodies all that are ſolid be not in one and the ſame place, and the rare alſo in another. Abſurd is he that thus ſaith; and no leſſe fooliſh were the other, who thinketh much and is offended, if the whole ſhould have all parts, in their order, range and ſituation naturall. For it were a very groſſe abſurdity for a man to ſay, there were a world, which had the Moon in it for ſubſtance, as if a man ſhould carry his brain in his heeles, and his heart in the temples of his head: but there were no abſurdity nor inconvenience, if in ſetting down many diſtinct worlds and thoſe ſeparate one from another, a man ſhould diſtinguiſh withall and ſeparate their parts. For in every of them, the earth, the ſea, and the skie, ſhall be ſo placed and ſituate in their naturall ſeats, as it is meet and appertaineth: and each of thoſe worlds ſhall have ſuperior, inferiour, circular, and a centre fit the midſt; not in regard of another world nor of that which is without, but in it ſelf and in reſpect of it ſelf. And as for the ſuppoſition which ſome make of a ſtone without the world, it cannot be imagined how poſſibly it ſhould either reſt or move: for how can it hang ſtill, ſeeing it is ponderous and weighty? or move toward the midſt of the world, as other heavy bodies, conſidering it is neither part of it, nor counted in the ſubſtance thereof?

As concerning that earth which is contained in another world and faſt bound, we need not to make doubt

doubt and queſtion, how it ſhould not fall down hither by reaſon of the weight, nor be plucked away from the whole; ſeeing as we do, that it hath a naturall ſtrength to contain every part thereof. For if we ſhall take high and low, not within and in reſpect of the world, but without forth, we ſhall be driven unto the ſame difficulties and diſtreſſes, which *Epicurus* is fallen into, who maketh his little Atomes or indiviſible bodies to move and tend toward thoſe places which are under foot: as if either his voidneſſe had feet, or the infinity which he ſpeaketh of, permit a man to imagine either high or low. And therefore ſome cauſe there is to marvell at *Chryſippus*, or rather to enquire and demand what fantie hath come into his head, and moved him to ſay, that this world is ſeated and placed directly in the midſt; & that the ſubſtance thereof, from all eternity having taken up and occupied the place of the midſt, yet nevertheleſſe it is ſo compact and tied together that it endureth alwayes, and is (as one would ſay) immortalized: for ſo much hath he written in his fourth Book *περὶ διοικήσεως*, that is to ſay, Of poſſible things; dreaming (to no purpoſe) of a middle place in that vaſt emptineſſe: and yet more abſurdly attributing unto that middle (which is not, nor hath any ſubſiſtence) the cauſe of the worlds continuance and ſtability; eſpecially having written thus much many times in other places, that the ſubſtance is governed and maintained partly by the motions tending to the widſt, and partly by others from the midſt of it. As for other oppoſitions beſides, that the Stoicks make, who is there that feareth them? as namely, when they demand, How it is poſſible to maintain one fatall neceſſity, and one divine providence? and how it can otherwiſe be, but that there ſhould be many *DIES* and *ZENES*, that is ſay, *Joves* and *Jupiters*, if we grant that there be many worlds: For to begin withall, if it be an inconvenience, to allow many ſuch *Joves* and *Jupiters*, their opinions verily be far more abſurd: for they deviſe an infinit ſort of Suns, Moons, *Apolloes*, *Dianes* and *Neptunes*, in innumerable converſions and revolutions of worlds. Moreover, what neceſſity is there, to enforce us to avow many *Jupiters*, if there be many worlds? and not rather, in every of them a ſeverall god, as a ſoveraign governor and ruler of the whole, furniſhed with all underſtanding and reaſon, as he whom we ſurname the Lord and Father of all things? Or what ſhould hinder, but that all worlds might be ſubject to the providence and deſtiny of *Jupiter*: and he reciprocally have an eye to overſee all, to direct, digeſt and conduct all, in miniſtring unto them the principles, beginnings, ſeeds and reaſons of all things that are done and made? For it being ſo that we do ſee even here many times, a body compoſed of many other diſtinct bodies; as for example, the aſſembly or congregation of a City, an Army, and a daunce; in every one of which bodies there is life, prudence, and intelligence, as *Chryſippus* thinketh: impoſſible it is not likewiſe, that in this univerſall nature, there ſhould be ten, fifty, yea and a hundred worlds, uſing all one and the ſame reaſon, and correſpondent to one beginning. But contrariwiſe, this order and diſpoſition is beſt beſeeming the gods. For we ought not to make the gods like unto the Kings of a ſwarm of Bees, which go not forth, but keep within the hive; nor to hold them incloſed and impriſoned (as it were) rather, and ſhut up faſt within Matter, as theſe men do, who would have the gods to be certain habitudes or diſpoſitions of the aire; and ſuppoſing them to be powers of waters and of fire infuſed and mixed within, make them to ariſe and be engendred together with the world, and ſo afterwards, to be burnt likewiſe with it; not allowing them to be looſe and at liberty, like as Coatchmen and Pilots are; but in manner of Statues or Images are ſet faſt unto their Baſes with Nailes, and ſodered with Lead: even ſo they incloſe the gods within bodily matter, and pin them hard thereto; ſo as being joynted (as it were) ſure unto it, they participate therewith all changes and alterations, even to finall corruption and diſſolution. Yet is this opinion farr more grave, religious and magnificent, in my conceit: to hold that the gods be of themſelves free, and without all command of any other power. And like as the firy light *Caſtor* and *Pollux* ſuccour thoſe who are toſſed in a tempeſt, and by their comming and preſence,

Allay the ſurging waves of ſea below,
And ſtill the bluſtring winds aloft that blow;

and not ſailing themſelves, nor partaking the ſame perils with the Mariners, but onely appearing in the air above, ſave thoſe that were in danger: even ſo the gods for their pleaſure go from one world to another, to viſit them; and together with nature, rule and govern every one of them. For *Jupiter* verily in *Homer*, caſt not his eyes far from the City of *Troy*, either into *Thracia*, or the Nomades and vagrant Scythians along the river *Iſter* or *Danubie*: but the true *Jupiter* indeed hath many fair paſſages and goodly changes beſeeming his Majeſty out of one world into another, neither looking into the infinit voidneſſe without, nor beholding himſelf and nothing elſe, as ſome have thought; but conſidering the deeds of men and of gods, the motions alſo and revolutions of the Stars in their ſpheares. For ſurely, the Deity is not offended with variety, nor hateth mutations: but taketh much pleaſure therein, as a man may gueſſe by the circultions, converſions and changes which appear in the heaven. I conclude therefore, that the infinity of worlds is a very ſenſeleſs and falſe conceit, ſuch as in no wiſe will bear and admit any god, but employeth fortune and chance in the managing of all things: but contrariwiſe, the adminiſtration & providence of a certain quantity and determinate number of worlds, ſeemeth unto me neither in majeſty and worthineſſe inferior, nor in travell more laborious, than that which is employed and reſtrained to the direction of one alone; which is transformed, renewed & metamorphozed (as it were) an infinit ſort of times. After I had delivered this ſpeech, I pauſed and held my peace. Then *Philippus*, making no long ſtay: As for me, I will not greatly ſtrive nor ſtand upon it (quoth he) whether the truth be ſo or otherwiſe: but in caſe we force God out of the ſuperintendance

dance of one onely world, how is it, that we make him to be Creator of five worlds, neither more nor leſſe? and what the peculiar and ſpeciall reaſon is of this number to a plurality of worlds, rather than of any other, I would more willingly know, than the occaſion or cauſe, why this Mot [E I] is ſo conſecrated in this Temple. For it is neither a triangular, nor a quadrat, nor a perfect, ne yet a cubique number: neither ſeemeth it to repreſent any other elegancy unto thoſe, who love and eſteem ſuch ſpeculations as theſe.

And as for the Argument inferred from the number of Elements, which *Plato* himſelf obſcurely and under covert tearms touched, it is very hard to comprehend; neither doth it carry and ſhew any probability, whereby he ſhould be induced to conclude, and draw in a conſequence: that like it is, conſidering in matter there be ingendered five ſorts of regular bodies, having equall angles, equal ſides, and environed with equall ſuperficies; there ſhould ſemblably of theſe five bodies, be five worlds made and formed, from the very firſt beginning. And yet (quoth I) it ſhould ſeem, that *Theodorus* the Solian, expounding the Mathematick of *Plato*, handled this matter not amiſſe, nor miſinterpreteth the place; and thus goeth he to work: The Pyramis, Octaedron, Dodecaedron, and Icoſaedron (which *Plato* ſetteth down for the firſt Bodies) are right beautifull all, both for their proportions, and alſo for their qualities: neither is there left for nature any other, to deviſe & form better than they, or indeed anſwerable and like unto them. Howbeit they have not all either the ſame conſtitution, nor the like original; for the leaſt verily and ſmalleſt of the five is the Pyramis; the greateſt and that which conſiſteth of moſt parts, is Dodecaedron; and of the other two behind, the Icoſaedron is bigger by two fold and more, than Octaedron, if you compare their number of triangles. And therefore impoſſible it is, that they ſhould be all made at once of one and the ſame matter; for the ſmall and ſubtile, and ſuch as in compoſition are more ſimple than the reſt, were more pliable no doubt, & obedient unto the hand of workmen, who moved and formed the matter, and therefore by all conſequence ſooner made and brought into ſubſiſtence, than thoſe which had more parts and a greater maſſe of bodies: of which, and namely of ſuch as had more labourious making, and a buſier compoſition, is Dodecaedron. Whereupon it falleth neceſſarily, that Pyramis onely was the firſt body: and not any of the other, as being by nature created and produced afterwards. But the remedy and means to ſalve and avoid this abſurdity alſo, is to ſeparate and divide the matter into five worlds: for here the Pyramis came forth firſt; there the Octaedron, and elſewhere the Icoſaedron; and in every of theſe worlds, out of that which came firſt into *eſſe*, the reſt drew their originall, by the conceition of parts, which cauſeth them all to change into all, according as *Plato* doth inſinuate, diſcourſing by examples in manner throughout all: but it ſhall ſuffice us briefly to learn thus much. For Air is ingendered by the extinction of Fire: and the ſame again being ſubtilized and rarefied, produceth Fire. Now in the ſeeds of theſe two, a man may know their paſſions, and the tranſmuations of all. The ſeminary or beginning of Fire is the Pyramis, compoſed of four and twenty firſt triangles: but the ſeminary of the Air is Octaedron, conſiſting of triangles of the ſame kinde, in number forty eight. And thus the one Element of Air, ſtandeth upon two of Fire, compoſed and conjoyned together: and again, one Body or Element of the Air, is divided and parted into twain of fire: which becomming to be thickned and conſtipate more ſtill in it ſelf, turneth into the form of Water; in ſuch ſort as throughout, that which cometh firſt into light, giveth alwaies a ready and eaſie generation unto all the reſt, by way of change and tranſmutation: and ſo, that never remaineth ſolitary and alone which is firſt; but as one maſſe and conſtitution hath the primitive and antecedent motion in another of originall beginning: ſo in all there is kept one name and denomination. Now ſurely (quoth *Ammonius*) it is ſtoutly done of *Theodorus*, and he hath quit himſelf very well, in fetching about this matter ſo indultriouſly. But I would much marvell if theſe preſuppoſitions of his making, do not overthrow and refute one another: for he would have, that theſe five worlds were not compoſed all at once together; but that the ſmalleſt and moſt ſubtile which required leaſt workmanſhip in the making, came forth firſt: then as a thing conſequent, and not repugnant at all, he ſuppoſeth that the matter doth not thruſt forth alwaies, into eſſence, that which is moſt ſubtile and ſimple; but that otherwhiles the thickeſt, the moſt groſſe and heavieſt parts, ſhew firſt in generation. But over and beſides all this, after a ſuppoſall made, there be five primitive Bodies or Elements, and conſequently thereupon five Worlds; he applyeth not his truth and probability but unto four only. For as touching the Cube, he ſubtracteth and removeth it quite away, as they do who play at nine holes, and who trundle little round ſtones: for that ſuch a ſquare and quadrat body every way is naturally unfit, either to turn into them, or to yeeld them any means to turn unto it, for that the three angles of which they be compoſed, are not of the ſame kinde: for all the reſt do in a common conſiſt of a demi-triangle, as the baſe; but the proper ſubject whereof this Cube particularly ſtandeth, is the triangle Iſocetes, which admitteth no inclination unto a demi-triangle, nor poſſibly can be concorporate or united to it. Now if it be ſo, that of thoſe five Bodies there be conſequently five Worlds, and that in each one of thoſe Worlds the beginning of their generation and conſtitution, is that Body which is firſt produced and brought to light: it would come to paſſe, that where the Cube cometh forth firſt for the generation of the reſt, none of the other Bodies can poſſibly be there, foraſmuch as the nature of it is not to turn or change into any one of them. For I let paſſe here to allege, that the Element or principle whereof Dodecaedron is compoſed, is not that triangle which is called Scalenon, with three unequall ſides, but ſome other as they ſay, however *Plato* hath made his Pyramis, Octaedron, and Icoſaedron of it: And therefore (quoth *Ammonius*, ſmiling thereat) either

either you muſt diſſolve theſe objections, or elſe allege ſome new matter as touching the queſtion now preſently in hand. Then anſwered I: For mine own part allege I am not able at this time any thing that carrieth more probability: but peradventure it were better for a man to yeeld reaſons of his own opinion rather, than of anothers. To begin again therefore I ſay, that nature being parted and divided at the firſt in two parts, the one ſenſible, mutable, ſubject to generation and corruption, and variety every way; the other ſpirituall and intelligible, and continuing evermore in one and the ſame ſtate, it were very ſtrange and abſurd my good friends, firſt to ſay that the ſpirituall nature receiveth diviſion, and hath diverſity and difference in it: and then to think much and grow into heat of choler and anger, if a man allow not the paſſible and corporall nature wholly united and concorporate in it ſelf, without dividing or ſeparating it into many parts. For more meet it were yet, and reaſonable, that natures permanent and divine ſhould cohere unto themſelves inſeparably, and avoid as much as is poſſible all diſtraction and diviſion: and yet this force and power of *The Other*, medling alſo even with theſe, cauſeth in ſpirituall and intellectuall things, greater diſſociations and diſſimilitudes in form and eſſentiall reaſon, than are the locall diſtances in thoſe corporáll natures. And therfore *Plato* confuting thoſe who hold this poſition, that all is one, affirmeth theſe five grounds and principles of all, to wit, *Eſſence* and Being, *The Same*, *The Other*, and after all, *Motion*, and *Station*. Admit theſe five, no marvail is it, if nature of thoſe five bodily Elements hath framed proper figures and repreſentations for every one of them, not ſimple and pure, but ſo, as every one of them is moſt participant of each of thoſe properties and puiſſances. For, plain and evident it is that the Cube is moſt meet and ſortible unto ſtation and repoſe, in regard of the ſtability and ſtedy firmitudes of thoſe broad and flat faces which it hath. As for the *Pyramis*, who ſeeth not and acknowledgeth not incontinently in it the nature of fire, ever moving in thoſe long and ſlender ſides and ſharp angles that it hath? Alſo the nature of Dodecaedron apt to comprehend all other figures, may ſeem properly to be the image repreſenting *Ens*, or That which is, in reſpect of corporall eſſence. Of the other twain, Icoſaedron reſembleth *The Other, Or Diverſe*: but Octaedron, hath a principle reference to the form of *The Same*. And ſo by this reckoning, the one of them produceth forth Air, capable of all ſubſtance in one form; and the one other exhibited unto us Water, which by temperature may turn into all ſorts of qualities. Now if ſo be that nature requireth in all things and throughout all, an equal and uniform diſtribution, very probable it is, that there be alſo five worlds, and neither more nor fewer, than there be moulds or patterns: to the end that each example or pattern may hold the firſt place and principall puiſſance in each world, like as they have in the firſt conſtitution and compoſition of bodies. And this may ſtand in ſome ſort for an Anſwer, and to ſatiſie him who marvaileth, how we divide that nature which is ſubject to generation and alteration, into ſo many kinds: but yet I beſeech you, conſider and weigh with men more diligently this argument. Certain it is, that of thoſe two firſt and ſupream principles, I mean *Unity*, and *Binary*, or *Duality*; this latter being the Element and originall primative of all deformity, diſorder and confuſion, is called Infinity: but contrariwiſe the nature of Unity, determining and limiting the void infinity, which hath no proportion nor termination, reduceth it into a good form, and maketh it in ſome ſort capable and apt to receive a denomination, which alwaies accompanieth ſenſible things. And verily theſe two generall principles ſhew themſelves firſt in number, or rather indeed to ſpeak generally, no multitude is called number, untill ſuch time as Unity coming to be imprinted as the form in matter, cutteth off from indeterminate infinity, that wich is ſuperfluous, here more and there leſſe; for then each multitude becommeth and is made mumber, when as it is once determined and limited by Unity: but if a man take Unity away, then the indefinity and indeterminate Duality, coming again in place to confound all, maketh it to be without Order, without Grace, without Number, and without Meaſure. Now conſidering it is ſo, that the form is not the deſtruction of matter, but rather the Figure Ornament and Order thereof; it muſt needs be, that both theſe principles are within number, from which proceedeth the chief diſſimilitude and greateſt difference. For the indefinite and indeterminate principles, to wit, Duality, is the author and cauſe of the even number: but better, to wit Unity, is the Father (as one would ſay) of the odd number; ſo as the firſt even number is two, and the firſt odd number three, of which is compounded five, by conjunction common to both, but in the own puiſſance odd. For it behoved and neceſſary it was, in as much as that which is corporall and ſenſible for compoſition ſake, is divided into many parts by the power and force of *The Other*, that is to ſay, of Diverſity, that it ſhould be neither the firſt even number, nor yet the firſt uneven or odd, but a third conſiſting of both: to the end that it might be procreate of both principles, to wit, of that which ingendreth the even number, and of that which produceth the odd; for it could not be, that the one ſhould be parted from the other, becauſe that both of them have the nature and puiſſance of a principle. Theſe two principles then being conjoinct together, the better being the mightier, is oppoſed unto the indeterminate infinity, which divideth the corporall nature; and ſo the matter being divided, the Unity interpoſing it ſelf between, impeacheth the univerſall nature, that it was not divided and parted into two equall portions: but there was a plurality of worlds cauſed by *The Other*, that is to ſay, by Diverſity, and difference of that which is infinite and determinate; but this plurality was brought into an odd and uneven number, by the vertue and puiſſance of *The Same*, and that which finite, becauſe the better principle ſuffered not nature to extend farther than was expedient. For if one had been pure and ſimple without mixture, the matter ſhould have had no ſeparation at all; but in as much as it was mixed with Duality, which is a diviſive nature, it hath received indeed and ſuffered by this means ſeparation and diviſion

diviſion: howbeit, ſtayed it hath in good time, becauſe the odde was the matter and ſuperiour over the even. This was the reaſon that our ancients in old time were wont to uſe the verb *Pempaſeſthai*, when they would ſignifie to number or to reekon: And I think verily that this word πέντε, that is to ſay, All, was derived of *Pente*, that is to ſay, Five, and not without good reaſon, becauſe that five is compounded of the two firſt numbers; and when other numbers afterwards be multiplied by others, they produce divers numbers: whereas five if it be multiplyed by an even number and doubled, bringeth forth Ten, a perfect number; but if by the odde, it repreſenteth it ſelf again. Here I omit to ſay, that it is compoſed of the two firſt quadrate numbers, to wit of Unity and Four; and that it is the firſt number which is equivalent to the two before it, in ſuch ſort as it compoundeth the faireſt triangle of thoſe that have right angles, and is the firſt number that containeth the ſeſquialterall proportion. For haply theſe reaſons be not well ſuitable nor proper unto the diſcourſe of this preſent matter: but this rather is more convenient to allege, that in this number, there is a naturall vertue and faculty of dividing, and that nature divideth many things by this number. For even in our own ſelves ſhe hath placed five exterior ſenſes, as alſo five parts of the ſoul, to wit, naturall, ſenſitive, concupiſcible, iraſcible, and reaſonable: likewiſe ſo many fingers in either hand. Alſo the genitall ſeed is at the moſt diſtributed into five portions: for in no Hiſtory is it found written, that a woman was delivered of more than five Children at one birth. The Egyptians alſo in their Fables do report, that the goddeſſe *Rhea* brought forth five gods and goddeſſes: ſignifying hereby under covert words, that of one and the ſame matter five worlds were procreated. Come to the univerſall fabrick and frame of nature, the earth is divided into five zones: the Heaven alſo in five Circles, two Arctiques, two Tropicks, and one Equinoctiall in the midſt. Moreover five revolutions there be of the Planets or wandring Stars: for that the Sun, *Venus*, and *Mercury* run together in one race. Furthermore the very world it ſelf is compoſed harmonically reſpective to five. Like as even among us our muſicall accord and concent conſiſteth of the poſiture of five tetrachords, ranged orderly one after another, to wit, of Hypates, Meſes, Synnemenæ, Diezeugmenæ, and Hyperboliæ likewiſe. The intervals likewiſe in Song which we uſe, be five in number, Dreſis, Semitonion, Tonus, Triemitonion, and Ditonon. So as, it ſeemeth that nature taketh more pleaſure in making all things according to the number of five, than after a Spheericall or round form; as *Ariſtotle* writeth. But what is the cauſe will ſome one ſay, that *Plato* hath reduced the number of five worlds to the five primitive figures of regular bodies, ſaying, that God in ordaining and deſcribing the whole world uſed the Quinary conſtruction? and yet afterwards having propoſed the doubtfull queſtion of the number of worlds (to wit, whether we ſhould hold, there was but one, or rather that there were five in truth?) he ſheweth plainly that his conjecture is grounded upon this very argument. If therefore we ought to apply the probability to his mind and opinion, then of neceſſity with the diverſity of theſe figures and bodies there muſt enſue preſently a difference alſo of motions, according as he himſelf teacheth, affirming: Whatſoever is ſubtilized or thickned, with the alteration of ſubſtance, changeth withall the place. For ſo, if of the air is ingendred fire, namely when the Octaedron is diſſolved and parted into *Pyramides*: and contrariwiſe air of fire being driven cloſe and thruſt together into the force of octaedron: it is not poſſible that it ſhould be in the place where it was afore, but flie and run into another, as being forced and driven out of the former, and ſo fight againſt whatſoever ſtandeth in the way and maketh reſiſtance. And yet more fully and evidently declareth he the ſame by a ſimilitude and example of ſuch things, as by fans or ſuch like inſtruments whereby Corn is cleanſed and ſhaken out, or winowed and tryed from the reſt: ſaying, that even ſo the elements ſhaking the matter, and likewiſe ſhaken by it, went alwayes to bring like to like, and ſome took up this place, others that, before the univerſall world was of them compoſed as now it is. The generall matter therefore being in ſuch eſtate then (as by good likelihood All muſt needs be where god is away) preſently the firſt five qualities, or rather the firſt five bodies, having every one of them their proper inclinations and peculiar motions, went apart: not wholly and altogether, nor ſevered ſincerely aſunder one from another, for that when all was hudl d pel-mell confuſedly, ſuch as were ſurmounted and vanquiſhed, went evermore even againſt their nature with the mightier and thoſe which Conquered. And therefore when ſome were haled one way, and others carried another way, it hapned that they made as many portions and diſtinctions in number, juſt as there were divers kindes of thoſe firſt bodies: the one of fire, and yet the ſame not pure, but carrying the form of fire: another of a celeſtiall nature, not ſincere heaven indeed, but ſtanding much of the ſky: a third of earth, and yet not ſimply and wholly earth, but rather earthly. But principally, there was a communication of air and water, as we have ſaid heretofore, for that theſe went their wayes filled with many divers kinds. For it was not God who ſeparated and diſpoſed the ſubſtance, but having found it ſo rathly and confuſedly diſſipated of it ſelf, and each part carried diverſly in ſo great diſorder, he digeſted and arranged it by Symmetry and competent proportion. Then, after he had ſet over every one, Reaſon as a guardian and governeſs, he made as many worlds as there were kinds of thoſe firſt bodies ſubſiſtent. And thus let this diſcourſe for *Ammonius* ſake, be dedicated as it were to the grace and favour of *Plato*. For mine own part, I will never ſtand ſo preciſely upon this number of worlds: marry of this mind I am rather, that their opinion who hold that there be more worlds than one (howbeit not infinit but determinate) is not more abſurd than either of the other, but founded upon as much reaſon as they: ſeeing as I do, that Matter of the own nature is ſpred and diffuſed into many parts, not reſting in one, and yet not permitted by reaſon, to run in *infinitum*. And therefore, eſpecially here (if elſe where) putting our ſelves in mind of the Academy and the

the precepts thereof, let us not be over-credulous, but as in a ſlippery place reſtrain our aſſent and belief: onely in this point of infinity of worlds, let us ſtand firm and ſee we fall not, but keep our ſelves upright. When I had delivered theſe reaſons aboveſaid: Believe me (quoth *Demetrius*) *Lamprias* giveth us a good and wiſe admonition, For

The gods, for to deceive us men, deviſe
Right many meanes, not of falſe Sophiſtries,

as *Euripides* ſaith: but of their deeds and works, when we preſume and dare pronounce of ſo high and great matters, as it we knew them certainly. But as the man himſelf ſaid even now, we muſt recall our ſpeech unto the argument which was firſt propoſed. For that which heretofore hath been ſaid, namely that the Oracles are become mute, and lye ſtill without any validity, becauſe the Dæmons which were wont to govern them, be retired and gone, like as Inſtruments of Muſick yield no ſound and harmony when the Muſicians handle them not: this (I ſay) giveth occaſion to move another queſtion of greater importance, as touching the cauſe and power, by which the Dæmons uſe to make their Prophets and Propheteſſes to be raviſhed with an Enthuſiaſm or divine Fury, and full of fantaſticall Viſions. For it is to no purpoſe to ſay, that the Oracles are ſilent, becauſe they be abandoned and forſaken of the Dæmons; unleſſe we be firſt perſwaded, that when they be preſent and preſident over them, they ſet them a work, and cauſe them to ſpeak and propheſie. Then *Ammonius* taking his turn to ſpeak: Think you (quoth he) that theſe Dæmons be called any thing elſe,

Than ſpirits clad with ſubſtance of the air,
Which walk about the earth, now here now there,

as ſaith *Heſiodus*? For it ſeemeth unto me, that look how one man differeth from another, playing either in a Comedy or a Tragedy: the ſame difference ſheweth in the ſoul, which is arrayed and clothed within a body during this life. There is nothing therefore herein, either ſtrange or without apparence of reaſon, if ſoules meeting with other ſouls, imprint in them Viſions and Fanſies of future things: like as we alſo ſhew many accidents done and paſt, yea and foretell and prognoſticate of ſuch as are to come, not all by lively voyce, but ſome by Letters and Writings, nay by touching onely and the regard of the eye; unleſſe peradventure, you have ſomewhat elſe (ô *Lamprias*) to ſay againſt this. For it was not long ſince told us, that you had much diſputation and conference with certain ſtrangers in *Lebadia*; but he who related this news unto us, could not call exactly to mind what talk paſſed between you. Marvell not thereat (quoth I:) for many affairs and occurrents fell out at once between, by occaſion that the Oracle was open, and a ſacrifice ſolemnized, which cauſed our ſpeeches to be diſperſed, diſtracted and ſcattered diſordily. But now (quoth *Ammonius*) your Auditors be at good leaſure, willing alſo to aſk queſtions and to learn, not deſirous to conteſt and contradict in a litigious and quarrelſome humor; before whom you may have good leave to ſpeak what you will, and for that liberty of ſpeech have pardon at their hands and be held excuſed, as you ſee. Now when the reſt of the company invited and exhorted me likewiſe, after ſome pauſe made and ſilence for a while, I began again in this manner: Certes (quoth I,) O *Ammonius*, it fortuned ſo, I wot not how, that even your ſelf gave the overture and firſt occaſion of thoſe diſcourſes which then and there were held. For if Dæmons be ſpirits and ſouls ſeparate from bodies, and having no fellowſhip with them (as your ſelf ſaid, following herein the divine Poet *Heſiodus*, who calleth them,

Pure ſaincts, here walking on the earth at large:
Of mortall men, who have the care and charge)

why deprive we thoſe ſpirits and ſouls which are within the bodies, of this ſame puiſſance, whereby the Dæmons are able to foreſee and foretell things to come? For it is not like, that the ſouls acquired any new propriety or power, when they have abandoned the bodies, wherewith they were not endued before: but think we muſt that they had the ſame parts and faculties alwayes, although worſe I muſt needs ſay, when they be mix'd with bodies. And ſome of them verily appear not at all, but be hidden: others are but obſcure and feeble, ſuch as heavily and ſlowly perform their operations (much like unto thoſe who ſee through a thick miſt, or move in ſome moiſt and wateriſh ſubſtance) deſiring greatly to be cured, and to recover that faculty which is their own: to be diſcharged alſo and cleanſed of that which hindreth and defraudeth them of it. For the ſoul, even while it is bound and tyed to the body, hath indeed a power to foreſee and know future things: but blinded it is with the terreſtriall mixture of corporall ſubſtance; for that, like as the Sun becommeth not then to be cleer, and not afore, when he is paſt the clouds; but being of himſelf alwayes ſhining, he ſeemeth unto us dark and troubled through a miſt: even ſo the ſoul, getteth not then a new power of divination and prophecie, when ſhe departeth out of the body, as if ſhe were eſcaped out of a cloud; but having the ſame before, is dimmed and obſcured by the commixtion and confuſion with that which is mortall and corruptible. Neither ought we to make a wonder hereat, and think it incredible, ſeeing as we do (if there were nothing elſe in the ſoul) how that faculty which we call Memory, is equipollent and anſwerable in an oppoſit reſpect unto the puiſſance of divination; and conſidering the great effect thereof, in preſerving and keeping things paſt, or rather indeed keeping them whiles they be. For to ſay truly, of that which is once paſſed nothing remaineth nor ſubſiſteth in *eſſe*, were they actions, words, or paſſions: for all things be tranſitory and paſſe away as ſoon as they are, becauſe time, in manner of a current or ſtream,

ſtream, carrieth all away before it: but this memorative faculty of the ſoul catching hold thereof I know not how, and ſtaying it for ſlipping away, giveth an imagination of eſſence and being to thoſe things, which in truth are not. For the Oracle verily which was given to the Theſſalians as touching the City *Arna*, willed them to utter and ſpeak

That which the blinde ſee clear,
And what the deaf do hear.

But memory is unto us the hearing of the deaf, and the ſight likewiſe of the blinde; in ſuch ſort, as no marvel it is (as I have already ſaid) if our ſoul in retaining ſtill things which are no more, doth anticipate many of thoſe alſo, which are not yet. And ſuch objects indeed concern it rather, and therewith is it affected more. For ſhe bendeth and inclineth towards things that are to come: whereas of ſuch as be already paſt and come to their end, ſhe is freed and delivered, but only that ſhe remembreth them. Our ſouls then having this puiſſance in them inbred and natural, though feeble, obſcure, and hardly able to expreſſe and repreſent their imaginations; yet nevertheleſſe ſome of them ſhew and put them forth many times in dreams, and in certain ſacred ceremonies and myſteries: namely, when the body is well purified, or receiveth a fit temperature therefore, or elſe for that reaſonable, and ſpeculative faculty being then freed from the cares of things preſent, joyneth with the unreaſonable and imaginative part, and turneth it to think upon the future. For I approve not that which *Euripides* ſaith:

I hold him for Divinor beſt,
Who in conjectures miſſeth leaſt;

but he verily who is directed by the reaſonable and intelligent part of the ſoul, and followeth the conduct and leading thereof by all probability. Now that power or faculty of Divination (like unto a pair of blank writing Tables, wherein there is nothing written) void of reaſon, and not determinate of it ſelf, but only apt and meet to receive fanſies, affections, and preſenſions, without any diſcourſe of reaſon, or ratiocination, hitteth upon that which is to come, at what time as it is moſt removed from that which is preſent; and in this extaſie is it tranſmuted, by a certain temperature and diſpoſition of the body, which we call *Enthuſiaſm* or inſpiration. Now ſuch a diſpoſition as this, many times the body of it ſelf hath; but the Earth putteth forth and yieldeth unto men the ſources and fountains of many other powers and faculties: ſome of which tranſport them out of their wits, bringing maladies, contagions, and mortalities: others again be ſometime good, kinde, and profitable, as they know full well who make experience thereof. But this ſpring, this winde, or Prophetical ſpirit of Divination, is moſt Divine and holy, whether it ariſe and breath up alone by it ſelf through the Air, or be drawn up with ſome liquid humour. For coming once to be infuſed and mixed within the body, it cauſeth a ſtrange temperature and unuſal diſpoſition in the ſouls: the property whereof, a right hard matter it is to declare exactly, and expreſſe certainly; but a man in reaſon may attain thereto by conjecture fundry waies: for by heat and dilatation, it openeth (I wot not what) little holes, by which in all likelihood the imaginative faculty is ſet on work about future things; much like as wine which working and boiling in the body ſumeth up, and among others motions, it revealeth and diſcovereth many hidden ſecrets. For the fury of *Bacchus* and of drunkenneſſe, if we may believe *Euripides*, containeth much Divination: when the ſoul being enchafed and enflamed, expelleth all fear, which humane wiſedom bringeth in, and by that means many times averteth, and quencheth the Divine inſpiration. And herewithall a man may allege very well, and not without great reaſon, that ſiccity coming intermingled with heat, ſubtilizeth the ſpirit, and maketh it pure, and of the nature of fire (for according to *Heraclitus*, the ſoul it ſelf is of a dry conſtitution:) whereas humidity doth not only dim the ſight, and dull the hearing, but alſo being mingled with the air, and touching the ſuperficies of mirrours, dulleth the brightneſſe of the one, and taketh away the light of the other. On the contrary ſide, it is not impoſſible that by ſome refrigeration and condenſation of this ſpirit, after the manner of the tincture and hardneſſe of iron, this part of the ſoul which doth prognoſticate, ſhould ſhew it ſelf and get a perfect edge. And like as Tinne being melted with Braſſe (which of it ſelf is a metal in the Oar, rare, ſpongious, and full of little holes) doth drive it neerer, and maketh it more maſſie and ſolid, and withall cauſeth it to look more bright and reſplendent: even ſo, I ſee no inconvenience to hinder, but that this Prophetical exhalation having ſome congruence and affinity with the ſoul, ſhould fill up that which is lax and empty, and drive it cloſe together more inwardly. For many things there be, that have a reference and congruity one unto the other: thus the Bean is ſortable unto the purple dye; Sal-nitre likewiſe helpeth much the tincture of a rich ſcarlet or crimſon colour, if it be mixed therewith, according alſo as *Empedocles* ſaid:

And with the flower of Saffron red,
Fine Flax and Silk are coloured.

And we have heard you ſpeak (good friend *Demetrius*) of the River *Cydnus*, and the ſacred cutting Knife of *Apollo* in *Tarſus*; and namely, how the ſaid River only clenſeth that Iron whereof the Knife is made, neither is there any other water in the World able to ſcour that Knife: like as in the City *Olympia*, they temper the aſhes that cometh of the ſacrifices, with the water of the River *Alpheus*, and make thereof a morter, wherewith they plaiſter the Altar there; but if they aſſay to do it with the water of any other River elſe, it will not ſtick to, nor binde one jot. No marvel therefore it is, if the Earth ſending

sending up out of it many exhalations, these only are found to transport the souls with an Enthusiasm or Divine fury, and represent the imaginations and fansies of future things. But without all question and contradiction, the report that goeth of the Oracle in this place, accordeth well to this purpose. For it is said, that this Prophetical and Divining power here, shewed it self first, by occasion of a certain herdman, who chanced here to fall; who thereupon began to cast forth certain fanatical cries and voices, as if he had been possessed with such a Divine inspiration. Whereof the neighbours and those that came about him, at first made no account; but afterwards, when they saw that it fell out so indeed, as he had foretold, they had the man in great admiration: and the greatest Clarks and Wisest men of all the Delphians, calling to remembrance his name, gave out that it was *Coretas*. So that, it seemeth to me, that the soul admitteth this temperature and mixtion with this Prophetical spirit, as the sight of the eye is affected with the light. For albeit the eye hath naturally a property and power to see, yet the same is not effectual without the light: even so the soul having this puissance and faculty, to foresee future things, like unto the eye had need of some proper and convenient thing to kindle it as it were, and set an edge upon it. And hereupon it is, that many of our ancients have thought *Apollo*, and the Sun, to be one and the same god. They also who know what this beautiful and wise proportion is, and withall do honor it: look what reference or respect there is of the body to the soul, of the sight to light, and of the * understanding to the truth; the same force and power they esteemed there is of the Suns power unto the nature of *Apollo*: saying, that he is the issue and geniture proceeding from *Apollo* who is eternal, and who continually bringeth him forth. For like as the one kindles, bringeth forth and stirreth up the visual power and vertue of the sense: even so doth the other by the Prophetical vertue of the soul. They therefore who thought that it was one and the self-same god, by good right dedicated and consecrated this Oracle unto *Apollo*, and unto the Earth: judging, that the Sun it was which wrought that temperature, and imprinted this disposition in the Earth, whereof arose this Prophetical evaporation. And verily as *Hesiodus* upon good consideration, and with much more reason than some Philosophers, called the Earth,

The ground-work sure
Of all nature:

even so we deem it to be eternal, immortal, and incorruptible: marry of the vertues and faculties which are in it, we hold that some fail in one place, and others breed a new and engender in another: and great probability there is, that there be transmutations and changes, from one place to another, and that such revolutions as these, in the course and processe of long time, turn and return circularly often in it; as a man may conjecture, and certainly collect by such things as manifestly do appear. For in divers and sundry Countries, we see that Lakes and whole Rivers, yea and many more Fountaines and Springs of hot waters, have failed and been quite lost, as being fled out of our sight, and hidden within the Earth; but afterwards in the very same places they have in time shewed themselves again, or else run hard by. And of metal Mines, we know that some have been spent clean and emptied, as namely, those of Silver about the Territory of *Attica*: semblably the veines of Brasse Oar in *Euboea*, out of which they forged sometime the best Swords, that were hardned with the tincture of cold water: according to which the Poet *Æschylus* said:

He took in hand the keen and douty blade,
Which of Eubœan *steel sometime was made.*

The Rock also and Quarry in *Carystia*, it is not long since it gave over to bring forth certain bals or bottoms of soft stone, which they use to spin and draw into thread, in manner of Flax: for I suppose that some of you have seen Towels, Napkin, Nets, Caules, Kerchiefes and Coifes woven of such thread, which would not burn and consume in the fire, but when they were foul and soiled with occupying, folk flung them into the fire, and took them forth again clean and fair: but now all this is quite gone, and hardly within the said delf shall a man meet with some few hairy threads of that matter, running here and there among the hard stones digged out from thence. Now of all these things *Aristotle* and his Sectaries hold: That an exhalation within the Earth, is the only efficient cause, with which of necessity such effects must fail and passe from place to place; as also otherwhiles, breed again therewith. Semblably are we to think of the spirits and exhalations Prophetical which issue out of the Earth; namely, that they have not a nature immortal, and such as cannot age or waxe old, but subject to change and alteration. For probable it is, that the great gluttes of Rain and extraordinary flouds, have extinguished them quite, and that by the terrible fall of Thunder-boules the places were smitten, and they withall dissipated and dispatched: but principally, when the ground hath been shaken with Earthquakes, and thereupon settled downward and fallen in, with trouble and confusion of whatsoever was below; it cannot chuse but such exhalations contained within the hollow caves of the Earth, either changed their place and were driven forth, or utterly were stifled and choaked. And so in this place also, their remained and appeared some tokens of that great Earth-quake, which overthrew the City and staied the Oracle here: like as, by report in the City *Orchomenos*, there was a Plague which swept away a number of people; and therewith the Oracle of *Tiresias* the Prophet, failed for ever, and so continueth as this day mute and to no effect. And whether the like befell unto the Oracles which were wont to be in *Cilicia*, as we hear say, no man can more certainly enform us than you *Demetrius*. Then *Demetrius*: How things stand now at this present, I wot not; for I have been a Traveller and out of my native Country a long time, as ye all know: but when I was in those parts, both that of *Mopsus*, and also the other of *Amphilochus*, flourished and were in great request. And as for the Oracle

* Our understanding, or light.

Oracle of *Mopsus*, I am able to make report unto you of a most strange and wonderful event thereof, for that I was my self present. The Governour of *Cilicia* is of himself doubtful and wavering, whether there be gods or no? upon infirmity, as I take it, of misceredance and unbelief (for otherwise he was a naughty man, a violent oppressour, and scorner of religion.) But having about him certain Epicureans, who standing much upon this their goodly and beautiful Physiology forsooth (as they term it) or else all were marred, scoff at such things; he sent one of his affranchised or freed servants unto the Oracle of *Mopsus* indeed, howbeit, making semblance as if he were an espial, to discover the Camp of of his Enemies: he sent him (I say) with a letter surely sealed, wherein he had written without the privity of any person whatsoever, a question or demaund to be presented unto the Oracle. This messenger, after the order and custom of the place, remaining all night within the Sanctuary of the Temple, fell there asleep, and rehearsed the morrow morning what a dream he had; and namely, that he thought he saw a fair and beautiful man to present himself unto him, and say unto him this only word *Black*, and no more: for presently he went his way out of his sight. Now we that were there, thought this to be a sooliish and absurd toy, neither wist we what to make of it. But the Governour aforesaid was much astonied thereat, and being stricken with a great remorse and prick of conscience, worshipped *Mopsus*, and held his Oracle most venerable; for opening the letter, he shewed publickly the demaund contained therein, which went in these words: *Shall I sacrifice unto thee a white Bull, or a black?* insomuch as the very Epicureans themselves who converse with him, were much abashed and ashamed. So he offred the sacrifice accordingly, and ever afterwards to his dying day honoured *Mopsus* right devoutly.

Demetrius having thus said, held his peace: but I desirous to conclude this whole disputation with some corollary, turned again and cast mine eye upon *Philippus* and *Ammonius* who sat together. Now they seemed as if they had somwhat to speak unto me, and thereupon I staied my self again. With that, *Ammonius*: *Philip* (quoth he) O *Lamprias*, hath somwhat yet to say of the question which hath been all this while debated. For he is of opinion, as many others beside him are, that *Apollo* is no other god than the Sun, but even the very same. But the doubt which I move, is greater and of more important matters. For I wot not how erewhile, in the train of our discourse, we took from the gods all Divination and ascribed the same in plain termes to Dæmons and Angels: and now we will seem to thrust them out again from hence, and to dissieze them of the Oracle and three-footed Table of which they were possessed; conferring the beginning and principal cause of Prophecie, or rather indeed the very substance and power it self, upon windes, vapours, and exhalations. For even those temperatures, heats, tinctures, and consolidations (if I may so say) which have been talked of, remove our minde and opinion farther off still from the gods, and puts into our heads this imagination and conceit of such a cause, as *Euripides* devised Cyclops to allege in the Tragœdy bearing his name:

The earth must needs bring forth grasse, this is flat,
Will she or nill she, and feed my cattel fat.

This only is the difference, because he saith not that he sacrificed his beasts unto the gods, but unto himself and his belly, the greatest of all the Dæmons: but we both sacrifice and also powre forth our prayers unto them, for to have their answer from the Oracles: and to what purpose I pray you, if it be true, that our own souls bring with them a Prophetical faculty and vertue of Divination, and the cause which doth excite and actuate the same, be some temperature of the air, or rather of winde? What mean then, the sacred institutions and creations of these religious Prophetesses ordained for the pronouncing of answers? And what is the reason that they give no answer at all, unlesse the host or sacrifice to be killed, tremble all over even from the very feet, and shake whiles the libaments and effusions of hallowed liquors be powred upon it? For it is not enough to wag the head, as other beasts do which are slain for sacrifice, but this quaking, panting and shivering must be throughout all the parts of the body, and that with a trembling noise. For if this be wanting, they say the Oracle giveth no answer, neither do they so much as bring in the religious Priestesse *Pythia*. And yet it were probable that they should both do and think this, who attribute the greatest part of this Prophetical inspiration, either to God or Dæmon. But according as you say, there is no reason or likelihood thereof: for the exhalation that ariseth out of the ground, whether the beast tremble or no, will alwaies if it be present, cause a ravishment and transportation of the spirit, and evermore dispose the soul alike, not onely of *Pythia*, but also of any body else that first commeth or is presented. And thereupon it followeth, that a meer folly it is, to employ one silly woman in the Oracle, and to put her to it (poor soul) to be a Votary and live a pure maiden all the daies of her life, sequestred from the company of man. And as for that *Coretas*, whom the Delphians name to have been the first that chancing to fall into this chink or creveasse of the ground, gave the hansel of the vertue and property of the place, in mine opinion he differed nothing at all from other Goatherds, or Shepherds, nor excelled them one whit: at least wise if this be a truth that is reported him, and not a meer fable and vain fiction, as I suppose it is no better. And verily when I consider and discourse in my self, how many good things this Oracle hath been cause of unto the Greeks, as well in their Wars and Martial affairs, as in the foundations of Cities, in distresses of Famine and Pestilence; me thinks it were a very indignity and unworthy part, to attribute the invention and originall thereof unto mere Fortune and Chance, and not unto God and Divine Providence. But upon this point, I would gaidly, O *Lamprias*, (quoth he) have you to dispute and discourse a little: how say you *Philippus*, may it please you

you to have patience the while? Moſt willingly (quoth *Philippus*) for my part: and ſo much I may be bold alſo to promiſe in the behalf of all the company, for I ſee well that the queſtion by you propoſed hath moved them all. And as for my ſelf (quoth I) O *Philippus*, it hath not only moved, but alſo abaſhed and diſmaied me, for that in this ſo notable Aſſembly and Conference of ſo many Worthy perſonages, I may ſeem above mine age, in bearing my ſelf and taking pride in the probability of my words, to overthrow or to call into queſtion any of thoſe things, which truly have been delivered, or religiouſly believed as touching God and Divine matters. But ſatisfie you I will, and in the defence of my ſelf produce for my witneſſe and advocate both, *Plato*. For this Philoſopher reproved old *Anaxagoras*, in that being to much addicted too natural cauſes, and entangled with them; following alſo and purſuing alwaies, that which neceſſarily is effected in the paſſions and affections of natural bodies, he overpaſſed the final and efficient cauſe, for which and by which, things are done, and thoſe are indeed the better cauſes, and principles of greater importance: whereas himſelf either before, or elſe moſt of all other Philoſophers hath proſecuted them both: attributing unto God the beginning of all things wrought by reaſon; and not depriving in the mean while the matter of thoſe cauſes which are neceſſary unto the work done: but acknowledging herein, that the adorning & diſpoſe of all this World ſenſible, dependeth not upon one ſimple cauſe alone, as being pure and uncompound, but was engendred and took Eſſence, when matter was coupled and conjoyned with reaſon. That this is ſo, do but conſider firſt, the works wrought by the hand of Artiſans: as for example, (not to go farther for the matter) that ſame foot here and Baſis ſo much renowned, of the ſtanding Cup, among other ornaments and oblations of this Temple (which *Herodotus* called, *Hypocriteridion*) this hath for the material cauſe verily, Fire, Iron, the mollifying by the means of Fire, and the tincture or dipping in water, without which this piece of work could not poſſibly have been wrought. But the more principal cauſe and miſtreſſe indeed, which moved all this, and did work by all theſe, was Art and Reaſon applied unto the work. And verily we ſee that over ſuch pieces, whether they be Pictures or other Repreſentations of things, the name of the Artificer and Workman is written, as for example:

This picture Polygnotus *drew,*
of Troy *won long beforn;*
Who father had Aglaophon,
and was in Thaſos *born.*

And verily he it was indeed as you ſee, who painted the deſtruction of *Troy*: but without colours ground, confuſed and mingled one with another, impoſſible had it been for him to have exhibited ſuch a Picture, ſo fair and beautiful to the eye as it is. If then ſome one come now and will needs medle with the material cauſe, ſearching into the alterations and mutations therof, particularizing of Sinopre mixed with Ochre, or Ceruſſe with black, doth he impair or diminiſh the glory of the Painter *Polycletus*? He alſo, who diſcourſeth how Iron is hardned, and by what means mollified: and how being made ſoft and tender in the Fire, it yieldeth and obeyeth them who by beating and knocking drive it out in length and breadth: and afterwards being dipped and plunged into freſh waters ſtill, by the actual coldneſſe of the ſaid water (for that the fire heats had ſoftened and rarified it before) it is thruſt cloſe together and Condenſate: by means whereof it getteth that ſtiff, compact and hard temper of Steel, which *Homer* calleth the very forte of Iron; reſerveth he for the Workman any thing leſſe hereby, in the principal cauſe and operation of his work? I ſuppoſe he doth not. For ſome there be who make proof and trial of Phyſick drugs, and yet I trow they condemn not thereby the skill of Phyſick: like as *Plato* alſo himſelf, when he ſaith: That we do ſee, becauſe the light of our eye is mixed with the clearneſſe of the Sun; and hear by the percuſſion and beating of the air; doth not deny that we have the faculty of ſeeing and power of hearing by reaſon and providence. For in ſum, as I have ſaid and do ſtill averre, whereas all generation proceedeth of two cauſes, the moſt ancient Theologians and Poets, vouchſafed to ſet their mind upon the better only; and that which was more excellent, chaunting evermore this common refrain and foot (as it were) of the ſong in all things and actions whatſoever:

Jove *is the firſt, the midſt, the laſt:*
all things of him depend:
By him begin they, and proceed;
in him they come to end.

After other neceſſary and natural cauſes they never ſought farther, nor came neer unto them: whereas the modern Philoſophers who ſucceeded after them and were named Naturaliſts, took a contrary courſe; and turning clean aſide from that moſt excellent and Divine principle, aſcribed all unto bodies, unto paſſions alſo of bodies, and I wot not what percuſſions, mutations and temperatures. And thus it is come to paſſe, that as well the one ſort as the other, are in their opinions defective and come ſhort of that which they ſhould. For as theſe either of ignorance knew not, or of negligence regard not to ſet down the efficient principal cauſe, whereby, and from which: ſo the other before, leave out the material cauſes, of which; and the inſtrumentall means, by which things are done. But he who firſt manifeſtly touched both cauſes, and coupled with the reaſon that freely worketh and moveth, the matter which neceſſarily is ſubject and ſuffereth; he (I ſay) for himſelf and us, anſwereth all calumniations, and putteth by all ſurmizes and ſuſpicions whatſoever. For we bereave not Divination either of God, or of reaſon: for as much as we grant unto it for the ſubject matter, the ſoul of man; and

and for an inſtrument and plectre (as it were) to ſet it awork, we allow a ſpirit or winde, and an exhalation Enthuſiaſtick. Firſt and formoſt, the Earth it is that engendreth ſuch exhalations: then, that which giveth unto the Earth all power and vertue of this temperature and mutation is the Sun, who (as we have learned by tradition from our forefathers) is a god. After this we adjoyn thereto, the Dæmons as ſuperintendants, overſeers and keepers of this temperature (as if it were ſome Harmony and conſonance) who in due and convenient time let down and ſlack, or elſe ſet up and ſtretch hard the vertue of this exhalation: taking from it otherwhiles the over-active efficacy that it hath to torment the ſoul and tranſport it beſide it ſelf: tempering therewith a motive vertue without working any pain, or hurt and damage to them that are inſpired and poſſeſſed therewith. Wherein me thinks, we do nothing that ſeemeth either abſurd or impoſſible: neither in killing ſacrifices before we come to move the Oracle, and adorning them with Coronets of flowers, and powring upon them ſacred liquors and libations, do we ought that is contrary to this diſcourſe and opinion of ours. For the Prieſts and Sacrificers, and whoſoever have the charge to kill the beaſt, and to powre upon it the holy libations of Wine or other liquors; who alſo obſerve and conſider the motion, trembling and the whole demeanor thereof, do the ſame for no other end or cauſe but to have a ſigne, that God giveth ear unto their demaund. For neceſſary it is that the beaſt ſacrificed unto the gods be pure, ſound, entier, immaculate, and uncorrupt both in ſoul and body. And verily, for the body it is no hard matter to judge and know the marks: as for the ſoul they make an experiment, by ſetting before Bull, meal: by preſenting unto Swin, cich-peaſe: for if they will not fall to, nor taſt thereof, it is a certain token that they be not right: For the Goat, cold water is the trial. Now if the beaſt make no ſhew and ſemblance of being moved or affected, when as the ſaid water is powred aloft on it, be ſure the ſoul thereof is not diſpoſed as it ought to be by nature.

Now, ſay it go for current and be conſtantly believed, that it is an undoubted and infallible ſigne, that the God will give anſwer, when the hoſt or ſacrifice thus drenched doth ſtir; and contrariwiſe, that he will not anſwer, if the beaſt quetch not: I ſee nothing herein repugnant unto that, which we have before delivered. For every natural power produceth the effect for which it is ordained, better or worſe, according as the time and ſeaſon is more leſſe convenient: and probable it is, that God giveth us certain ſignes, whereby we may know when the opportunity is paſt. For mine own part, I am of this mind, that the very exhalation it ſelf which ariſeth out of the Earth, is not alwaies of the ſame ſort; but at one time is ſlack and feeble, at another ſtretched out and ſtrong. And the argument which maketh me thus to judge, I may eaſily confirm and verifie by the teſtimony of many ſtrangers, and of all thoſe Miniſters who ſerve in the Temple. For the chamber or room, wherein they are ſet and give attendance who come to demand the anſwer of the Oracle, is filled thorow (not often, nor at certain ſet times, but as it falleth out after ſome ſpace between) with ſo fragrant an odour and pleaſant breath, as the moſt pretious Ointments and ſweeteſt Perfumes in the World can yield no better. And this ariſeth from the Sanctuary and Vault of the Temple, as out of ſome Source and lively Fountain: and very like it is, that it is heat, or at leaſtwiſe ſome other puiſſance, that ſeendeth it forth. Now if peradventure, this may ſeem unto you not probable nor to ſound of truth: yet will ye at leaſtwiſe confeſſe unto me, that the Prophetеſſe *Pythia* hath that part of the ſoul, unto which this winde or Propheticall ſpirit approacheth, diſpoſed ſome time in this ſort and otherwhiles in that, and keepeth not alwaies the ſame temperature, as in Harmony immutable. For many troubles and paſſions there be that poſſeſſe her body, and enter likewiſe in her ſoul, ſome apparant; but more ſecret and unſeen: with which ſhe finding her ſelf ſeized and repleniſhed, better it were for her not to preſent and exhibit her ſelf to this divine inſpiration of god, being not altogether clean and pure from all perturbations; like unto an inſtrument of Muſick well ſet in tune and ſounding ſweetly, but paſſinate and out of order. For neither wine doth ſurpriſe the drunken man alwaies alike, and as much at one as one time as at another; nor the ſound of the Flute or Shaulme affecteth after one and the ſame ſort at all times, him who naturally is given to be ſoon raviſhed with divine inſpiration: but the ſame perſons are one time more, and another while leſſe tranſported beſide themſelves; and drunken likewiſe, more or leſſe. The reaſon is, becauſe in their bodies there is a divers temperature: but principally, in imaginative part of the ſoul, and which receiveth the images and fantaſies, is poſſeſſed by the body, and ſubject to change with it, as appeareth evidently by dreams: for ſometimes there appear many viſions and fanſies of all ſorts in our ſleeps; otherwhiles again, we are free from all ſuch illuſions, and reſt in great quieteſſe and tranquillity. We our ſelves know this *Cleon* here of *Daulia*, who all his life time (and many years he lived) never (as he ſaid himſelf) dreamed nor ſaw any viſion in his ſleep: and of thoſe in former times, we have heard as much reported of *Thraſymedes* the Hœreian. The cauſe whereof, was the temperature of the body: whereas contrariwiſe it is ſeen, that the complexion of Melancholick perſons is apt to dream much, and ſubject to many illuſions in the night; although it ſeemeth their dreams and viſions be more regular, and fall out truer than others, for that ſuch perſons touching their imaginative faculty with one fanſie or other, it cannot chuſe but they meet with the truth otherwhiles: much like as when a man ſhoots many ſhafts, it goeth hard if he hit not the mark with one. When as therefore the imaginative part and the propheticall faculty is well diſpoſed and ſutable with the temperature of the exhalation, as it were with ſome medicinable potion; then of neceſſity there muſt be engendred within the bodies of Prophets and Enthuſiaſm or Divine fury: contrariwiſe, when there is no ſuch proportionate diſpoſition, there can be no prophetical inſpiration; or if there be, it is fanatical, unſeaſonable, violent and troubleſome: as we know, how of late it befell to that *Pythias* or

Prophetesse, who is newly departed. For there being many pilgrims and strangers come from forein parts to consult with the Oracle, it is said, that the host or beast to be sacrificed, did endure the first libaments and liquors that were powred upon it, never stirring thereat nor once quetching for the matter: but after that the Priests and Sacrificers powred still, and never gave over to cast liquor on, beyond all measure; at length (after great laving and drenching of it) hardly and with much adoe it yielded and trembled a little. But what hapned hereupon to the Prophetesse or *Pythias* aforesaid? Went she did indeed down into the cave or hole, against her will (as they said) and with no alacrity at all: but incontinently, when she was come up again, at the very first words and answers that she pronounced, it was well known by the horsnesse of her voice, that she could not endure the violence of possession, being replenished with a malign and mute spirit, much like unto a ship carryed away under full sailes with a blustering gale of winde. Insomuch as in the end being exceedingly troubled, and with a fearful and hideous cry, making haste to get out, she flung herself down, and fell upon the earth: so that not only the foresaid pilgrims fled for fear, but *Nicander* also the High-priest, and other Sacrificers and religious Ministers that were present. Who notwithstanding afterwards taking heart unto them, and entring again into the place, took her up lying still in an extasie besides herself: and in very truth, she lived not many daies after. And therefore it is, that the said *Pythias* keepeth her body pure and clean from the company of man, and forbidden she is to converse or have commerce all her life time with any stranger. Also, before they come to the Oracle, they observe certain signes; for that they think it is known unto the God, when her body is prepared and disposed to receive (without danger of her person) this Enthusiasm. For the force and vertue of this exhalation, doth not move and incite all sorts of persons, nor the same alwaies after one manner, nor yet as much at one time as at another: but giveth only a beginning, and setteth to (as it were) a match to kindle it, as we have said before; even unto those only who are prepared and framed aforehand to suffer and receive this alteration. Now this exhalation (without all question) is Divine and Celestial: howbeit for all that, not such as may not fail and cease, not incorruptible, not subject to age and decay, nor able to last and endure for ever: and under it, all things suffer violence, which are between the Earth and the Moon, according to our doctrine: however others there be who affirm, that those things also which are above, are not able to resist it; but being wearied an eternal an infinite time, are quickly changed and renewed (as one would say) by a second birth and regeneration. But of these matters (quoth I) advise you I would and my self also, ertsoones to call to mind, and consider often this discourse, for that they be points exposed to many reprehensions, and sundry objections may be alleged against them. All which, the time will not suffer us now to prosecute at large: and therefore let us put them off unto another opportunity, together with the doubts and questions which *Philippus* moved as touching *Apollo* and the Sun.

What signifieth this word E I, engraven over the door of *Apollo's* Temple in the City of *Delphi*.

The Summary.

AMong infinite testimonies of the fury of malign Spirits and evill Angels (who having been created at first good, kept not their original, but fell from the degree and state of happinesse, wherein continue by the grace and favour of God the good Angels, who minister and attend upon those who shall receive the inheritance of Salvation and everlasting life) those may be reckoned for the chief and principall, that such reprobate spirits and accursed fiends, endeavour and practice by all means possible to make themselves to be adored by men: and fain would they be set in the throne of him, who having imprisoned and tied them fast in a deep dungeon, with the chain of darknesse, reserveth them to the judgement of that great day of Doom. And so far proceeded they in pride and presumption, as to cause themselves to be stiled by the name of God; yea, and to be adorned with those titles, which are due and appertain unto the Eternall, their Soverein Judge. Their devices and artificiall means to bring this about, be wonderfull, and of exceeding variety: according as the infinite numbers of Idols swarming in all parts, and so many strange and uncouth superstitions, wherewith the World hath been diffamed unto this present day, do testifie and give evident proof. But if there be any place in the whole Earth, wherein Satan hath actually shewed his furious rage against God and man, it is Greece: *and above all, in that renowned Temple of* Delphi, *which was the common seat, upon which this cursed enemy hath received the homages of an infinite number of people of all sorts and qualities, under the colour and pretence of resolving their doubtfull questions. Here then especially presumed he, and was so bold, as to take upon him the name of God: and for to reach thereto, hath set out and garnished his Oracles, with ambiguous speeches, short and sententious, intermingling some truths among lies: even as it pleased the just Judge of the World: to let reigns loose unto this notorious seducer, and to give him power for to deceive and abuse the World: as also by certain notable sayings (as these:* Know thy self; Nothing too much; *and such like) he hath kept bound unto him, persons of highest spirit and greatest conceit: causing them to think, that in delivering so goodly precepts for the rule and direction of this life, it must needs be the true friend of mankinde, yea and the very heavenly wisdom, that spake*

spake by these Oracles. But his audacious pride, together with most intolerable impudence, hath appeared in the inscription of this bare word, E I, *upon the porch of the Temple of* Apollo *in* Delphi, *in that he pretended title, and claimed thereby (according to the last interpretation thereof in this present discourse) to put himself in the place of the eternal God: who only is, and giveth Being unto all things. And that which worse is, the blindnesse was so horrible, even of the wisest Sages, that this opinion hath been seated in their heads whiles this Tyrant possessed them, in such sort, as they took pleasure to suffer themselves so to be couzened by him. But hereby good cause have we to praise our God, who hath discovered and laid open to us such imposture, and maketh his Majesty known unto us by his word, to be the only true and eternal Deity; in adoring and worshiping whom, we may safely and truly say* E I, *that is to say, Thou art: as contrariwise, the deceitful wiles and illusions of Satan and his complies, do declare him fearful and horrible the judgment of God is upon such rebellious spirits. Now if some over-busie and curious head, will here dispute and reason against the justice of him who is the disposer of all things, and enterprise to controule that eternal wisdom which governeth the World, for having mercy upon such as it pleaseth him, and suffering to fall from so excellent an estate the Apostatate and disobedient Angels, and yet permitting them to have such a powerful hand over the most part of Adams children; we answer in one word: Man, what art thou, that thus wilt plead against God? shall the thing formed, say unto him who formed it, Why hast thou made me so? Hath not the Potter full power to make of the same masse of earth or clay, one vessel for honour, and another for dishonour? The judgments of God are unsearchable, they have neither bottom nor brink: the riches of his wisdom and knowledge are inscrutable, and beyond all computation: his waies are hidden and impossible to be found out. If then there be any place in the consideration of the secrets of God, where we ought to be retentive, wary and discreet, it is in this, where every man hath just occasion to think upon this notable lesson and advertisment: Not to presume for to know over and above that which he should, but to be wise unto sobriety: and that no man ought to be puffed up with pride, but rather to fear. Moreover, as touching the contents of this discourse, the Authour having used an honest and decent Preface, saith in general: That by this present inscription,* Apollo *intended to make himself known, and to incite every man to inquire into time. But herein the enemy of mankinde sheweth his audacity and boldnesse sufficiently, as also how he deludeth and mocketh his slaves; in that after he had deprived them of right and sound judgment, he stirreth them up to know, who he is: which is as much as if one should pluck out the eyes, and cut in twain the Ham-strings of a Traveller or Waifaring man; and then bid him seek out his way, and go onward on his journy. Now he brings in four divers personages, delivering their minds as touching this Mot,* E I. Lamprias *opining in the first place, thinketh that the first and principal wise Sages of* Greece *devised it, for that they would be known and discerned from others.* Ammonius *secondly, referreth and appliteth it to the Wishes and Questions of those who resort unto the Oracle.* Theon *the third, attributeth this mystery unto Logick, and doth all that possibly he can to maintain his opinion.* Eustrophus *the Mathematician speaking in the fourth place, and seconded by* Plutarch, *Philosophizeth at large upon the number of 5. represented by the letter* E: *he discourseth and runneth through all the Mathematicks, and divers parts of Philosophy, and all to approve and make good his conceit: but his drift and end is, to shew under the mystical sense of numbers, the perfection of his* Apollo, *which he draweth and fetcheth also from the consideration of his titles, epithets and attributes. But* Ammonius *gathering together their voices, and closing or stopping up the disputation, seemeth to hit the mark: proving by most strong and learned reasons, that* Apollo *would by this word instruct pilgrims, how they ought to salute and call him, to wit, in saying thus,* E I: *that is to say, Thou art he: which is opposite unto that salutation which this false god (usurping the name of the true* Jehovah, *or alwaies Existent) greeteth men with, in setting just before their eyes, in the entry and forefront of his Temple, these two words,* Θνὸι σεαυτὸν: *that is to say, Know thy self. Having enriched this with two evident proofes, the one taken from the uncertain condition of creatures; the other from the firmitude and true estate or being of the Creator; he exhorteth his fellows to lift up themselves to the contemplation of the Essence of God, and to honour the Sun, his expresse Image. Which done, he refuteth certain contrary opinions: and after a new confirmation of his discourse, he endeth where he first began; to wit, that the knowledge of God and our selves, are opposite in such sort, as yet nevertheless they must meet and concurre in us. But all the application of this discourse unto* Apollo *(whom you must take for the very Devill) in no wise is fit and agreeable. And herein a man may see better yet, what madnesse and folly is the wisedom of man: and in how thick and palpable darknesse they go groping with their hands before them, who are no otherwise guided than by the discourse of their own reason. Which teacheth us once again to adore the secrets of God: to recognize and apprehend his mercies in the matter of our Salvation: to dread also his justice, which sheweth it self in the deplorable and piteous blindnesse of so many Nations; even from the time that sin first entred into the World, unto this present day.*

What signifieth this Word EI, *engraven over the door of* Apolloes *Temple in the City of* Delphi.

ILight of late in my reading (friend *Sarapion*) upon certain pretty [Iambique] verses, not unelegantly endited, which *Dicearchus* supposeth that the Poet *Euripides* delivered unto King *Archelaus*, to this effect:

No gifts will I to you present,
Since poor I am, and wealth you have:
Lest I for folly, of you be shent,
Or by such giving seem to crave.

For he, who of that little means which he hath, bestoweth some small present upon them that are rich & possesse much, gratifieth them nothing at all, nor deserveth any thanks: and that which worse is, because no man will believe that he giveth (be it never so little) for nothing, he incurreth the suspicion and obloquie of being cautelous, illiberal, and simply naught. But forasmuch as the gifts that be in the nature of silver, gold and temporal goods, be in regard of beauty and liberal courtesie, far inferiour to those which go in the kind: of good letters, and proceed from learning: it standeth well with honesty, both to give such, and also to demand the like of those who receive the same. And therefore, in sending presently unto you, and for your sake unto those friends about you in those parts, certain discourses gathered together as touching the Temple and Oracle of *Apollo Pythius*, as an offering of first fruits; I conceive that I expect from you others again, both more in number and better in value, considering that you live in a great City, have more leasure, and enjoy the benefit of more books, and all sort of Scholastical conferences and learned exercises. And verily it seemeth, that our good and kinde *Apollo* doth indeed remedy, ease and assoil the doubtful difficulties ordinarily incident to this life of ours, by giving answer unto those who repair unto his Oracle: but such as concern matter of learning, he putteth forth and proposeth himself unto that part of our minde, which naturally is given to Philosophize and study wisdom, imprinting therein a covetous desire to know and understand the truth: as may appear by many other examples, and namely, in this petty mot, EI, consecrated in his Temple. For it is not like, that it was by meer chance and adventure, nor by a Lottery (as it were) of letters shuffled together, that this word alone should have the preeminence with this god, as to precede and go before all others; ne yet that it should have the honour to be consecrated unto God, or dedicated in the Temple as a thing of special regard for to be seen and beheld: but it must needs be, that either the first learned man (who at the beginning had the charge of this Temple) knew some particular and exquisite property in this word, or else used it as a device to symbolize some matter of singularity, or covertly to signifie a thing of great consequence. Having therefore many times before, cleanly put by & avoided, or passed over this question proposed in the Schools for to be discussed and discoursed upon; of late I was surprized and set upon by mine own children, upon occasion that I was debating with certain strangers, as desirous to satisfie them: whom being ready to depart out of the City of *Delphi*, it was no part of civility either to detain long, or altogether to reject, having so earnest a mind to hear me say somwhat. When therefore, as we were set about the Temple, I began partly to look unto some things my self, and partly to demand and enquire of them; I was put in mind and admonished by the place and matters then handled, of a former question which before-time (when Nero passed thorow these parts) I heard *Ammonius* to discourse, and others besides, in this very place; and as touching a question of the same difficulty, likewise propounded. For, considering that this god *Apollo* is no lesse a Philosopher than a Prophet, *Ammonius* then delivered, that in regard thereof the surnames might very well be fitted and applied, which were attributed unto him very rightly and with good reason; shewing and declaring, that he is *Pythius*, a Questionist to those who begin to learn and enquire; *Delius* and *Phanaus*, that is to say, clear and lightsome unto such as have the truth a little shining and appearing unto them; *Ismenius*, that is to say, skilful and learned unto as many as have attained unto knowledge already; and *Leschenorius*, as one would say, Eloquent or Discoursing, when they put their Sciences in practice and make use thereof, proceeding for to confer, dispute and discourse one with another. And for that it appertaineth unto Philosophers, to enquire, admire and cast doubts, by good right the most part of divine matters belonging to the gods, are couched and hidden under dark enigms and covert speeches, and thereupon require that a man should demand, why? and whether? as also to be instructed in the cause. As for example, about the maintenance of the immortall or eternall fire, Why of all kindes of wood they burn the Firre only? Also, Wherefore they never make any perfume but of the Laurell? Likewise, What is the reason, that in this Temple there be no more but two Images of two destinies or fatall Sisters, named *Parcæ*, whereas in all places else there be three of them? Semblably, What should be the cause, that no woman (whatsoever she be) is permitted to have accesse unto this Oracle for counsell or resolution? Again, What is the reason of that fabrick or three-footed Table? and such other matters which invite, allure and draw those who are not altogether witlesse, void of sense and reason, to ask, to see and hear somewhat, yea and to dispute about them, what they should mean? And to this purpose, do but mark and consider

der these inscriptions standing in the forefront of this Temple: *Know thy self*, and *Nothing too much*: what a number of questions and learned disputations they have moved: also, what a multitude of goodly discourses have sprung and proceeded from such writings, as out of some seed or grain of corn. And this will I say unto you, that the matter now in question, is no lesse fertile and plentiful, than any one of the other.

When *Ammonius* had thus said, my brother *Exampius* began in this wise: And yet (quoth he) the reason which we all have heard as touching this question, is very plain and short. For reported it is, that those ancient Sages or Wise men, who by some are named Sophisters, were indeed of themselves no more than five: to wit, *Chilon*, *Thales*, *Solon*, *Bias*, and *Pittacus*. But when first *Cleobulus* the Tyrant of the Lindians, and then *Periander* the Tyrant likewise of *Corinth* (who had neither of them any one jot of vertue or wisedom) by the greatnesse of their powers, by the number of their friends, and by many benefits and demerits whereby they obliged their adherents, acquired forcibly this reputation, in despite of all they usurped the name of Sages: and to this purpose caused to be spred sowen and divulged throughout all *Greece* certain odde sentences and notable sayings, as well as those of the others, wherewith the former Sages above named were discontented. Howbeit for all this, these five Wisemen would in no hand discover and convince their vanity, nor yet openly contest and enter into terms of quarel with them about this reputation, ne yet debate the matter against so mighty personages, who had so great means of countenance in the world: but being assembled upon a time in this place, after conference together they consecrated and dedicated here the letter [E] which as it standeth fifth in the order of the Alphabet, so in number it signifieth five: as if they testified and deposed here before the god, that they were but five; protesting that the sixth and seventh they rejected and excluded out of their society, as who had no right to belong unto them. Now that this conjecture is not beside the purpose, a man may know, who hath but heard them speak who have the charge and superintendance of this Temple; namely, how they call that EI, which is written in gold, the EI of *Livia Augusta* the Empresse and wife of *Augustus Cæsar*: the other in brasse, the E I of the Athenians: and the first, which is most ancient, and for the matter and substance thereof no better than that in wood, at this very day they name, the E I of the Sages; as being dedicated not by one of them alone, but by all together. Hereat *Ammonius* pleasantly smiled, as supposing this to be the proper and peculiar conceit of *Lamprias* himself, howsoever he seemed to father it upon others, feigning that he heard it else where, to the end that he might not be called to account, and put to the maintenance and defence thereof. Then another of the company who were there present, said that this was much like unto a foolish toy which a Chaldæan stranger, and by profession an Astrologer, not long since set a broach: That seven letters there were forsooth in all the Alphabet, which were vocall and of themselves rendered a voice: like as seven Sars there were in the Heaven, which had their proper motions apart, at liberty, and not bound and linked to others. Also that among those vocall letters or vowels, E was the second; even as the Sun of all the Planets was next unto the Moon: and that all the Greeks in manner, with one accord, hold *Apollo* and the Sun, to be both one. But this, when all is done, savoureth altogether of his counting table of judicial Astronomy, and of his trivial discourring head. Moreover it seemeth that *Lamprias* taketh not heed, but ere he is aware, stirreth up all those who have the charge of the Temple, against this reason of his. For there is not a man in all the City of *Delphi*, who knoweth ought of that which he hath said, but they allege the common opinion, and that which runneth current throughout the World, which is: That it is neither the outward form and shew, nor the sound; but the very Mot only as it is written, containeth some secret signification: for it is as the Delphians do conceive, of it. And with that the high priest *Nicander* himself (who was present) said, that this EI is the form and manner that they use, who come to consult with the god *Apollo*, and to conver their questions unto him: and ordinarily, it carrieth the first place in all their interrogatories. For usuall it is with them thus to demaund: EI νικήσομαι; EI γαμήσομαι, &c. that is to say, if, or whether they shall have Victory? if they shall Marry? if it will be expedient for them to go to Sea? if they were best to Til the Ground? or if they should do well to make a Voyage and Travel into forein parts? And herein the God (who is wise and learned, mocking the Logicians, bidding them farewell who hold, that of this particle or Conjunction EI, that is to say, If, and of what Subjunctive proposition soever following after it, nothing can be made, nor Categorically affirmed) both understandeth all interrogations annexed unto EI, as real things in *esse*, and so accepteth of them. And for as much as this EI is proper for an interrogation proposed unto him as a Divinor or Prophet: and common it is with us, by it to pray unto him, as to a god; they think that this word E I is of no lesse validity to pray and wish by, than it is to demand or ask a question: for every one that prayeth, useth ordinarily this form: EI ὄψεαι, that is to say, O if it might please God. And thus *Archilochus* wrote:

EI δέ, τύχη γ' οἵη περ ἐμοὶ χεῖρας Νεοβούλης θήσει:
O if my luck and hap were such,
As Neobules *hand to touch.*

And it is said, that in the adverb of wishing ΕΙΘΕ, which signifieth, would God; the second syllable Θε, is an adjunction idle and superfluous, for that EI alone signifieth as much: like as θὴν in this verse of the Poet *Sophron*:

ἁμὴ

ἅμα τέκνων θην δεομένοις:
Desirous also in their need
Of children, for their joy and meed:

as also in *Homer*

Ως θην τῷ νῦν ἐγὼ λώβην ῥέξω:
As I will now, even thee disgrace,
And foil thy strength in present place.

Where θην signifieth just nothing. Thus you see, how in this little word EI there is an optative power sufficiently declared. When *Nicander* had delivered these words, *Theon* (for I presuppose you know him, being a familiar friend of ours) demaunded of *Ammonius*, whether Logick might have the liberty to speak in her one defence, being thus wronged and troden under foot? when *Ammonius* willed him to speak hardly, and to say all that he could, and for to help her out of the mire: Certes, quoth he then, there be many Oracles which bear witness: and evidently shew, that god *Apollo* is a most skilful Logician. For in some sort it belongeth to one and the same Artist, both to move doubtful ambiguities, and also to assoil and clear the same. Moreover, according as *Plato* said, that there being in old time an Oracle given unto the Greeks, that they should double the Altar within the Temple of *Delos*, (which is a piece of work for an expert Geometrician to perform, and who had the very habit and perfection of that Art) it was not that indeed which the god commanded the Greeks to do, but he enjoyned them to study Geometry: even so, in giving otherwhiles ambiguous answers, and doubtful Oracles, he recommendeth thereby and augmenteth so much the more, the credit of Logick, as being a Science right necessary for as many as would gladly understand his speech. Now in Logick this Conjunction EI, that is to say, If (which is so apt to continue a speech and proposition) hath a great force, as being that which giveth form unto that proposition, which is most agreeable to discourse of reason and argumentation. And verily of this nature be all these hypothetical propositions, copulative, disjunctive, &c. And who can deny it? considering that the very brute beasts themselves have in some sort a certain knowledge and intelligence of the subsistence of things: but Nature hath given to man alone the notice of consequence, and the judgment for to know how to discern that which followeth upon every thing. For, that it is day; and, that it is light, the very Wolves, Dogs, and Cocks do perceive: but that, if it be day of necessity it must make the air light, there is no creature save only man, that knoweth: for he alone hath intelligence of the beginning and of the end, of the antecedent and the consequent, of the proceeding and finishing of things: as also of the coherence and bringing together of both ends and extremes, of the conference of one to another; what habitude, correspondence, or difference there is between: and this is it, whereof all demonstrations take their chief original and beginning. Now since it is so, that all Philosophy whatsoever, consisteth in the knowledge of the truth; and the light which cleareth the truth, is demonstration; and the beginning of demonstration, is the coherence and knitting of propositions together: by good right that power which maketh and maintaineth this, was dedicated and consecrated by the Sages and Wise men unto this god, who above all others loveth the truth. Again, this god is a Divinor and Prophet; but the Art of Divining is as touching future things, by the means of such as are either present or past. For as nothing is done or made without cause; so there is nothing foreknown without a precedent reason: but forasmuch as all that is, dependeth and followeth upon that which hath been; and consequently all that shall be, hath a sute and dependence of that which is, by a certain continuity, which proceedeth from the beginning to the end: he who hath the skill to see into causes, and by natural reason how to compose and joyn them together, knoweth and is able to discourse

What things are now, what shall hereafter come,
As also what are past, both all and some;

according as *Homer* saith: who very well and wisely setteth in the first place the present, then the future, and that which is past. For of the present dependeth all Syllogism and reasoning, and that by the vertue and efficacy of a conjunction: for that if this thing be, such a thing went before: and *conversum*, if this be; that shall be. For all the artificial feat and skill of discourse and argument, is the knowledge of consequence, as hath been said already: but it is the sense, that giveth anticipation unto the discourse of reason. And therefore although haply it may seem to stand little with decent honesty, yet I will not be affraid to affirm that this Reason properly is the Tripode or three-footed table, as one would say, and Oracle of truth: namely, when the Disputer supposeth a consequence upon that which was premised and went before: and then afterwards affirming that which is extant and subsistent, cometh in the end to induce and infer a final conclusion of his demonstration. Now if it be so, that *Apollo Pythius*, as the report goeth, loveth Musick, and be delighted in the singing of Swans, and sound of Lute and Harp; what marvel is it then, if for the affection that he beareth unto Logick, he likewise embrace and love that part of speech, which he seeth Philosophers most willingly and oftenest to use? *Hercules* before that he had loosed the bands wherewith *Prometheus* was tied, and having not as yet conferred and talked with *Chiron* and *Atlans* two great Sophisters and professours of disputation, but being a young man still, and a plain Bœotian, abolished all Logick at first, and scoffed at this little Mot EI: but soon after seemed as if he would pluck away by force the three-footed Table of *Apollo*, yea and contest with the god, about the Art of Divining; for that together with age and processe of time he proceeded so far, as that he became by that means a most skilfull Prophet, and as subtile and excellent a Logician. When *Theon* had made an end of this speech, *Eustrophus* the Athenian, as I take it, directed his words unto us and said: See you not how valiantly *Theon* defendeth the Art of Logick, and hath in manner gotten on the Lions skin of *Hercules*? It is not therefore decent, that we who in one word refer all affairs, all natures and principles joyntly together, as well of divine as of humane things into number, and making it the Author, Master, and Ruler even of such matters as simply are most fair and precious, should sit still and say never a word: but rather for our part, offer the fruits of the Mathematicks unto god *Apollo*. For we say and affirm that this letter E, of it self, neither in puissance, nor in form, ne yet in name and pronunciation, hath any thing in it above other letters: howbeit we think, that preferred it hath been before all the rest, in this regard, that it is a character and mark of the number five, which is in all things of greatest vertue and validity, and is named *Pemptas*. Whereupon our Sages and great Clarks in times past, when they would expresse the verb [to number] used *Pempazein*, as one would say, to count and reckon by fives. And verily *Eustrophus* in saying thus, addressed his speech unto me, not merrily but in good earnest, for that I was very affectionate and much addicted then unto the Mathematicks; but yet so, as in all things I observed and kept still the old rule, *Too much of nothing*, as being a Scholar of the Academy School. I answered therefore, that *Eustrophus* had solved passing well the difficulty of the question by this number. For seeing it is so (quoth I) that number in generality is divided into even and odde, Unity is in power and efficacy common to them both: in such sort, as being put unto the even, it maketh it odde; and likewise added to the odde, causeth the same to be even. Now the beginning and ground of even numbers is Two; and of odde, Three is the first: of which being joyned together is engendred Five, which by good right is highly honoured, as being the first compound of the first simple numbers, whereupon it is worthily name Γάμος, that is to say, Marriage; because the even number hath some resemblance to the Female, and the odde, a reference to the Male. For in the sections and divisions of numbers into equal parts, the even is altogether clean parted and severed asunder, leaving a certain void space between the parts, as a beginning of capacity apt to receive somwhat more: contrariwise in the odde number, if a man do as much by it, and cut it into two numbers; there remaineth alwaies somewhat in the midst between, fit for subdivision, yea and generation of new numbers: whereby it appeareth that more generative it is than the other. And whensoever it cometh to be mixed with the other, it carrieth the preeminence, and is master alwaies, but never mastered. For what mixture soever you make of them twain, you shall never come thereby to an even number: but mix and compose them as often and in what manner you will, there shall arise alwaies thereof an odde number. And that which more is, both the one and the other added to it self, or compounded with it self, sheweth the difference that is between them. For never shall you see an even number joyned with another that is even, to produce an odde; for it goeth not out of his proper nature, as having not the power to beget any other than it self, so feeble it is and imperfect: but odde numbers coupled and mingled with others that be odde, bring forth many even numbers, so powerful it is to engender every way. As for all the other properties and different puissances of numbers, the time will not now serve to discourse throughly of them all. But hereby you see, wherefore the ancient Pythagorean Philosophers called Five, the Marriage; as being compounded of the first Male and of the first Female. The same also is sometime named *Nature*; for that being multiplied by it self, it falleth out still to determine in it self. For like as Nature taking a grain of Wheat in the nature of seed, and so diffusing it, produceth many forms and divers kindes of things between, through which she passeth and proceedeth, untill at last she bringeth her work to an end; and when all is done sheweth a corn of Wheat again, rendring the first beginning, in the end of all: even so, when other numbers multiply themselves, and end by growing and multiplication in other numbers, only five and six; if they be multiplied by themselves, do bring forth and regenerate likewise themselves: for six times six, maketh thirty six; and five times five, ariseth to twenty five. But take thus much with all again, that six doth this but once and after one manner only, when of it self it becometh that * four square number: but unto five the same befalleth, when it is multiplied by it self; and besides particularly, it hath this property, that by addition of it self it produceth also it self, in as much as it maketh ten; which it doth alternatively, and holdeth on this course *in infinitum*, as far as any numbers will extend: so as this number resembleth, that principle or first cause, which doth conduct and govern this Universal World. For like as it, of the own self preserveth the World; and reciprocally, of the World returneth into it self, according as *Heraclitus* said of the Fire:

Πυρὸς ἀπανταμοιβὴ τὰ πάντα·
Καὶ πῦρ ἀπάντων·
Fire into all things first doth turn,
And all things shall to fire return:

like as Gold is exchanged for Wares, and Wares for Gold: even so the meeting of five with it self, howsoever it be, can engender and bring forth nothing either imperfect or strange, but all the changes that it hath, be limited and certain. For either it begetteth it self, or else produceth ten; that is to say, that which is proper and familiar, or else perfect and accomplished.

Now if a man should come unto me and demand: What is all this (good Sir) unto *Apollo*? I will answer again: That this concerneth not *Apollo* alone, but * *Bacchus* also, who hath no lesse to do with the City of *Delphos*, nor is of lesse authority there, than *Apollo* himself. For we have heard the Tirelogians (partly in verse and partly in prose) sing and say, That this god being of his own nature incor-

* For 5 times 5 maketh 25.

* That is to say, 36. made of 4 and nines.

* Alluding to the proverb, πρὸς Διονύσου: wherein a thing is said to be λόγου δεῖσθαι, which is not to the purpose;

incorruptible and immortal: yet, I wot not by what sentence and reason fatal he is transmuted and changed in many sorts. Sometime he is all on a light fire, and causeth all things to be of the same nature, and like unto all things: otherwhiles most variable, in all manner of forms, passions and puissances all different, and becometh (as now he is) the World; so called by a most common and best known name. But the Sages and Wiser sort, willingly to conceal and keep these secrets hidden from common people, name this mutation and change of his into fire, *Apollo*; signifying thereby, a kinde of sole unity whereunto it reduceth all things, and negation of plurality: and *Phœbus* likewise; betokening thereby his purity and cleerniesse from filth and pollution. As for his conversion into winder, water, earth, stars, and into sundry kinds of plants and living creatures, together with the order and disposition thereof, such as we see; all this passion (I say) and mutation, they covertly do signifie under the name of a certain distraction and dismembring: and in these regards, they call himself *Dionysus*, *Zagreus*, *Nyctelius*, *Isodeter*. They exhibit also and counterfeit I wot not what deaths, destructions and dispartions; regenerations also, and resurrections: which be fables all, and ænigmatical fixions, devised for to represent the foresaid mutations. And verily, to *Bacchus* they do chant in their songs certain Dithyrambick ditties and tunes, full of passion and change, with motions and agitations to and fro. For according as *Æschylus* saith.

The Dithyrambe with clamours dissonant,
Sorts well with Bacchus, *where he is resiant:*

But unto the other (that is to say, *Apollo*) they sing the Pæan, which is a setled kinde of song, and Musick modest and sober. Moreover, in all their Pictures and Portraitures of Images and Statues, they make *Apollo* alwaies with a young face and never aging: but the other, to wit, *Bacchus*, they represent in many shapes, and as many forms and visages. And in one word, to the one they attribute a constancy uniform and evermore the same, a regular order, a serious and sincere gravity: but unto the other, mixed sports, games, wantonnesse and insolency; in sum such a gravity as is interlaced with fury, madnesse and inequality: they invocate and call upon him by the name of *Bacchus Euius*:

Bacchus (*I say*) *surnamed* Euius,
Who women doth to rage incite:
And in such service furious,
And frantick worship, takes delight:

noting hereby not unfitly and without good purpose that which is proper to the one and the other mutation. But for that the time of the revolutions in these changes is not equal and alike, but of the one (which is called *Coros*, and signifieth plenty or satiety) longer; and of the other (named *Chresmosyne*, which betokeneth want and necessity) shorter: observing even herein the proportion, they use the canticle Pæan, during all the rest of the year, in their sacrifices: but in the beginning of Winter, they stir up the Dithyrambe, and down goeth Pæan; and so invocate this god for three moneths space in stead of the other, supposing that there is the same proportion of the conflagration of the World to the restoring and reparation thereof, as is of three to one. But peradventure we have dwelt longer upon this point than we should, considering the time: howbeit this is certain, that they attribute the number of five unto this god *Apollo*, as proper and peculiar unto him; saying, that one while it begetteth it self by multiplication, as fire; and another while maketh of it self ten, as the World. Moreover, think we not, that this number hath no society with Musick, which is so agreeable unto this god, as nothing so much? Certes, Harmony is (to say at once) occupied most of all about accords, which we call Symphonies: and that those are in number five, and no more, reason proveth, and experience will convince it to be so, even unto him who shall make the trial, either with strings or pipe-holes, by the very sense of hearing only, without any other reason. For all these accords take their generation by proportion in number. Now the propotion of the Musick or Symphony Diatessaron, is Epitritos or Sesquitertial, that is to say, the whole and a third part over: of Diapente, Hemolios or Sesquialteral, that is to say, the whole and half as much more: of Diapason, duple: of Diapason with Diapente together, triple: and of Dis-diapason, quadruple. And as for that which the Musicians bring in over and above these, to wit, Diapason and Diatessaron (for so they name it) they are not worthy to be admitted and received, as transcending all mean and measure to gratifie forsooth the the unreasonable pleasure of the ear against all proportion, and breaking as it were the ordinance of the Law.

To let passe therefore the five positures of the Tetrachords, as also the first five Tones, Tropes, Changes, Notes, or Harmonies, (call them what you will) for that they change and alter by setting up or letting down the strings, more or lesse, or by streining or easing the voice; all the rest are considered as Bases and Trebles. For see you not that there being many, or rather infinite intervals, yet five there be only used in song; namely, Diesis, Hemitonium, Tonos, Trisemitonion, and Ditonos? Neither is there any space or interval greater or lesse in Voices, distinguished by Base and Treble, high and low, that can be expressed in song. But to passe by many other such things (quoth I) only *Plato* I will allege, who affirmeth, that there is indeed but one World: marry if there were more in number, and not the same one alone; it must needs be that there are five in all, and not one more. But grant that there be no more in truth than one, as *Aristotle* holdeth; yet so it is, that the same seemeth to be composed and coagmented in some sort of five other Worlds: wherefore one is that of Earth, another of Water, the third of Fire; the fourth of Air; as for the fifth, some call it Heaven, others light, and some again, the Sky; and there be, who name it a quint-essence: unto which only it is proper and natural (of all other bodies) to turn round, not by violent force, nor otherwise by chance and aventure. *Plato* therefore

therefore observing and knowing well enough, that the most beautifull and perfect figures of regular bodies which be in the World and within compasse of Nature, are five in number (namely, the Pyramis, the Cube, the Octaedron, Icosaedron and Dodecaedron) hath very fitly appropriated and attributed each of these noble figures unto one or other of those first bodies. Others there be also who apply the faculties of the natural Senses, which likewise be in number five, unto the said primitive bodies: to wit, Touching, which is firm, solid and hard, to Earth; Tasting, which judgeth of the qualities of Savors by the means of moisture, to Water; Hearing, to the Air, for that the Air being beaten upon is the voice and sound in the Ears: of the other swain, Smelling hath for the object Sent or Odour, which being in manner of a persume, is engendred and elevated by Heat, and therefore holdeth of the Fire; as for the Sight, which is clear and bright, by a certain affinity and consanguinity which it hath with the Heaven and with Light, hath a temperature and complexion mingled of the one and the other: neither is there in any living Creature other sense, nor in the whole World any other nature and substance simple and uncompound; but a marvellous distribution there is and congruity of five to five, as it evidently appeareth.

When I had thus said, and made a stop withall, after a little pause between: O what a fault (quoth I) O *Eustrophus*, had I like to have committed: for I went within a little of passing over *Homer* altogether, as if he had not been the first that divided the World into five parts; allotting three of them which are in the middes unto three gods, and the other two which be the extremes (namely, Heaven and Earth, whereof the one is the limit of things beneath, the other the bound of things above) in common and not distributed like the others. But our speech must remember to return again, as *Euripides* saith, from whence it hath digressed. For they who magnifie the quaternary or number of four, teach not amisse nor beside the purpose, that every solid body hath taken the beginning and generation by reason of it. For it being so, that every solid consisteth in length and breadth, having withall a depth: before length there is to be supposed a posture and situation of a point or prick, answerable to unity in numbers; and Longitude without breadth is called a line; and the moving of a line unto breadth, and the procreation of a Superficies thereby, consisteth of three: afterwards, when there is adjoyned thereto profundity or depth, the augmentation groweth by four, untill it become a perfect solidity. So that every man seeth, that the Quaternary having brought Nature to this point, as to perform and accomplish a body, in giving it a double Magnitude or masse, with firm solidity apt to make resistance, leaveth it afterwards destitute of the thing which is greatest and principal. For that which is without a soul, to speak plain, is in manner of an Orphan, unperfect and good for nothing, so long as it is without a soul to use and guide it: but the motion or disposition which putteth in the soul, ingenerated by means of the number of five, is it that bringeth perfection and consummation unto Nature. Whereby it appeareth that there is an essence more excellent than the four, inasmuch as a living body endued with a soul, is of a more noble nature, than that which hath none: but more than so, the beauty and excellent power of this number five, proceeding yet farther, would not suffer a body animate to be extended into infinite kindes, but hath given unto us five divers sorts of animate and living natures in all. For these be Gods; Dæmons, or Angels; Demi-gods, or Heroes: then after these, a fourth kinde, of Men; and last of all, in the fifth place, is that of brute Beasts and unreasonable. Furthermore, if you come and divide the soul according to Nature, the first and obscurest part or puissance thereof, is the vegetative or nutritive faculty: the second is the sensitive: then the appetitive: after it the irascible, wherein is engendred anger. Now when it is once come unto that power which discourseth by reason, and brought Nature as it were to perfection, there it resteth in the fift, as in the very pitch and top of all. Since then this number hath so many, and those so great puissances and faculties, the very Generation thereof is beautiful to be considered; I mean not that whereof we have already heretofore discoursed, when we said, that composed it was of two and three, but that which is made by the conjunction of the first principle, with the first square and quadrate number. And what is that principle or beginning of all numbers? even one or Unity, and that first quadrat is Four: and of these a swain (as a man would say, of Form and matter) being brought to perfection, is procreated this Quinary or number of five. Now if it be true, as some do hold, that Unity it self is quadrat and four-squre, as being that which is the power of it self, and determineth in it self, then five being thus compounded of the two first quadrat numbers, ought so much the rather to be esteemed so noble and excellent as none can be comparable unto it. And yet there is one excellency behinde, that passeth all those which went before. But I fear me (quoth I) lest if the same be uttered, it would debase in some sort the honour of our *Plato*, like as himself said, the honour and authority of *Anaxagoras* was depressed and put down by the name of the Moon, who attributed unto himself the first invention of the Moons illuminations by the Sun; whereas it was a very ancient opinion long before he was born. How say you, hath he not said thus much in his Dialogue entituled *Cratylus*? Yea verily, answered *Eustrophus*; but I see not the like consequence for all that. But you know (quoth I) that in his book entituled, *The Sophister*, he setteth down five most principall beginnings of all things: to wit, *That which is*: *The same*: *The other*: *Motion*, the fourth: and *Rest* for the fift. Moreover in his Dialogue *Philebus*, he bringeth in another kinde of partition and division of these principles, where he saith: That one is Infinite: another Finite, or the end: and of the mixture of these twain, is made and accomplished all generation: as for the cause whereby they are mixed, he putteth it for the fourth kinde: but leaveth to our conjecture the fift: by the means whereof, that which is composed and mixed is redivided, and separate again. And for mine own part, I suppose verily, that these principles be the figures and images (as it were) of those before: to wit, of *That which is*, *The thing engendred*

engendred: of *Motion*, *Infinite*: of *Reſt*, the *End* or *Finite*: of *The ſame*, the Cauſe that mixeth: of *The other*, the Cauſe that doth ſeparate. But ſay they be divers principles, and not the ſame: yet howſoever it be, there are alwaies ſtill five kindes, and five differences of the ſaid principles. Some of them before *Plato*, being of the ſame opinion, or having heard ſo much of anoth r, conſecrated two E.E unto the god of this Temple, as a very ſigne to ſymbolize that number which comprehendeth all. And peradventure, having heard alſo, that Good appeareth in five kindes: whereof the firſt is *Mean* or *Meaſure*; the ſecond, *Symmetry* or *Proportion*; the third, *Underſtanding*; the fourth, The *Sciences*, *Arts* and *True Opinions*, which are in the ſoul; the fifth, *Pure* and *Sincere Pleaſure*, without mixture of any trouble and pain: they ſtaied there, reciting this verſe out of *Orpheus*,

But at the ſixth age ceaſe your ſong:
It booteth not to chaunt ſo long.

After theſe diſcourſes paſſed between us: Yet one brief word more (quoth he) will I ſay unto *Nicander*, and thoſe about him;

For ſing I will
To men of skill.

The ſixth day of the moneth when you lead the Propheteſſe *Pythia* into ſome Hall named *Prytaneum*, the firſt caſting of lots among you, of three, tendeth to five: for ſhe caſteth three; and you, two: how ſay you is it not ſo? Yes verily, quoth *Nicander*: but the cauſe hereof we dare not reveal and declare unto others. Well then (quoth I, ſinil ng thereat) untill ſuch time as god permitteth us after we are become holy and conſecrate, for to know the truth thereof, mean while let that alſo be added unto the praiſes which have been alleged in the recommendation of the number Five.

Thus ended the diſcourſe as touching the commendations attributed unto the number of five, by the Arithmeticians and Mathematicians, as far as I can remember or call to mind. And *Ammonius* (as he was a man who beſtowed not the worſt and leaſt part of his time in Mathematick Philoſophy) took no ſmall pleaſure in the hearing of ſuch diſcourſes, and ſaid: Needleſſe it is and to no purpoſe, to ſtand much upon the preciſe and exact confutation of that which theſe young men here have alleged, unleſs it be that every number will afford you alſo ſufficient matter and argument of praiſe, if you will but take the pains to look into them: for, to ſay nothing of others, a whole day would not be enough to expreſſe in words all the vertues and properties of the ſacred number Siven, dedicated to *Apollo*. And moreover we ſhall ſeem to pronounce againſt the Sages and Wiſemen, that they fight both againſt common law received, and all antiquity of time; if diſſeizing the number of ſeven of that preeminence, whereof it is in poſſeſſion, they ſhould conſecrate Five unto *Apollo*, as more meet and beſeeming for him. And therefore mine opinion is, that this writing EI ſignifieth neither number, nor order, nor conjunction, nor any other defective particle; but is anentire ſalutation of it ſelf, and a compellation of the God: which together with the very utterance and pronunciation of the word induceth the Speaker to think of the greateſſ and power of him, who ſeemeth to ſalute and greet every one of us when we come hither, with theſe words χαῖρε σωσιπολι, Know thy ſelf, which ſignifieth no leſſe, than if he ſaid χαῖρε, that is to ſay, All hail, or god ſave you: and we again to render the like, anſwer him EI, that is to ſay, *Thou art*; yielding unto him not a falſe, but a true appellation and title, which only and to him alone appertaineth, namely, that he is. For in very truth, and to ſpeak as it is, we who are mortal men, have no part at all of being indeed, becauſe that all humane nature being ever in the midſt between generation and corruption, giveth but an obſcure appearence, a dark ſhadow, a weak and uncertain opinion of it ſelf. And if peradventure you bend your mind, and cogitation for to comprehend a ſubſtance and eſſence thereof, you ſhall do as much good as if you would cluch water in your hand with a bent fiſt; for the more you ſeem to gripe and preſſe together that which of the own nature is fluid and runneth out, ſo much the more ſhall you leeſe of that which you will claſp and hold: and even ſo all things being ſubject to alteration, and to paſſe from one change unto another, reaſon ſeeking for a real ſubſiſtance is deceived, as not able to apprehend any thing ſubſiſtent in truth and permanent; for that every thing tendeth to a being before it is, or beginneth to die ſo ſoon as it is engendred. For, as *Heraclitus* was wont to ſay, a man cannot poſſibly enter twice into one and the ſame River: no more is he able to finde any mortal ſubſtance twice in one and the ſame eſtate. Such is the ſuddenneſſe and celerity of change, that no ſooner is it diſſipated but it gathereth again anon, or rather indeed not again, nor anon, but at once it both ſubſiſteth and alſo ceaſeth to be, it cometh and goeth together; in ſuch ſort, as that which beginneth to breed, never reacheth to the perfection of being, for that in very deed this generation is never accompliſhed, nor reſteth as being come to a full end and perfection of being, but continually changeth and moveth from one to another: even as of humane ſeed, firſt there is gathered within the Mothers Wombe a fruit, or maſſe without form; then an infant having ſome form and ſhape; afterwards being out of the Mothers belly, is a ſucking Babe, anon it proves to be a Lad or Boy, within a while a Stripling or Springal; then a Youth, afterwards a Man grown, conſequently an elderly and ancient perſon, and laſt of all a crooked old Man: ſo that the former ages and precedent generations be alwaies aboliſhed by the ſubſequent, and thoſe that follow. But we like ridiculous fools be affraid of one kinde of death, when as we have already died ſo many deaths, and do nothing daily and hourly but die ſtill. For not only (as *Heraclitus* ſaith) the death of fire is the life of air; and the end of air, the beginning of water; but much more evidently we may obſerve the ſame in our ſelves. The floure of our years dieth and paſſeth away when old age cometh: youth endeth in the floure of luſtry and perfect age: childhood determineth in youth, infancy in childhood. Yeſterday dieth

dieth in this day, and this day will be dead by to morrow: neither continueth any man alwaies one and the ſame, but we are engendred many, according as the matter glideth, turneth and is driven about one image, mould or pattern common to all figures. For, were it not ſo, but that we continued ſtill the ſame, how is it that we take delight now in theſe things, whereas we joyed before in others? how is it that we love and hate, praiſe and diſpraiſe contrary things? how cometh it to paſſe that we uſe divers ſpeeches, fall into different diſcourſes, and are in ſundry affections; retain not the ſame viſage, one countenance, one mind, and one thought? For there is no likelihood at all, that without change a man ſhould entertain other paſſions; and look who is changed, he continueth not the ſame; and if he be not the ſame, he is not at all: but together with changing from the ſame, he changeth alſo to be ſimply, for that continually he is altered from one to another: and by conſequence our ſenſe is deceived miſtaking that which is appeareth, for that which is indeed; and all for want of knowledge, what it is to be. But what is it (in truth) to be? Surely to be eternal, that is to ſay, which never had beginning in generation, nor ſhall have end by corruption; and in which, time never worketh any mutation. For a moveable and mutable thing is time, appearing (as it were) in a ſhadow with the matter which runneth and floweth continually, never remaining ſtable, permanent and ſolid, but may be compared unto a leaking veſſel, containing in it (after a ſort) generations and corruptions. And to it properly belong theſe termes: *Before, and after*: *Hath been, and ſhall be*: which preſently at the very firſt ſight do evidently ſhew, that time hath no being. For it were a great folly and manifeſt abſurdity to ſay, that a thing is, which as yet cometh not into eſſe, or hath already ceaſed to be. And as for theſe words, *Preſent*, *Inſtant*, *Now*, &c. by which it ſeemeth that principally we ground and maintain the intelligence of Time, reaſon diſcovereth the ſame, and immediately overthroweth it; for incontinently it is thruſt out and diſpatched, into future, and paſt: ſo that it fareth with us in this caſe, as with thoſe who would ſee a thing very far diſtant; for of neceſſity the viſual beames of his ſight muſt fail before they can reach thereto. Now if the ſame befall to nature which is meaſured, that unto time which meaſureth it; there is nothing in it permanent nor ſubſiſtent, but all things therein be either breeding or dying, according as they have reference unto time. And therefore it may not be allowed to ſay of that which is, it hath been, or it ſhall be: for theſe termes be certain inclinations, paſſages, departures and changes, of that which cannot endure nor continue in being. Whereupon, we are to conclude, that God alone is (and that, not according to any meaſure of time, but reſpective to eternity) immutable and unmovable, not gaged within the corruptele of time, nor ſubject either to inclination or declination any way: before whom nothing ever was, nor after whom ought ſhall be, nothing future, nothing paſt, nothing elder, nothing younger; but being one really, by this one *Preſent* or *Now*, accompliſheth his eternity and being alway. Neither is there any thing, that may truely be ſaid to be, but he alone, nor of him may be verified, He hath been, or ſhall be, for that he is without beginning and end. In this manner therefore we ought in our worſhip and adoration, to ſalute and invocate him, ſaying, E I: that is to ſay, Thou art; unleſſe a man will rather, according as ſome of the ancients uſed to do, ſalve him by this title EI. E.No that is to ſay, Thou art one; for god is not manifold as every one of us, who are a confuſed heap and maſſe compoſed, or rather thruſt together of infinite diverſities and differences proceeding from all ſorts of alterations: but as that which is, ought to be one; ſo that which is one, ought to be: for alternative diverſity being the difference of that which is, departeth from it, and goeth to the engendring of that which is not. And therefore very rightly applyed unto this god, the firſt of his names, as alſo the ſecond and the third: for *Apollo* he is called, as denying and diſavowing τὸ πολλά, that is to ſay, plurality and multitude: likewiſe, *Ieios*, which is as much as to ſay, as One or alone: thirdly, *Phabus*, by which name they called in the old time, all that was clean and pure, without mixture and pollution. And ſemblably even at this day, the Theſſalians (if I be not deceived) ſay, that their Prieſts upon certain vacant daies, when they keep forth of their Temples and live ſequeſtrately to themſelves, φοιτοσιμισιν. Now that which is one, as alſo pure and ſincere, for pollution cometh by occaſion that one thing is mingled with another: like as *Homer* ſpeaking in one place of Yvorie having a tincture of red, ſaid it was polluted; and the word ειλυω he uſeth in ſignifying alſo, when they would expreſſe that their colour be medleies or mixed, uſe the word φοινιοσσω, that is to ſay, to be corrupted; and the very mixture they term φθορα, that is to ſay, Corruption. It behoveth therefore, that the thing which is ſincere and incorruptible, ſhould be alſo one and ſimple, without all mixture whatſoever. In which regard, they who think that *Apollo* and the Sun be both one god, are worthy to be made much of and loved for their good conceit and pleaſant wit, becauſe they repoſe the notion of god in that which of all things that they know and deſire, they honour and reverence moſt. And now, ſo long at we are in this life, as if we dreamed the moſt beautiful dream that a man could imagine of this god *Apollo*, let us excite and ſtir up our minds to paſſe yet farther and mount higher, for to contemplate and behold that which is above our ſelves, in adoring principally indeed his eſſence: but yet honoring withall his image, to wit, the Sun, and that generative vertue, which he hath infuſed into it, for to produce and bring forth; repreſenting in ſome ſort, by his brightneſſe ſome obſcure reſemblances and dark ſhews of his clemency, benignity, and bleſſedneſſe, as far forth as it is poſſible for a ſenſible nature, to ſhew an intellectual; and for that which is movable, to expreſſe that which is ſtable and permanent. Moreover, as touching I wot not what extaſies and leapings forth of himſelf and his own nature, certain ſtrange alterations likewiſe, as namely, when he caſteth fire and withall diſmembreth and teareth himſelf, as they ſay: as alſo that he ſtretcheth, dilateth and ſpreadeth forth; and contrariwiſe how he gathereth and draweth in himſelf here below, into the Earth, the Sea, the Windes,

the

the Stars, and uncouth accidents of Beasts and Plants; they be such absurdities, as are not to be named without impiety. Or else if we admit them, he will become worse than the little Boy whom the Poets feign, playing upon the Sea shore with an heap of sand, which he first raised, and then cast down again and scattered abroad: if (I say) he should continually play at this game like fast and loose, namely, in framing the World first, where before it was not; and then anon destroying it, so soon as it is made. For contrariwise, how much or how little soever of him is infused into the World, the same in some sort containeth and confirmeth the substance thereof, maintaining the corporal nature of it, which otherwise by reason of infirmity and weakness, tendeth alwaies to corruption. In my conceit therefore, against this opinion principally hath been directly opposed this Mot, and denomination of god, EI; that is to say, *Thou art*: as giving good testimony in his behalf, that in him there is never any change or mutation. But either to do, or suffer this, as is beforesaid, belongeth to any other god or rather indeed to any other Dæmon, ordained to have the superintendence of that nature, which is subject both to generation and corruption: as may appear immediately by the significations of their names, which are quite contrary and directly do contradict one the other. For our god here is named *Apollo*, the other *Pluto*: as if one would say, *Not Many*; and *Many*. The one is cleped *Delius* that is, clear and evident: the other *Aidoneus*, that is to say, obscure, blinde, and unseen. Again the former, is named *Phœbus*, which is as much as Shining or resplendent: but the latter *Scotius*, which is all one with Dark. About him are seated the Muses and *Mnemosyne*, that is to say, Memory: but neer to this are *Lethe*, that is to say, Oblivion and Silence. Our *Apollo*, is surnamed *Theorius* and *Phaneus*, of Seeing and Shewing: but *Pluto* is

* *dirkness.*

The Lord of night so * *bleak and dark,*
Of idle sleeps that cannot work:

who also is

To gods and men most odious,
And to them as malicious.

Of whom *Pindarus* said not unpleasantly:

Condemn'd of all he was, for that
He never any child begat.

And therefore *Euripides* to this purpose spake right well:

Soul-songs, dirges, libations funeral,
Fair Phœbus please not, he likes them not at all.

And before him, *Stesichorus*:

Apollo *joys in merry songs,*
in dances, sports and plaies:
But Pluto *takes delight in sighs,*
in groanes and plaints alwaies.

And *Sophocles* seemeth evidently to attribute unto either of them their Musical instruments, by these verses:

The Psaltery and pleasant Lute,
With doleful mones do not well suit:

For very late it was, and but the other day to speak of, that the Pipe and Hautboies durst presume to sound, and be heard in matters of mirth and delight: but in former times it drew folk to mourning and sorrow, to heavy Funerals and Convoies of the dead, and in such cases and services imployed it was, as were not very honorable, nor jocund and delectable; howsoever after, it came to be intermingled in all occasions one with another. Marry they especially, who confusedly have hudled the worship of the gods with the service of Dæmons, brought those instruments in request and reputation.

But to conclude, it seemeth that this Mot EI, is somewhat contrary unto the precept γνῶθι σεαυτὸν, and yet after a sort to accord and agree therewith. For as the one is a word of devout admiration and reverent worship directed to God, as eternal and everlasting: so the other is an advertisement given unto men mortal, to put them in mind of their frail and weak nature.

AN

AN EXPLANATION OF

Sundry hard Words and obscure Terms, in this Translation of *Plutarch*, in favour *of the unlearned Reader*; *after the order of the Alphabet.*

A.

Alus, A forename among the Romans.

Abyrtace, A dainty kinde of meat, with the *Medes* and other Barbarous Nations, sharp and quick of taste to provoke and please the appetite, composed of Leeks, Garlick, Cresses, Senvy, Pomgranate kirnels, and such like.

Academy, A shady place full of Groves, a mile distant from *Athens*, where *Plato* the Philosopher was born, and wherein he taught. Of it, the Academick Philosophers took their name; whose manner was to discourse and dispute of all questions, but to determine and resolve of nothing. And for the great concourse of Scholars to that place, our Universities are named Academies.

Ædiles, Certain Magistrates or Officers in *Rome*: of two sorts; *Plebeii* and *Curules*. *Plebeii*, of the Commons only, two in number, more antient than the other; chosen by the people alone, to second and assist the Tribunes of the Commons, as their right hands. This name they took of the charge which they had to maintain Temples and Chapels: albeit they registred the Sanctions and Acts of the people, called *Plebiscita*, and kept the same in their own custody; were Clerks of the Market, and looked to weights and measures, &c. yea, and exhibited the games and plaies named *Plebeii*. *Curules* were likewise two, elected out of the order and degree of the *Patritii*: so called of the Yvory chair wherein they were allowed to sit, as Officers of greater state; and by vertue whereof, in some cases, and at certain times, they might exercise civill jurisdiction. It belonged to them to set forth the solemnities, called *Ludi Magni* or *Romani*. Overseers they were of the buildings thorowout the City, aswell publick as private, in manner of the *Astynomi* in *Athens*: they had regard to the publick vaults, sinks, conveiances, and conduits of the waters that served the City, as also to the Arcenal, &c. They had power likewise to attach the bodies of great persons: and were charged to see to the Provision of Corn and Victuals. At the first, none but of noble families or Patricians were advanced to this place: but in processe of time, Commoners also attained thereto. More of them, and how in *Julius Cæsars* time there were elected six *Ædiles*, whereof two were named *Cereals*. See *Alex. ab Alexandro, lib.* 4. *cap.* 4.

Æginetick, Mna or *Mina*, Seems to be the antient Coyn or Money of *Greece*: for they were the first that Coyned Money: and of them came ῥᾳμνοῦσια ἰσχάσιον. *Celius Rhodig.*

Æolius Modus, In Musick, a certain simple, plain and mild tune, apt to procure sleep.

Æquinox, That time of the year, when the daies and nights are of equal length; which hapneth twice in the year, to wit, in March and September.

Æstival, Of the Summer: as the *Æstival* Solstice or Tropick of the Sun, when he is come neerest to us, and returnes Southward from us.

Aloïdæ or *Aloiadæ*, were *Othus* and *Ephialtes*, two Gyants, so named of *Aloeus* the Gyant their supposed father: for of his wife *Iphimedia*, *Neptune* begat them. It is said, that every moneth they grew nine fingers.

Alphabet, The order or rew of Greek letters as they stand; so called of *Alpha* and *Beta*, the two first letters: and it answers to our A.B.C.

Alternative, By course or turns, one after another; going and coming, &c.

Amphictyones, Were a certain solemn counsel of State in *Greece*, who held twice in the year a meeting, in the Spring and Autumn, at *Thermopyle*; being assembled from the 12 flourishing Cities of *Greece*, there to consult of most important affairs.

Amphitheatre, A spacious shew-place; in form round, and as it were of two Theatres. See *Theatre.*

Amphora, A measure in *Rome* of liquors only. It seems to take that name of the two ears it had, of either side one: it contained eight *Congios*, which are somwhat under as many of our wine Gallons.

Amuets or *Amulets*, Preservatives hung about the neck, or therwise worne, against witchcraft, poison, elebiting, sickness, or any other evils.

Anarchy, The state of a City or Country without a Ruler, lack of Government.

Andria, A society of men, meeting together in some

publick Hall to eat and drink: Inſtituted firſt among the Thebans, like the *Phiditia* in *Lacedemon*.

Annales, Hiſtories, Records, or Chronicles containing things done from year to year.

Anniverſary, Comming once every year, at a certain time: as the Nativity of *Chriſt*, &c.

Antarctick, oppoſite to the Arcticke. See *Arctick*.

Antidote, A medicine, properly taken inwardly againſt a poyſon or ſome peſtilent and venimous diſeaſe: A Counterpoiſon or preſervative.

Antipathy, A repugnance in nature, by reaſon of contrary affections; whereby ſome cannot abide the ſmell of Roſes, others the ſight of a Cat, &c.

Antiperiſtaſis, A Cohibition or Reſtraint on every ſide; whereby either cold or heat is made ſtronger in it ſelf by reſtraining the contrary: as the natural heat of our bodies in winter, through the coldneſſe of the air compaſſing it about: likewiſe, the coldneſſe of the middle region of the Air in Summer, by occaſion of the heat on both ſides, cauſing Thunder and Hail, &c.

Antiphony, A noyſe of contrary ſounds.

Antipodes, Thoſe people who inhabit under and beneath our Hemiſphære, and go with their feet full againſt ours.

Apathy, Impaſſibility, or voidneſs of all affections and paſſions.

Apaturia, A Feaſt ſolemnized for the ſpace of four dayes at *Athens* in the honour of *Bacchus*. So called of *Apate*, Deceit: becauſe *Xanthius* the Bœotian was in ſingle fight ſlain deceitfully by *Thimoeles* the Athenian. For the tale goes, that whiles they were in combat, *Bacchus* appeared behind *Xanthius*, clad in Goats skin: and when *Thimoeles* charged his concurrent for comming into the field with an aſſiſtant; as he looked back, he was killed by *Thimoeles*.

Apology, A Plea for the defence or excuſe of any perſon.

Apothegm, A ſhort ſententious ſpeech.

Appleſey, A diſeaſe comming ſuddenly in manner of a ſtroak, with an univerſall aſtoniſhment and deprivation of ſenſe and motion, which either cauſeth death quickly; or elſe ends in a dead palſey.

Archontes, Were chief magiſtrates at *Athens*, at firſt every tenth year; and afterwards yearly choſen by lot, to whom the rule of the common-wealth in their popular ſtate was committed: of whom the firſt was named *Eponimi*, King: the ſecond, *Archon*, Ruler: the third, *Polemarchus*: and the other ſix *Theſmothetæ*.

Arctick, Northerly; ſo called of *Arctos* in Greek, which ſignifies the Bear, that is, thoſe conſpicuous ſeven ſtars in the North, named *Charlewains* wain; near to which is that pole or point of the imaginary axle-tree, about which the heavens turn, which thereupon is named, The pole Arctick: and over againſt it, underneath our Hemiſphære, is the other pole, called Antarctick, in the South part of the world.

Ariſtocraty, A form of Govenment, or a State wherein the Nobles and beſt men are Rulers.

To *Aromatize*, To ſeaſon or make pleaſant, by putting thereto ſome Sweet and Odoriferous Spices.

Aſtragalote Maſtix, A ſcourge or whip, the ſtings whereof are ſet and wrought with ankle-bones, called *Aſtragali*, thereby to give a more grievous laſh.

Atomi, Indiviſible bodies like motes in the Sun beames; of which *Democritus* and *Epicurus* imagined all things to be made.

Attick pure, The moſt fine and eloquent: for in *Athens* they ſpake the pureſt Greek; inſomuch as *Thucydides* called it ἑλλάδος ἑλλάδα, Greece of Greece, as one would ſay, the veryquinteſſence of Greece.

Averrunci, or *Averruncani*, Were gods among the Romans, ſuppoſed to put by and chaſe away evills and calamities: ſuch as *Hercules* and *Apollo* among the Greekes, called therefore *Apotropæi*.

Auſpices, *Plutarch* ſeems to take for *Augures*, that is, Certain Prieſts or Soothſayers, who, by the inſpection and obſervation of Birds, did foretel future things.

Axiomes, Were principall propoſitions in Logick, of as great authority and force as Maxims in law: and it ſhould ſeem thoſe Maxims are derived corruptly from *Axiomes*.

B

BAcchanalia, named alſo *Dionyſia*, Certain licencious feſtivall ſolemnities in honor of *Bacchus*, performed at firſt by day light, and afterward in the night, with all manner of filthy wantoneſs: inſtituted firſt in *Athens*, and other Cities of *Greece* every three years: in *Egypt* alſo: at laſt they were taken up in *Italy* and at *Rome*.

Bacchiadæ, A noble family in *Corinth*, who for the ſpace almoſt of 200. years there ruled.

Bacchyllion, A Song or Dance, which ſeemeth to take name of a famous Tragœdian Poet named *Bacchyllus*, who deviſed and practiſed it; as *Pyladion*, of *Pylades*, as notable a Comœdian.

Barbariſm, A rude and corrupt manner of ſpeech, full of barbarous and abſonant words.

Baſis, The flat, Pedeſtall or Foot of a Column, Pillar, Statue, or ſuch like, whereon it ſtands.

Bœotarches, or *Bœotarche*, The ſoverain Magiſtrate or Ruler of the Bœotians.

Bœotius, A kinde of Meaſure or Note in Muſick uſed in *Bœotia*.

C

C. CAius, A common forename to many familes in *Rome*, and *Caia* to the Woman kinde: as uſuall as *John* and *Jone* with us, as appears by this form of ſpeech uſual in Marriage; *Where thou art* Caius, *I will be* Caia.

Calends. See *Kalends*.

Calleſtires, Hardneſſe in manner of Brawn, as in the skin of hands or feet, occaſioned by much labour and travell.

Cancerous, Reſembling a certain hard tumor or ſwelling occaſioned by melancholick blood, named *Cancer*, for the likeneſſe it hath to the Crab-fiſh, (in Latin *Cancer*) partly, for the ſwelling Veins appearing

appearing about it, like: the feet of cleis of the ſaid fiſh: partly for that it is not eaſily removed, no more than the Crab, if it once ſettle to a place: & laſtly, becauſe the color is not much unlike. This ſmelling if it break out into an Ulcer, hardly admits any cure, and by ſome is called a Woolf.

Candyli, A kinde of dainty meat made with Hony and Milk.

Candys, An Ornament of the Perſians, Medians, and other Eaſt Nations; much like a Diadem.

Catamite, A Boy abuſed againſt kind: A Ganymede.

Cataplaſm, A Poulteſſe or groſſe manner of Plaiſter.

To *Cauterize*, To burn or ſear with a red hot iron, or other metall.

Cenotaph, An empty Tomb or Sepulchre, wherein no corps is interred.

Cenſors, Magiſtrates of State in *Rome*, whoſe charge was to value and eſtimate mens goods, and enroll them accordingly in their ſeverall ranges: to demiſe to certain Farmers, called Publicans, the publick profits of the City for a rent, and to put forth the City works unto them, to be undertaken at a price. Alſo to overſee mens manners, whereby oft times the would depriveSenators of their dignity: take from Gentlemen their horſes of ſervice and Rings: diſplace Commanders out of their own tribe: diſable them for giving voyces; and make them *Ærarij*.

Centre, The middle of a Circle or Globe, equally diſtant from the circumference thereof.

Centumviri, A certain Court of Judges in *Rome*, choſen three out of every tribe. And though there were 35. tribes, and the whole number by that account amounted to a hundred and five; yet in round reckoning, and by cuſtom, they went under the name of a hundred, and therfore were called *Centumviri*.

Cercopes, Certain ridiculous people inhabiting the Iſland *Pithecuſa*, having tails like monkeys, good for nought but to make ſport.

Chalkus, A ſmall piece of braſs mony; the eight part or (as ſome ſay) the fixth, of the Attick *Obulus*: ſomewhat better than half a Farthing or a Cue.

Chromatick Muſick, Was a ſoft delicate and effeminate, full of deſcant, fained voyces and quavering, as ſome are of opinion. Others ſay it conſiſted much of diſcords, to render it more delightfull in the cloſe.

Cidaris, An Ornament of the head, which in *Perſia*, *Media*, and *Armenia*, the Kings and High Prieſts wore, with blew band or ribban about it, beſet with white ſpots.

Cinarade, A Family deſcended from *Cinaras*. Some read *Cinyrade*, and *Cinyras*.

Circumgyration, A turning or winding round.

Cos. A forename to ſome houſes in *Rome*.

Colian earth, So called of *Colias* a promontory or hill in the territory of *Attica*.

Collegue, A Fellow or Companion in office.

Colonies, Were Towns wherein the Romans placed Citizens of their own to inhabit, either as Freeholders, or tenants and undertakers; endowed with franchiſes and liberties diverſly: Erected firſt by *Romulus*.

Comœdia vetus, Licentiouſly abuſed all manner of perſons, not forbearing to neme and traduce upon the Stage even the beſt men, ſuch as noble *Pericles*, wife *Solon*, and juſt *Ariſtides*; nay it ſpared not the very State it ſelf and body of the Common-weal; whereupon at length it was condemned.

Concions, Orations or Speeches made openly before the body of the people, ſuch properly as the Tribunes of the Commons uſed to them.

Congarium, a dole or liberal gift of ſome Prince or Noble perſon beſtowed upon the people. It took name of that meaſure *Congius*, much about our gallon, which was given in Oyl or Wine, by the Poll: but afterwards, any other ſuch gift or diſtribution, whether it were in other victuals, or in mony, went under that name.

Conſuls, two in number, Soverain Magiſtrates in *Rome*, ſucceeding the place of Kings, with the ſame authority, and roiall enſignes: onely they were choſen yearly.

Centiguate, To rafter or plant a houſe.

Contuſions, Bruiſes, dry-beatings, or cruſhes.

Convulſions, Plucking or ſhooting paines: Cramps.

Codax, A laſcivious and unſeemly kinde of Dance, uſed in Comœdies at the firſt, but miſliked afterwards and rejected.

Criticks, Grammarians, who took upon them to cenſure and judge Poems and other works of Authors; ſuch as *Ariſtarchus* was.

Critical dayes, In Phyſick are obſerved according to the motion of the humour and the Moon, in which the diſeaſe ſhewes ſome notable alteration, to life or death, as if the patient had than his doom. In which regard we ſay, the ſeventh day is a King; but the ſixth, a Tyrant.

Cube, A ſquare figure: as in Geomitry, the Dye; having ſix Faces four ſquare and even: in Arithmetick, a number multiplyed in it ſelf; as nine ariſing of thrice three, and ſixteen, of four times four.

Curvature, A Bending or Crookedneſſe; Alſo a Rundle.

Corollary, An overdeal, or overmeaſure, given more than is due or was promiſed.

Curule chair, A ſeat of eſtate among the Romans made of Ivory; whereupon certain Magiſtrates were called *Curules*, who were allowed to ſit thereon: as alſo triumphs were named *Curules*, when thoſe that triumphed were gloriouſly ſeen in ſuch a chair, drawn with a Chariot, for diſtinction of Oration, wherein Captains rod on horſeback onely.

Cyath, A ſmall meaſure of liquid things: the twelfth part of *Sextarius*, which was much about our wine quart. So that a *Cyath* may go for three good ſpoonfuls, and anſwers in weight to an ounce and half, with the better.

Cynick Philoſophers, Such as *Antiſthines*, *Diogines*, and their followers were: ſo named of *Cynoſarges*, a grove or ſchool without *Athens*, where they taught: or rather of their dogged and curriſh manner of biting and barking at men, in noting ther lives over rudely.

D

D. DEcius, A forename. For *Decius*, although it were the Gentile name of an house in *Rome*, yet grew afterwards to be a forename, as *Paulus*: and likewise forenames at the first, in processe of time, came to name Families.

D. Decimus, A forename to certain Romans, as namely to *Brutus* surnamed *Albinus*, one of the conspirators that killed *Julius Cæsar*.

Decade, That which contains ten: as the Decades of *Livy*, which consist every one of ten Books.

Democraty, A free State, or popular Government; wherein every Citizen is capable of soveraign Magistracy.

Deficcative, Drying, or having the power to dry.

Diatesseron, A Consonance or Concord in Musick, called a fourth, whereof there are four in the scale which compriseth fifteen strings: it answereth to the proportion *Epitritos*; for it consists of three & one third part.

Diapente, A Consonance or Concord in Musick, called a fifth, it answers to the proportion *Hemiolios*, or *Sesquialtera*: for three contains two and a half; three and two make five.

Diapason, A perfect Consonance containing two fourths; or made of *Diatesseron* and *Diapente*, As if it consisted of all: an Eighth. It answers to duple proportion, or *Diaplasion*.

Dis Diapason, A duple eight; or quadruple fourth; which was counted in old time the greatest System in the Musick scale.

Diastema, The interval in the scale of Musick. Also the rest or Time, of which and of sounds or notes Diatonick Musick consists.

Diazeugmenon, Of disjuncts in Musick.

Diaphoretical; or *Diphoretical*, That sends forth humors or excessive sweat, whereby the spirits are spent, and the body much weakened, as in the disease Cardiaca.

Diaconick Musick, Keeps a mean temperature between Chromatick, and Enharmoniack: and may go for plain song, or our Musick.

Diatonos, A note in Musick. *Diatonos Hypaton*, D, SOL. RE. *Diatonos Meson*.

Dictator, A Soveraign Magistrate above all others in *Rome*, from whom no appeal was granted, more absolute and King-like; but that his time of rule was limitted within six moneths ordinarily: so named, because he onely said the word and it was done; or for that he was *Dictus*, that is to say, nominated by one of the *Consuls*, usually in some time of great danger of the state, and not otherwise elected.

Diesis, The quarter of a note in Musick; or the least time or accent, G. SOL. RE. UT.

Dionysius in *Corinth*, An usuall Proverb in *Greece*, applyed to such as are in their prosperous estate, so proud and insolent, as they forget themselves and oppresse their inferiors; putting them in mind that they may have a fall, as well as *Dionysius*, who having been a mighty and absolute Monarch of *Sicily*, was driven at last to teach a Grammar and Musick School in *Corinth*.

Dithyrambs, Were Songs or Hymns in honor of *Bacchus*, who was surnamed *Dithyrambus*; either because he was born twice, and came into this world at two doors; once out of his mother *Semeles* womb, and a second time out of his Father *Jupiters* Thigh: or else of *Lytharambus* as *Pindarus* writes. For when *Jupiter* had sowed him within his Thigh, at what time he should come forth again, he cried forth, λῦθι ῥάμμα: λῦθι ῥάμμα, that is, *Undo the seam, Undo the seam*. The Poets who composed such Hymns were called *Dithyrambiques*, whose verses and words were dark and intricate.

Divination, Soothsaying, or foretelling of future things.

Dolichus, A long carrere or race, containing twelve, or (as some say) 24. *Stadia*.

Dorian, or *Dorick Musick*, Was grave and sober: so called, for that the *Dorians* first devised and most used it.

Drachme, or *Dram*, The eight part of an ounce. Also a piece of money valued at seven pence half peny in Silver, and in Gold much about a french Crown. The Roman *Denarius* was equivalent to it.

E

ECHO, A resonance, or resounding of the last part of the voice or words delivered.

Echo-pan, A Song of Echo supposed to be a Nymph not visible, but wonderfully beloved of *Pan*, the Heardmens god.

Ecliptick, Making or occasioning an *Eclipse*.

Elegie, A Lamentable and Dolefull Ditty, composed of unequall verses, as the *Hexameter* and *Pentameter*; which are called *Elegiak*.

Elenchs, Subtile arguments devised to reprove or confute.

Elotæ, The common slaves that the Lacedæmonians used, and employed in base ministeries, as publick executions, &c.

Elucidaries, Expositions or Declarations of things that are obscure and dark.

Embrochations, a devise that Physitians have to foment the head or any other part, with some liquor falling from aloft upon it, in manner of rain, whence it took name.

Emphatically, Expresse and very significative.

Emperick Physicians, Who without regard either of the cause in a disease, or the constitution and nature of the Patient, go boldly to work with those means and medicines whereof they had experience in others, fall it out as it will.

Empusa, A certain vain and fantasticall illusion, sent by the Devill, or as the Painims say, by *Hecate*, to fright infortunate people. It appears in divers forms, and seemes to go with one Leg, (whereupon it took the name, *quasi* Ἑνμονσα:) for it has one Foot or Leg of brasse, the other of an Asse; and therefore it is named also ὀνοκωλος. or ὁνοσκελης.

Encomiasticall, Pertaining to the praise of a thing or person.

Endromes, A kinde of bickering or conflict. Also a coarse course Mantle, which Wrastlers and Runners flung upon them, when they were anointing; and after they had exercised.

Endymatia, A kinde of Dance or Musicall Note.

Enharmonion, one of the three general sorts of Musick: song of many parts, or a curious concent of sundry tunes.

Enthymemes, Unperfect Syllogisms, or short reasonings, when one of the premisses is not expressed, yet so understood as the conclusion nevertheless is inferred.

Epact, The day put to, or set in, to make the leap year.

Ephori, Certain Magistrates, or Superintendents, for the people of *Sparta*, in opposition to the Kings, and to take down their regall power: such as were the Tribunes of the Commons at *Rome*, ordained to abridge the Consuls absolute authority.

Epiali, Fevers of the Quotidian kinde, that is, continuall: they have unequall distemperature, both of cold and heat at once: but the heat seems to be mild and gentle at the first: whereupon they took that name. These Fevers also, for the same reason are called ἐφημεραι.

Epidemical diseases, Such as are occasioned by some common cause, and therefore spred, and take hold of all persons indifferently in a Tract or City: as the Pestilence.

To *Epitomize*, To relate or pen a thing briefly, by way of an Abbreviary.

Epitritos, The proportion *Sesquitertion*, whereby Eight exceedes Six, namely by a Third part.

Etymologie, The knowledg of the original of words, and from whence they be derived.

Eviration, Gelding or disabling for the act of generation.

Exharmonians, Discords or dissonances in Musick.

Extasie, or *Ecstasie*, A trance or transportation of the mind, occasioned by Rage, Admiration, Fear, &c.

F

FLatulent, Windy, or engendring winde: as Pease and Beanes, are flatulent meat.

Fomentations in *Physick*, are properly devises, to be applyed to any grieved part: either to comfort and cherish it; or to allay the pain; or else to open the pores of the skin, and make way for Plasters and Ointments to work their effects the better. They are laid to by the means of Bladders, Spunges, wollen Clothes, Quilts, and such like.

Fungosity, A light and hollow substance, such as we may perceive, in Spunges, Mushromes, fusse Balls, Elder, Pith, &c.

G

GAlli, The Furious Priests of Dame *Cybele*, the great mother of the gods, honored in *Phrygia*: It is supposed they took that name of *Gallus* the River; of whose water if they dranke liberally, they fell into a furious rage and cut off their own Genitors.

Gracostasis, A withdrawing Gallery, or place in *Rome*, near to the Senate-house *Curia Hostilia*: where Greeks and other forein Embassadors staid and gave attendance.

Gymnastical, Belonging the publick places of exercise, where youth was trained up to wrestling and other feats of activity: which places were called *Gymnasia*.

Gymnick games or playes, performed or practised by those who were naked.

Gymnopodia, or *Gymnopedia*, A certain Dance, that the Lacedæmonian Children were trained in, barefoot; untill they proceeded to another more warlike, called *Pyrrhica*.

Gymnosophists, Philosophers of *India*, who went naked, and led beside, a most austere and precise life.

H

HAbit, In our bodies, is either the substantiall constitution thereof; whereby we term the evill Habit (in Greek) κακεξια, when as the body mislikes and thrives not; and the good Habit, ἑξις, when it prospers: or else the outward pares; and so we say Sweats, Pocks, Mezels, and Scabs, are driven forth to the Habit of the Body by strength of nature.

Harmonicall Musick, See *Enharmonia*.

Hemiolios, Proportion sesquialterall: containing the whole and half; as twelve to eight.

Hemisphære, The half Sphære or Globe, used commonly for that part of the Heaven which is in our sight.

Hexameter, A verse consisting of six measures, called Feet.

Hexatonos, Having six tones or six strings.

Hieroglyphicks, The Egyptians sacred Philosophy, delivered not in Caracters and Letters, but under the form of living creatures and other things engraven.

Holocaust, A whole burnt Sacrifice: whereas ordinarily they burnt upon the Alter, onely the inwards of the beast.

Homonyme, The double or manifold signification of a word or sentence, which is the occasion of ambiguity and doubts.

Horizon, That circle that determines our sight, and divides the one half of the sphære of heaven above, from that which is under, out of our sight.

Horoscope, The observation of the hour and time of ones Nativity, together with the figure of the heavens at that very instant; and that forsooth in the East.

Hypate, *Hypaton*, Principall of Principals. A base string in a Musicall instrument: or a note in the skale of Musick, B, MI.

Hypate Meson, A mean string or note in Musick: principall of Means, E, LA, MI.

Hypate, The base string in a Lute or other stringed instrument; so called, because it is seated highest and is principall. And yet it may seem in vocall Musick, as *Lambinus* takes it in *Horace* to be the small treble, by that which he writes of

Tigellus, who sung, *Iô Bacche, modò summa Voce, modò hæc, resonat chordis quæ quatuor imæ*: where, by *summa* he means the Treble, and *ima* the Base. Also *Boetius* (as *Erasmus* upon the proverb *Dis Diapason*, observes) writes the contrary, namely, that *Hypate* is the loweſt or Base; and *Nete* the higheſt or Treble. Neither doth *Plutarch* ſeem to agree alwayes with himſelf in theſe terms.

Hyperboleæum, A term in Muſick, belonging to their ſkale, and appropriate to the Trebles; it ſignifies Excellent or exceeding.

Hyporchema, An Hymn or Dance to *Apollo*, performed by children with a noyſe of Pipes before them, in the time of Peſtilence, and thereupon it was alſo called *Pæan*.

Hypotheticall propoſitions, ſuch as are pronounced with a ſuppoſition.

I

Iambus, A meaſure or foot in Verſe, conſiſting of two ſillables, the former ſhort, the other long: it is put alſo for the Verſe made thereof.

Iambick Verſes, are thoſe which ſtand upon ſuch Feet. If of four, they are called *Quaternarii*: if of ſix, *Senarii*: if of eight, *Octonarii*. Now, for that this kinde of foot runs very quick, two of them together are reckoned but for one meaſure: and therefore the ſaid Verſes are termed alſo *Dimetri*, *Trimetri*, and *Tetrametri*, as if they had but Two, Three, and Four feet or Meaſures.

Icoſaedron, A Geometricall ſolid body, repreſenting twenty ſides or faces, diſtinguiſhed by their ſeverall lines and angles.

Idæa, The forms of things ſetled in the divine intelligence or heavenly mind, according to which, as patterns, by *Platoes* doctrine, all things were made.

Idæi Dactyli, Were certain ſervitours to *Cybele*, brethren all, called otherwiſe *Corybantes* and *Curetes*. But whether they were *Dæmons*, fanaticall men, or couſening impoſtors, is not agreed among writers; nor how many they were, or why ſo called. See *Natalis Comes Mythol.*

* But here I muſt not forget to note, that in the line inſtead of Ἰδαίων δακτύλων: ſome read Ἰδίων δακτύλων, that is to ſay, of their own fingers. *Cælius Rhodig. Lect. Antiq. Lib.* 17. *Cap.* 12.

Idemity, That is to ſay, The ſamenеſſe, or being the very ſame.

Idus or *Ides*, Eight dayes in every moneth, derived of an old word *Iduo* to divide, for that they commonly fall out about the midſt of the moneth, namely upon the thirteenth or fifteenth dayes, according to *Horace*: *Idus tibi ſunt agendæ; Qui dies menſem Veneris marinæ, findit Aprilem.*

To *Incarnate*, to make fleſh, or help the fleſh to grow: and ſo certain ſalves or medicines are called *Incarnatives*.

To *Incraſſate*, to make thick and groſſe.

Intercalar dayes, Set or put between, as the od day in the Leap year.

Interſtice, The ſpace or diſtance between.

Inumbration, A ſhadowing.

Ionick Muſick, Gallant and galliardlike: pleaſant or delectable.

Iſonomie, An equability of government under the ſame Laws, indifferently miniſtred to all perſons: As alſo an equality of right which all men enjoy in one ſtate: And an equall diſtribution to all perſons, not according to Arithmeticall, but Geometricall proportion.

Iſthmus, A narrow bank of Land lying between two Seas, as namely that of *Corinth* and *Peloponneſus*: and by Analogy thereto, all ſuch are ſo called. By a metaphor alſo, other things that ſerve as partitions, are ſo termed.

Iſthmick Games, Were thoſe which were performed near *Corinth* upon the *Iſthmus*: inſtituted as ſome think, by *Theſeus*, to the honour of *Melicerta*, otherwiſe named *Palæmon* and *Portumnus*.

K

Kalends, Was among the Romans the firſt day of the Moneth, or the very day of the New Moon, which commonly did fall out together: *Neomenia*, in Greek. But ſo called ἀπὸ τῦ καλῶν, that is, a *Calando*, becauſe the Prieſt uſed then to call the people to the court *Calabra*, and there to pronounce unto them how many dayes there were to the *Nones*, &c.

L

L. Lucius, A forename to divers Families in *Rome*.

To *Laconize*, to imitate the *Lacedæmonians*, either in ſhort and pithy ſpeech, or in hard life.

Laſſitude, Wearineſſe.

Laterall motions, Movings to a ſide; for diſtinction of thoſe that are circular, mounting upright, or deſcending downward.

Libations, or *Libaments*, Aſſaies of ſacrifices, or offrings to the gods; eſpecially of liquid things, as Wine.

Lichanos, A ſtring of an Inſtrument or Note in Muſick: *Index*: In an inſtrument, the foreſinger ſtring or Third: in the GAM-UT, or skale, D, SOL, RE, and G, SOL, RE, UT, according to the Addition of *Hypaton*, or *Meſon*.

Liturgia, Any publick function: but more particularly for the miniſtery in the Church, about divine ſervice and worſhip of God.

Lydius Modus, *Lydian* Muſick, Doleſull and Lamentable.

Lyceum, or *Lycium*, A famous place near *Athens*, where *Ariſtotle* taught Philoſophy. His followers, becauſe they conferred and diſputed walking in this *Lycium*, were called *Peripateticks*.

Lyrick Poets, Such as compoſed Ditties and Songs to be ſung to the Lute, Harp, or ſuch like ſtringed inſtrument.

M

M

M'. MARCUS, M'. Manlius, with the note of Apoſtrophus, Forenames of ſundry houſes in *Rome*.

Medimnus, A Meaſure containing ſix *Modii*, Roman; and may go with us for a Buſhell and three pecks of *London* Meaſure, or there about.

Megarian Queſtions, Such as were pronounced and debated among the Philoſophers *Megarenſes*: for there was a ſect of them, taking name of the place; like as the *Cyrenaicks*: for *Euclides*, and *Stilpo* were *Megarians*.

Mercenaries, Hirelings, or ſuch as take wages.

Meſe, The middle ſtring or mean, it ends on eight, and begins the other, in the ſkale of Muſick. In the GAM-UT, A, LA, MI, RE.

Metamorphoſed, Tranſmuted and changed.

Metaphyſicks, Supernaturall. The firſt and principal part of Philoſophy in the intention, although it be laſt attained, as unto which all other Knowledge ſerves, and is to be referred. The Philoſophers Theology or Divinity, treating of intelligible and viſible things.

Meteors, Impreſſions gathered in the Air above; as Thunder, Lightning, Blaſing Stars, and ſuch like.

Mimi, Were Actors upon the Stage repreſenting ridiculouſly the ſpeech and geſture of others; Jeſters and Vices in a play: Alſo certain Poems or Playes, more laſcivious than Comedies, and fuller of obſcene wantonneſſe. The Authors of ſuch were called *Mimographi*, as *Laberius*.

Mina, or *Mna*, A Weight, anſwering to *Libra*, a Pound. Alſo a coyn valued at ſo much.

Minervall, The ſtipend or wages paid to a Schoolmaſter for the inſtitution and teaching of Scholars; derived from *Minerva*, the preſident of learning and good arts.

Mixolidian tune, Lamentable and Pittifull: meet for Tragedies.

Monarchy, The abſolute government of a State, by one Prince; Roialty.

Mordicative, Biting and ſtinging, as Muſtard ſeed, Pellitory of *Spain*.

Muſcles, The brawny or fleſhy parts of the Body.

Mythology, A fabulous Narration: or the delivery of matters by way of Fables and Tales.

N

NEmeia, Certain ſolemn Games inſtituted in the honour of *Hercules*, for killing a Lion in the Foreſt of *Nemea*; or as ſome think, in remembrance of *Archemorus* a young Babe killed by a Serpent.

Nete, The loweſt or laſt ſtring in an inſtrument, anſwering to the treble, and oppoſite to *Hypate*. Some take it clean contrary, for the baſe. See *Hypate*: and *Eraſmus* upon the Adage, *Dis-Diapaſon*.

Nete Diezeugmenon, A treble ſtring or note of Muſick, laſt of diſjoyncts. E, LA, MI.

Nete Hyperboleæon, the laſt of trebles, A, LA, MI, RE.

Nete Synnemmenon or *Syzeugmenon*, The laſt of the Conjuncts: a ſtring or note in Muſick, D, LA, SOL.

Niglary, Are thought to be Notes or Tunes in Muſick, powerfull to encourage. See *Scholiaſt* in *Ariſtoph.*

Nones, Were certain dayes in the moneth; ſo called becauſe they alwaies began the ninth day before the Ides, honoured by the Romans both for the birth day of King *Servius*, & alſo for the chaſing out of the Kings: for otherwiſe it was not feſtivall; according as *Ovid* writes, *Nonarum tutelâ Deo caret.*

Novenary number, That is Nine.

O

Obolus, A certain Weight: half a *Scriptul* or *Scrupul*, the ſixth part of a drachm or ſome what better in *Greece*: alſo a ſmall coyn, current for eight *Chalci*, which in Silver is a Penny farthing.

Octaedra, A Geometricall body of eight Baſes, ſides or faces, diſtinct by their angles.

Oeconomie, Houſe-government: or the adminiſtration and diſpoſe of houſhold affairs.

Oligarchie, A ſtate of government, wherein a few, and thoſe properly of the wealthier ſort, rule the Common wealth.

Olympiads, were the ſpace of thoſe five years, according to which the Grecians reckoned the time: as the Romans did by their *Luſtra*; and Chriſtians, by the year of our Lord.

Olympick or *Olympian* Games, were inſtituted firſt by *Hercules* in the honour of *Jupiter Olympius*; or of *Pelops*, as ſome think: and celebrated with a ſolemn affluence and concourſe from all parts of *Greece*, once every five years, between *Piſa* and *Elis*, in a plain called *Olympia*: where alſo ſtood the Temple of *Jupiter Olympius*.

Oracle, An anſwer or ſentence given by the Devill, or the ſuppoſed gods of the heathen: alſo the place where ſuch anſwers were delivered.

Organ, An Inſtrument. And our body is ſaid to be Organicall, becauſe the Soul performs her operations by the parts thereof, as inſtruments.

Orthios Nomos, In Muſick a Tune or ſong exceeding high and incentive; which when *Timothens* ſung before King *Alexander*, he was ſo moved and incited, that preſently he leapt forth and took armes.

Orthography, That part of Grammar which teacheth the ſeat of writing truly: alſo, true writing it ſelf.

Oſtraciſm, In *Athens* a condemnation and confining for ten years ſpace of that perſon, who was thought to grow greater in wealth, reputation, and opinion of vertue or otherwiſe, than the Democraty or free popular eſtate would bear; ordained firſt by *Caliſthenes*; who for his labour was himſelf firſt condemned. It took name from *Oſtrata*, a ſhel or litle poſtſhard, wherein his name was written, whom any of the people were in that behalf offended with, and meant to expell the City. And if the major part of the people noted one in this manner, he was ſent away. It

differed

differed from baniſhment, becauſe no perſon, by *Oſtraciſm*, loſt goods or land: Again the time was limitted, and the certain place ſet down, where he ſhould abide. In this ſort *Ariſtides* the juſt, valiant *Themiſtocles* and other good men were driven out.

Oxyrynchos, A fiſh ſo called, of a long ſharp beak or ſnout that it hath.

P

Paean, the name of *Apollo*. An hymn alſo to *Apollo* and *Diana*, to avert Plague, War, or any Calamity: ἀπὸ τῦ παίειν, which ſignifies to ſtrike or heal, or of παύειν, to ſtay or make to ceaſe.

Pederaſty, The loving of young boyes: commonly taken in the ill part, as ſignifying the abuſe of them againſt kinde.

Pegnia, Pleaſant Poems or merry ditties for delight.

Pæan, *Pæon*, or *Pean*, The name of *Apollo*; and of a metricall foot in verſe, of which *Peans* hymns are compoſed: and it is duple, to wit of four Syllables, either the firſt long, and the other three ſhort; or the firſt ſhort and the other three long: alſo an Epithet of *Apollo*.

To *Palliat*, To cover or hide: and ſuch cures are called *Palliatives*, which ſearch not to the root or cauſe of the diſeaſe, but give a ſhew onely of a perfect cure; as when a ſore is healed outwardly, and feſters underneath. Thus ſweet Pomanders *Palliat* a ſtinking breath, occaſioned by a corrupt ſtomack or diſeaſed lungs and ſuch like.

P. Publius, A forename to ſome Roman Familist.

Panathenea, A ſolemnity held at *Athens*: wherein the whole City, Men, Women, and Children, were aſſembled. And ſuch Games, Dances, and Playes as were then exhibited; or what Orations were then and there made, they called *Panathenaick*. Of two ſorts theſe ſolemnities were: once every year; and once every fifth year, which were called the greater.

Pancratium, *Plutarch* takes for an exerciſe of activity or mixt game of fiſt-fight and wreſtling. Howbeit other Writers will have it to be an exerciſe of Wreſtling, wherein one indeavours with hand and foot, and by all parts of his body to foile his adverſary: as alſo the practiſe of all the five feats of activity, called *Pentathlon* and *Quinquertium*: to wit, * Buffetting, Wreſtling, Running, Leaping, and Coiting.

* Or throwing the Dart.

Pancratiaſt, One that is skilful and profeſſed in the ſaid Pancration.

Parameſe, Next the mean or middle ſtring. A note in Muſick: B, F A, B, M I, in ſpace.

Paranete Hyperbolean, A treble ſtring or note in Muſick: the laſt ſave one of the treble: G, SOL, RE, UT.

Panegyrick, Feaſts, Games, Faires, Marts, Pompes, Shewes, or any ſuch ſolemnities, performed or exhibited, before the generall aſſembly of a whole Nation: ſuch as were the *Olympick*, *Pythick*, *Iſthmick*, and *Nemian* games in *Greece*. Orations likewiſe to the praiſe of any perſon, at ſuch an aſſembly, are called *Panegirick*.

Paradox, A ſtrange or admirable opinion held againſt the common conceit of men: ſuch as the Stoicks maintained.

Period, A circuit or compaſſe certainly kept: as we may obſerve in the courſe of Sun and Moon, and in the revolution of times and ſeaſons: in ſome agues alſo and other ſickneſſes, that keep a juſt time of their return, called therefore *Periodicall*. Alſo the end of a full ſentence is called a Period.

Paranete Diezeugmenon, A treble ſtring or note in Muſick: the laſt ſave one of Disjuncts: D, LA, SOL, RE.

Paranete Synemmenon or *Syzeugmenon*: C, SOL, FA.

Parhypate Hypatón, Subprincipall of Principals. A ſtring or Note in Muſick: C, FA, UT.

Parhypate Meſon, Sub principal of meanes: a ſtring or note in Muſick: F, FA, UT.

Paripatetiks, A ſect of Philoſophers, the follower of *Ariſtotle*: See *Liceum*.

Phiditia, Were publick hals in *Lacedæmon*, where all ſorts of Citizens, rich and poor, one with another meet to eat and drink together, at the publick charges and had æquall parts allowed.

Philippicks, Were invective Orations made by *Demoſthenes* the Orator, againſt *Philip* King of *Macedony*, for the liberty of *Greece*. And hereupon all invectives may be called *Philipick*, as thoſe were of *M. Tullius Cicero* againſt *Antony*.

Phrygius Modus, Phrygian tune or Muſick, otherwiſe called *Barbarian*; moving to devotion, uſed in ſacrifices and religious worſhip of the gods: for ſo ſome interpret *Entheon*, in *Lucianus*: others take it for inceniing and ſtirring to fury.

To *Pinguiſie*, to make fat.

Plethoricall plight, The ſtate of the body, which being full of blood and other humors, needs evacuation: whether the ſaid fulneſſe be, *ad vaſa*, as the Phyſicians ſay, when the ſaid blood and humours are otherwiſe commendable, but offending only in quality: or, *ad vires*, when the ſame are diſtempered and offenſive to nature, and therefore would be rid away; which ſtate is alſo called *Cacochimy*.

Polemarchus, One of the nine *Archontes* or head Magiſtrates in the popular ſtate of *Athens* choſen as the reſt yearly. Who notwithſtanding that he retained the name of *Polemarchus*, that is Captain Generall in the field, ſuch as in the ſoveraign government of the Kings, were imployed in wars and Martial ſervice under them: yet it appears that they had civill juriſdiction, and miniſtred Juſtice, between Citizens and Aliens, of whom there were many in *Athens*; like as the *Archon* for the time being, was Judge for the Citizens onely. He had two Aſſiſtants, named *Paredri*, who ſat in Commiſſion with him.

Polorceles, A ſurname of *Demetrius*, a valiant King of *Macedony* and ſon of King *Antigonus*: which addition was given him for beſieging ſo many Cities.

Polypragmon,

Polypragmon, A curious buſie-body, who loves to meddle in many matters.

Pores, The little holes of the skin through which ſweat paſſeth, and fumes breath forth.

Poſitions, Such ſentences or opinions as are held in diſputation.

Prætour, One of the ſuperour Magiſtrates of *Rome*. In the City he ruled as L. Chief Juſtice, and exerciſed civill Juriſdiction: Abroad in the Province, he commanded as Lord Governour, Deputy, or Lieutenant Generall: In the field, he was L. Generall, as well as the Conſul. At firſt, the name of *Conſul*, *Prætor*, and *Judge*, was all one.

Primices, Firſt fruits.

Problemes, Queſtions propounded, to be diſcuſſed.

Procatarctick causes of ſickneſſe, Such as are evident and coming from without, which yeeld occaſion of diſeaſe, but do not maintain the ſame: as the heat of the Sun cauſing Headach or the Ague.

Prognoſtick, Foreknowing and foreſhewing: as the ſignes in a diſeaſe which foreſignifie death or recovery.

Proſcription, an outlawing of perſons in *Rome*, with confiſcation of their Goods, and ſelling the ſame in portſale: and depriving them of publick protection.

Proſlambomene, A, RE, a term in Muſick, ſignifying (a ſtring or note) taken in or to: for otherwiſe of two *Heptachords*, there would not ariſe 15. to admit a place in the middle for *Meſe*, the Mean, to take part of two *Eights*, or two *Diapaſons*.

Proſodia, A certain Hymn or Tune thereto, in manner of ſupplication to the gods, and namely to *Apollo* and *Diana*, at ſuch time as a ſacrifice was to be brought and preſented before the Altar.

Proteleia, The ſacrifice before mariage: as alſo the gifts that ceremoniouſly went before.

Prytaneum, A ſtately place within the Caſtel of *Athens*, wherein was a court held for judgement in certain cauſes; where alſo they who had done the Common-wealth ſingular ſervice, were allowed their Diet at the Cities charges, which was accounted the greateſt Honour that could be.

Pyladion, In Muſick a kinde of note bearing the name of *Pylades*, a comicall Poet, and skilfull Maſter in Muſick.

Pyramidal, Formed like the *Pyramis*, which is a geometricall body, ſolid, broad beneath, and riſing up on all ſides, flat and plain, to a ſharp point, like the ſpire of a ſteeple. It takes the name of πυρ, that is, *Fire*, which naturally has that ſigure.

Pythia, or *Phabas*, The Prieſteſſe or Prophetiſſe, who pronounced the anſwers at the Oracle of *Apollo Pytheus* at *Delphos*: took the name of *Python* there ſlain by him and lying putrified: or of πυνθάνεσθαι, *To ask and demand*; for the reſort of people thither to be reſolved by him of their doubts.

Pythick, or *Pythian* games, were celebrated to the honor of *Apollo*, near the City of *Delphos*, with great ſolemnity: inſtituted firſt by *Diomedes* & yearly renewed, in memory of *Apollo's* vanquiſhing the great Dragon *Python*.

Q

Quinius, A Forename of divers Romans.

Quaternary, The number of Four, likewiſe τετρας and τετρακτυς, ſo highly celebrated by the *Pythagoreans*, comprising in it the proportion *Epitritos*, whereof ariſeth the Muſicall harmony * *Diateſſeron*; for it contains three and the third part of three: alſo *Diapaſion*, because it comprehends two duple, whence ariſeth the Muſick Diapaſon: and *Diſdiapaſon* being doubled, which is an Eight and the perfect harmony, according to the proverb, ἁπαντ' ὀκτώ: alſo in that, it contains all numbers within it: For, One, Two, Three, and Four, ariſe to Ten, beyond which we cannot aſcend but by repetition of former numbers.

* *Calius Rhodig.*

Quæſtors, inferior Officers in *Rome* in manner of Treaſurers: whoſe charge was to receive and lay out the Cities money & Revenews of ſtate: of which ſort there were *Urbani*, for the City it ſelf: *Provinciales*, for the Provinces: and *Caſtrenſes*, for the camp and their wars.

Quinquertium, named in Greek *Pentathlon*. Five exerciſes or feats of Activity among the Greeks practiſed at their ſolemn games: namely throwing the Dart, Coiting, Running, Wreſtling, and Leaping. See *Pancratium*.

* Some put inſtead hereof Fiſt-fight.

R

Radieall moiſture, Is the ſubſtantiall humidity in living bodies; which is ſo united with naturall heat, that the one maintains the other, and both preſerve life.

To *Rarefie*, To make more ſubtile, light, and thin.

Recidivation, A Relapſe or falling back into a ſickneſſe, which was in the way of recovery, and commonly is more dangerous than the former: *Recidiva pejor radice*.

Regents, Profeſſour in Liberall Sciences and in Philoſophy: a term uſuall in the Univerſities

Reverberation, A ſmiting or driving back.

Rhapſody, A ſowing together or conjoyning of thoſe Poems and Verſes eſpecially heroick or hexameter, which before were looſe and ſcattered: ſuch were thoſe of *Homer*, when they were reduced into one intire body of *Ilias* and *Odyſſea*. Thoſe Poets alſo, who recite or pronounce ſuch Verſes, were termed *Rhapſodi*.

Rivals and *Corrivals*, Counter ſuters: or thoſe who make love together, unto one and the ſame Woman.

To *Ruminate*, To ponder and conſider, or revolve a thing in Minde: a borrowed ſpeech from beaſts that chew the cud.

S

Satyri, Woodwoses or monstrous Creatures with tails, yet resembling in some sort, partly Men and Women, and in part Goats; given much to Venery and Lascivlousnesse, whence they had that name) also to scurrill frumping and jibing, for which they were also called *Sileni*, especially when they grew aged; supposed by the rurall heardsmen to be the Fairies or Gods of the Woods.

Satyrs were certain Poems received in place of *Comœdia vetus*, detesting and reproving the misdemeanours and vices of Peole: at first by way of myrth and jest, not sharply to shame or prejudice of any person; such were those that *Horace* composed; howbeit they grewafterwards to more diracity and Licenciousnes, noting without respect all lewdnes, & sparing no degree; as those were of *Juvenal's* and *Persius* penning. Latine Poets only, handled this argument; both in the one sort and the other.

Scammonie, A Medicinable plant, and the juice, thereof issuing out of the root when it is wounded or cut: it purgeth yelow choler strongly. The same juice or liquor being concrete or thickned and withall corrected is called *Dacrydium*; as one would say, the tears destilling from the root: and is the same which the unlearned Apothecaries call *Diagridium*; as if forsooth it were some compound like their *Diaphenicon*.

Scelet, or *Sceleton*, The dead body of a man artificially dried or tanned, to be kept and seen a long time. It is taken also for a dead carcasse of Man or Woman, represented with the bones onely, and ligaments.

Sceptick Philosophers, who descended from *Pyrrho*; so called, for that they would consider of all matters in question, but determine none: and in this respect they were more precise than the *Academicks*.

Scolia, Were certain Songs and Carols sung at Feaste.

Scrutiny, A search, and properly a perusing of suffrages. or voices, at elections or judiciall courts, for the triallor passing of any cause.

Secundine, The skin that inwraps the child or young thing in the womb: in Women the After-birth or Latter-birth; in Beasts the *Hearne*.

Senary, The number of six, also a kind of verse. See *Iambus*.

Septimane, A Week, or seven Night. Also what so ever falls out upon the seventh Day, Moneth, Year, &c. as *Septimane Future*, in *Arnobius*, for Children born at the seventh moneth after Conception; and *Septimane Febres*, Agues returning with their Fits every seventh day.

Serg. *Sergius* } Forenames to certain Famalies
Serv. *Servius* } in *Rome*.
Sex. *Sextus* }

Sesquialterall, A proportion, by which is ment that which containes the whole and half again, as 6. to 4. 12, to 8. It is also named *Hemiolios*.

Sesqui tertian, A proportion whereby is understood as much as comprehends the whole, and one third part, as 12. to 9. and the same is called *Epitritos*.

Sesqui-octaave, That which compriseth the whole and one 8. part; as 9. to 8. 18. to 16. in Greek *Epiogdoos*, or *Epogdoos*.

Solœcism, Incongruity of speech, or defect in the purity th reof. It arose of those who being Athenians born, and dwelling in *Soli*, a City in *Cilicia*, spake not pure Attick, but mixt with the *Solians* language.

Solstice, The Sun Steed, which is twice in the Year, in *June* and *December*, when the Sun seemes to stand for a while, at the very poynt of the Tropicks, either going from us, or comming towards us; as if he returned from the end of hir race, North and South:

Sp. Spurius, A forename to some Romans.

Spasmes, Cramps or painfull pluckings of the Muscles and Sinewes. See *Convulsions*. And *Spasmatick*, full of such, or subject thereto.

Spheres, The Circles or Globes, of the seven Planets: also the compasse of the Heaven above all.

Spissitude, Thicknesse or dimnesse.

Spondeus, An Hymn sung at sacrifices and libations. Also a Metricall Foot in Verse, consisting of two long Syllables: whereof principally such Hymns or Songs were composed.

Stadium, A race or space of ground, containing 625. Foot, whereof Eight make a Mile, consisting of a Thousand paces, which are five Thousand Foot, reckoning five Foot for a Pace; for so much commonly a man takes at once in his pace, in removing one foot before another.

Stoicks, Certain Philosophers, whose first Master was *Zeno*, who taught in a certain spacious Gallery at *Athens* called *Pœcile*, for the variety of Pictures wherewith *Polignotus* the excellent Painter beautified it: And for that a Gallery in Greek is called *Stoa*, therefore those Philosophers who taught and disputed therein, took the name *Stoicks*.

Strophes, Conversions or turnings. In Cœmedies and Tragœdies, when the *Chorus* first speakes to the Actors; and then turnes to the Spectators, and pronounceth certain Jambicks. In the rehearsing of Lyricall verses, when the Poet one while turns to the right hand, and another while to the lesse, and so recites certain verses: which thereupon are called *Strophæ*, and *Antistrophi*.

Stypticke, Ascribed to such things as by a certain harsh Taste, do shew they are astringent: as the Fruit called *Medlars*, and *Alum* especially, which thereupon is called *Stypteria*. And *Stypticitie* is such a quality.

Subitary

Subitary, Of a Sudden, without Premeditation.

Subterranean, Under the earth.

Superficies, The upper face or outside of any thing. In Geometry it is that, which is made of Lines set together, like a Line of Pricks united.

Superfœtation, Conception upon conception.

Suppuration, A gathering to mattar, as in biles, impostumes, inflammations and such like.

Sycophants, Tale-bearers, false promoters, or slanderous informers, and such as upon small occasions brought men into trouble. The name arose upon this occasion, that whereas in *Athens* there was an act, That none should transport figs out of the territory *Attica*; such as gave information of those, that contrary to this Law, conveied Figs into other parts, were termed *Sycophants*: for that *Sycon* in Greek, is a Fig.

Syllogisme, Certain forms of arguing: when upon two propositions granted, which are called *Premisses*, there is inferred a third, namely a *Conclusion*.

To *Symbolize*, That is, By certain outward signes, to signifie some hidden things: Thus an eye symbolizeth Vigilancy.

Sympathie, A fellow feeling, as is between the head and stomack in our bodies: also the agreement and natural amity in divers senslesse things, as between Iron and the Load-stone.

Symphonie, Consent and Harmony, properly in vocall Musick.

Symposiarch, The master of a feast. The Romans called him *Rex*, a King.

Symptomes, Accidents accompanying sickness; as Headach, the Ague: Stitch, shornesse of Winde, Spitting blood, Cough and Auge, the Plurisie.

Synemmenon, or *Synexeugmenon*, A tearm of art in Musick, signifying strings or Notes Conjunct.

Syntaxis, The construction and coherence of words and parts of Speech by Concord and Regiment.

T

T. TITUS, A forename to many Houses of the Romans.

Talent Atick (as well ponderal which was weighed, as numeral or summary, counted in money) was of two sorts: The lesse, of sixty pound *Attick*, and every one of them consisted of one hundred *drachme*. If *minæ* then, be 3.l. 2.s. 6.d. sterling in silver; This Talent amounteth to 187.l. 10.s. of our English money. The greater, or simply the great Talent, is eighty *minæ*, and hath the proportion *Epitritos*, or *Sesquitertian* to the lesse: so that it comes to 250.l. sterling.

Tautologies, Vain Repetitions of the same things.

Ternary, The number of three.

Terpandrios, A several tune in Musick, or a song that *Terpander* devised.

Tetrachord, An Instrument in old time of four strings: but now, it is taken for every fourth in the scale of Mucick or GAMUT, whereof there be four in fifteen strings: reckoning *Mese*, to the end one *Octave* and begin another.

Tetrarch, A Potentate or Ruler over the fourth part of a Country.

Theatre, A shew place built with seats in manner of an half circle, to behold Games, Players, and pastime; which if both ends meet round, is called an *Amphitheatre*.

Theborems, Principles or rules in any science.

Theriacall Trochisks, Troches made of Vipers flesh, to enter into the composition *Theriaca*, that is, *Triacle*.

Thesmothetæ, Were six of the nine *Archontes* or chief rulers in *Athens* during their free popular estate. They had civill jurisdiction; and sat as Judges in certain causes.

Thesmothesium, seems to be the court or commission of the said *Thesmothetæ*.

Topicks, That part of Logick which treats of the invention of arguments, which are called *Topi*, as if they were places, out of which a man might readily have sufficient reasons to argue and dispute with, *Pro & Contra*.

Tribunes of the Commons, Certain Officers or Magistrates at *Rome*, as Provosts and Protectours of the comminalty to restrain and keep down the excesse power of the Consuls and Nobility. Chosen and confirmed by the generall oath of the people, whereby they were *Sacrosancti*, that is, no violence might be done to their persons. A negative voice they had, and power of inhibition, called *Intercessio*; whereby they might trosse and stop all proceedings of the Senate, or any superiour Magistrate (save only the Dictator) even of the very Consuls, whom in some case they might command. They resembled much the *Ephori* in *Sparta*.

Trite Diezeugmenon, The third of disjuncts, a note in the Scale of Musick, C, SOL, FA, UT.

Trite Hyperbolæan, A treble string; the third of exceeding or treble, F, FA, UT.

Trite Synnemmenon, or *Syzeugmenon*, The third of the Disjuncts, a note in Musick, B, FA, B, MI, in rule.

Trocheans, A metricall foot in verse, consisting of two syllables; the former long, and the other short.

Tropæes or *Trophees*, Were Monuments in memoriall of Victory, erected in Marble, Brasse, or in default thereof with heaps of Stone or piles of Wood, in the very place where any Generall had vanquished his enemies and put them to flight; whereupon they took that name: for that *τρεπω*, in Greek signifieth, Turning back and flight

Tropes, In speech, the using of words otherwise than in their primitive and natural significations; which many times giveth a grace to the Sentence.

Tutel ar

Tutelar, Protectors and Defenders. So were the Gods, or Goddesses among the *Paganus* called, whom they beleeved to have a special care of any City or Country.

Type, A Figure, under which is signified some other thing.

V.

Vestall Virgins, were certain Nuns or Votaries, instituted first by *Numa Pompilius*, King of *Rome*, in honor of *Vesta* the Goddesse; whose charge was to keep the sacred fire from going forth. Chosen they were between six and ten of their age: and were injoyned Virginity for thirty years; after it was lawfull for them to be married: but if in the mean while they committed Fornication, they were buried alive.

Unction, Anointing.

FINIS.

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